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S Hillcoat-Nallétamby
A Zodgekar



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ARVIND ZODGEKAR

Contact Address:

Dr Arvind V Zodgekar
School of Social and Cultural Studies
Victoria University of Wellington
PO Box 600
Wellington 6001
New Zealand

Email: arvind.zodgekar@vuw.ac.nz

Production:

Bev Campbell

Email: demogsec@waikato.ac.nz

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Manuscripts should be submitted to:

Dr Arvind V Zodekar
School of Social and Cultural Studies
Victoria University of Wellington
PO Box 600
Wellington 6001
New Zealand

Email: arvind.zodekar@vuw.ac.nz

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Traditional or Western Marriage and Dating Customs: How Newer Migrants Can Learn from Other Hindu Indian Female Immigrants

EMMA WOOD
BERNARD GUERIN*

Abstract

Recent migrants and refugees to Western countries face problems that others have faced before them. This research was one part of a larger project mapping the strategies developed by previous migrant groups so that new migrants might draw on them. Qualitative data were collected during interviews conducted with seven Indian women residing in New Zealand on topics surrounding dating and marriage practices. Findings suggest that while many of the women interviewed appeared to be adapting and modifying some aspects of their attitudes to reflect Western expectations regarding dating and marriage, they were still open to, and accepting of, traditional Indian beliefs regarding arranged marriages. Results are discussed in relation to the general problems encountered by migrants, and are summarised for their practical relevance for newer migrants.

One of the constant problems of migration is that of adjusting to a new society with different practices, and dealing with the stress and conflict that can arise if those practices are incongruent with tradition (Darvishpour 1998; Goode 1963). There are many ways that immigrants deal with these conflicts, and the most general patterns are well known (eg. Berry 1997; Krishnan and Berry 1992). For any general pattern however, there can be many diverse strategies adopted by individuals and communities in handling the problems they face. Rather than trying to label a single strategy of adjustment for each immigrant community (integrated, assimilated, etc.) or for groupings within one immigrant community, we can also document the range of diverse strategies used, the social and cultural

* Professor and Head of Psychology, University of South Australia, GPO Box 2471, Adelaide, South Australia 500. Email: Bernard.Guerin@unisa.edu.au.

contexts in which they arise, and the factors indicating their relative success (cf. Guerin 2004; Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002).

One beneficial outcome of documenting how immigrant groups have adjusted their specific practices is that these strategies can be presented to new immigrant groups facing the same problems for the first time. It should not be assumed however, that the new immigrant groups will want to use the strategies or that they will be successful if implemented, but they can certainly learn from the range of options that have already been tried.

This research is concerned with one ethnic group and with one example of cultural change brought about through migration: middle-class Hindu Indian families who migrated to New Zealand and how they have dealt with changing marriage customs for daughters. The rationale for this research was twofold: to explore in detail the adjustment strategies adopted by Indian families when faced with incongruent Western practice; to document these strategies with the purpose of guiding recent immigrants facing the same issues through interventions so they may learn from the experiences of others (Guerin 2005). Like many Western countries, New Zealand has taken in many Somali, Iranian, Afghan and Iraqi refugees over the last ten years. While they are adjusting well, some issues such as dating and arranged community marriage practices are only now starting to surface for their children who have been through the New Zealand education system (Guerin *et al.* 2003a; Guerin *et al.* 2004a; Guerin *et al.* 2004b; Guerin *et al.* 2003b). However, there is currently very little literature in New Zealand which documents the experiences of Indian women migrants.

Traditional Hindu Indian Marriage Practices

Within Hindu religion, marriage is a profound and complex tradition that has spanned generations (Mullatti 1995). Whereas in Western society marriage is viewed as the bonding between two individuals, within the realms of Indian society marriage is seen as more of a community event, with an emphasis on fulfilling broader social obligations (Goodwin and Cramer 2000:50). Marriage is a process that unites two families almost like blood relations, hence it is not only a ritual but also a significant social event (Guerin 2004; Mullatti 1995).

In both traditional and contemporary Hindu society the notion of arranged marriage still plays a significant role in union formation. Partners are often introduced by relevant parties (usually family members) with

matching usually made on the basis of the respective families' economic position, reputation, education, caste and religion (Bhachu 1985; Brah 1978; Goodwin 1999; Mullatti 1995). Advertisements to find a suitable partner may even be placed in local newspapers (Fowler 1997; Mullatti 1995).

With the emphasis placed on arranged marriages it is clear that love between prospective couples is not considered an important element of the marriage process. In Hindu society, love between a husband and wife is expected to grow as a relationship develops, and it is predicated on the concept of devotion, not only to each other but also to god (Goodwin and Cramer 2000; Goode 1963; Mody 2002; Seymour 1999).

Due to the importance of the marital process in traditional Indian society, a controversial issue for migrant Indian parents and their children is the concept of dating and the pre-marital association between adolescent boys and girls (Dion and Dion 1996; Kurian 1986, 1991; Kurian and Ghosh 1983; Shah 1993). Many Indian parents, regardless of the period of time they have resided in Western society, are still strong advocates of arranged marriages believing that Western practices of dating and pre-marital relations are actions to be frowned upon, and the expectation of restrictive dating practices among women are not uncommon (Srinivasan 2001).

While dating is a sensitive issue within the typical Indian family unit, it is amplified by the degree of adherence to traditional gender distinctions. Some parents are willing to let their sons date and associate with the opposite sex with little or no supervision, but do not grant the same freedom to their daughters (Kurian 1991; Wakil, Siddique and Wakil 1981). The conflicts resulting from these gendered distinctions for Indian girls being raised in a Westernized society are thought to inevitably put great stress on the parent-child relationship.

While conflicts regarding dating and marriage are thought to be common within the Indian family, they are not universal. Some researchers have shown that there is diversity with regard to the marriage process, and to abate the conflict associated with the clash of generational values, strategies have been devised to accommodate such differences (Goodwin and Cramer 2000; Marshall, Stenner and Lee 1999). One effective form of compromise which appears to be widespread, is to let children associate with members of the opposite sex within their community (Wakil *et al.* 1981; Kurian 1991; Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002). The premise for this decision is based on a recognition that "it is better for their boys and girls to mingle with each other or even fall in love than it is for them to 'go astray'

in...society" (Wakil *et al.* 1981:934). This decision has seen the relaxation of many parents' attitudes regarding their children's marital arrangements.

Mixing the old with the new appears to be another effective contemporary form of compromise within the British-Asian immigrant community. Forming a delicate balance which maintains the more traditional collectivist views regarding marital patterns with the more Westernized individualistic independent ideals is a difficult process, but some older and younger generations appear to be willing to compromise to allow for the modification of a distinctly traditional process (Goodwin and Cramer, 2000). The form this compromise tends to take echoes that previously researched by Wakil *et al.* (1981), and is based on the premise that while parents alone may not be able to make the decision regarding who their daughters marry, they can influence it by altering the people with whom they keep company. Often a "pool of eligible males" is selected by the family resulting in "greater power of choice to the young people whilst allowing the older generation to limit the field to an appropriate range" (Goodwin and Cramer 2000:56). Similar compromise arrangements have been reported by other researchers in their analyses of South Asians residing in various Western societies (Ballard 1978; Singh Ghuman 1994; Stopes-Roe and Cochrane 1988; Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002).

Research Objectives

A commonly held view is that when reaching Western countries migrants, and especially their children, abandon their traditional practices, causing cultural shock, family conflict and a weakened ethnic community. Our research with Somali communities in New Zealand has tended to affirm this perspective and parents who harbour such fears can become authoritarian as a means of preserving traditional practices (Guerin *et al.* 2003; Guerin *et al.* 2004). Marriage arrangements are foremost amongst the practices it is feared will be lost.

In reviewing research on Hindu Indians however, we have seen that not a great deal is known about strategic dating practices for migrants and their children, and many of the studies fail to provide adequate detail of the strategies which have evolved. The practical insights which more recent migrant groups may gain are therefore lost (Guerin 2004), and an important link in the settlement and adjustment of newer migrant and refugee groups is not documented.

The overall aim of this research therefore, has been to document the histories of a small number of Indian women as they recount the experiences of dating and marriage for Hindu Indian women residing in a Western society. A large sample was therefore not required, as the purpose was to provide more contextual detail about particular cases, and to examine the diversity of strategies.

Method

Participants

The seven participants in this research were all women of Indian descent who had, at one period in their lives, resided in India. Participants were selected using a snowballing technique. Each prospective participant received a letter inviting them to participate in the study as well as a project information sheet giving a brief summary of the themes to be covered in the interview.

The women interviewed fell within one of two distinct age brackets: 20 to 24 years and 40 to 60 years. The four aged 20-24 years were all currently studying at the University of Waikato, and while two of the older women were employed at the time of the interview, the other was retired. All participants came from middle-class, professional family backgrounds. While the sample was obviously not representative of all Indian women, it may be said to represent a cross-section of migrant Indian women in New Zealand, who tend to be educated and of middle-level income. Such women were also likely to hold more “liberal” views of dating and marriage, an element of sample bias which undoubtedly influenced the qualitative data obtained.

The Interviews

Each of the participants agreed to an audio-taped, face-to-face interview, which ranged from 45 minutes to 1 hour. Six participants were interviewed alone while one opted to have a friend present for the duration of the interview. The topics covered reflected the research questions and focused on the women’s experiences of both Indian and Western dating and marriage procedures, any conflicts the participants had faced or knew of in respect to dating and marriage, and their views about inter-racial dating. Unmarried participants were also questioned on perceived parental attitudes

toward dating and their own potential marriages. In addition to the more general questions, married participants were asked about their own marriages and the processes undertaken to find their husbands, as well as how their own children's marriages would be decided. During interviews, participants spoke openly about issues regarding marriage and dating, and appeared to be unguarded when discussing their views.

Results

The primary themes that were evident from the discussions with the participants are illustrated in the following pages.

Traditional and Contemporary Views of Marriage and Dating

Initially the participants were asked to describe their understanding of customary Indian views about dating and marriage. All the women appeared to share similar perceptions and talked of arranged marriages as a norm, recognising however the notion of love-marriage, but noting that it has yet to become a common practice:

In India we have arranged marriages right and it's like that, you know you don't really have many love... love marriages do exist but it's not common and you've got to go against societal norms and stuff like that. (Amrita)

A common theme discussed in relation to this question was the respect for the family unit and the acknowledgment of the parental role in decisions regarding potential marital unions:

If I want to go for a love marriage, you know, then I have to think about what my parents would think, you know, what sort of restrictions they would have. (Shalini)

Whilst the majority of the participants recognised that their parents would assume the responsibilities of finding them a suitable partner, Shalini stated that this had been attributed to her uncle, her father's older brother, as he was the decision-maker for the family. Similarly, Priya pointed to the joint family system's role in this process, hence making marriage a community event:

You need not exactly live with them, your relatives, but then they are involved in most of the decision-making, especially marriage. Yeah there are a lot of family involved; it is not just your parents but your grandmother, your uncles, everybody together. (Priya)

When unmarried participants were asked to express their thoughts regarding the concept of arranged marriages their responses were positive about the prospect, providing there was no pressure to marry someone with whom they felt no affinity. Arranged marriages were described as more “scientific” and “foolproof” than love marriages. All unmarried participants wanted to play an active role in the search for a potential partner and all wanted the opportunity to date their potential husband and spend time getting to know him before embarking on a marriage:

I don't think arranged marriages are that bad...but... I wouldn't go for a marriage where it's basically just the parents deciding, you know what I am saying. (Savita)

All participants agreed that in traditional Indian society, the concept of dating is not accepted nor openly practised; it is considered to be unnecessary and not part of the customary marital process:

Traditionally, I don't think [dating] is really accepted; even now I don't think it is accepted in India. (Savita)

In summary, although participants agreed on traditional ideas and practices, their positive attitude towards arranged marriages appears to challenge the common perceptions surrounding the subject. Whilst much of the literature states that the area of marriage and the impact of Western ideals are a source of great contention within the family unit, these participants did not believe it to be so.

Marriage and Living in New Zealand

All participants were asked whether they thought that living in a Western society had altered their attitudes towards dating and marriage in any way. Interviewees had been residing in New Zealand for varying periods of time, ranging from nine months to 42 years. While most had not noticed many changes in their attitudes, they noted that residing in New Zealand had strengthened their pre-existing outlooks on various issues surrounding dating and marriage. A number of the participants even reported a strengthening in their feelings towards arranged marriages:

I think I am more open to the idea of arranged marriages than I was when I was in India... I know it sounds strange doesn't it! I don't think arranged marriages are that bad... I don't think it is a better idea, I just think, I'd be more open to it because I think, to a certain extent your family knows you

best and so if it's done right, they will look for somebody who, you know you'll get along with. (Savita)

Mahima who has four children, felt it was the "children's choice" as they had been raised in New Zealand and as a result they "think in English" and were "very Kiwi". She remarked that it would be very hard to bring in a potential husband or wife from India because while the couple may look similar, they would have differing expectations. She was also the only participant who felt her attitudes had changed significantly since arriving in New Zealand at the age of eighteen:

I have changed tremendously, I have changed that when I first came from India I would argue with my husband, I would defend the Indian, I would say Indian is better and he would say no no, kiwi culture is better... but now when I look back I think I want my children here, in this country, to settle down with anybody they love, as long as they can make it right...I'm not that kind of person that I would try to stop them getting married because they are Indian. (Mahima)

While Savita was now more positive regarding arranged marriages, she also stated that residing in New Zealand and experiencing everyday life had demystified the notion of Western style love marriages that she and her friends had previously held:

I think we just used to look at what we know of the Western culture, the so-called Western culture, and then think that they have the right to choose who they want to marry and we should have the right to do that too... but it's like when you come here you see that not all sorts of marriages and partners in New Zealand are working out too... you see people breaking up all the time and divorcing, it makes you wonder. (Savita)

Participants were asked whether they thought their attitudes would be different had they never come to New Zealand, and responses to this question varied. Priya felt that she would be more against arranged marriage had she never resided in Western society:

I think I would be a bit more against arranged marriage if I was just in India. I think we have a different, a narrow view of what marriage can be when you are in India. (Priya)

One explanation for this change in attitude that was suggested by a number of participants is the image of romance that is portrayed by Western media. Mahima, Ananya, Savita and Amrita all made specific reference to the

Western image of love and romance that is becoming increasingly influential in India:

A lot of false images have been projected through movies and they think that that is what romance is all about and they have these kind of misconceptions about it but I think, I don't know now, there is no such word as love in our society. (Ananya)

Amrita felt that living in New Zealand had allowed her to develop more liberal attitudes but at the same time she recognised the importance of respecting others, particularly when in the company of more traditional Indians:

I think what happens is when people come abroad and stuff, the limits they would set, like even your clothing, you know simple things like that, maybe things change.... It's like always rationalizing... you have to like, do things according to the time and place and stuff. (Amrita)

When discussing the main differences between Western and Indian style marriages, the principal distinction made by many participants was with regard to the notion of love. Although two participants stated they would like to have a love marriage, they were aware that love is not an essential quality in a successful relationship. This notion was specifically discussed by three of the participants. Compromise and respect appeared to be the key ingredients in a successful relationship, love considered as something that grows from having respect for each other:

So you see love is not at first sight, you sort of develop that understanding you know? Understanding, it is more... like I say to my children sometimes, you have got to understand the person, then the love comes automatically. (Mahima)

Unmarried participants were subsequently asked about their parents' views regarding marriage and whether they would be expected to have an arranged marriage, whilst married participants were asked how they felt about their own children's marriages. Most of the unmarried participants felt that their parents had compromised in letting them make their own choice regarding their future partners:

It's my choice. I'd like it to be a love-come-arrangement because...I'd like my family to approve my wedding. (Shalini)

Savita offered a slightly different perspective:

My family is an exception to most Indian families you are going to come across 'cause they are like, they're like, "find who you want to marry, don't come to us, I don't want a part of finding someone for you". I don't think I'll have any problems about who I can and cannot marry. (Savita)

Participants' Views Regarding Dating

Participants were asked whether dating and marriage were issues that were discussed openly with family and friends. Savita, Amrita and Shalini all firmly stated that dating was an issue which, while openly discussed in the company of friends, was never discussed within the family unit:

No, it is never discussed [in the home]... with my friends it is always discussed, like most of the examples in the school everyone talks about arranged, arranged...but my parents never talked about it. (Shalini)

Priya however, stated that while she never had a particular boyfriend, she had lots of male friends and that her parents did not mind her going out with them. She felt that her parents were "very liberal" and consequently dating could be openly discussed in her household. Shalini felt that while her attitudes toward dating had not changed in the sense that she still did not believe it to be appropriate for her, she recognised that she had become more receptive to the idea:

When I was in India I would never have thought about dating before marriage but you know when I came here...you know when somebody asks me, do I want go out with them, I'd hit him then but now I wouldn't go out but I wouldn't hit. (Shalini)

Married participants Ananya and Mahima felt that dating and marriage had always been and could be openly discussed in their households, although Mahima felt that it would have been less acceptable for her daughter than for her sons; she feared, for example, that her daughter "may end up being used by a boy" who would consequently not marry her, but she did not harbour these concerns for her sons. Ananya did not appear to make this same distinction and was happy for her daughter to date, and felt that both her son and daughter would be treated in the same way with respect to their marriages:

I think that parents have become a bit more mellow now because the girls, like if my daughter said she wants to go out with a guy, I don't think I would mind. (Ananya)

When the unmarried participants were asked whether chaperoning was still a procedure employed by parents, two of the respondents, Priya and Amrita agreed. Mahima and Ananya had had chaperones in their engagement period whilst they frequented their future husbands, but felt that today, chaperones were being used so that a girl and boy could date and get to know one another before making the decision to marry. Chaperones were therefore being used as a compromise strategy, enabling parents to allow their children a greater say in selecting their future spouse:

If it is like an arranged marriage that the parents are trying to push on the woman and the woman is like “No I want to get to know the guy first”. Then what you do is, once the families are together and once you are kind of alright about the guy then you kind of...either you get engaged and you go out or you wait for the engagement, you go out a couple of times... with a chaperone around, and then if the guy and the girl are agreeing, because that is what is happening these days, you can't just push people into marriage. So what they do is let them go out with a chaperone around and if they agree they put them into engagement. (Amrita)

Savita and Shalini however, did not believe that dating was an acceptable practice in their community at present, and as a result parents would not need to organise chaperones for their children because they would not be dating in the first place. Savita discussed how friends might go out and there may be a boyfriend and girlfriend amongst this group but she did not really consider this as chaperoning. Shalini felt that the concept was irrelevant, as she did not know of anyone who had tried to date overtly in the presence of their parents:

No [chaperones are not used], I don't think any Indian I know has ever dated in front of their parents; if they are dating then their parents don't know they are dating. (Shalini)

As the focus for this project was directly aimed at women's experiences of dating and marriage, Indian men's experiences were not mentioned very often. A number of interesting indirect comments were made however, in relation to dating practices. Respondents considered men could freely exercise double standards regarding sexual behaviour. Amrita noted that she was warned by her male friends that while it was acceptable for men to “play around” they wanted their wives to be sexually inexperienced:

Indian men tell me... like this is according to my friend, you know he's like: “an experienced man can make out whether a woman is a virgin or not and believe me or not, I don't mind having fun and stuff but I want my wife to be a virgin”...I was like, what the heck you know, but that's how it

is you know, even people of my generation, they are like so chauvinistic.
(Amrita)

Ananya also mentioned incongruence in the treatment of divorced men and women: while women are traditionally expected to maintain their dignity by moving home to their parents, men are allowed to remarry.

Family Conflict over Dating and Marriage

Drawing mainly from the experiences of others, participants were readily able to give examples of conflict with parents regarding boyfriends, dating and marriage. The unmarried participants had not experienced conflict themselves, and the two married women seemed to have had relatively little conflict over their marriages. The most commonly cited reason for conflict was disagreement over a potential spouse due to religious differences:

There's been heaps of complaints... mostly it happens that the girl wants to marry someone that the parents don't agree for some reason, like they are not the same caste... It's not caste anymore, it's more religion. (Savita)

Mahima talked of the conflict that had arisen with her husband when she first moved to New Zealand regarding "the proper way" to do things. Due to the disparities between her traditional Indian expectations and her husband's more Westernised behaviour, there were many arguments regarding how to raise their children. Initially Mahima felt they should be raised according to traditional Indian custom, but she finally came to accept that they were "Kiwi kids".

Implicit in both married participants' responses was respect for the child's happiness beyond any concerns of defiance towards parents. Ananya summed this up succinctly in her statement:

There is nothing you can do because we don't disown our girls and we don't threaten them "get out of the house if you don't listen", you just have to grin and bear it, it is not worth losing your daughter over. (Ananya)

Inter-racial Dating

Although the literature reports in many cases, "a high level of scepticism...with regard to inter-religious or inter-racial marriage" (Talbani and Hasanali 2000:621), all participants, regardless of their age and period of residence in a Western society, expressed a positive and liberal attitude towards the notion of inter-racial dating and marriage. Several participants

noted that race should not be a deciding factor in the search for a suitable partner:

... you feel that you seem to relate well, better than with other people from other communities than from yours... familiarity breeds contempt in a way. What happens is you get like fed up of the same mentality and the same set of thinking [sometimes you] relate better with people from other communities. (Amrita)

In contrast, Ananya stated that she was happy for her children to date with people of different backgrounds but also expressed concern regarding issues that may ensue in conservative Indian society, such as the potential rejection her daughter might face if dating out of her community:

I am not too sure how people would accept... like living here in New Zealand, if my daughter went out with a Kiwi boy or something. It's alright here but I don't know how well it would be accepted in India. (Ananya)

She was also of the opinion that her daughter would not be happy if she married a Western man because she would face many cultural and religious differences that would have an impact on all spheres of the married couple's life. She used the example of vegetarianism to explain her position:

... she is a vegetarian, if she falls in love with someone who is a non-vegetarian she is going to find it hard to cook at home. So then it is going to cause conflict because it is not feasible to eat out every time, and see these are very small things that I think people in the Western world are not aware of. (Ananya)

Both Ananya and Mahima expressed a level of concern regarding how a Western girl might adapt to Indian family life, particularly as it involves a high level of interaction between family members and significant involvement of the potential mother-in-law in the young couple's relationship. Ananya made the comment that "if you marry out of caste, or if you marry below or above your social status, it's going to cause problems".

Using the arranged marriage of her own daughter who she described as "the most Kiwi of all her children", Mahima gave an example of the incongruence between Western and Indian cultural mores:

His parents came out when she was expecting a baby and my son-in-law decided to bring the family because she was pregnant and then there was a good chance that they would never go back. Then they got residence here and my daughter was put off ...she said "it is very difficult Mum"...see she

didn't mind the boy but she didn't want to marry the whole family.
(Mahima)

One stipulation with regard to inter-racial dating that was explicitly mentioned by Savita, Ananya and Shalini, and mentioned implicitly by the others, was that it would be considered culturally inappropriate to date an individual of Muslim faith:

[My parents have] got certain ideas about who I cannot and can date, like I know they would be very upset if I went out with a Muslim, but that's 'cause of the whole India-Pakistan thing you know. (Savita)

In sum, interviews suggest that inter-racial marriages were seen as positive, with the exception of those between Hindu and Muslim boundaries.

The Education and Westernization of Indian Girls

In contemporary Western society it is not only marriage values and customs that are different when compared with traditional Indian culture, but also gender roles. Women have a growing desire for education, and consequently expect to be employed outside the home. This issue was raised spontaneously by both married participants as they highlighted changing attitudes and marital roles for Indian women who had migrated to Western societies, as well as those remaining in India:

When we got married, we were strictly told that whatever is fated for us now you have to live with it but now these girls, they are quite educated and they start to question everything. (Ananya)

Ananya felt that education was the cause of this change in attitude, and that the education of girls was a real "Catch 22 situation"; by not educating girls they would remain vulnerable and reliant on their husbands' financial support, yet educating them would create problems as they established more independence with regard to decision-making:

[Girls are starting] to question everything, "why should I...", you know and again, that leads to, like I said, ego clashes and girls tend to walk off now, out of their marriages, because they are educated and they can earn money for themselves. (Ananya)

Both Mahima and Ananya felt that divorce was rapidly becoming a serious issue within Indian society and attributed the increased levels to both

improved female educational achievement and the growing level of societal westernization:

In our country now people are having a divorce problem just like...see the more advanced you get... the more Westernized you get, the same problems as Western people. (Mahima)

As mentioned earlier, Indian men have traditionally been allowed to remarry, but women have been subject to stigmatism by their community, and have often become dependent on their parents or brothers for financial support. However, Ananya felt that this traditional inequality experienced by divorced women was beginning to change both as a result of Western influences and the education of women:

When a girl became a widow [or divorcee] her life ended at no matter what age, but now even widows and divorcees are starting to get married again, and that's where the Western influence is coming in you know. They are saying 'what's wrong, why should we stop our lives just because our husband left us so that doesn't mean our lives should end'...and that's very Western, girls here [in New Zealand] don't give up there lives. (Ananya)

Discussion

By interviewing seven Indian women who migrated to New Zealand and asking about their experiences with regard to marriage and dating, we of course do not get a representative picture of what these experiences must be like for all female Indian migrants. What we have achieved however, is a description of some of the ways that the women interviewed have dealt with this situation. The strategies they have developed will not necessarily be relevant for other migrant groups, or even for other Indian women, but they can be a useful guide for others in terms of what they might expect when moving to a westernized country which embraces alternative expectations of marriage and dating.

The first finding from our research has been that these women were not opposed to traditional arranged marriages, nor did they personally experience family conflicts as a result of marriage and dating issues, findings which run contrary to broader literature in this area (Singh Ghuman 1994; Wakil, Siddique and Wakil 1981; Zaidi and Shuraydi 2002). They did not wish to embrace traditional values without question, but their contact with divorce and unstable partnerships in Western countries had in some cases, reinforced their appreciation of arranged marriages. Marriage was

recognised as a matter for both family and community, and for those with children exercising more liberal attitudes towards their offspring was seen as preferable to ostracism if the children were to oppose their parents' wishes.

These findings highlight an interesting resolution to an otherwise contradictory situation: there are good reasons for arranged marriages and bad reasons for Western "love" marriages but compromise can be achieved by modifying the ways in which "arranging" is arrived at. This strategy may therefore provide an insight to new migrants if they are faced with the dilemma of preserving or rejecting traditional practices of dating and marriage.

The variations to traditionally arranged marriages were many. Most respondents wanted to have some choice in whom they married; even while accepting the arranged aspect they still wanted to be able to vet proposed suitors or to suggest their own. Most wanted to get to know the person before, rather than after marriage. They also wanted their parents to like and approve of their marriage partner, and were cognisant that the person would have to deal with the whole family and not just their spouse. Finally, they were generally opposed to having an arranged marriage with someone coming from India and they remarked that the marriage had a better chance if the person lived in New Zealand already.

With respect to dating, most saw that it was not a traditional practice but was becoming more common and were aware of the problems it could cause. In particular, the problem seemed to be that having some form of dating followed directly from wanting more pre-marriage contact with partners and getting to know them better. While all participants agreed that this was desirable, there was no clear consensus on "safe" forms of dating. Some thought going out in groups was a solution, others saw problems with this; some saw chaperones as a solution, others thought this not necessary. Hence, our results suggest that there is no clear answer to finding strategies for safe and acceptable dating practices but further research with other groups may provide more insight and innovative solutions.

There was some indication that the issues of marriage and dating caused family conflict between parents and children, although only one interviewee drew from personal experience. The one case of clear conflict that our interviews did illustrate occurred between parents, with the father's more Western and liberal views opposing the mother's who argued for more traditional marriage practices. It might tentatively be suggested that the

likelihood of conflict may be over-stated in the literature, and that further research would shed more light on the subject. Sampling from a broader range of participants with more varied socio-cultural backgrounds would also undoubtedly provide further insights into the incidence of conflict.

Whatever the sampling strategy adopted, relating westernization to family conflict is probably more complex than the literature currently portrays and so merits further investigation. For newer immigrants it could be helpful for example, to distinguish whether potential conflict comes from parents' concerns about the consequences of a new practices or from a worry that it symbolises a break with tradition.

Finally, one of our findings that differs from previous research is that of inter-racial marriage. Most of the respondents were favourable to such marriages, at least in principle, and could see the benefits, although a strong exception to this was that of marriages between Hindu and Muslim partners, which all participants still saw as prohibited, even where the reasons were not clearly stipulated and perhaps not even understood. This finding probably again reflects the more liberal attitudes held by our specific sample, and may not necessarily occur for other socio-cultural groups. A second exception was that while agreeing in principle to inter-racial marriage, the two married women still believed that some problems were inevitable in mixed-race marriages and would lead to conflict even if couples experienced a happy relationship themselves.

What Can Be Passed on to Newer Migrant Groups?

By examining the contextual detail of interviews with seven Indian women, we have identified a number of strategies for dealing with potential problems. Our hope is that as new migrant and refugee groups move to Western countries and some years later encounter these same problems, we can outline ways in which older migrant communities have handled such difficulties. Simply knowing that they are not the first to experience these conflicts will in itself probably give them some assurance. More specific strategies which stem from our research can be identified:

- The best general strategies reported involved compromise and respect - respect between children and their parents, and respect for the communities to which they belonged, with the child's happiness as an over-riding consideration;

- Parents have found ways to influence the company their children keep without being authoritarian and have drawn on other family members for advice and discussion;
- Many children appear to accept parental involvement in their dating and marriage behaviour so long as they do not feel strong pressure is being exerted, and can exercise a degree of choice in selecting their partner and getting to know them. Experimenting with different dating and chaperoning strategies may facilitate these processes;
- Arranged marriages can be positively portrayed as more “foolproof” than those founded on sentiments of romantic love for several reasons: they reflect the influence of family knowledge and experience, may be less likely to end in divorce, are more adaptable to the long-term commitment to the wider family and community, and are less influenced by Western media constructs of the “ideal” marriage;
- Arranged marriages may be more acceptable if prospective partners are identified in the country of migration rather than the country of origin;
- Emphasizing that marriage may also require an ability to live closely with the family and wider community, may alleviate potential group conflict.

To conclude, by studying the broader social context within which marriage and dating occur (Guerin 2004) we are perhaps able to avoid an oversimplified representation of migration and its effects. Diverse communities can be sustained within New Zealand, and indeed they can “compromise” their traditions and yet still remain traditional.

Acknowledgement

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Changing Sex Ratios in New Zealand: Real Change or a Statistical Problem?

PAUL CALLISTER*
ROBERT DIDHAM†
RICHARD BEDFORD‡

Abstract

In New Zealand, in all age groups under 20, and in key working age groups, historically there have been more men than women. Life table data suggest that, without migration, the number of males should remain greater than the number of females until around the age of 60 years. However, census data indicate that the number of New Zealand women residents relative to men in the broad 20-49 age group has been increasing since the 1980s. Given that birth ratios for New Zealand residents favour boys in common with international experience, the imbalance of women over men in the 20-49 age group has to come from four possible sources: 1) differential mortality; 2) more New Zealand born men leaving New Zealand; 3) a higher number of female immigrants; or 4) that statistical collections are undercounting men, and this undercounting has become progressively greater over the past 20 years. In this paper we focus on undercount and, through this investigation, raise some doubts about the validity of either a serious 'man drought' or a major 'surplus of women' in the population.

Historically in New Zealand there have been more men than women in all age groups under 20. This reflects a naturally occurring ratio by which the number of boys born is higher relative to girls. Aside from WWI, the 1918 influenza pandemic, and World War II, there have been more men than women in the prime working and couple-forming age groups (20-49) in official data collected up to the 1980s. However, census data from the early 1980s show that among prime working-age groups this ratio has reversed, with an apparent increasing imbalance

* Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington: Email: paul.callister@vuw.ac.nz.

† Robert Didham, Statistics New Zealand. Email: robert.didham@stats.govt.nz.

‡ Richard Bedford, Population Studies Centre, University of Waikato. Email: rdb@waikato.ac.nz.

between the numbers of women and men in the age group 20–49 years (Callister, Bedford and Didham 2005). Based on these data, New Zealand appears to stand out amongst industrialised countries in terms of the size and direction of this imbalance.

While changes in New Zealand's census-based sex ratios have been discussed informally by demographers, this growing imbalance between men and women in the primary working ages was not recognised by the wider community. In addition, little attention had been given to the reasons why the ratio between men and women at these ages had been changing. However, during 2005 the imbalance was widely reported in the media in New Zealand and overseas, in part through early attention given to some of our own initial research findings and when Australian demographer Bernard Salt declared there was “man drought” in New Zealand and, to a lesser degree, in Australia (Collins 2005, Laugesen and Courtney 2005; Leys 2005; Salt 2005).

In common with international experience, birth ratios for New Zealand residents favour boys and this imbalance in favour of males in the population tends to persist through the age groups until the sixties. Explaining census-based ratios favouring women over men in the 20–49 age group therefore requires consideration of the following: 1) differential mortality; 2) emigration from New Zealand of more men than women; 3) a higher number of female immigrants; or 4) a trend towards larger undercounts of men in censuses and other key statistical series.

In this paper, we focus mainly on the latter issue of a gender-biased undercount in the official statistics. However, before investigating the presence and effect of such an undercount, we summarise our findings on other possible explanations for changing sex ratios. In the discussions of mortality and international migration and their impacts on sex ratios, we use a ratio of women to men.

Possible Drivers of Changes in Sex Ratios

Our initial investigations considered Permanent and Long Term (PLT) migration flows and mortality trends. In terms of mortality, using life tables prepared by Statistics New Zealand for 1970–72, 1980–82, 1990–92 and 2000–2002 we found that sex differences in mortality cannot be completely discounted in explanations for the increasing surplus of women over men in the age group 20–49 years (Callister, Bedford and Didham 2005). This initial

investigation suggested that differential mortality had been contributing in a small way to the growing disparity in numbers of males and females aged 20-29 years especially between the early 1980s and the early 2000s. This can be linked in part to variations in death rates due to motor accidents.

When our research project commenced outward migration seemed potentially to offer the best explanation as to where New Zealand's "missing men" were. We are also aware that data on the characteristics of migration flows are subject to cumulative sample errors over time in a way that limits firm conclusions on changes in sex ratios due to migration.

In an article that was widely reported in the New Zealand media, Salt (2005:1) suggested:

We Australians can't help it if more than 300,000 of your countrymen preferred living in Australia at the time of the 2001 census up from 90,000 in 1976. We didn't entice them; they came of their own volition. Perhaps they were spellbound by our magnetic personality.

Salt suggested that more men than women were migrating to Australia and, based on Australian census data, noted:

During the 1990s Australia too began tithing its 30-something men in particular to other, bigger, economies. This brawn-and-brain drain is leaving Australia with more women than men in the 30- and 40-something age group (p.2).

Certainly our study did confirm that out migration of men rather than feminisation of immigration contributes more to the widening gender imbalance. But with regards to outward migration, given that Australia is the main country of residence for expatriate New Zealanders, we expected to see evidence of there being more New Zealand men than women aged 20-49 in Australia (the mirror image of New Zealand sex ratios). However, the data on the New Zealand-born population living in Australia at the time of the 2001 census there did not show this. Sex ratios amongst the New Zealand-born population resident in Australia in 2001 were remarkably even (Callister, Bedford and Didham 2006).

In the United Kingdom, the second most important destination for expatriate New Zealanders, census data for 2000 did not provide the answer as to the location of the "missing men" – indeed there were more women than men who had been born in New Zealand living in the UK according to census data (Callister, Bedford and Didham 2006). In addition, when we looked for Australia's "missing men" in the UK, the main overseas

destination for Australians, we did not find an excess of men in the key age groups we are interested in. In fact, we found the opposite. This of course, assumes that there is not a greater undercount of New Zealand men than women in the Australian census, or a greater undercount of New Zealand and Australian men in the UK census. It may also be that some of the “missing men” are in other locations throughout the world.

We also initially assumed that much of the change brought about by migration would be due to New Zealand citizens leaving and potentially not coming back to New Zealand or, at least, staying away for a long period. However, while the movement of New Zealand citizens appears to be very important, the actual flows are complex. There is evidence of two contradictory trends contributing to the widening gap in numbers of males and females aged between 20 and 49 years. In the early 1990s, a small surplus of women in the overall net gains between 1991 and 1996 augmented a little the growing female surplus in the resident population. In the late 1990s, net migration losses rather than net gains were found for the population aged 20-49 years, and a significantly greater net loss of males contributed to the growing male deficit in the resident population between 1996 and 2001 (Callister, Bedford and Didham 2006).

While both migration and census data indicate that sex ratios in favour of women are the highest amongst the Asian group, Asians are still a relatively small part of the overall New Zealand population. Therefore, while an inflow of Asian women in excess of Asian men is an important new trend, the reasons for changes in overall sex ratios in New Zealand need to primarily consider what is taking place with the much larger European group, as well as within Maori, Pacific Peoples and the group “Other”. It is therefore, incorrect to characterise these inflows of Asian women as “women flocking” to New Zealand (Collins 2005).

It is difficult to know what drives overall migration flows and in particular, the movement in and out of New Zealand of New Zealand citizens. However, it is our view that the available migration research does not lend strong support to the idea that it was the recession of the late 1980s/early 1990s that directly drove offshore, large numbers of New Zealand men. Yet it is possible that income-earning differentials, particularly in relation to Australia, and which were exacerbated by the recession, were increasingly prompting New Zealanders to seek opportunities overseas.

It is especially difficult to find explanations as to what could be driving “gendered” migration flows, particularly into New Zealand. Historically migrant flows to countries such as New Zealand, Australia, the US and Canada have been dominated by males, so immigrant communities have often been characterized by uneven sex ratios. A change from predominantly male flows to larger international flows of women could reflect, amongst other things, changes in industrial demand. For example in some high income countries there is increasing demand for service workers, including low skilled care workers. It is mainly women who fill these jobs and sources of such workers include the Philippines and Thailand. In line with this thesis (and also the thesis that New Zealand men are marrying Asian brides), the ratio of overseas born women to men from these countries in New Zealand strongly favours women.

As in other industrialised countries, sex ratios in New Zealand are particularly extreme amongst those with tertiary qualifications. Much of this reflects unequal growth in participation in tertiary education, with women greatly outnumbering men in all age groups. However, migration may also be exacerbating this trend. Previous New Zealand research, and international studies, suggest the “best and brightest” are over-represented in the migration flows (Smith 1997; Carrington and Detragiache 1998). But we also know that there is a “brain exchange” rather than a “brain drain” taking place in New Zealand (Glass and Choy 2001). Census data indicate that the ratio of well-educated women to men is more extreme amongst those New Zealand residents born overseas than for those born in New Zealand. This may indicate that there is some gender component to this “swap” as well; we may, to some degree, be “swapping” well-educated New Zealand males for well-educated female immigrants.

All these areas need further investigation. It is also very important to assess whether one of our key data source for such investigations, the five yearly New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, is accurately counting the number of women and men in New Zealand. The issue of potential undercounting of males in the New Zealand census is examined in the next section.

Undercounts in the New Zealand Census

Census data indicate that since the early 1980s for prime working and childbearing age groups, the number of women relative to men in New

Zealand has been increasing. Table 1 shows the ratio of women to men. In terms of actual numbers, census data show that in 1986 there were just over 700 more men than women in the 20-49 age group. This had reversed in the 1991 census, with 13,000 more women than men. This excess of women rose to over 35,000 in 1996 and to just over 53,000 in 2001.

Table 1: Ratio of women to men in the 20-49 age groups, 1966-2001

	1966	1971	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001
20-24	0.96	0.97	0.97	0.96	0.98	0.99	1.02	1.02
25-29	0.97	0.98	0.98	1.01	1.01	1.05	1.06	1.09
30-34	0.95	0.98	0.98	1.00	1.02	1.04	1.06	1.11
35-39	0.93	0.96	0.97	1.00	1.00	1.02	1.05	1.08
40-44	0.97	0.94	0.96	0.99	0.99	1.01	1.03	1.06
45-49	1.02	0.97	0.94	0.96	0.99	0.99	1.01	1.04

Source: Analysis completed by authors using New Zealand census data from 1996 to 2001.

Yet, it is known that there are some problems with census data. In a study focusing primarily on South African sex ratios, Phillips *et al.* (2003) note that in virtually every country in the world, implausibly high ratios of women to men can be found in the younger working ages. They suggest that geographically mobile young men of those ages are undercounted relative to women of the same age.

Statistics New Zealand has carried out post enumeration surveys (PESs) following the 1996 and 2001 censuses. These surveys indicate that the undercount increased between 1996 and 2001, and separate unpublished Statistics New Zealand studies of census errors-of-closure show that undercount have been increasingly a problem since at least 1945. They also show that men are undercounted more than women, that people in their late teens/early twenties have the highest level of undercount and, in part, connected with age structures of their populations, Maori and Pacific Peoples have higher undercount levels.

Overall, the 1996 PES indicated an undercount of 60,000 people whereas the 2001 study indicated this had increased to 85,000. However, given that these were small surveys with relatively high sampling errors, these figures should be regarded as indicative only. The requirement for

independence between census and the PES – where people are randomly missed by census or the PES – may not always be met and can therefore contribute to non-sampling error. Lack of independence can occur when a person missed in the census is more likely to be missed in the PES, for example if they are deliberately avoiding contact with government agencies. As a result, the PES estimates of under coverage are likely to be lower than the true undercount.

Table 2: Undercounts in recent New Zealand censuses (percentage undercount)

Groups	1996	Sample Error	2001	Sample Error
Total	1.6	0.2	2.2	0.4
Male	1.9	0.3	2.6	0.4
Female	1.3	0.2	1.9	0.3
0-14	1.7	0.4	2.7	0.5
15-29	2.5	0.5	3.1	0.6
30-44	1.5	0.3	2.3	0.5
45+	1.0	0.3	1.4	0.3
Maori	3.7	0.7	4.4	1.0
Pacific Peoples	3.9	1.1	5.2	1.6
Asian	-		2.4	0.8
European	1.3	0.2	1.7	0.3

Source: PES Survey, <http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/post-enumeration-survey-2001/default.htm>

Statistics New Zealand also produces population estimates twice a year. The estimated resident populations (ERP) are obtained by updating the census usually resident population count at the census (held in March) for births, deaths and net migration of residents during the period of the latest census to the date of the estimate. The base population is also adjusted for the number of residents *estimated* to be undercounted by the census, as measured by the post-enumeration surveys, and for the *estimated* number of New Zealand residents temporarily overseas. Table 3 uses December, and then June (for 2005) population estimates whereas the census is undertaken in March.

Table 3 compares 2001 Census sex ratios and June 2001 estimated resident population ratios and has the ratios for 2004 and 2005. The excess

number of women in each age group for the census in 2001, the ERP in June ERP data for 2004 and 2005 are also shown.

Comparing the two sources for 2001 data, in the 20-24 age group the census significantly undercounts men, with an apparent small excess of women turning into a significant excess of men. In the other age groups, however, the differences are not that great. While the population estimates strongly reduce the “man drought” effect as a result of adjustments for undercount, residents temporarily overseas and natural increase between census date and the estimates date, there still remains an estimated 35,500 more women than men in the broad 20-49 age group.

Table 3: Comparisons of sex ratios using census data and estimated resident population data

	Ratio of women to men				“Excess” of women		
	Census	ERP June		ERP June	Census	ERP	
	2001	2001	2004	2005*	2001	2004	2005*
20-24	1.02	1.00	0.96	0.96	2,199	-5,930	-6,100
25-29	1.09	1.06	1.03	1.03	10,884	4,310	3,820
30-34	1.11	1.09	1.09	1.09	14,886	12,580	12,570
35-39	1.08	1.06	1.08	1.08	12,105	11,180	11,310
40-44	1.06	1.05	1.06	1.06	8,616	9,040	9,280
45-49	1.04	1.03	1.03	1.03	4,728	4,590	4,620
Total					53,418	35,770	35,500

Source: Census data and Estimated Resident Population data, Statistics New Zealand

* Provisional

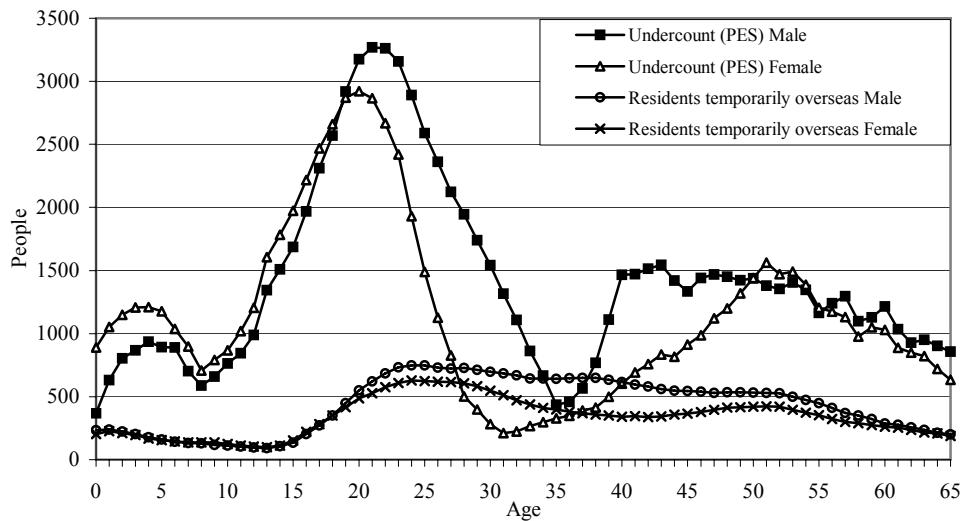
Our research raised many further questions, two important ones being 1) why is undercount getting worse, particularly for men, and 2) is the Post-enumeration Survey still under-reporting men relative to women?

Figure 1 shows an approximation of the age and sex profiles of the official net undercount in the census. As noted above, this must be premised on two key cautions – the data are based on a small sample and, second, the PES report splits the population into four broad age groups, so the single year of age distribution should be treated as purely illustrative of what we know about the age profile. The pattern for residents temporarily overseas is based on actual migration data. What is apparent is that males are

significantly more likely not to be enumerated for all ages from around 20 years to 50 years with relatively little difference between males and females at other ages.

A key consideration was whether migration contributed to the apparent "man drought". One way of approaching this issue is to consider what we might expect the sex ratio to be in the absence of migration. What would the sex ratio be if we were dealing with a closed population? Life table survivorship information provides a useful approach to investigating this possibility.

Figure 1: Age and sex profile of undercount and residents temporarily overseas, 2001



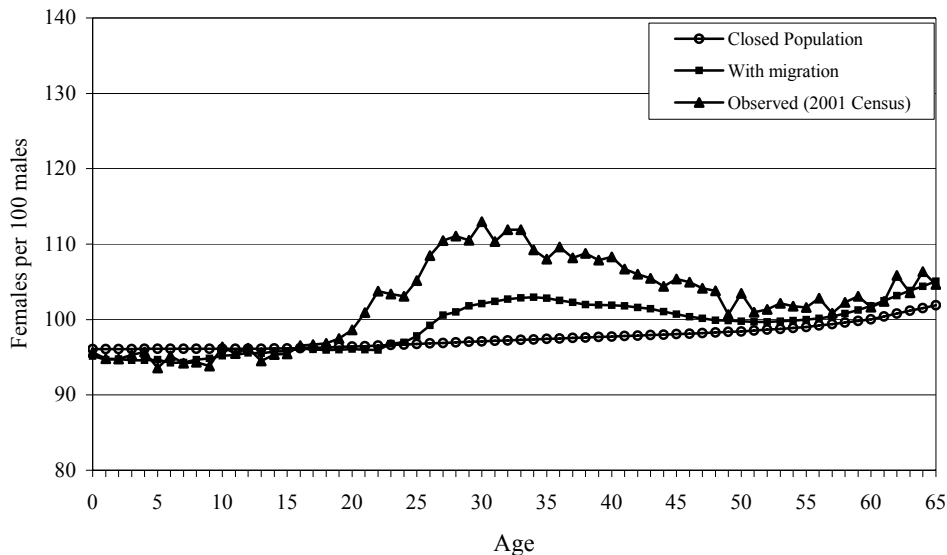
Source: Based on 2001 PES results, <http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/post-enumeration-survey-2001/default.htm>

The sex ratio at birth is attenuated over time by differential mortality, so that by the age of around 60 years the sex ratio is around unity. This is then adjusted (Figure 2) for the effect of PLT migration and compared with the 2001 census enumerated population. Again we see that migration has some effect but the effect of differential under-enumeration in the census is significant. Also noteworthy is that while there appears to be a surplus of women among the younger adults, this surplus vanishes in the fifties.

To measure whether or not this has increasingly become a problem in census data, the enumerated population for each age and sex was compared

with the age of the group at the previous census for each census from 1901 to 2001. For each census up to 1976 the differences could easily be explained by historical events. From 1981 onwards the apparent gain of females is not so easily explained.

Figure 2: Effect of migration and undercount on sex ratio



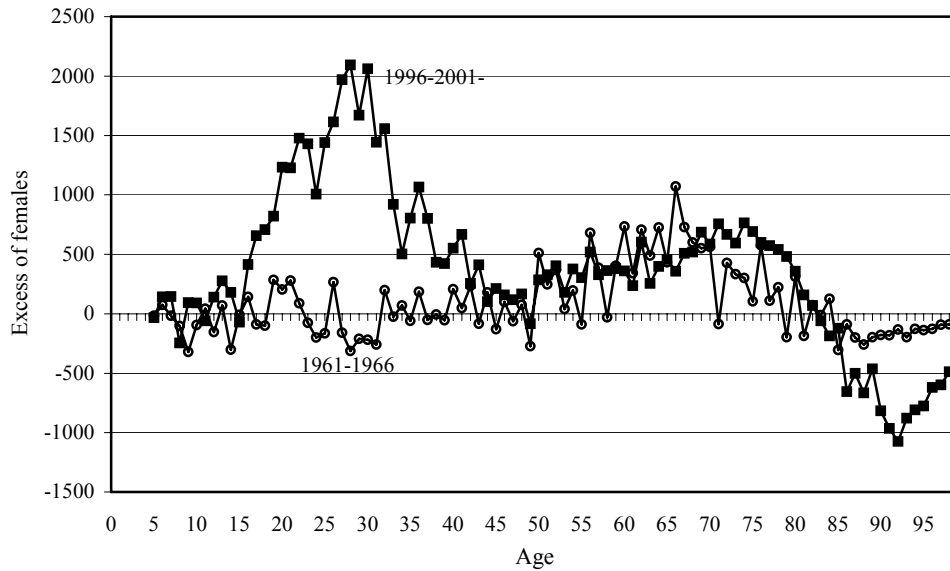
Source: Life tables, migration data and census 2001. Life tables can be found at: <http://www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/nz-life-tables-2000-002/default.htm>

Figure 3 compares the 1961-1966 intercensal period with that for 1996-2001. For the age group we are interested in, 20-49 year, there was a gain of females in each individual age. This same pattern also occurred for each period from 1971 onwards and has increased at each census since 1981. The significance of this is that the change of sex ratio cannot be explained by population ageing and there is a temptation to consider that it is due only to migration since the net gain of females happens in the key migration ages. However, migration data alone cannot account for the magnitude of the female gain.

The net effect of this can be seen in Figure 4, which plots the sex ratios recorded in census data 1981-2001 relative to the 1981 census and adjusted for demographic components of change. Note that this graph plots males per 100 females in contrast to other graphs in this paper which plot females per

100 males. The 1981 data are problematic because of issues with undercount, but they provide a useful starting point for looking at the most recent period. Adding in births and deaths by date of occurrence (Sex Ratio BD) we see the expected gradual rise in sex ratio over time, in complete contrast to the census trend (Sex Ratio A). Even factoring in the effect of migration (both total net migration and net PLT migration) does not radically change the expectations.

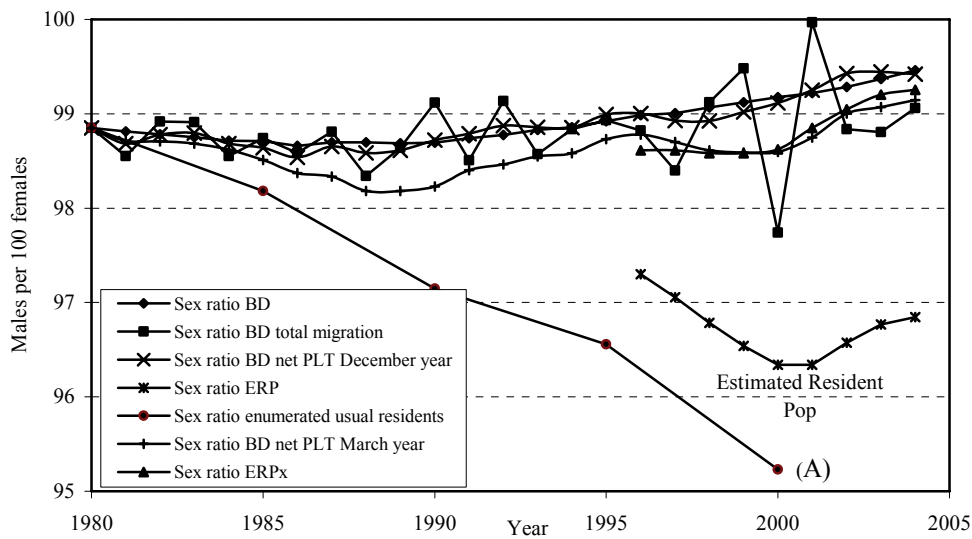
Figure 3: Apparent intercensal gain of females 1961-1966 and 1996-2001



Source: Censuses of Population and dwellings, 1961, 1966, 1996, 2001

The immediate consequence of this discovery leads to consideration of the sex ratio calculated from population estimates. Population estimates are heavily dependent on the census population counts. It was found that this sex ratio (Figure 4, Sex ratio ERP) was lower than we would have expected (sex ratio ERP_x) based on components of change. Statistics New Zealand is currently addressing this issue as part of a review of population estimation methodology.

Figure 4: Comparison of census sex ratios 1981-2001 with 1981 adjusted for births, deaths and PLT migration



Conclusion

This paper has reported on some findings from an exploratory inquiry into a phenomenon that has been present in the New Zealand census data for almost two decades, but which has recently become the subject of much discussion amongst researchers and the wider public. An evocative label, such as “man drought” or surplus is bound to stimulate public interest – climate metaphors are popular at a time of growing concern about global warming - and there is no doubt that the New Zealand media made a great deal of the growing disparity in numbers of men and women in the adult population when it was couched in such terms. However, the various pieces of information we have brought together have raised some doubt about the validity of a man drought or surplus of women of crisis proportions. The way this investigation unfolded demonstrates that while it is important to ensure that statistics attract the public’s interest, the information needs to be presented in a way that clarifies issues and informs debates. To this end we will be continuing our analysis of New Zealand’s migration and census data with a view to establishing why the sex ratios for the population aged between 20 and 49 years continue to widen.

Acknowledgements

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Disclaimer: The opinions expressed in this paper are those of the authors, and do not necessarily, nor are intended to, reflect those of the organisations to which the authors are affiliated.

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Measuring Small Populations with an Ancestry Question in the Census

SIEW-EAN KHOO*
DAVID LUCAS

Abstract

A question on ancestry was included in an Australian census for the first time in 1986, and included again in the 2001 census. There were some differences in the format of the question between the two censuses and in the guidelines given to people on how to answer the question. This paper examines the enumeration of small ethnic groups using the ancestry question and considers the impacts of the differences in question format and instructions on the identification of ethnic origin. It also discusses the effectiveness of the census ancestry question in the enumeration of small ethnic groups and the usefulness of the data collected. While many small ethnic groups were identified, they accounted for a very small percentage of the total population. Specific mention of an ancestry group on the census form appeared to boost its size.

An ancestry question was asked in the Australian census for the first time in 1986 and was asked again in 2001. The question was included in the census in response to "a high level of interest expressed by a wide range of individuals, communities and organisations" (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1984:iii). Australia's long history of immigration has resulted in an ethnically diverse population and with 23 per cent of its population being foreign-born, there is considerable interest in its ethnic composition. The Australian census has normally asked questions on each individual's country of birth, the country of birth of each person's father and mother, language spoken at home and religion.

However, it has been argued that the information collected from these questions is not sufficient to identify some ethnic groups that are diasporic and do not come from their original homeland or are ethnic minorities in their country of origin (Khoo and Lucas 2004:28). Two examples of the

* Demography and Sociology Program, The Australian National University
Email: siewean.khoo@anu.edu.au

former category are Chinese or Indians who have migrated to Australia from a number of countries; an example of the latter category is Maori. The ancestry question also provides information on the ethnic background of Australians who are of third or more generation. However, since they are born in Australia and their parents are also Australian-born, the questions on birthplace and parents' birthplace would not give any information on where their ancestors had come from originally.

The ancestry question was also useful in enumerating small ethnic groups in the population, because of the detailed ancestry coding that the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) adopted for the 2001 census. When the question was first asked in 1986, the ancestry classification comprised 94 specific ancestries and a total of 99 categories including "Other" ancestry, "Mixed", "Not known" "Inadequately described", and "Not Stated". A new ancestry classification, the *Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups*, that had nearly 200 specific groups was developed for use with the 2001 census (ABS 2000) and as a result, many more small ethnic groups were recorded compared to the 1986 census.

The aims of this paper are to discuss the effectiveness of the ancestry question in enumerating small minority groups in the Australian population and the usefulness of the data gathered. The issues of minimum group size, question format, and the effectiveness of the guidelines are considered. The focus is on groups with fewer than 20,000 people.

The Ancestry Question in the 1986 and 2001 Censuses

The ancestry question in the 1986 Australian census was: *What is each person's ancestry?* For example: Greek, English, Indian, Armenian, Aboriginal, Chinese, etc.

The following guidelines were given in a separate booklet distributed with the census form:

"Ancestry" means the ethnic or national group from which you are descended. It is quite acceptable to base your answer on your grandparents' ancestry. Persons of mixed ancestry who do not identify with a single ancestry should answer with their multiple ancestry. Persons who consider their ancestry to be Australian may answer "Australian".

The 2001 Australian census asked the ancestry question in the following format: *What is the person's ancestry?* For example: Vietnamese, Hmong, Dutch, Kurdish, Australian South Sea Islander, Maori, Lebanese.

Provide more than one ancestry if necessary.

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| English | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Irish | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Italian | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| German | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Greek | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Chinese | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Australian | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Other – please specify | _____ |

The guidelines given with the 2001 census were as follows:

When answering this question consider and mark the ancestries with which you most closely identify. Count your ancestry back as far as three generations, if known. For example, consider your parents, grandparents and great grandparents. If you are a descendant of South Sea Islanders brought to Australia as indentured labour around the turn of the century, please answer “AUSTRALIAN SOUTH SEA ISLANDER”.

In both censuses, the first two ancestries specified were coded. While the wording of the question in the two censuses remained more or less the same, there were differences in the format, guidelines and examples provided on how to answer it. Ancestry was defined only in the 1986 census but in 2001 people were only asked to identify the ancestry with which they most closely identified. There may, therefore, be a greater degree of self-perceived ethnic identification in people's responses in 2001 compared to the previous census. In addition, when considering their ancestry, people were asked to go back three generations in 2001 but only two in 1986. Finally, in response to the Australian South Sea Islander community who felt that they had been under-enumerated by the 1986 census, a specific prompt was given in the 2001 census to people with claims to this ancestry so that they might identify themselves.

Classification of Small Groups

The ABS states that its *Australian Standard Classification of Cultural and Ethnic Groups* (ASCCEG) “recognises the self-defined and self-reported ancestries of all Australians and includes ancestries which refer to nations (eg. French), to groups within nations (eg. Maori, Singhalese) and to groups or regions which cross national boundaries (eg. Kurdish, Jewish)” (ABS 2000:12).

In the Oceania region, the main sub-regional groups are the indigenous ancestries including Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders for Australia

and Maori for New Zealand. European sub-national groups include ancestries such as Breton, Flemish, Walloon, Catalan and Basque. The North Africa/Middle East region included Arab and Assyrian besides Kurdish. Many African countries have a diverse range of ancestries and the classification included ethnicities such as Akan, Fulani, Yoruba and Oromo, which can be sub-national as well as cross-national if they are present in more than one country. Many of the sub-national groups are small and only one per cent of Australia's population fall into the sub-national or cross-national groups (Khoo and Lucas 2004:6).

Identification of Small Ancestry Groups

Over 200 ancestries were recorded in the 2001 census compared with less than 100 in 1986 because of the expanded classification used in 2001. Table 1 shows the number of ancestry groups according to size and the percentage of total population that fell within that group size. While there was not much difference in the number of large or medium size ancestry groups recorded in the two censuses, it was evident that many more small ancestry groups were recorded in 2001 than in 1986. The difference in number increased as the group size decreased. There were 25 ancestries with 10,000-19,999 people in 2001 compared with just 11 in 1986 and 51 ancestries with 1,000-9,999 people in 2001 compared with 31 in 1986. The increase in the number of ancestries identified was even larger for groups with fewer than 1,000 people: 68 in 2001 compared with just 6 in 1986. Thus the use of the new classification of ethnic and cultural groups in 2001 with its detailed 4-digit codes enabled many more small groups to be separately identified.

While many more small groups were recorded in 2001 than in 1986, there was not much difference in terms of population coverage. The ancestry groups with fewer than 20,000 people comprised less than four per cent of Australia's population in 2001 and less than three per cent in 1986. Less than two per cent of the total population in both census years belonged to ancestry groups with fewer than 10,000 people.

Since there was no difference in terms of population coverage even though a greater number of small ancestry groups were identified in 2001, the benefits of identifying them depend on the extent to which they are of interest to the public. Some ancestry groups in the 10,000-19,999 range may be of policy interest because of the circumstances of their migration, Bosnians and Iraqis for example, may have special needs because they were refugees or other humanitarian migrants. A number of ancestry groups in the 1,000-9,999 range are also of similar interest such as Timorese, Somali

and Sudanese. However, groups with just a few hundred people are usually of less interest from a policy perspective, no matter the circumstances of their migration, because their small size makes it inefficient for the provision of any culturally specific programs of assistance such as interpreting services.

Table 1: Number of ancestry groups by size and population, 1986 and 2001 censuses

Group Size	Number of ancestry groups		% of population*	
	1986	2001	1986	2001
1 million+	2	3	64	79
500,000-99,999	4	4	18	14
100,000-499,999	11	10	12	12
50,000-99,999	8	12	3	6
20,000-49,999	14	17	4	3
10,000-19,999	11	25	1	2
1,000-9,999	31	51	1	1
<1,000	6	68	<1	<1
Total	87	190		

Sources: Customised tables from 1986 and 2001 censuses provided by ABS.

* Total percentage exceeds 100 because group size is based on first two ancestries. Excluding regional groups such as South Asian nfd (not further defined), "Other ancestry", "Not stated", "Inadequately described" and "Overseas visitors". Group size based on the first two ancestries recorded.

Loss of Ancestry Counts and Its Effect of Small Groups

In an evaluation of the quality of the 2001 ancestry data, Kunz and Costello (2003:22) reported that "the issue that had the most impact on data quality for Ancestry was the decision to code the first two Ancestry responses only, for each person." About 7 per cent of the population reported more than two ancestries and these additional ancestries were not coded. Although in absolute numbers the lost ancestries tended to be those of the larger groups, in percentage terms some small groups were affected quite significantly.

Table 2 shows the extent of loss suffered by ancestry groups with less than 50,000 people, as estimated by ABS (Kunz and Costello 2003). Nearly 60 per cent of the very small groups - those with fewer than 1,000 people - did not lose any people due to coding only two ancestries, which was an encouraging result. But 17 per cent lost more than 30 per cent of their count. These included European ancestries such as Flemish (46 per cent to

173 cases), Breton (45 per cent to 60 cases), Walloon (78 per cent to 14 cases) and Roma/Gypsy (33 per cent to 603 cases). They also included two Pacific Island ancestries, New Caledonian (53 per cent to 173 cases) and Ni-Vanuatu (53 per cent to 311 cases) and the Asian ancestries, Javanese (43 per cent to 597 cases), Mongolian (42 per cent to 415 cases) and Malayali (35 per cent to 91 cases) (Kunz and Costello 2003). While the percentage loss may be large, the actual numbers are still small and most of the groups would still have fewer than 1,000 people even if there were no loss in the ancestry counts.

Table 2: Loss of ancestry counts in ancestry groups with fewer than 50,000 people

Ancestry group size	Percentage lost					Number of groups
	0	1-9.9%	10-19.9%	20-29.9%	30+%	
<1,000	59	4	10	9	17	69
1,000-9,999	26	24	24	20	8	51
10,000-19,999	13	39	39	4	4	23
20,000-49,999	12	29	18	18	23	17
Total	37	18	19	13	13	160

Source: Kunz and Costello 2003

Few of the ancestry groups with more than 1,000 but fewer than 20,000 people lost more than 30 per cent of their counts, which was also encouraging. Those that did included British (40 per cent), Norwegian (42 per cent), Jamaican (51 per cent), Native North American Indian (50 per cent) and Polynesian (45 per cent) (Kunz and Costello 2003).

About one-quarter of all groups with 20,000-49,999 people lost over 30 per cent of their counts. These included three western European ancestries, Danish (45 per cent), Swedish (47 per cent), Swiss (31 per cent), and American (33 per cent) (Kunz and Costello 2003). The effect of this loss for these groups is quite significant, with actual numbers ranging from 20,000 to 32,000.

Impact of Examples and Guidelines

Examples of ancestries indicated on the census form or mentioned in the guidelines given out with the forms can have an impact on ancestry counts because they may prompt people to identify with a given ancestry. Farley (1991) in his analysis of the ancestry data from the 1980 census in the United States suggested that many people were prompted to state English ancestry because the ancestry question was preceded on the census form by

a question on language that asked whether English was spoken at home. Analyses of the ancestry data from the 1986 and 2001 Australian censuses using a cohort approach have also indicated that the ancestries appearing on the census form in 2001 have all shown little change or an increase in size between 1986 and 2001 (Khoo 2005). The seven ancestries that were specified on the 2001 census form with boxes for people to check all recorded counts that were about the same or greater than expected based on their 1986 counts according to three age cohorts and whether people were born in Australia or overseas (Table 3). This was a clear indication that people were prompted to check off the box against that ancestry if they considered the ancestry to be part of their heritage.

It was believed that the substantial increase in the number of people identifying as Irish in the 2001 census (1.9 million) compared with the 1986 census (902,000) was due largely to Irish being the second ancestry listed on the census form with a tick box. In contrast, ancestries such as Scottish and Welsh, which were not listed on the 2001 census form, suffered a 27 and 29 per cent decline in numbers respectively between 1986 and 2001.

Table 3: Ratio of observed to expected ancestry counts in each age-birthplace cohort for ancestries shown with tick boxes on the 2001 census form

Ancestry	Australian-born			Overseas-born		
	Age 0-14	15-29	30-44	Age 0-14	15-29	30-44
English	0.93	0.87	0.88	1.03	1.12	1.11
Irish	2.48	1.84	1.92	2.26	1.84	1.71
Italian	1.22	1.14	1.17	1.36	1.16	1.06
German	1.57	1.28	1.31	1.51	1.23	1.20
Greek	0.98	1.11	1.04	0.96	1.02	0.95
Chinese	1.20	1.34	1.41	1.17	0.87	1.02
Australian	1.42	1.67	1.67	1.51	1.92	1.86

Source: Kunz and Costello 2004:73-83

The impact of specification as an example or reference in the guidelines on a small group is best illustrated by the case of the Australian South Sea Islanders. This group, as mentioned in the 2001 census guidelines, was descended from South Sea Islanders who were brought to Australia as indentured labour in the early 20th century to work in the cane fields of Queensland. After the 1901 Pacific Islands Labourers Act, the entry of South Sea Islanders was prohibited and 7,262 were deported. This left only 1,654 who were exempted (Evans 2001:48), and although some of these

maintained a separate identity, many were absorbed into Aboriginal communities (Gray 2001:91).

Only 521 persons identified as having Australian South Sea Islander ancestry in 1986. The Australian South Sea Islander community thought this number was a gross underestimate of the size of the ancestry group and requested that specific efforts be made to remind people to identify with this ancestry the next time the ancestry question was asked in the census. Thus, Australian South Sea Islander was one of the examples listed on the 2001 census form and a special prompt was included in the guidelines for people who were descendants of South Sea Islanders to identify their ancestry as Australian South Sea Islander. The result was nearly a six-fold increase in the 1986 count to 3,442 in 2001.

“Aboriginal” was an example listed on the 1986, but not on the 2001 census form. Partly because of this, the Aboriginal ancestry count decreased by half between 1986 and 2001, from 186,594 to 94,950. Cohort analyses indicate that less than 40 per cent of the people who identified as having Aboriginal ancestry in 1986 did so in 2001 (Khoo 2005). The decrease in Aboriginal ancestry counts was also due to the inclusion of “Australian” ancestry with a tick box on the 2001 census form, prompting many Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to check off “Australian” in 2001. A tabulation of the ancestry responses of people identifying as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander to the census question on Aboriginality showed that more than half stated Australian ancestry, to which of course, they had a valid claim. Only about one-quarter stated “Aboriginal” or “Torres Strait Islander” as their ancestry (Table 4). In contrast, in 1986 with “Aboriginal” listed as an example on the census form and Australian ancestry not specified with a tick box, over 81 per cent of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people stated “Aboriginal” or “Torres Strait Islander” as their ancestry and only 8 per cent specified “Australian” (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1990).

The British moved from a large ancestry group of 339,627 in 1986 to 14,049 in 2001, a massive decline of 96 per cent (Khoo and Lucas 2004:12-13). The pre-coded ancestry categories used in 2001 appeared to have had an impact, with people identifying as “English” because it was first on the list with tick boxes. There was also a greater number identifying with “Australian” ancestry, which was also on the list.

Clearly, the specification of an ancestry on the census form can increase the size of the group. Thus small groups could benefit significantly by being among the list of examples on the census form. They could, however, also be vulnerable to significant undercounting if ancestries that were specified on the form could be regarded as alternative responses.

Table 4: Indigenous Australians stating Australian ancestry, 2001

Response to census question on Aboriginality	Ancestry response		
	“Australian”	Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (TSI)	Total: Australian or Aboriginal or TSI
	%	%	%
Aboriginal	53.7	24.6	78.3
Torres Strait Islander	41.4	29.5	70.9
Aboriginal and TSI	54.6	26.9	81.5
All Aboriginal or TSI	52.9	25.0	77.9

Source: Khoo and Lucas 2004:65.

African Ancestries

Africans are a fast-growing category in both Australia and New Zealand. The number of people born in Africa in Australia increased by about one-third between 1996 and 2001 to about 120,000, while the number in New Zealand more than doubled to 36,000 over the same period (Dept. of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs 2003:3-7; Statistics New Zealand).

Africans are of interest here because there are several thousand ethnic groups in Africa. In spite of this, the 2001 Australian ancestry question showed that most Africans fitted into national groupings with South African as the largest. However, there were around 7,500 in the "Saharan African, not further described" category while many small ancestries such as Fang, Tutsi and Zulu had disappeared into the "Not elsewhere classified" categories. Only a few African countries such as the Somali Republic, Lesotho and Swaziland have one dominant ethnic group. The 2001 Australian census showed 5,007 people with Somali ancestry (Khoo and Lucas 2004:13). In contrast, Somalia's neighbour, Sudan, has many ethnic groups such as Dinka, and Nuer. The Sudanese numbered 3,788 in 2001 and perhaps realise that many Australians cannot appreciate their ethnic affiliations. Indeed, some Australians believe that their language is "Sudanese". Prior to the inflow of refugees from Southern Sudan in the 1990s, the Sudan-born were mainly Arabic speakers, many of whom were Muslims or Copts.

Because of its ethnic diversity South Africa is known as the Rainbow Nation and has eleven official languages. Since Australia and New Zealand have a non-discriminatory immigration policy, it presumably has little interest in whether these migrants are from the White, Coloured, Asian or

Black population groups, or whether the whites are Afrikaners or "Anglos". However, South African writers such as van Rooyen (2000) are interested in this issue, partly because of the nature of the brain drain from South Africa. Louw and Mersham (2001:313) have forecast that the current wave of emigration from South Africa "has consisted of Anglos, Indians, coloreds, and, for the first time, significant numbers of Afrikaners."

Afrikaner is an interesting small ancestry group of around 1,600 persons in Australia given that the stereotypical emigrant from South Africa was alleged to be an English-speaking white (see, for example van Rooyen 2000:36), and that around 8,000 people spoke Afrikaans at home (Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2003:20). The 2001 Australian ancestry data show that the Afrikaners are considerably outnumbered by about 30:1 by those giving South African as their ancestry. Furthermore, around two thirds of the Afrikaners spoke English at home (Khoo and Lucas 2004:91) and about one fifth reported English/Afrikaner ancestry. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Afrikaans speakers are sufficiently numerous in Auckland for them to have contemplated having their own school but their numbers cannot be easily calculated from the New Zealand data because Afrikaans is not shown as a separate language in the published statistics.

Usefulness of Census Data for Small Ancestry Groups

Considering that less than four per cent of the total population in 2001 was in the 144 ancestry groups representing fewer than 20,000 individuals, how useful was it for them to have been identified and how useful were the data collected?

As mentioned earlier, there were a number of ancestry groups with fewer than 20,000 people who might be of policy interest because of their migration background, for example, because they had been refugees and might need special settlement assistance. These groups, as noted earlier, included Bosnians, Iraqis, Somali and Sudanese.

Ancestry groups with fewer than 20,000 people also included sub-national or cross-national groups such as Assyrian, Armenian, Jewish, Kurdish, Bengali, Tamil and Punjabi, and who would not have been identified from census questions on birthplace or parents' birthplace. Some of these groups, Bengali or Tamil for example, might have been identified by the question on language spoken at home. However, if not everyone of these ancestries speaks the ethnic language at home, then the language question would underestimate the size of the ethnic group. The ability to identify

diasporic groups such as Jewish and Kurdish is useful in the measurement of diasporas and in studies of transnational communities.

In undertaking analyses of the ancestry data from the 2001 census, Khoo and Lucas (2004) reduced the number of ancestries from over 200 to about 130, often by merging small sub-national groups into the national group. Groups with fewer than 1,000 people were usually grouped with others from the same country or region of origin. In analyses by generation, which involved dividing each ancestry group into three sub-groups by generation – first, second and third or more generations – the authors had examined only the major ancestry groups, defined as those with 50,000 or more people. Small group size clearly hinders the disaggregation of the group into sub-groups for more detailed analyses by socio-economic or demographic characteristics.

Loss of Small Groups in the Sample File

While the 4-digit coding and classification of ancestry has allowed many small ethnic groups to be separately identified in the census, these groups were “lost” to analysis when the one per cent household sample file was used. To maintain adequate cell sizes and ensure confidentiality in data analysis, the sample file allowed only the top twenty ancestries to be identified. The file is therefore of no use for examining small ancestry groups, which requires the use of full census counts. This would normally involve a request to ABS for special tabulations which are not carried out free of charge.

Large or Small?

Demographers like large numbers for their cross-tabulations and multivariate analysis. The Australian Bureau of Statistics, for reasons of confidentiality, produces the tables where some cells have been randomly confidentialised, that is, given a value of 0 or 3. In contrast, service providers such as those dealing with refugees, may seek more detail.

As shown above, reducing the number of ancestry categories made the analysis easier to handle, while the questionnaire design pushed respondents into the larger pre-coded categories. Multiple responses also increased the numbers since people reporting two ancestries were counted twice and the responses were not ranked (English/Irish is the same as Irish/English for example).

If changes over time are to be measured it is important that detailed information be retained in the event that a small group increases and

requires separate analysis at a later date. Some (small) groups were not identified separately in 1986 and so their growth in the period 1986-2001 could not be measured, even though they had become more important by 2001. Ancestries that were separately identified and coded in 1986 but increased in size over the 1986-2001 period included Samoan, Bosnian and Afghan.

Conclusion

The ancestry question in the 2001 Australian census together with the use of a detailed 4-digit classification of ethnic and cultural groups has been effective in identifying small ethnic groups in the Australian population. The number of small ethnic groups – those with fewer than 20,000 people – recorded in the 2001 census far exceeded that in the 1986 census. However, these small groups accounted for less than four per cent of the total population and groups with less than 10,000 people accounted for less than two per cent. While many more small ancestry groups were identified in the 2001 census, the proportion of the total population falling into these groups in 2001 was the same as in 1986.

It is unclear at this time how useful the data on small ancestry groups have been. For the first time there is information about the size of several small ethnic groups. This is important because small groups may grow rapidly if, for example, the composition of the humanitarian migration intake changes. However, further analyses of these groups or any disaggregation by geographic location, demographic or socio-economic characteristics is also hindered by their small size. Groups with fewer than 1,000 persons – and there were 68 identified in the 2001 census – have usually been combined with others from the same country or region for data analyses.

ABS's decision to code only the first two ancestry responses has led to nearly 40 per cent of groups with fewer than 1,000 people and 50 per cent of groups with 1,000-9,999 people losing more than 10 per cent of their counts, although only a small minority lost more than 30 per cent.

On the other hand, specific mention of an ancestry as an example on the census form helps to boost counts. Therefore, it helps small groups to mention them on the census form as examples. When this is combined with specific guidelines, as in the case of Australian South Sea Islanders in the 2001 census, the result can be quite a significant count increase.

The specification of seven of the largest ancestry groups with tick boxes on the 2001 census form has ensured that they have maintained their counts, as indicated by cohort analyses of the 1986 and 2001 census data. However,

the inclusion of Australian ancestry as one of the seven with tick boxes appeared to have boosted this count at the expense of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestries. More than half of all people who identified as indigenous in the question on Aboriginality in 2001 ticked the Australian ancestry box rather than specifying their ancestry as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander. This resulted in a substantial decrease in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ancestry counts in 2001 compared with 1986. The implications for small groups of the format of the ancestry question in future censuses should be carefully considered.

Note

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Analytical Frameworks in Ethnic Analysis: Using non-Prioritised Data for Research on Ethnic Inter-marriage – A Research Note

PAUL CALLISTER*
ROBERT DIDHAM†
DEBORAH POTTER‡

Abstract

The international literature on ethnic intermarriage suggests that cross-cultural relationships are becoming more common in many countries. However, the complexity of ethnic data collected and the intermarriage measures used influence the seeming prevalence of intermarriage and create challenges for research in this area. The paper considers five methodological issues in relation to studying ethnic intermarriage: 1) which analytical frameworks to use when considering intermarriage; 2) the effect of differing sizes of ethnic groups on the propensity or opportunity to intermarry; 3) whether to include de facto couples; 4) the effect of the level of ethnic grouping when undertaking analysis; and 5) whether a single measure can be developed to indicate the level of intermarriage in a society.

In 2005, a research project on ethnic intermarriage was undertaken using New Zealand's 2001 census data (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005). While a key aim of the project was to assess levels of ethnic intermarriage among heterosexual couples, an important first step was to consider some methodological issues when studying intermarriage. The present research note expands on this initial methodological exploration and focuses on five main issues: which analytical frameworks to use when considering intermarriage; the effect of differing sizes of ethnic groups; whether to include de facto couples; the effect of the level of ethnic grouping when undertaking analysis; and whether a single measure can be developed

* Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington:
Email: paul.callister@vuw.ac.nz.

† Statistics New Zealand.

‡ Statistics New Zealand

to indicate the level of intermarriage in a society. Previous contributions to the area of ethnic analysis have often focused on the difficulties of producing ethnic time series (eg. Didham 2005). This paper seeks to extend this focus to the use of output types and associated analytical methodology, noting, however, that producing time series becomes even more difficult when considering couples.

Background

Both birth registration data and census data indicate that a small, but growing proportion of New Zealand's population reports more than one ethnic group. In census data this is particularly prevalent amongst the wider Maori and Pacific Peoples ethnic groups, but is also important amongst younger Europeans and Asians. Dual and multiple ethnic responses create some challenges as to how to represent and analyse data.

When multiple responses were first collected in surveys, an initial response by Statistics New Zealand was to use a system of ethnic prioritisation, subsequently widely adopted as standard practice across official agencies collecting ethnic data. However, it was increasingly recognised that prioritised data practices disguised greater proportions of ethnic groups other than Maori, and while the effect is currently greater for the younger population, continued use of this type of measure would have an impact across all age groups over time (see Appendix 1 for examples). Consequently, one of the recommendations of Statistics New Zealand's 2004 Review of the Measurement of Ethnicity was that such prioritisation be abandoned and more use be made of single and combination ethnic groups, as well as total ethnic counts (Statistics New Zealand 2004).

One reason for people recording more than one ethnic group is that they are descendants of either recent or distant ethnic intermarriages. Knowing how much ethnic intermarriage is taking place in society is of interest as such data provide some measure of "social distance", that is, the degree of understanding and intimacy between groups (Bogardus 1925). However, knowing more about intermarriage, including whether it is increasing, may also provide some guide as to how individuals' responses may change because of the close link between intermarriage and ethnic mobility and the associated link between ethnic intermarriage and births registered with multiple ethnicities. This can assist when developing ethnic projections.

Methodological Issues

Which Ethnic Analytical Framework to Use?

In undertaking a study of ethnic intermarriage, there first needs to be an explicit working definition of what constitutes such intermarriage. Initially, this requires a definition of marriage but in many overseas studies, particularly those undertaken in the United States, it refers only to legal marriage. Yet, even in the United States, studies are now suggesting it is important to consider de facto couples and to study the “dating” patterns of single people (Joyner and Kao 2005). Joyner and Kao question whether people in fact become more selective in terms of ethnicity (and other characteristics) as they make the transition from relatively casual first relationships to cohabitation, and then to legal marriage.

De facto couples are an important group in New Zealand, particularly amongst young people and Maori (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005).¹ While for some people cohabiting is part of a transition to marriage, as evidenced by the high level of partnering in census and low marriage rates, many New Zealanders do not make this transition. As will be illustrated, excluding de facto couples has a significant impact on rates of intermarriage, particularly for Maori, and it is therefore essential to include this group in New Zealand studies of intermarriage. Yet this inclusion is a potential first barrier to developing international comparisons.

For New Zealand researchers multiple ethnic responses have an impact on the definition of what constitutes ethnic intermarriage. Such a definition is relatively simple if ethnic groups do not overlap. With single responses, (artificially achieved when the system of prioritisation was used) an endogamous marriage would be where both partners were from the same ethnic group. This would not be considered intermarriage but within-group marriage. In contrast, exogamous unions, where the partners were from different ethnic groups, would be considered to be ethnic intermarriage. Following this type of definition, where people can report more than one ethnic group and more than one ethnic group is available for analysis, some patterns of marriage simultaneously include endogamous and exogamous unions. To some extent, it can be argued that prioritised ethnic data reflected social norms of the time. Historically, for instance, a Maori and Maori-European union might have been considered endogamous – that is

within-group – mostly because of the New Zealand convention of seeing “half-castes” more as Maori than as European.²

As already discussed, Statistics New Zealand (2004) has recommended abandoning ethnic prioritisation and instead, has put forward two options for dealing with dual and multiple ethnic responses. These are that the standard output for ethnicity data be single and combination responses, as well as total response data. The single and combination output places each person in a mutually exclusive category; that is, they are allocated to a single category, based on whether they have reported either one or more than one ethnicity. A person who gave only “Maori” as their ethnic group would, for example, be included in the “Maori only” category, but one who gave “Maori” and a “Pacific Peoples” ethnic group would be included in the “Maori/Pacific Peoples” category.

Some of these group combinations are quite small, especially for adults. In addition, if all these combinations are used for individuals and then for partners for the analysis of intermarriage, the number of possible combinations becomes very high. This becomes especially problematic if other variables such as education are considered at the same time.

The other option for studying intermarriage is to use total ethnic counts or total response. 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 individuals are counted in all the groups to which they belong. In many analytical circumstances this is not a problem. However, multiple ethnicity remains hidden in total count data and the unsophisticated reader may forget the existence of overlap between groups and fail to take this into account when interpreting data. In this case, hidden multiple ethnicity can be particularly problematic when dealing with ethnic intermarriage. As discussed, when using total counts it might seem that there is intermarriage between people from two distinct ethnic groups, yet one partner may already be 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, or may be reflecting ethnic mobility as one or both partners change their ethnicities over time. A third problem with total counts is that they cannot be used in some statistical techniques such as log-linear modelling that are commonly applied when considering ethnic intermarriage.

Table 1 is a hypothetical example based on one couple and Level 1 ethnic group classification (see Appendix 2 for ethnic groupings). In this example, both partners record Maori and European ethnicity. This is not an insignificant group with over 4,500 couples fitting this category in 2001. This compares with just over 22,000 couples where both recorded Maori only. When recording the ethnic intermarriage outcomes there will be four combinations. One will be where both partners are Maori and another where both are European, that is, two endogamous unions indicating no ethnic intermarriage. Another two will be where one partner is European and the other is Maori, and this could be seen as an exogamous union, an example of ethnic intermarriage.

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

The different measures used can provide quite different results in particular areas as is illustrated in Tables 2-4. To provide an idea of how measures of intermarriage are likely to have been presented in the recent past, Table 2 is based on the old system of ethnic prioritisation. Table 3 shows total counts, and Table 4 main single and dual responses. To simplify the illustration, only men’s marriage rates are shown.³ All the tables are based on Level 1 ethnic groups.

When Tables 2-4 are compared, a number of patterns stand out. First, the various measures used do not make a major difference when *within-group* marriage is being considered for the main ethnic groups. For example, when the European group is considered under the old prioritisation system, 93 per cent of men had a partner from the same group, but if total counts are used this rises to 96 per cent (where one of their partners’ ethnic groups is European), but is again 93 per cent when the single European only group is considered. That the prioritised and European only data are the same is to be expected, given that European was a residual group under the old system of prioritisation.

Table 2: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, prioritised data, 2001

		Female					Total	Total stated
		European only	Maori	Pacific not Maori	Asian not MP	Other not MPA	Total	Total stated
Male	European only	93	5	1	1	0	100	590,334
	Maori	43	53	3	1	0	100	65,175
	Pacific not Maori	15	13	71	1	0	100	30,102
	Asian not MP	6	1	1	92	0	100	40,602
	Other not MPA	30	3	2	4	62	100	4,137

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Note: MP is Maori or Pacific Peoples, while MPA is Maori, Pacific Peoples and Asians

Table 3: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, total counts, 2001

		European	Maori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	Total	Total stated
Male	European	96	6	1	2	0	104	616,878
	Maori	58	53	4	1	0	117	65,169
	Pacific Peoples	25	15	70	2	0	112	31,683
	Asian	9	2	2	90	0	102	41,808
	Other	36	4	2	4	60	107	4,266

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Table 4: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men, opposite sex couples, main single and selected two ethnic groups, 2001

		Female								Total (including other categories)
		European only	Maori only	Pacific only	Asian only	Other only	Maori /Euro*	Maori/Pacific Island*	PI/Euro*	Total (including other categories)
Male	European only	93.0	1.9	0.5	1.3	0.1	2.6	0.0	0.2	590,331
	Maori only	33.0	53.6	1.9	0.4	0.1	9.0	0.6	0.7	41,712
	Pacific only	11.2	7.0	73.9	0.4	0.0	3.5	0.8	2.1	26,865
	Asian only	4.5	0.3	0.7	93.7	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	39,657
	Other only	25.7	0.8	1.3	3.6	66.1	1.2	0.0	0.2	3,630
	Maori/European*	63.1	9.4	1.5	0.9	0.1	21.3	0.4	1.7	21,336
	Maori/Pacific*	26.0	33.7	11.7	1.1	0.0	18.7	2.6	2.9	822
	Pacific/European*	51.2	8.3	10.8	1.3	0.1	15.3	0.8	8.6	2,688

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Note: *People of Maori/European ethnicities exclude those who are also of Pacific or Asian ethnicities. Similarly, Maori/Pacific exclude those who are also European or Asian and Pacific/European exclude those who are also Maori or Asian. However, in each case they may also have ethnicities in the "Other" category as we did not want to lose any numbers out of these important combinations due to an "Other" group also being recorded. In reality, the inclusion of "Other" makes little difference to the results because the number of cases is very small.

Where the differences are stronger is in areas such as Maori/European intermarriage. Under the prioritisation system, 43 per cent of Maori men had a European partner, primarily because of the relative effect of prioritisation on these two groups. With total counts this rate of Maori/European intermarriage rises to 58 per cent, but under single groups is reduced to 33 per cent. These are significant differences and the three measures could be used to tell quite different stories about the rates of ethnic intermarriage. What researchers and policy makers need to consider is which story most reflects the real world.

While we have shown the effect of using prioritised data, for the reasons set out in Statistics New Zealand's review of ethnicity, we do not recommend that it be used when studying intermarriage in New Zealand. Instead we recommend that, in the first instance, total count data be used, although recognising that they disguise some important patterns and, as will be shown in the next section, cannot be used with some analytical techniques. Therefore, while consideration may have to be given to removing or amalgamating some of the smaller ethnic combination responses, any detailed analysis of intermarriage trends should use single and multiple ethnic response data.

Size of Ethnic Group

A number of overseas studies have shown that the relative size of an ethnic group is important in terms of actual out-marriage rates⁴ and perceptions about the social distance between the particular group and others (eg. 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 simply by 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 per cent 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 partner.

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) and in early migration, there were more

Dalmatian men than women. In some situations, ethnic sex ratios can become quite extreme, as in 2002 for example, when it was estimated that (taking the prison population into account) there were 26 per cent more African American women than men in the community in the United States of America (Muwakkil 2005). Given that education also strongly influences assortative mating choices, then the ratios by education within ethnic groups can matter as well. Amongst Maori and Pacific communities there are now significantly more educated women than men (Ministry of Education 2006). Sex ratio imbalances, either in absolute terms or with the influence of educational achievement, can encourage ethnic intermarriage.

Two main analytical techniques are used in overseas studies to determine the effect of group size on intermarriage rates. One is log-linear analysis, a powerful modelling method when the effect of a number of variables, such as size of group and education, are being considered at the same time. However, this method requires single categorical ethnic groups and cannot be used with total count data. Therefore either prioritised data or single and multiple ethnic data would need to be used using this method. The other main method is that of odds ratios. Again, total count data cannot be used. In earlier New Zealand research on ethnic intermarriage Westbrooke (1997) used an odds ratio to calculate the ratios of diagonals in tables showing the ethnicities of both partners in couples. We use an even simpler method to show the effect of group size, which we call a “partnering ratio”. This involves estimating the size of each cell, had random assortative mating of the male and female population taken place.⁵ Then a ratio is calculated of actual outcomes in each cell relative to predicted outcomes. If the number is above 1, then the actual outcome is higher than would have been predicted, indicating that the group has some propensity to marry within itself (see Appendix 3 for more details on the methodology used and the baseline data).

Table 5 shows these partnering ratios for main single and dual ethnic groupings. This demonstrates that European only men were 1.2 times more likely to have a European only partner than random sorting would predict. This indicates that while the intermarriage data show relatively few European men have a partner who is not European, this is primarily due to differences in group size rather than a very strong propensity to have a partner from the same ethnic group.

In contrast, Maori only men were over 10 times more likely to have a Maori only partner than random sorting would predict. Therefore, while based on the initial intermarriage data in Tables 1-3 which show that Maori have a very strong propensity to marry outside their group, when these data are considered it suggests that the propensity to marry within group is actually quite strong.

Table 5: Ratio of actual to expected outcomes in each ethnic combination had there been random sorting, opposite sex couples, main single and selected two ethnic groups, 2001*

		Female							
		European only	Maori only	Pacific only	Asian only	Other only	Maori/Euro	Pacific/Euro	
Male	European only	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.6
	Maori only	0.4	10.2	0.5	0.1	0.1	2.6	6.0	1.8
	Pacific only	0.1	1.3	21.5	0.1	0.1	1.0	7.3	5.1
	Asian only	0.1	0.1	0.2	14.9	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
	Other only	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.6	150.7	0.4	0.0	0.6
	Maori and European	0.8	1.8	0.4	0.1	0.1	6.1	4.1	4.1
	Maori and Pacific	0.3	6.4	3.4	0.2	0.0	5.3	23.6	7.0
	Pacific and European	0.6	1.6	3.1	0.2	0.3	4.4	7.2	20.5

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

* A ratio above 1 indicates that the actual outcome is higher than random sorting would predict

Is There a Difference between Married and De facto Couples?

As discussed in the introduction, the decision as to whether to exclude de facto couples has a significant impact on rates of ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand. This is because de facto couples are, on average, younger than married couples so newly developing age-related trends will show more strongly in this group. It is also possible that these relationships may be more experimental so partner choices may differ from the choice of a marriage partner. The differences in intermarriage rates are illustrated in Table 6, which uses total count data to show the partners of men in 2001.

Table 6: Percentage of partners in each ethnic group for men by marital status of male, opposite sex couples, total counts, 2001

		Female					
		European	Māori	Pacific Peoples	Asian	Other	Total %
Male	European						
	Legal Spouse	96	4	1	2	0	<i>103</i>
	Other Partnership	93	12	2	2	0	<i>109</i>
	Total	96	6	1	2	0	<i>105</i>
	Māori						
	Legal Spouse	61	49	4	1	0	<i>115</i>
	Other Partnership	56	58	5	1	0	<i>120</i>
	Total	58	53	4	1	0	<i>116</i>
	Pacific Peoples						
	Legal Spouse	22	11	75	2	0	<i>110</i>
	Other Partnership	41	30	48	2	0	<i>121</i>
	Total	25	15	70	2	0	<i>112</i>
	Asian						
	Legal Spouse	7	1	1	92	0	<i>101</i>
	Other Partnership	34	9	5	60	0	<i>108</i>
	Total	9	2	2	90	0	<i>103</i>
	Other						
	Legal Spouse	33	3	1	4	65	<i>106</i>
Other Partnership	72	13	5	6	15	<i>111</i>	
Total	37	4	2	4	60	<i>107</i>	

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Table 6 shows that for de facto couples, within-group marriage is lower amongst European, Pacific Peoples, Asian and the Other men, but higher for Maori men. However, in all ethnic groups the row totals for de facto couples (other partnership) are higher than for married couples, reflecting more “double counting” due to multiple responses among de facto couples.

The “double counting” simply reflects the fact that younger people who have a greater likelihood to have a partner outside their ethnic group are also more likely to individually record more than one ethnic group, and are also more likely to be in a de facto relationship. But when age is considered, the data indicate that this does not explain all the differences. There also appears to be a cultural component to this pattern, with Maori in particular more likely than Europeans to live in a de facto couple. A more detailed analysis has shown that this applies across all age groups (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005).

How Level of Ethnic Aggregation Can Change Inter-marriage Rates

The measurable level of ethnic intermarriage will also depend, to some degree, on the classification systems used to define ethnic groups, as well as the level of aggregation. If Level 1 ethnic groups are used then a union is only considered intermarriage if it is across these groups, for example a Maori with a European partner (see Appendix 2 for Level 1 and Level 3 group examples). At this level of analysis, marriage between a Samoan and a Tongan (both Pacific people – or ethnicities), a German and an Irish person (both European), between a Chinese person and a Korean (both Asian) or between an Algerian and an Inuit/Eskimo (both Other) would not be considered intermarriage. Yet the social distance – and even geographic distance – between some of these groups in the past has often been great. While international comparisons of ethnic intermarriage rates are problematic anyway because of differing definitions of ethnicity or race, they are also difficult because of the different ways in which countries group their ethnic/race responses. For example, in New Zealand, while Asians and Pacific Peoples are separate high-level groups, in the US these two groups are merged.

One of the more interesting results emerging from our research has been that there is a considerable variation in the level of intermarriage when ethnic responses are considered at a finer level of detail. Further, within the Pacific, Asian and Other groups, where individuals do not have a partner from the same ethnic group as themselves (for example Samoan with a Samoan partner), then often they were also unlikely to have a partner from the same broad level ethnic group (in this example, not Samoan but another Pacific group such as Tongan) (Callister, Didham and Potter 2005).

This finding can be explained in part by the fact that a significant number of New Zealanders are born overseas, particularly amongst Pacific Peoples, Asians and those classified as “Other”. New Zealand is at the high end of industrialised countries in terms of the number of overseas born residents and this affects our “marriage markets” (Dumont and Lemaître 2004). A number of these immigrants will be arriving in New Zealand as couples, and for many, while they are part of a minority group in New Zealand they may have represented a majority in the country where their marriage took place.

However, the finding also suggests that social distance between people within high level ethnic groups may be as important as social distance between them. In turn, this suggests that some caution should be exhibited when using broad Level 1 ethnic groups for social analysis in New Zealand. While there may be some strong group characteristics, such as the broad geographic area people originally came from, other cultural and social characteristics within a group may be quite diverse. For example, Tokelauan and Niuean males are more likely to have partners with other Pacific ethnicities than are Samoan or Cook Island Maori males. Considerably more research is required to explain this further, though it is clear that aspects such as birthplace and migration histories are major factors, alongside the level and direction of social interaction between Pacific communities.

Can a Single Measure of Intermarriage Rates Be Developed?

Finally, can a single measure be developed that indicates the propensity for intermarriage in a society, that is, a measure that demonstrates that a certain proportion of the population is intermarried? Given the complexities of intermarriage, we do not believe it is useful to try and develop a single measure. As already indicated in the discussion, issues such as how dual and multi-ethnicity are handled, as well as the level of ethnic group to be considered would have a strong influence on any single measure developed. We consider that if a time series of intermarriage rates were to be developed using consistent census data, then it would be better to focus on the changes for particular groups at the broad Level 1 ethnic groupings.

Further Methodological Issues

There are some important methodological issues this paper does not investigate. For example, in our study of ethnic intermarriage we used 2001 cross-sectional census data, and this means that potentially important interactions between cohort, age and period effects cannot be explored. We examined changes in intermarriage rates by age and showed that rates were higher amongst younger people. A conclusion from this is that younger cohorts are more likely to intermarry and that this effect is likely to flow through to older age groups over time. However, Joyner and Kao (2005) make the point that it is possible that younger people are “experimenting” with relationships, often within a de facto couple, and that as they move into

more long term relationships they may be less likely to choose someone outside of their ethnic group. Longitudinal data would be needed in order to fully explore cohort, age and period effects.

A second important issue that we do not investigate is that cohabitation or marriage itself may alter the recording of ethnic affiliation or ancestry of individuals. Waters (2000) draws on life course research to suggest that “when some people marry, they change their ancestry to match their spouse” (p.1736) and this also has the potential to change the ethnic group(s) to which they belong. As an example of changing recorded ancestry, Waters suggests “if a woman who was Italian and Polish married an Italian man, it is likely that she would drop the Polish ancestry and that both spouses would report they were Italian” (ibid). According to Waters, this raises the issue of whether studies that are trying to assess whether ancestry affects the choice of partner may, in fact, be measuring the opposite phenomena, that is, the choice of partner then affects an individual’s choice of ancestral and, potentially, ethnic identity. In New Zealand, we may be able to consider these phenomena when looking at 2006 census data. For instance, following the media attention on the census category “New Zealander” as a write-in ethnicity option, did couples use this option as a unifying response? Such research will however be clouded by the lack of certainty about who completed each individual’s forms.

Beyond the choice of partner, the maturation of the partnership is a further factor in ethnic mobility, but this is not measurable from census data because we do not have any information on people's ethnicities prior to their partnering. If the assumption is valid that there is a tendency for partners to adopt each other's ethnicities, the actual incidence of inter-ethnic partnering may be more prevalent than the data suggest. Again, longitudinal data would be needed to explore such questions of ethnic mobility.

Conclusion

The international literature on ethnic intermarriage suggests that cross-cultural relationships are becoming more common in countries such as Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States. In many of these countries the level of ethnic intermarriage is seen as one measure of social distance between ethnic groups.

This paper shows that by using a variety of measures, ethnic intermarriage is also important in New Zealand, but that the types of

measure used do have some influence on the seeming prevalence of intermarriage. First, the level of ethnic group used in the analysis is important; the more detailed the ethnic group used, the higher the rate of intermarriage. Second, the way in which dual and multiple ethnic responses are counted is important for certain types of analysis, in particular an analysis of marriage to other groups by Maori. Third, the size of a group also matters when considering intermarriage rates. Propensity for intermarriage by a particular group using simple rates of intermarriage can be misleading if population size is also not considered. Finally, we suggest that including de facto couples is important in a New Zealand context.

While a range of measures should be used when undertaking detailed investigation of intermarriage, when considering broad patterns of across-group marriage, we suggest that total counts are a useful tool as a starting point because of their simplicity. However, any detailed study of ethnic intermarriage needs to consider at least the main single and combination data, even though some combinations of ethnicities have small populations. This is particularly the case if researchers use data below the Level 1 ethnic grouping. Single and combination data should always be used in conjunction with total response data as denominators for deriving rates for the relevant groups. Statistics New Zealand is phasing out the use of prioritised data as standard output across all official statistics. We concur with this recommendation because prioritisation eliminates ethnicities provided by the respondents in a systematic way thus distorting measures of inter-group diversity. We therefore conclude that the most robust approach to the analysis of ethnic intermarriage in New Zealand is to use both total response data and single/combination data. This allows fair treatment of each ethnic group at the same time as allowing measurement of diversity within and between groups.

Finally, while attempts to develop consistent international measures are always attractive, we suggest that this is not a realistic goal for two reasons. First, there is some variation between countries as to the type of union included (such as legal marriage and registered civil unions versus de facto relationships), even when the analysis is, as here, restricted to opposite-sex couples. Second, ethnic (and in some cases racial, ancestral or nationality) categorisations vary quite considerably across countries, both in the way they are defined and the way they are collected. As shown, there are major

difficulties in providing a simple definition of ethnic intermarriage and then developing a single measure of the rate of intermarriage in each country.

Notes

- 1 The 1996 census data indicated that 30 per cent of all Maori in relationships were in a de facto relationship; the corresponding figure for Europeans was 13 per cent. However, this partly reflects different age structures of the population.
- 2 We would like to thank Tahu Kukutai for raising some of these issues about measuring intermarriage.
- 3 While focussing on men only simplifies the illustrations, in some areas of behaviour there are important differences between women and men. For example, it is much more common for a European man to have an Asian partner than for an Asian man to have a European partner.
- 4 Out-marriage is marrying outside one's ethnic group.
- 5 This "partnering ratio" has been used in relation to analysing assortative mating by education and ethnicity in New Zealand by Callister (1998). We are grateful to an anonymous referee for assisting us in clarifying our thinking in regards to how to measure the effect of group size on intermarriage rates.

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Appendix 1

Percent of each ethnic group lost by prioritisation 1991,1996, 2001 by Age										
Ethnicity	Census	Age (years)								Total
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45+	
European	1991	11.57	8.11	5.42	4.44	3.50	2.79	2.04	1.06	4.72
	1996	24.45	19.41	14.74	11.85	10.05	8.19	6.62	3.29	10.96
	2001	24.04	17.20	15.36	12.45	9.12	7.44	5.93	2.57	10.00
Maori	1991	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	1996	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	2001	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Pacific	1991	18.45	9.48	5.00	4.41	4.11	2.54	1.68	0.96	9.24
	1996	30.03	20.86	12.77	8.66	7.84	7.82	5.62	4.43	16.78
	2001	29.49	18.54	14.38	9.12	6.45	6.38	5.83	2.64	15.75
Asian	1991	10.74	9.60	6.32	3.81	2.66	2.88	3.62	3.11	6.05
	1996	13.30	8.52	9.25	8.23	5.34	4.23	4.02	4.70	7.98
	2001	10.45	4.54	4.83	5.18	4.12	2.71	2.40	2.53	5.11
Other	1991	13.87	9.93	5.06	4.86	2.97	2.30	1.16	2.62	6.49
	1996	19.84	16.95	12.63	8.07	6.74	8.85	7.45	5.28	11.97
	2001	14.40	8.10	7.84	5.52	3.43	4.45	4.10	3.85	7.73

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Appendix 2

Level 1 ethnic groups and examples of Level 3 ethnic subgroups

Level 1 European

New Zealand European
Celtic
Dutch/Netherlands
Polish
German
Australian
Icelander
Russian
South African

Level 1 Maori

Māori

Level 1 Pacific

Samoan
Cook Island Maori nfd
Atiu Islander
Rarotongan
Tongan
Niuean
Fijian (except Fiji Indian/Indo-Fijian)
Vanuatu Islander/New Hebridean

Level 1 Asian

Asian nfd
Filipino
Vietnamese
Thai/Tai/Siamese
Taiwanese Chinese
Indian nfd
Bengali
Korean
Bangladeshi
Nepalese

Level 1 Other

Algerian
Israeli/Jewish/Hebrew
Jordanian
Argentinian
Mexican
Black
Kenyan
Inuit/Eskimo

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

Appendix 3

To calculate the partnering ratio shown in Table 5, the data in the table below were used as a baseline. To calculate the number of couples in each cell if random assortative mating had occurred the following formula was used:

percentage of female respondents in a particular group multiplied by the percentage of male respondents in that group as a proportion of the total number of couples.

For example, to calculate the number of European couples had there been random assortative mating the computation is $0.808 \times 0.801 \times 730,308 = 472,661$. The actual number 548,781 is then divided by the expected number of 472,661 to give a ratio of 1.2 times as many actual couples relative to what would have been expected had random sorting taken place.

Number of actual couples in each main single and selected two ethnic groups, opposite sex couples, 2001

		Female									Total
		European only	Maori only	Pacific only	Asian only	Other only	Maori/ Euro	Maori/ Pacific	Pacific/ Euro	All other groups	
Male	European only	548,781	11,178	3,237	7,815	699	15,252	147	1,446	1,770	590,325
	Maori only	13,752	22,338	786	153	24	3,738	270	312	339	41,712
	Pacific only	2,997	1,872	19,860	102	12	933	213	573	306	26,868
	Asian only	1,776	138	279	37,149	30	93	3	30	156	39,654
	Other only	933	30	48	132	2,394	45	0	9	33	3,624
	Maori and European	13,461	1,998	315	189	12	4,542	96	363	363	21,339
	Maori and Pacific	213	276	96	9	0	153	21	24	27	819
	Pacific and European	1,377	222	291	36	3	411	21	231	96	2,688
	All other groups	1,647	261	216	183	27	408	21	78	438	3,279
	Total	584,937	38,313	25,128	45,768	3,201	25,575	792	3,066	3,528	730,308

Source: Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

ANDREW D. TRLIN, PAUL SPOONLEY and NOEL WATTS

New Zealand and International Migration: A Digest & Bibliography No. 4

Department of Sociology, Social Policy & Social Work, Massey University,
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International migration has been a major feature of New Zealand's history and is an important factor influencing almost all aspects of social life. Immigration is more than just an inflow of population, because immigrants bring with them various cultures and traditions that may influence those of their adopted countries. As a result, the policies and programmes that regulate immigration, both with respect to size and composition, will surely influence the future of New Zealand society. It is not surprising then, that immigration is a widely debated topic in policy circles and beyond. Recent immigration waves have resulted in the arrival of new immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds and this has raised many important questions about their integration and adaptation into New Zealand society, as well as issues surrounding national identity and citizenship.

These themes and issues are the subject of the latest of four volumes in a valuable series edited by Trlin, Spoonley and Watts. Immigration is a highly active research field in New Zealand, and is reflected in the number of entries which appear in the bibliography section of this book, and which have in fact more than tripled since the first publication in this series. This publication has five chapters which deal with wide ranging issues related to immigration policy, print media representation of immigrants, nationalism, citizenship, and employment of immigrants.

The first chapters by Richard Bedford, Elsie Ho, and Jacqueline Lidgard entitled, *From Targets to Outcomes: Immigration Policy in New Zealand, 1996-2003*, outline the changes and amendments to New Zealand immigration policies occurring since the mid-1990s, a major feature of which has been the shift from a target-based to an outcome-based focus. During this period, policy focussed on ensuring that labour market needs were being met, rather than on accepting all those who met a specified points target. The second chapter by the same authors entitled, *Arrivals, Departures and Net Migration, 1996/97-2002/03*, presents useful detailed statistical information on arrivals, departures and net migration. Data clearly point to the uncertainty in net migration trends resulting from a wide range of economic, social and

political forces and events in New Zealand as well as in the source countries of immigrants and the destinations for emigrants.

The increasingly diverse composition of New Zealand society along with a growing sense of independence from the colonial past and quest for competitive advantage in the global market are increasingly reflected in a range of developments relating to citizenship and national and cultural identity.

The chapter by Kate McMillan entitled, *Immigration, Nationalism and Citizenship Debate in the 1990s*, explores the idea of “national” citizenship as it featured in political discourses in New Zealand during the 1990s. The two debates about national identity and national sovereignty discussed in this chapter clearly illustrate the extent to which the idea of a ‘national’ community in New Zealand had become problematic during a period of rapid ethnic diversification.

Paul Spoonley’s chapter entitled, *Print Media Representations of Immigration and Immigrants, 1993-2003*, addresses the way in which changes arising from immigration and their impact, have been debated and understood by New Zealanders. Spoonley systematically outlines the key themes portrayed by the media in relation to issues concerning Asian immigrants, refugees, crime and the economic integration of immigrants, suggesting that some unfortunate examples of stereotypical reporting have sometimes been given. By the same token, Spoonley also acknowledges improvements to the way in which the media have provided more variation and detailed coverage of immigrants and immigration.

The question of how easily immigrants from a wide range of backgrounds adapt to the New Zealand environment has become an important issue in recent times, particularly in terms of economic integration, their welfare and their contribution to New Zealand’s economy. The final chapter by Noel Watts and Andrew Trlin entitled, *Enhancing the Productive Potential of Diversity: Issues in the Employment of Immigrants*, explores issues related to the employment of immigrants and is based on data collected for the *New Settlers Programme* at Massey University. The authors focus in particular on the employment of non-English speaking immigrants in terms of equity issues and productive diversity. Their study identifies deficiencies in the effective management of diversity in the workforce, which contributes to under-utilisation of the linguistic skills, cultural knowledge and experience of non-English speaking immigrants.

This collection of articles, along with its exhaustive bibliography, represents a very valuable contribution to the growing body of literature on migration research. The volume provides useful reference material not only for the academic community, but also for those who are interested in international migration and its impact on New Zealand society. The book provides a very interesting read.

Arvind Zodgekar
Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington