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superu



Families and Whānau Status Report

2017

Our purpose

The purpose of the Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (Superu) is to increase the use of evidence by people across the social sector so that they can make better decisions – about funding, policies or services – to improve the lives of New Zealanders and New Zealand’s communities, families and whānau.

This report is published as part of a research series that meets the statutory requirement for Superu to publish “an annual Families Status Report that measures and monitors the wellbeing of New Zealand families”. (Families Commission Act 2003, section 8)



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ISBN 978-0-947489-87-8 (print)
ISBN 978-0-947489-88-5 (online)

Learn more at: superu.govt.nz/statusreport



Acknowledgements

Superu would like to thank all the individuals and organisations that contributed to the publication of this report.

In particular, we acknowledge the assistance, expert advice and contributions from the following organisations and people:

Families Commissioner: Len Cook

Superu's Whānau Reference Group: Haami Piripi, Dame Tariana Turia, Dr Te Kani Kingi, Dr Tahu Kukutai, Graham Bidois Cameron, Season-Mary Downs and Aarian Gage-Dingle

Superu's Social Science Experts' Panel: Professor Richard Bedford, Professor Helen Moewaka Barnes, Professor Paul Spoonley, Professor Sally Merry

Guy Beatson, Darin Bishop, Candice Clifton, Nicola Grace, Yelena Hill, Nathaniel Pihama, Hinerangi Barr and others at Te Puni Kōkiri

Scott Ussher, Shari Mason, Litia Tapu and others at Statistics New Zealand and Superu staff

Conal Smith for his advice and peer review on the social networks and multiple disadvantage chapters

Those who participated in the multiple disadvantage reference group workshops including: Bronwyn Impson, Daniel Miles, Debra Small, Tony Clark, Kirsten Sharman, Brenda Crane, Melodie Gribben, Peter Salter, Donna Provoost, Kathleen Logan, Steven Youngblood, Michelle Griffin, Scott Ussher, Shari Mason, Telesia Siale, Simon Wakeman, and Dionne Steven.



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Te Ritorito 2017: opportunities and challenges for whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing	Kahukore Baker
Bridging cultural perspectives – families and whānau	Bev Hong and Vyletta Arago-Kemp

Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to give effect to the security and confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of Superu, not Statistics New Zealand.

Executive summary

Families and whānau play a pivotal role in our society. Healthy individuals in healthy families are at the heart of a healthy society. They can give members a sense of identity and belonging; care, nurture and support children; provide socialisation and guidance; and they manage the family's emotional and material resources. Being part of a family is the most significant socialising influence in a person's early life. Given that childhood disadvantage strongly predicts costly adult life-course outcomes,¹ a high level of family wellbeing is important both for individuals and for the societies in which we live.



Families and whānau are both a vehicle for policy and a target of policy for improving outcomes for New Zealanders. They are expected to deliver positive outcomes for younger and older members, and for those experiencing illness or disability, when they perform their core functions well. This year's work has put a spotlight on where families and whānau face different kinds of challenges depending in part on where they are in their life course, in part on whether they live alone or with a partner, and in part on the quality of their interpersonal relationships. Our research has highlighted the close link between social interaction and family and whānau wellbeing and the value of reciprocity and social connections.

¹ See: <http://dunedinstudy.otago.ac.nz/news-and-events/article/53> – Findings from the Dunedin Longitudinal study.

This is the fifth report in an annual series examining family and whānau wellbeing in New Zealand. This omnibus report presents six projects undertaken in our family and whānau work strands in the past year and the key themes and implications from looking across this work.

OUR RESEARCH SIGNALS THE NEED:

1. for whole of family approaches that:
 - reflect families' histories, environments, circumstances and responsibilities
 - strengthen resilience to enable them to manage the various challenges that arise over time
 - recognise the inter-connectedness between individuals and their families, and families and their communities
2. for tailored and integrated approaches that build on strengths, help address multiple challenges and work towards independent functioning
3. for family and whānau-relevant policies and programmes developed and implemented in a culturally relevant way
4. to value and resource building capacity and capability to work from and across both Te Ao Māori and "Western" perspectives across the social sector.

We begin by presenting the broad themes and implications we have drawn from our research relating to the four needs presented above. This is followed by an overview of each of our six research initiatives:

A. Patterns of multiple disadvantage across New Zealand families:

develops a measure of multiple disadvantage and explores patterns of disadvantage using 2014 General Social Survey data.

B. Resilience in the face of adversity:

summarises recent literature on at-risk children who go on to achieve good outcomes and contributing factors.

C. New Zealand families and their social support networks:

looks at family and friend support networks using 2014 General Social Survey data.

D. Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga:

examines how well Māori think their whānau are doing and the factors associated with positive perceptions of wellbeing using 2013 Te Kupenga (Māori Social Survey) data.

E. Te Ritorito 2017 – opportunities and challenges for whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing:

overviews and presents the initial outcomes identified at this forum which was jointly hosted by Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri.

F. Bridging cultural perspectives – families and whānau:

uses our work as an example of an approach that involves two different cultural perspectives or worldviews: a more traditional "Western" and a Te Ao Māori perspective.



A whole of family focus

Applying a whole of family focus to current and proposed policies will increase the likelihood that they are responsive to families' needs and produce positive outcomes for all their members. There is a need to:

- look at the whole family – in working with both adults and children we need to take into account their histories, environments, circumstances and responsibilities
- build on strengths – recognise and promote resilience and help families to build their capacities
- grow the resource and capability required within the state sector to support family wellbeing.

In practice, this means that policies that target individuals – be they children, adolescents, independent young people, young parents or older people – need to be reviewed in the context of the type of family in which those individuals live. Will the policy strengthen or weaken individual and family resilience? Will it promote the wellbeing of the wider family?

A whole of family focus should also take into account the connections between family and community and policies that promote or limit activities or services at the community level. Cultural, sporting, social and service groups, churches and schools can provide positive support and valuable networks for family members and play an important role in promoting positive relationships within families and across the community. The power of a strong community has been very evident in responses to the Kaikoura earthquake, the Auckland housing crisis and the Edgcombe floods, with volunteers of all ages coming together to respond to a crisis. Policies that support community connectedness will also support family resilience and wellbeing.

Tailored and integrated support for families

The circumstances of families who face multiple challenges are complex and varied. Our research shows that although some families who face multiple challenges go on to have positive outcomes, other families struggle to address these challenges. Ideally, for this latter group, the level, intensity and type of support available should be tailored to their circumstances, build on families' strengths, help address challenges and work towards them being able to function independently. Early intervention, as soon as a problem emerges, by those best placed and trusted by families, is likely to be by far the most effective response.



It is important that families that face severe and multiple challenges, at whatever stage of their life course, are able to obtain intense support, including accessible, affordable, and timely services, to prevent adversity and provide effective support. Families under the greatest pressure are often least able to navigate service pathways. Culturally appropriate support tailored to family resources and needs, for example through family-centred support initiatives, can knit together relevant interventions, through integrated services. This is also the time to reduce or manage exposure to chronic stress, for example, a mental or physical illness or disability, or the behavioural challenges and learning difficulties associated with conditions such as autism, drug and alcohol problems, family violence or poverty. Early intervention and prevention policies and programmes can have a significant impact in these situations.

A greater proportion of single parents experience multiple disadvantage than other family types. The government currently has a number of initiatives to support single parents, for example, by providing access to training and other forms of social support. Given the relatively high proportion of single parents with pre-school age children facing multiple challenges, tailored culturally and community relevant integrated service pathways are particularly important.

Supporting whānau networks and relationships

The release of Te Kupenga provided the first statistical analysis of who Māori saw as their whānau, and what factors contributed to self-assessed whānau wellbeing. Te Kupenga provided evidence that the vast majority of Māori (99 percent) thought of their whānau in terms of whakapapa (genealogical) relationships. A much smaller proportion (about 13 percent) also included ‘friends and others’ among their whānau.

There are multiple contributors to whānau wellbeing. Efforts to support and strengthen whānau must involve support for whānau networks and the relationships between whānau members. Efforts to support whānau to thrive also require supporting individual whānau members to live their lives in a way that is meaningful and gives them satisfaction.

Promoting social and community connections for older people on their own

New Zealand has an aging population with demographic changes showing that older people are working and living longer. Our research suggests that initiatives that promote the development of social networks and community connections for older people living on their own may become more important as our population ages. The shifting needs of the labour market with increasing automation and technological change, may lead to increasing numbers of older people on their own faced with the challenge of job loss. This is also a time when they may increasingly be faced with age-related health concerns. Having good social and community connections would help them manage such challenges should they arise.



Building on a legacy of intergenerational Kaupapa Māori growth and development

A recurring theme from Te Ritorito 2017 is that work on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing is grounded in an intergenerational legacy of seminal Kaupapa Māori research and development. Our current research draws on this platform to understand and contextualise current and existing trends, create new opportunities and map future journeys in whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori development. Three of the key features identified from Te Ritorito 2017 for building on this legacy are:

1. the need to articulate and explore conceptual and measurement challenges
2. that identifying relevant measures of whānau and whānau wellbeing is an ongoing journey
3. the presentation of a framework to guide thinking about interrelationships across whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions.

Conceptual and measurement challenges need to be articulated and explored

At Superu, our Whānau Rangatiratanga Frameworks are ‘roadmaps’ for making decisions about whānau wellbeing evidence, data and statistics. A key theme articulated in all our reports and again at Te Ritorito 2017, is the importance of developing a platform, from within a Māori world view, for collecting, analysing and using evidence about whānau wellbeing. This is to:

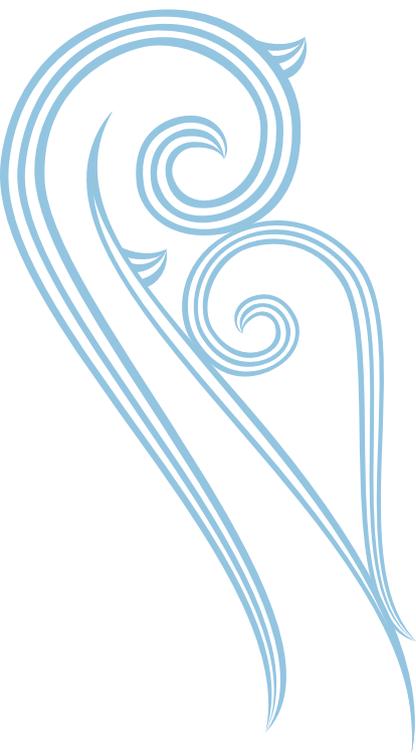
- identify evidence and statistics about whānau that Māori say matters
- interpret statistics from a Māori perspective
- show the need for change in statistics about Māori.

Identifying relevant measures of whānau and whānau wellbeing is an ongoing journey

While there is a significant legacy of Kaupapa Māori research about whānau and wellbeing, at the start of our whānau wellbeing work there was a dearth of statistics and measures about whānau. This is because the datasets available were geared to individual measures, with ‘household’ the best proxy measure available. Consequently, there are significant data gaps between available measures and what whānau may see as important measures of wellbeing.

Putting it all together – a guide for thinking about whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions

The framework presented by Sir Mason Durie at Te Ritorito 2017 provides a guide for thinking about whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions. It articulates the importance of whanaungatanga and whakapapa to support whānau as mediators of wellbeing. The framework also articulates principles for the development of policies and measures. Consequently the framework is a good starting point for discussions between and within the Treaty partners in supporting whānau wellbeing (See page 15).



Building capability for both ‘Western’ and Te Ao Māori based perspectives to inform our work

As New Zealand moves into a post-Treaty settlement era, there is an increasing need for government and iwi to work together to build potential and resilience, and address challenges for families and whānau and all New Zealanders. To do so successfully requires capacity, capability and open engagement. A collaborative strength and understanding would provide new insights, ways of working, and opportunities for success.

To shift to such an approach requires increased capability by government to work in a way that is informed by Te Ao Māori perspectives and further development of research, knowledge and evidence.

Essentially, there is a significant need to grow greater inter-sectoral understanding and collaboration framed within, and/or informed by Te Ao Māori perspectives. This helps us to understand how cultural concepts frame decision-making about values, priorities, measures, evidence and programmes. Developing policies and programmes that are relevant to whānau requires an integrated approach that respects and is informed by Māori values and priorities.

Te Ritorito 2017 highlighted the need to support the continued growth of relevant data collection and evidence creation from a Te Ao Māori perspective and the importance of building workforce capability in this area. The He Awa Whiria-related Bridging Cultural Perspectives work that Superu’s dual stranded families and whānau research is based on, highlights the importance of a considered approach. This will require a shift in thinking from what is sometimes an “Add-on” – get a “Māori perspective” added-on at the end of a project – to an “And-And” way of thinking which acknowledges, respects and supports both evidence platforms equally.

Developments such as the Integrated Data Infrastructure and Māori Data Sovereignty create new opportunities and challenges to support whānau to develop their own evidence to drive decision-making and investment. At the same time, greater data access creates further challenges where both Treaty partners require resourcing to effectively engage with and support these aspirations.

Ultimately the drive for a social investment approach across government needs to be enabled by the research, knowledge and evidence on whānau, hapū, and iwi wellbeing articulated at Te Ritorito 2017. In particular, there was a strong call at the forum for the Crown to resource whānau, hapū, and iwi to develop their own evidence base.



Overview of projects

A: Patterns of multiple disadvantage across New Zealand families

Previous research has shown that the most vulnerable families in New Zealand tend to face multiple and complex challenges requiring support from a range of agencies and organisations. However, there has historically been no common definition within the social sector to identify families facing multiple disadvantage and monitor their stock and flows.

With its multiple disadvantage research project, Superu has tried to address this gap by developing a measure of multiple disadvantage for the New Zealand context using indicators from the General Social Survey 2014 and input from a cross-sector governmental reference group with representation from eight government agencies. This measure includes sixteen indicators corresponding to eight life domains: education, health, income, housing, material wellbeing, employment, safety, and social connectedness. Superu has used this measure to explore the number and type of disadvantages experienced by New Zealand families.

While our exploratory analysis found that most New Zealanders (82%) lead lives relatively free of disadvantage, a significant minority (18%) face disadvantage in three or more of eight life domains, our definition of multiple disadvantage.

The number of disadvantages faced differed by family type (see Figure 1 below). With the exception of single parents, families further along the life course tend to have a greater number of domains in disadvantage. Where partnered families experienced disadvantage, it tended to be in just one or two domains with 14% or fewer individuals in these three family types facing three or more domains in disadvantage.

Single parents with young children have a rather different pattern to the other family types and were much more likely to experience multiple disadvantage. Around half had three or more domains in disadvantage and just 12% had none.

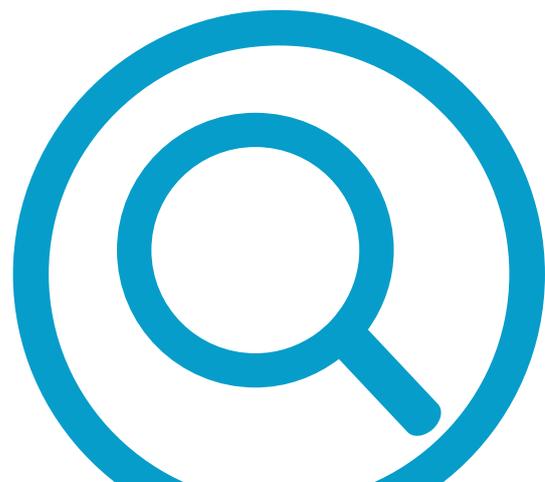
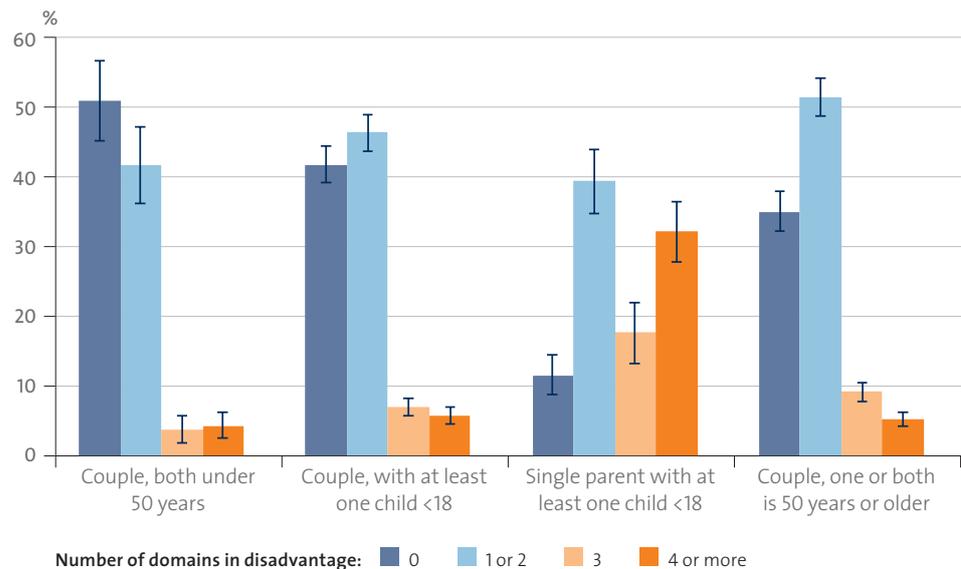


Figure 1 _ Family type by number of domains in disadvantage (% of group)



Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

We found that some life domains are more likely to be in disadvantage across all the family types than others. Education, Health, and Income are most common while Employment, Connectedness, and Safety are least common

Family type influenced the kinds of disadvantage experienced by those families with multiple disadvantage. Housing and income domains were most commonly in disadvantage for multiply disadvantaged **young couples** and **couples with young children**, while for **older couples without children** disadvantage in Health and Education domains was most common.

Single parents with young children had a similar pattern to **couples with young children** but were more likely to have disadvantage in Employment and Income and slightly less likely to have disadvantage in Housing.

We will be developing this project further to examine the effect of multiple disadvantage on family wellbeing and whether there are particular types or combinations of disadvantage that have a greater impact on family wellbeing than others. This analysis will help policy makers understand which groups may need wrap-around or integrated services, and how disadvantages combine to have an effect greater than simply the sum of their effects individually.



B: Resilience in the face of adversity

Families that are resilient achieve success in the face of adversity. Our research showed that a warm, loving, nurturing and supportive family environment is associated with a broad range of positive outcomes, be it in education, mental health or adult relationships. It also showed that resilience is a process – it happens over time and in different ways, but strong healthy relationships are at its heart. Māori participants shared many of the same resilience strategies as non-Māori, but the way they conceptualise and enact them can be different for whānau. Our participants identified five interrelated themes: whānaungatanga (whakapapa/kin group relationships that can extend beyond kinship groups); manaakitanga (caring for and hospitality to others); kotahitanga (unity, togetherness, solidarity); wairuatanga (spirituality); and rangatiratanga (self-determination).

The report concluded that family resilience can be strengthened by:

- promoting the development of positive, supportive relationships and networks
- providing early intervention for families and whānau, both to prevent adversity and to provide effective support when it occurs
- taking a whole-of-family approach to addressing the multiple and complex issues within families and whānau
- helping families to build effective family processes that they can draw on in times of adversity
- providing accessible social and health services, such as counselling, to support children and adults in their healing process
- providing support later in life
- ensuring that policies and services for Māori focus on the health of the whānau (e.g. through the Whānau Ora approach) and on the need to strengthen the capability and capacity of whānau to grow in all the areas of resilience.

C: New Zealand families and their social support networks

The contribution of the wider family or whānau networks, many of whom provide practical and emotional support to families on a regular basis or in times of crisis, needs to be acknowledged.

Our research has shown that most New Zealanders have family and friends who can help and support them. In the 2014 NZ General Social Survey, over two-thirds of New Zealanders said they had three or more family members to support them; the same proportion said they had three or more supportive friends. Less than one percent of people said they had no family or friends to support them.

Not surprisingly, living with a partner is associated with having a bigger network of friends and family who can help and support. In our research, nearly all the people who lived with a partner could count on the family they lived with for help and support. Single parents and older people living alone had fewer people they could call on for help than other family types.

Young and older people living alone were also at risk of isolation, especially when they were feeling low. This group was least likely to have someone they could call on when they were sick or to talk to when they felt depressed.

D: Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga

For many Māori the wellbeing of whānau is just as important as the wellbeing of the individual, if not more important. Over the last decade there has also been growing interest in whānau wellbeing as a focus for study and public policy. This research reports on an analysis of Te Kupenga (Māori Social Survey) data interpreted in the context of the Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework. The research focuses on the intersection of whakapapa and human resource potential and considers how these and other factors relating to the four capability dimensions support an enhanced sense of whānau wellbeing.

The project examines two key questions:

- How well do Māori think their whānau are doing?
- What are the critical factors associated with positive perceptions of wellbeing?

Nearly three-quarters of Māori adults felt positive about how well their whānau are doing. Only 6.3 percent of respondents reported a wellbeing score below 5 on a scale of 0 to 10.

Two measures stood out as most significant for whānau wellbeing:

- the quality of interpersonal relationships (individuals' perceptions of how well their whānau get along and the level of whānau support)
- individual life satisfaction and feelings of loneliness.

Age is an important influencer of how Māori assess their whānau wellbeing – assessments appear to be more positive at younger and older ages. Gender also influences self-reported whānau wellbeing, with women being more likely to report high levels of whānau wellbeing than men. Material factors such as income adequacy and housing were correlated with wellbeing, but their impact appears to be most influential at the lower end of the wellbeing scale. Access to support was also strongly associated with self-assessed whānau wellbeing. Nearly 30% of those who had very easy access to general forms of support reported that their whānau were doing extremely well, compared to less than 12% of those who found it hard to access support. One in four of those who found it very hard to access general support also reported that their whānau were doing badly.

The analysis showed that there are multiple contributors to whānau wellbeing and improving whānau wellbeing is not about a single factor or even a single domain. Supporting and strengthening whānau wellbeing requires a multifaceted approach that includes social and human resource potential as well as economic factors.

The researchers conclude that from a policy perspective, efforts to support and strengthen whānau must involve support for whānau networks and the relationships between whānau members. Efforts to support whānau to thrive also require supporting individual whānau members to live their lives in a way that is meaningful and gives them satisfaction.



E: Te Ritorito 2017: Towards whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing

Te Ritorito 2017 was an inaugural wellbeing forum held on 3-4 April at Pipitea Marae. The forum was part of a collaboration between Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri that has been under way since 2012.

Te Ritorito 2017 comes at a time where there is a significant body of theory, evidence, policies and programmes to support whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing. Te Ritorito highlighted that the work under way on whānau and/or Māori wellbeing frameworks, evidence and measures needs to develop its own comprehensive narrative, which is either sourced in or informed by Mātauranga Māori.

The discussion at Te Ritorito 2017 identified the need to draw together the practicalities of finding evidence to make better decisions, alongside the emerging needs from the growth of Māori-specific programmes, including Whānau Ora.

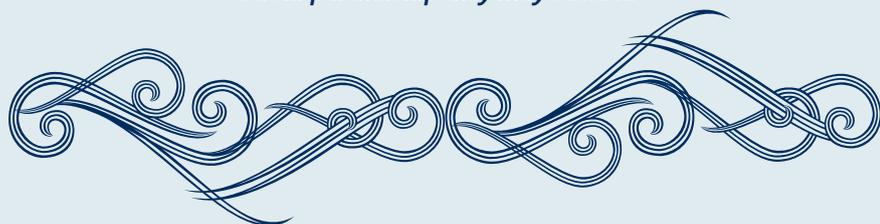
The forum highlighted the need for greater visibility of a legacy of rich conceptual thinking and frameworks, and the very serious challenges that new developments in information and technology bring across the social sector.

A key goal of Te Ritorito 2017 was to highlight:

- the growing body of research and evidence under way in the state sector to inform decision-making around whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing
- the innovative development and implementation of Whānau Ora from the perspective of iwi, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Commissioning Agencies, and whānau at the flaxroots
- future directions, opportunities and challenges.

A matrix of key themes considered concepts and wellbeing frameworks, the research and evidence base, and policy and programme implementation, in terms of the past, present and future. Participants from both government and iwi-related perspectives were represented with a common focus on improving the wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi. Early in the forum Justice Joe Williams articulated the following sentiment as to the significance of Te Ritorito 2017:

'You see this is why this forum is so important. Whanaungatanga is the great challenge of the Post-Settlement era. Government can't do it; iwi can't do it; but in partnership they may succeed'.



Eminent researchers and practitioners spoke at the forum and there were several recurrent themes. Among these, speakers highlighted:

- The potential tensions and impact of different world views of whānau, hapū and iwi.
- The range of existing and emerging conceptual and measurement whānau and/or Māori wellbeing frameworks, which are either sourced in or informed by Mātauranga Māori.
- The need to develop statistics and data from a Te Āo Māori perspective.
- The importance of finding out what works in implementing whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing.
- The increasing impact of data and new technologies on individuals and on whānau, hapū and iwi.

At the end of the forum, Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie presented a new framework drawing across the themes and presentations of Te Ritorito 2017 to identify a way forward. This framework conceptualises research, evidence and implementation as ‘the glue’ across work under way by both Treaty partners. This is then reflected in three wellbeing dimensions – whānau, policy and measurement – with their associated principles or elements as depicted in Figure 2 on the next page.

While the implications, opportunities and challenges arising from the forum are yet to be fully scoped, Te Ritorito 2017 suggested four broad areas of focus for further consideration. These are to:

- Establish interagency working group/s to strengthen collaboration on whānau and Māori wellbeing frameworks, measures and evidence.
- Resource the Treaty partnership to:
 - support whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori to develop their own evidence to drive decision-making and investment
 - build Crown capability to effectively engage with and support the aspirations of whānau, hapū and iwi
- Engage with the Māori Data Sovereignty conversation
 - identify opportunities and challenges for both Treaty partners that arise through greater flexibility of and accessibility to data and information
- Te Ritorito 2017: continue the journey begun at the forum.



Figure 2 _ A Māori Wellbeing Framework: Three Dimensions

Presented by Sir Mason Durie at *Te Ritorito 2017: Towards whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing*. 4 April 2017. Pipitea Marae.



F: Bridging Cultural Perspectives – families and whānau

From the outset, the families and whānau wellbeing work has undertaken research from two different cultural perspectives or worldviews: a more traditional “Western” and a Te Ao Māori perspective. This approach has been adopted to acknowledge and reflect the Treaty of Waitangi and to acknowledge Māori as the Tangata Whenua. The journey taken over the past five years in advancing these two knowledge strands is reported in the annual status reports that have been published since 2013. At times along the way there have been different views about what research path to take, for example, whether the two knowledge streams should be brought together to become one or should always remain separate.

These questions are addressed in the Superu project Bridging Cultural Perspectives. This project aims to better understand, articulate and provide markers for undertaking work involving different cultural perspectives so that each perspective retains its own integrity. The Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach has evolved in consultation with an Experts Steering Group, drawing from the He Awa Whiria – Braided Rivers², and Negotiated Spaces³ models and workshops and wānanga.

Taking a Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach positions our families and whānau work as one which undertakes, shares and makes research accessible from two cultural perspectives. Our work also helps to build understanding about the implications of our research for families and whānau. The two strands are separate research paths that are interpreted within their own worldviews with insights and knowledge gained from being progressed together within one research programme and organisation.

Working collaboratively with people external to Superu with the skills and knowledge to advance each of the research strands has been an essential element for moving forward. Key markers for working with integrity highlighted by this approach are: Partnership (collaboration), Protection, Participation, Respect, Honesty, Relevance and Reciprocity.

2 Macfarlane, A, Blampied, N & Macfarlane, S, (2011) 'Blending the clinical and the cultural: A framework for conducting formal psychological assessment in bicultural settings', *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 40: 5-15.

3 Smith, L, Hemi, M., Hudson, M., Roberts, M., Tiakiwai, S.-J., & Baker, M. (2013). Dialogue at a Cultural Interface: A Report for Te Hau Mihi Ata: Mātauranga Māori, Science & Biotechnology. Te Kōtahi Research Institute, University of Waikato.



About the Families and Whānau Status Reports

Each year since 2013, we have produced an annual status report that measures and monitors the wellbeing of New Zealand families and whānau. This requirement was introduced by the Families Commission Amendment Act 2014, and we are proud to undertake this work.

The general aim of the Families and Whānau Wellbeing Research Programme is to increase the evidence about family and whānau wellbeing. Our research aims to better understand how families and whānau are faring, and the key role they play in society. This is so that decision-makers in the social sector make informed decisions about social policies and programmes and better understand what works, when and for whom.



Whakatauki

*Hutia te rito o te
harakeke,*

If you pluck out the centre
shoot of the flax,

*Kei whea te korimako
e kō?*

Where will the bellbird sing?

*Ka rere ki uta, ka rere
ki tai.*

It will fly inland, it will
fly seawards.

Kī mai koe ki au,

If you ask me,

He aha te mea nui i te ao?

What is the most important
thing in the world?

Māku e kī atu,

I will reply,

*He tāngata, he tāngata,
he tāngata!*

People, people, people!

When Dame Joan Metge wrote the paper *Te Rito o Te Harakeke: Conceptions of the Whānau*, she stated that the 'central shoot from a flax root, is a child, issuing from and protected by its parents and, beyond them, by uncles, aunts and grandparents. The three centre blades should not be cut for weaving or the root will cease to put out new ones'.⁴

There is no better metaphor in Aotearoa New Zealand to illustrate the importance of nurturing the family and the whānau to ensure intergenerational growth and development. Most critically, Superu's series of annual Families and Whānau Wellbeing Status reports point to the importance of looking at the whole family, whānau or fono and building on their strengths.

⁴ Metge, J. (1990) Te ritorito o te harakeke: conceptions of the whānau. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 99(1): p.55-92.



Foreword

This Families and Whānau Status Report for 2017 is the fifth in a series measuring and monitoring the wellbeing of New Zealand families and whānau.

The dynamics of family formation and dissolution are changing, and so too are the nature and form of connections that build families, whānau and communities. Changes in the nature of the family have occurred alongside a fundamental reshaping of social policy away from universal services to a wider array of more targeted services in New Zealand.

Our status reports have identified influences, other than income, on family and whānau wellbeing that are often influenced by policy. Measures of income inequality tell increasingly less of the story about the welfare of people. The value to policy makers is that firstly, we can recognise forms of social and cultural capital that could either be enhanced or diminished by policy initiatives. Secondly, these influences explain why it is impossible to characterise and categorise families, whānau and individuals by the measures that the state currently collects to administer its programmes. For example, the need for care and protection and its effect on wellbeing is poorly reflected in official statistics and research, despite New Zealand being well above the norm in levels of violence, harm and incarceration among the countries we compare ourselves with.

The unique constitutional position of Māori creates an obligation to not only monitor the position of Māori but to respond to what is found. The Māori population has different demographic, structural, cultural and social characteristics. Our work on whānau wellbeing recognises the distinct nature of Māori society not only in policy but in evaluation and monitoring. As we see whānau, hapū and iwi becoming not only targets but also instruments of public policy, a deeper understanding in social policy needs to be embedded operationally in the provision of social services. The ongoing implementation of Whānau Ora across the state sector is an example of this approach.

The Families and Whānau report series provides an essential background to any study, process or programme involving social services. Its research highlights areas where the state's investment in its population will have the greatest effect.

Ngā mihi



Len Cook
Families Commissioner

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01

Introduction





1.1 Context for this report

Families are the basic social unit in society. Healthy individuals in healthy families are at the heart of a healthy society. Universally well-functioning families perform four core functions: they give members a sense of identity and belonging; they care, nurture and support children; they provide socialisation and guidance; and they manage the family's emotional and material resources. Being part of a family is the most significant socialising influence in a person's early life, and given that childhood disadvantage strongly predicts costly adult life-course outcomes⁵, a high level of family wellbeing is important both for individuals and for the societies in which they live.

1.2 Five years of research

This is the fifth in a series of annual reports on the wellbeing of families and whānau in New Zealand. An overview of this series is provided in Appendix A. Previous reports have:

- reviewed literature on wellbeing, presented national demographics, and introduced a draft Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework (2013);
- advanced the frameworks including introducing the Family Wellbeing Framework, and presented trends in family wellbeing related areas (2014);
- reported nationally on the wellbeing of families based on the Family Wellbeing Framework using mainly General Social Survey and Census data, and on the wellbeing of whānau based on the Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework using Te Kupenga data (2015); and
- presented the family wellbeing of ethnic and regional subgroups using the Family Wellbeing Framework, considered different cultural perspectives on “family” wellbeing and examined expressions of the term ‘whānau’ as reported in Te Kupenga (2016).

An essential part of our research programme is the two separate but aligned research strands that reflect a more traditional “Western” perspective (family wellbeing) and a Te Ao Māori-based perspective (whānau wellbeing). This bicultural approach recognises the Crown's unique relationship with Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land, New Zealand's indigenous population) under the Treaty of Waitangi.

⁵ See: <http://dunedinstudy.otago.ac.nz/news-and-events/article/53> - Findings from the Dunedin Longitudinal study.



1.3 2017 Families and Whānau Status Report

This year's report draws on six research-related initiatives. Our research looks at multiple disadvantage, resilience and social support networks with respect to the Family Wellbeing Framework. We also present progress in our work on whānau wellbeing, examine subjective perceptions of whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga and report the main themes that emerged from Te Ritirito 2017: Towards whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing. This forum addressed different aspects of wellbeing for Māori, including the need to explore the research, evidence, measures and policies about whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing across the social sector. This year we also reflect upon and report on the families and whānau work as an example of a programme that advances dual cultural perspectives.

In the next chapter, we present the main themes and implications identified from looking across the six research initiatives. This is followed by summary presentations of each project. Two summaries (family resilience and subjective whānau wellbeing) relate to more detailed research reports released by Superu in the past year. The remaining four chapters present new information not previously released.

Chapter 3 reports on the first year of a multi-year study looking at multiple disadvantage in New Zealand families and the associated implications for policy and practice. The researchers created a definition of multiple disadvantage and used it to identify the prevalence and most frequent combinations of multiple disadvantage across family types. This research lays the basis for ongoing work to better understand multiple disadvantage.

The next project, covered in Chapter 4, looks at family resilience. It aims to identify what helped people achieve educational and employment success even though they had experienced adversity in childhood. The report reinforces the central role of family and whānau as a source of both adversity and resilience.

In Chapter 5, we present research that uses General Social Survey data⁶ to identify families' social support networks. Given that positive support networks play an important role in a person's sense of wellbeing and enhance resilience factors in other domains, it considers how these networks differ in size and nature across family types, and what role family and friends, and neighbours and colleagues, play.

In Chapter 6, we summarise research that examines subjective perceptions of whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga. It focuses on two key questions: How well do Māori think their whānau are doing? What are the critical factors associated with positive perceptions of wellbeing? The report is based on an analysis of Te Kupenga data⁷ interpreted in the context of the Whānau Rangatiratanga Measurement Framework.

⁶ See Appendix B for more information on the General Social Survey.

⁷ Information on the Te Kupenga survey is presented in Appendix E.

Chapter 7 summarises the main outcomes of *Te Ritorito 2017*, an inaugural whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing forum, jointly hosted by Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri. The forum brought together leading thinkers across several generations to help create a shared platform for moving forwards. The aims of the forum were to:

- begin a conversation about future directions in whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing research, policies, programmes and practices
- increase the use of evidence about what works with whānau, hapū and iwi, with the ultimate aim of improving their wellbeing
- demonstrate the value of conducting research, and the use of evidence on whānau wellbeing within a Te Ao Māori framework
- showcase whānau wellbeing research.

Chapter 8 explores the family and whānau wellbeing research journey as an example of research that builds evidence and understanding from two different cultural perspectives. It presents the underlying rationale, key features of a Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach which uses He Awa Whiria as a central platform, some lessons learnt and reflections on using this approach. The work encourages consideration of the different ways in which the generic family “concept” is embodied by the two perspectives and is an example of how to undertake such an approach.

1.4 Opportunities for further work

Over the past five years, we have built a foundation for understanding the wellbeing of families and whānau in New Zealand. Our research progress in conceptually framing, measuring and undertaking research to better understand family and whānau wellbeing has been ground-breaking. We have successfully used both the families and whānau-related wellbeing frameworks as the basis for assessing wellbeing and interpreting and considering our research findings. As our research programme has evolved, we have begun examining more specific areas of social sector interest such as patterns of multiple disadvantage and social support networks.

Our initial analysis of multiple disadvantage, in particular, has potential for further work, including an analysis of the factors that contribute to self-assessed family wellbeing using 2016 General Social Survey data. There will also be the opportunity to analyse health survey data from a families perspective in the near future as work is being completed by the Ministry of Health to create family type codes for this dataset. Other potential areas of focus include research using Growing Up in New Zealand longitudinal survey data to begin to examine family transitions and life course.

Te Ritorito 2017 has highlighted key areas of consideration as well as opportunities and challenges for further research about whānau wellbeing. We will continue to work with Te Puni Kōkiri to consider and build on the outcomes from that forum.

02

Overarching themes and implications





2.1 Introduction

This year's work has put a spotlight on where families and whānau face different kinds of challenges depending in part on where they are in their life course, in part on whether they live alone or with a partner, and in part on the quality of their interpersonal relationships. This report highlights the close link between social interaction and family and whānau wellbeing, the value of reciprocity and social connectedness, and the need for families to develop the resilience that will enable them to manage the various challenges that arise over time.

Families and whānau are both a vehicle for and a target of policy for improving outcomes for New Zealanders. They are expected to deliver positive outcomes for younger and older members, and for those experiencing illness or disability, when they perform their core functions well. Our research emphasises the need for family and whānau-relevant policies and programmes that are developed and implemented in a culturally relevant way. Reflections on the outcomes of Te Ritorito 2017: Towards iwi, hapū and whānau wellbeing, and our experience of building evidence from a bicultural platform with distinct families and whānau knowledge strands, highlights the importance of developing and working with both perspectives and building the capacity to do so across the social sector.

In this chapter, we first present key themes from our research analyses of family wellbeing and multiple disadvantage, resilience and social support networks; and on subjective whānau wellbeing using Te Kupenga data. We then reflect on some of the key outcomes from Te Ritorito 2017 before highlighting some of the opportunities and challenges that our research has highlighted for our social sector work in the future.

2.2 A whole of family focus

Applying a whole of family focus to current and proposed policies will increase the likelihood that they are responsive to families' needs and produce positive outcomes for all their members. There is a need to:

- Look at the whole family– in working with both adults and children we need to take into account their histories, environments, circumstances and responsibilities.
- Build on strengths – recognise and promote resilience and help them to build their capacities.
- Grow the resource and capability required within the state sector to support family wellbeing.



In practice, this means that policies that target individuals – be they children, adolescents, independent young people, young parents or older people – need to be reviewed in the context of the type of family in which those individuals live. Will the policy strengthen or weaken individual and family resilience? Will it promote the wellbeing of the wider family?

A whole of family focus also takes into account the connections between family and community and policies that promote or limit activities or services at the community level. Cultural, sporting, social and service groups, churches and schools can provide positive support and valuable networks for family members and play an important role in promoting positive relationships within families and across the community. The power of a strong community has been very evident in responses to the Kaikoura earthquake, the Auckland housing crisis and the Edgcumbe floods, with volunteers of all ages coming together to respond to a crisis. Policies that support community connectedness will also support family resilience and wellbeing.

2.3 Tailored and integrated support for families

The circumstances of families who face multiple challenges are complex and varied. Our research shows that although some families who face multiple challenges go on to have positive outcomes, for other families addressing these challenges is a struggle. Ideally, for this latter group, the level, intensity and type of support available should be tailored to their circumstances. A tailored approach needs to build on strengths, help address challenges and work towards families being able to function independently. Early intervention, as soon as a problem emerges, by those best placed and trusted by families, is likely to be by far the most effective response.

It is important that families that face severe and multiple challenges, at whatever stage of their life course, are able to obtain intense support early, including accessible, affordable, and timely services, to prevent adversity and provide effective support. Families under the greatest pressure are often least able to navigate service pathways. Culturally appropriate support tailored to family resources and needs, for example through family-centred support initiatives, can knit together relevant interventions, through integrated services. This is also the time to reduce or manage exposure to chronic stress, for example, a mental or physical illness or disability, or the behavioural challenges and learning difficulties associated with conditions such as autism, drug and alcohol problems, family violence or poverty. Early intervention and prevention policies and programmes can have a significant impact in these situations.

A greater proportion of single parents experience multiple disadvantage than other family types. The government currently has a number of initiatives to support single parents, for example, by providing access to training and other forms of social support. Given the relatively high proportion of single parents with pre-school age children facing multiple challenges, tailored culturally and community relevant integrated service pathways are particularly important.

2.4 Supporting whānau networks and relationships

The release of Te Kupenga provided the first statistical analysis of who Māori saw as their whānau; and what factors contributed to self-assessed whānau wellbeing. Te Kupenga provided evidence that the vast majority of Māori (99 percent) thought of their whānau in terms of whakapapa (genealogical) relationships. A much smaller proportion (about 13 percent) also included ‘friends and others’ among their whānau.

There are multiple contributors to whānau wellbeing. Efforts to support and strengthen whānau must involve support for whānau networks and the relationships between whānau members. Efforts to support whānau to thrive also require supporting individual whānau members to live their lives in a way that is meaningful and gives them satisfaction.

2.5 Promoting social and community connections for older people on their own

New Zealand has an aging population with demographic changes showing that older people are working and living longer. Our research suggests that initiatives that promote the development of social networks and community connections for older people living on their own may become more important as our population ages. The shifting needs of the labour market with increasing automation and technological change, may lead to increasing numbers of older people on their own faced with the challenge of job loss. This is also a time when they may increasingly be faced with age-related health concerns. Having good social and community connections would help them manage such challenges should they arise.

2.6 Building on a legacy of intergenerational Kaupapa Māori growth and development

A recurring theme from Te Ritorito 2017 is that work on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing is grounded in an intergenerational legacy of seminal Kaupapa Māori research and development. Our current research draws on this platform to understand and contextualise current and existing trends, create new opportunities and map future journeys in whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori development. Three of the key features identified from Te Ritorito 2017 for building on this legacy are:

1. the need to articulate and explore conceptual and measurement challenges
2. that identifying relevant measures of whānau and whānau wellbeing is an ongoing journey
3. the presentation of a model to guide thinking about interrelationships across whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions.



Conceptual and measurement challenges need to be articulated and explored

At Superu, our Whānau Rangatiratanga Frameworks are ‘roadmaps’ for making decisions about whānau wellbeing evidence, data and statistics. A key theme articulated in all our reports and again at Te Ritorito 2017, is the importance of developing a platform, from within a Māori world view, for collecting, analysing and using evidence about whānau wellbeing. This is to:

- identify evidence and statistics about whānau that Māori say matters
- interpret statistics from a Māori perspective
- show the need for change in statistics about Māori.

Identifying relevant measures of whānau and whānau wellbeing is an ongoing journey

While there is a significant legacy of Kaupapa Māori research about whānau and wellbeing, at the start of our whānau wellbeing work there was a dearth of statistics and measures about whānau. This is because the datasets available were geared to individual measures, with ‘household’ the best proxy measure available. Consequently, there are significant data gaps between available measures and what whānau may see as important measures of wellbeing.

Putting it all together – a guide for thinking about whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions

The framework for Māori Wellbeing presented by Sir Mason Durie at Te Ritorito 2017 provides a guide for thinking about whānau wellbeing, policy and measurement dimensions. It articulates the importance of whanaungatanga and whakapapa to support whānau as mediators of wellbeing. The framework also articulates principles for the development of policies and measures. Consequently the model is a good starting point for discussions between and within the Treaty partners in supporting whānau wellbeing.



2.7 Building capability for both ‘Western’ and Te Ao Māori based perspectives to inform our work

As New Zealand moves into a post-Treaty settlement era, there is an increasing need for government and iwi to work together to build potential and resilience, and address challenges for families and whānau and all New Zealanders. To do so successfully requires capacity, capability and open engagement. A collaborative strength and understanding would provide new insights, ways of working, and opportunities for success.

To shift to such an approach requires increased capability by government to work in a way that is informed by Te Ao Māori perspectives and further development of Te Ao Māori-based research, knowledge and evidence.

Essentially, there is a significant need to grow intersectoral understanding and collaboration framed within, and/or informed by Te Ao Māori perspectives. This helps us to understand how cultural concepts frame decision-making about values, priorities, measures, evidence and programmes. Developing policies and programmes that are relevant to whānau requires an integrated approach that respects and is informed by Māori values and priorities.

Te Ritorito 2017 highlighted the need to support the continued growth of relevant data collection and evidence creation from a Te Ao Māori perspective and the importance of building workforce capability in this area. The He Awa Whiria-related Bridging Cultural Perspectives work that Superu’s dual stranded families and whānau research is based on, highlights the importance of a considered approach. This will require a shift in thinking from what is sometimes an “Add-on” – get a “Māori perspective” added-on at the end of a project – to an “And-And” way of thinking which acknowledges, respects and supports the development of a Te Ao Māori-based evidence platform.

Developments such as the Integrated Data Infrastructure and Māori Data Sovereignty create new opportunities and challenges to support whānau to develop their own evidence to drive decision-making and investment. At the same time, greater data access creates further challenges where both Treaty partners require resourcing to effectively engage with and support these aspirations.

Ultimately the drive for a social investment approach across government needs to be enabled by the research, knowledge and evidence on whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing articulated at Te Ritorito 2017. In particular, there was a strong call at the forum for the Crown to resource whānau, hapū and iwi to develop their own evidence base.

03

Patterns of multiple disadvantage across New Zealand families



3.1 Introduction

Superu's multiple disadvantage research is one of a number of projects arising from the 2015 and 2016 Families and Whānau Status Reports. These reports presented indicators of family wellbeing for six family types corresponding to the family wellbeing framework developed for the 2014 report.⁸ The indicators showed how different family types are faring in New Zealand across a number of life domains.

The current project seeks to understand how poor outcomes cluster together and the effect that has on wellbeing. For example, do a few families face many difficulties or do many families face just a few? What are the difficulties families face, and what effect do different combinations have on family wellbeing? Does the effect depend on the kind of family? What kind of interventions work best for families dealing with multiple disadvantage? And is the cumulative impact of multiple disadvantage equal to the sum of the individual disadvantages experienced, or does multiple disadvantage cause problems to compound disproportionately?

This chapter covers the first stage of our research: the development of a multiple disadvantage measure for the New Zealand context and an exploratory analysis into patterns of multiple disadvantage across families in New Zealand. It provides a foundation for discussing the questions listed above and developing answers to them with our social sector partners. A full report has been published separately by Superu.⁹

3.2 What is multiple disadvantage?

The term 'multiple disadvantage' describes the situation where families face difficulties in a number of areas of life at the same time. Similar terms include: multiple and complex needs, multiple deprivation, multi-dimensional poverty, and social exclusion. While each of these terms refers to slightly different concepts or emphasises different conceptual frameworks, they all attempt to measure social inequality by recognising that understanding just one aspect of someone's life is not enough to understand how they are faring overall.

⁸ See pgs. 24-30 in the 2014 Families and Whānau Status Report for an in-depth discussion of Superu's family wellbeing framework. <http://www.superu.govt.nz/publication/families-and-wh%C4%81nau-status-report-2014>

⁹ Superu (2017), Patterns of multiple disadvantage across New Zealand families, Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, Wellington.



3.3 Why measuring multiple disadvantage is important

Resolving a number of problems is more challenging than tackling just one issue on its own. Problems in one area are often connected with those in another, meaning that resolving one issue usually depends on resolving other issues as well. Providing effective services for people experiencing multiple disadvantage is challenging and expensive. Identifying this group and understanding what works to address their situation is important both for the families and for society as a whole.

The impact of any particular disadvantage comes, in part, from the flow-on effect it has on other areas of life. For example, while living in a poor quality house reduces wellbeing on its own, it also has a significant effect on health outcomes. Understanding the effects of different combinations of disadvantage is central to knowing how to untangle and address them.

3.4 Superu's measure of multiple disadvantage

Because there is no consensus or best practice approach for measuring multiple disadvantage in the literature, we chose to create a measure that would have the greatest application for social sector policymakers, drawing from the lessons learned in developing our family wellbeing framework and what others have done abroad.¹⁰

To develop our measure, we began by creating a list of potential indicators beginning with the domains and indicators from our Family Wellbeing Framework (See Appendix C) then adding others following a review of international literature. We presented these to a cross-sector government reference group made up of representatives from Superu and eight other crown agencies.¹¹ This group helped us identify the domains and indicators most relevant for measuring multiple disadvantage in New Zealand and indicated whether they felt disadvantage in any particular indicator was enough to identify disadvantage in its respective domain.

Armed with this feedback, we used the indicators collected in the 2014 General Social Survey which best measured disadvantage in eight life domains: Education, Health, Income, Housing, Material wellbeing, Employment, Safety, and Connectedness. The eight domains, their respective indicators, and thresholds for disadvantage are set out in Appendix D.

¹⁰ For a longer explanation of the process we used to develop our measure for multiple disadvantage, see Superu (2017), *Patterns of multiple disadvantage across New Zealand families*, Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit, Wellington.

¹¹ In addition to Superu, we had representatives from: Statistics New Zealand, Ministry of Social Development, the Investing in Children group (the precursor to Oranga Tamariki), Ministry of Education, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Health, Office of the Children's Commissioner and the Social Investment Unit.

3.5 The four family types

The following sections focus on four family types:

- Young couples (both partners are under 50 years and without children)
- Couples with young children (at least one child is under 18)
- Single parents with young children (at least one child is under 18)
- Older couples (one or both partners are 50 years or older).

These family types broadly follow common stages of the life course as individuals become parents, raise their children, and ultimately see them off to form families of their own. While these four types alone cannot do justice to all the forms families take, they provide an easy way to understand differences in the number and types of disadvantages faced by families at different stages of life. An ethnic analysis has yet to be completed.

3.6 The number of disadvantages faced by New Zealand families

Happily, most New Zealanders lead lives that are relatively free of disadvantage. Our analysis found that the vast majority (82%) of individuals have two or fewer life domains in disadvantage, with over a third having no domains in disadvantage at all. However, a sizeable minority of New Zealanders (18%) do face disadvantage in three or more of the eight life domains examined, our definition for multiple disadvantage.

Figure 1 below shows the proportion of individuals in each family type by the number of domains in disadvantage. With the exception of single parents, families further along the life course tend to have a greater number of domains in disadvantage. Young couples face the fewest, with a little over half having none; this figure drops to 42% for couples with children and to a little over a third for older couples. Where partnered families experience disadvantage, it tends to be in just one or two domains. Only 14% or fewer individuals in these three family types experience three or more domains in disadvantage.

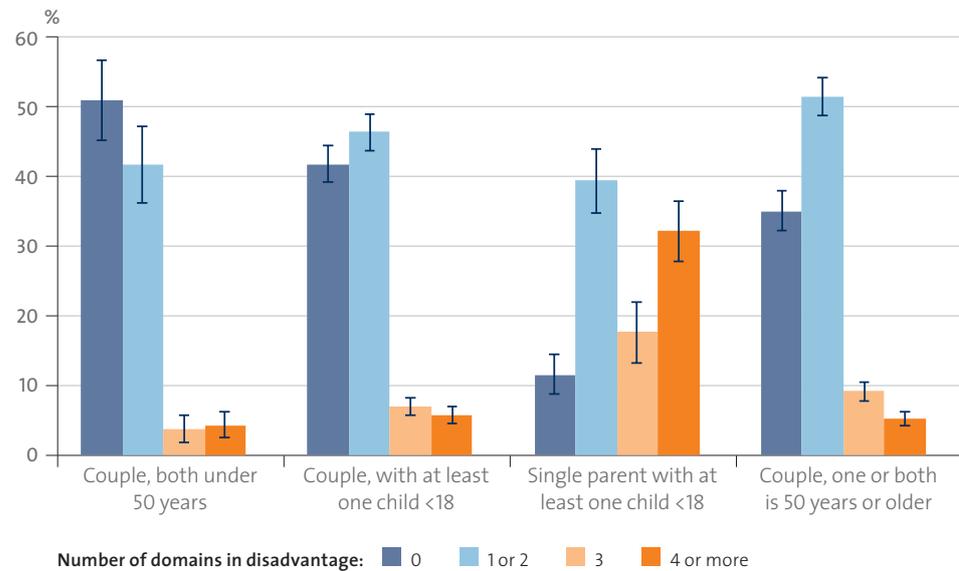
Single parents have a different pattern to the other family types shown. They are less likely to have no or only a few domains in disadvantage – just 12% have none and 39% have one or two. Around half of single parents face multiple disadvantage with nearly a third of all single parents showing disadvantage in four or more domains.

For families with children, those whose youngest child is below school age (under five years) are more likely to experience multiple disadvantage than those with children aged 13 to 17 years. This is particularly the case for single parents – nearly two-thirds of single parents with a child under five face three or more domains in disadvantage compared with 36% of those whose youngest child is between 13 and 17 years old.





Figure 1 _ Family type by number of domains in disadvantage (% of group)



Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

3.7 _ Types of disadvantage faced by multiple disadvantaged families

We wanted to investigate whether multiple disadvantage takes on different forms for different types of families – i.e. do some disadvantages occur more commonly in one sort of family than another?

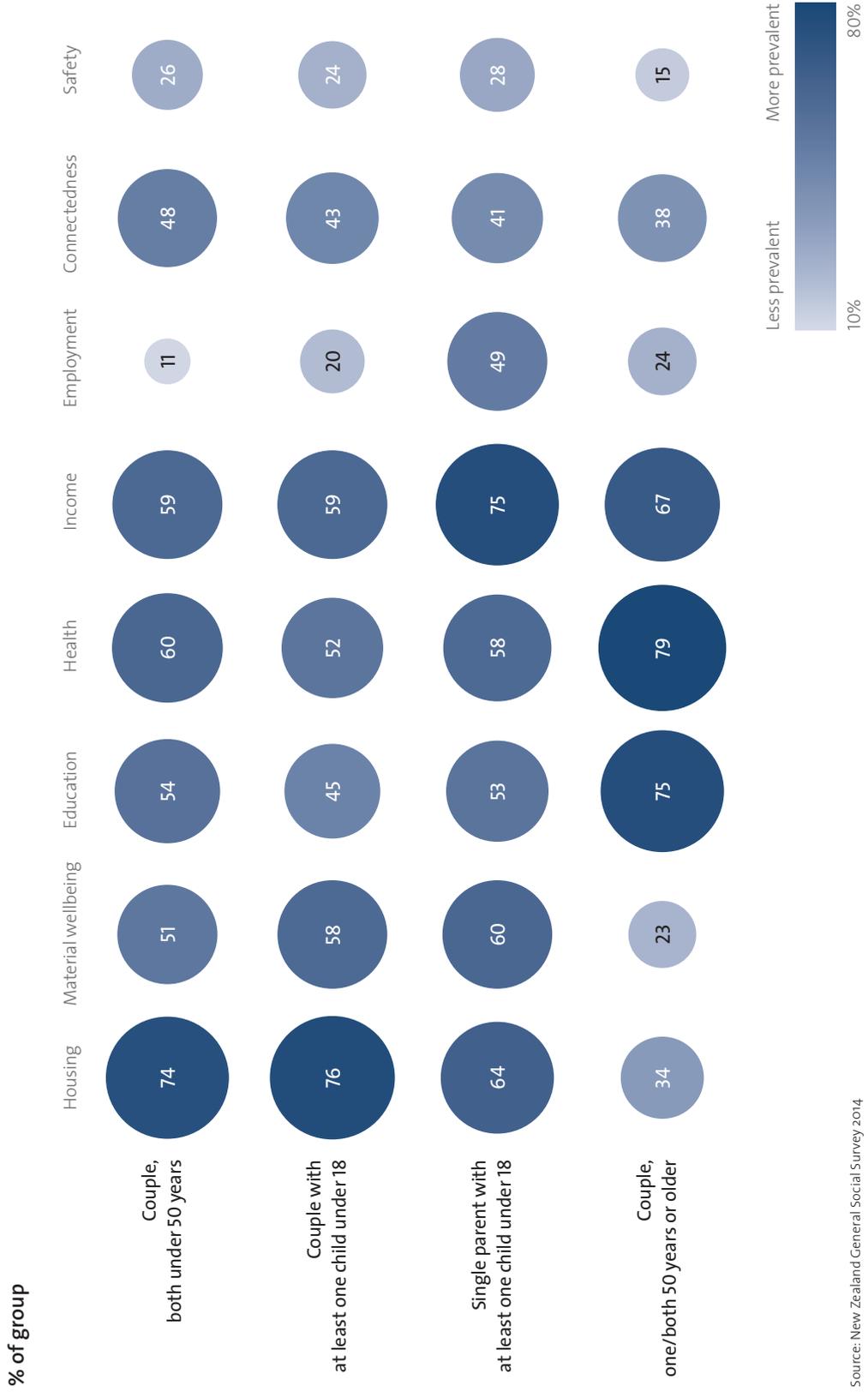
One way we tried to answer this question was to look at all families facing multiple-disadvantage (having three or more domains in disadvantage), and identifying which disadvantages were most common for each family type. The results of this analysis can be seen in Figure 2 (overleaf). Highlights are detailed below.

3.8 _ Commonalities and differences in multiple disadvantage across family types

We found that some life domains are more likely to be in disadvantage across all the family types. Education, Health, and Income are the most common while Employment, Connectedness, and Safety are the least common.

Looking across the life course, we can see that multiply-disadvantaged young couples and couples with young children face similar disadvantages. Housing and Income disadvantage are most common for these family types followed by Health, Material wellbeing, and Education.

Figure 2 _ Prevalence of domain disadvantage for families experiencing multiple disadvantage (those having three or more domains in disadvantage)



Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014



Single parents with young children show a similar pattern but are more likely to have disadvantage in Employment and Income domains and less likely to have disadvantage in Housing. There are a number of possible explanations for this result. For example, single parents may have better access to assisted housing accommodation, or may live with their parents. Since disadvantage in the Employment domain is defined as having no adults of working age in the household in employment, the difference in Employment disadvantage for single parents can be partly explained by the heightened odds that they meet this criteria. Assuming no other adults live with the family, there is a one in two chance a single parent is unemployed but just a one in four chance for couples.¹² In half of the domains, single parents have the highest proportion of any family type experiencing disadvantage in that domain.¹³

The pattern of results for older couples differs from the other three family types shown. Disadvantage in the Education and Health domains is far more common for multiply-disadvantaged older couples than for the other three family types. This may be because older people are more likely to suffer from health problems and because changes to education and the labour market in previous decades have led to more educational attainment for younger generations than older ones.

The opposite pattern can be seen in the Housing and Material wellbeing domains where disadvantage is much less common for older couples than for other family types. This reflects a greater degree of home ownership among older couples, particularly those without a mortgage on their house. Owner-occupied homes tend to be of higher quality than rentals and having a home without a mortgage means that while an older couple may have a low income (particularly those relying solely on superannuation), their housing costs are also significantly lower, improving their material wellbeing.

3.9 Next steps

The results presented in this chapter create a foundation for further research into multiple disadvantage in New Zealand. The release of the next iteration of GSS data (GSS 2016) and the inclusion of the GSS in the Integrated Data Infrastructure¹⁴ later this year offer opportunities to improve the measure we have created, look at some of the trends in greater detail, investigate the impact of multiple disadvantage on people's subjective wellbeing and identify combinations of disadvantage that have greater impact on wellbeing than others and for whom.

¹² There are just two options for single-parents – they are either employed or they are not. For couples there are four possibilities – both are employed, one is employed and the other isn't, and both are unemployed.

¹³ This may be due to single parents having more domains in disadvantage overall than multiply disadvantaged people in other family types, increasing the likelihood of them being disadvantaged in any particular domain.

¹⁴ Also known as the IDI, this is a dataset that links together information collected on service users from a number of government agencies.

04

Resilience in the face of adversity





4.1 Introduction

Our family and whānau frameworks show how family functioning and wellbeing is influenced by a range of relational, social and economic factors. When families and individuals face adversity in their lives, in any of these domains, they are likely to experience stress and have at least a temporary reduction in family functioning and wellbeing. However many families and individuals seem able to adapt to adversity without any long term threat to their wellbeing, and they are often described as showing resilience. This chapter discusses the importance of resilience in helping families, children and adults respond to adversity. It summarises recent research on at risk children who go on to achieve good outcomes and identifies the key factors that contribute to these positive outcomes.

4.2 Resilience defined

Individual resilience can be defined as the capacity of individuals to achieve developmental milestones, such as healthy relationships, educational qualifications and employment, in spite of adversity in childhood. Resilience is based on the complex interplay of risk (adversity) and protective factors and is better thought of as a process, rather than an event or individual trait. It typically evolves over time and draws on a range of factors to allow individuals to cope, adapt, and achieve. Families may also be seen as exhibiting resilience¹⁵ when they overcome challenges to their functioning and wellbeing and where family members succeed despite this family adversity.¹⁶

KEY TERMS

Resilience: The process by which individuals achieve developmental milestones, such as education and employment, in spite of adversity in childhood.

Risk factors: Specific stressors, events or adversities associated with poor outcomes.

Protective factors: Conditions or attributes in individuals, families/whānau, communities, or the larger society that, when present, mitigate or eliminate risk.

Outcome: An event or achievement of interest, such as an educational qualification, healthy relationship or employment.

¹⁵ Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit. (2015). *Perceptions of income adequacy by low income families*. Superu, Wellington.

¹⁶ Walsh, F. (2013). Community-based practice applications of a family resilience framework. In Becvar, D.S. (ed.), *Handbook of family resilience* (pp. 65-82). Springer New York.

An example of individual resilience in action

An example of individual resilience in action is provided by recent Treasury analysis¹⁷ using linked administrative data, to estimate the effect of an individual’s exposure to adversity in childhood on selected adult life outcomes.

The researchers examined the impact of four childhood risk factors on three outcomes. The risk factors were:

- having a Child, Youth and Family Service finding of abuse or neglect
- being mostly supported by benefits since birth
- having a mother with no formal qualifications, and/or
- having a parent with a prison or community sentence.

The outcomes examined were:

- education – achieving school qualifications before age 21
- employment – receiving a single parent benefit before age 21, or being on a main benefit for at least five years from age 25 to 34
- other outcomes – a referral to CYF youth justice services or serving a custodial or community sentence from age 25 to 34.

The researchers identified a higher-risk group made up of those who experienced two or more risk factors in childhood. This group was more likely than the low or no risk group to have poor outcomes. Even so: **Four out of ten were expected to go on to achieve positive education and employment outcomes.**

Figure 3 _ Projected education and benefit outcomes for higher-risk 0-14 year olds (121,377 children in 2013)



At-risk individuals who **do not** have poor outcomes are often referred to as showing **resilience**. The question inevitably arises as to why some of those at risk do well while others struggle. The analysis indicates the scale of what might be achieved by improving outcomes for the most at risk group.

¹⁷ Ball, C., Crichton, S., Templeton, R., Tumen, S., Ota, R., & MacCormick, C. (2016). *Characteristics of Children at Greater Risk of Poor Outcomes as Adults*. The Treasury Analytical Paper 16/01

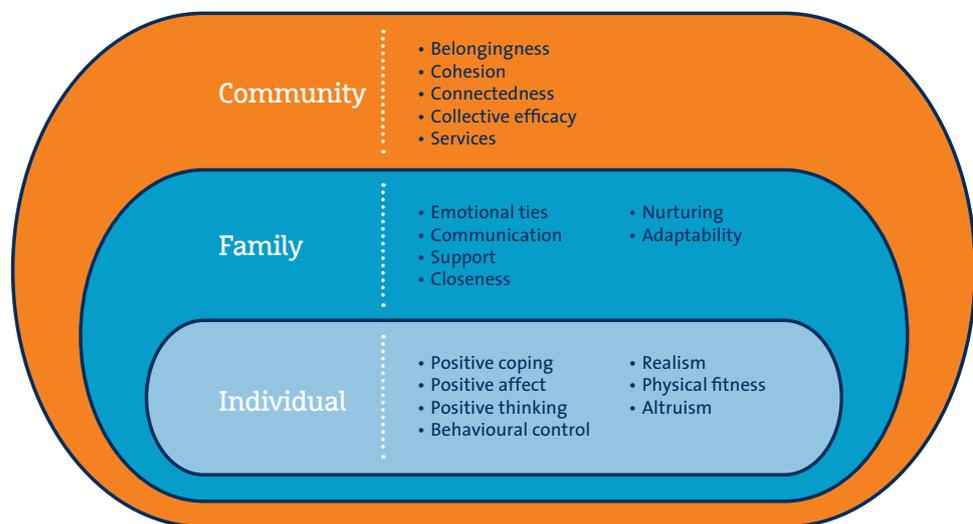


4.3 Key factors contributing to resilience

Superu recently commissioned qualitative research to identify the key factors that influenced the achievement of positive educational and employment outcomes, despite adversity in childhood.¹⁸ Participants who had faced significant adversity in childhood were asked to identify factors that had helped them overcome that adversity and achieve good outcomes.

Those interviewed talked about various programmes, people, events, and experiences that had contributed to their personal growth and development. What emerged was a complex interplay of factors. Resilience was a process unfolding over time and taking different paths, e.g. for some the immediate response to adversity helped them recover, while for others help came later in life. The factors identified in the research were similar to those found in previous overseas research and can be categorised into three levels; individual, family/whānau and community (see Figure 4 for examples).

Figure 4 _ Examples of nested protective factors classified at three levels



¹⁸ Carswell, S., Kaiwai, H., o-Hinerangi, M., Lennan, M., & Paulin, J. (2017). *Journeys of resilience: From adverse childhoods to achieving in adulthood*. Superu, Wellington.



Individual level factors

Participants identified a number of attitudes, beliefs and aspirations that helped them cope and, to various degrees, overcome the impacts of their childhood adversity:

- Hope and desire for a better life for them and their family.
- Building self-esteem, self-worth and belief in themselves as part of their healing process.
- Self-determination or gaining back a sense of control.
- The ability to be reflective, self-aware and to assess consequences and make choices.
- Finding solace and knowledge via religion or through humanist and academic understandings of the world.

Family and whānau level factors

Participants spoke of the significance of supportive relationships and networks, which enabled them to increase positive experiences and strengthen their resilience. They said that:

- It was important that, as children, adults believed them and took action to keep them safe if they reported abuse to them.
- It was also important to have someone encourage them, and believe in them and their ability to achieve.
- Having positive relationships with family members, carers and friends helped them to handle significant challenges and taught them about nurturing relationships. Relationships based on love, stability and encouragement, were critical, regardless of whether participants were children or adults when they developed these relationships.
- Relationships with people who acted as supporters, role models and mentors provided encouragement, skill development and alternatives to the negative role-modelling many had been exposed to.
- They wanted to develop their family resilience with their partners and children to create a positive future. This included addressing significant personal and family issues, such as addictions and breaking the cycle of violence.

Community level factors

Those interviewed also spoke of the importance of participating in cultural and sporting groups and having positive experiences with responsive services, such as counselling and family support services. These services treated participants respectfully and in a non-judgemental way, and supported them as children and adults to overcome their adverse circumstances. Participants who could access appropriate services when they needed them gained valuable support and personal strength, and were able to re-engage with education and employment.



4.4 Resilience for whānau

Māori are over-represented in the at risk group in the Treasury analysis referred to earlier. Just over half of those interviewed in the Superu-commissioned study were Māori and this enabled the researchers to identify culturally-specific ways in which resilience operated.

While Māori participants used many of the same resilience strategies as non-Māori, the way they conceptualise and enact them can be different for whānau. Five interrelated themes emerged from the interviews: whānaungatanga (whakapapa/kin group relationships that can extend beyond kinship groups); manaakitanga (caring for and hospitality to others); kotahitanga (unity, togetherness, solidarity); wairuatanga (spirituality); and rangatiratanga (self-determination).

While understanding of, and access to, Te Ao Māori varied among Māori research participants, all considered Māori culture and identity to be a positive and enriching experience and a significant contributor to their overall wellbeing.

4.5 Building resilient families

Superu's past research¹⁹ has shown that relationships, particularly those with family and whānau, are crucial to family members' wellbeing and their ability to overcome adversity. This research, and a large body of national and international research, clearly indicates that building strong healthy relationships is vital to the health and wellbeing of families and individuals. In the box below we make suggestions for actions and policies to better support children and families, both to avoid adversity and to build resilience when facing adversity.

While the points below focus on possible policy or practitioner responses, it is important to note that relationships, particularly family relationships, are also built over time through our everyday interactions. Anne Masten²⁰ has coined the term '**ordinary magic**' to describe the ordinary everyday things families do to build and maintain strong and healthy family relationships and functioning. Providing families with the time and resources to let this ordinary magic happen is perhaps as important as the more formal supports for many families.

¹⁹ Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit. (2015). *Family Resilience. In Focus*. Superu, Wellington; Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit. (2015). *Perceptions of income adequacy by low income families*. Superu, Wellington.

²⁰ Masten, A. S. (2001). Ordinary Magic: Resilience process in development, *American Psychologist*, 56(3), 227-238.

SUGGESTED ACTIONS AND POLICIES TO BETTER SUPPORT CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

1. Promote the development of positive, supportive relationships and networks. This is key to facilitating resilience for children, young people and adults. Children develop within an environment of relationships that begins in the family (e.g. parents, aunts, grandparents) but also involves other adults who play important roles in their lives (e.g. teachers).
2. Provide early intervention for families and whānau, both to prevent adversity and to provide effective support when it occurs. In particular, reduce exposure to early adversity and chronic stress e.g. mental and physical illness, drug and alcohol abuse, family violence, poverty, crime and discrimination.
3. Take a whole-of-family approach to addressing the multiple and complex issues within families and whānau, including considering relationships in kin and social networks, both within and across households and across generations.
4. Help families to build effective family processes that they can draw on in times of adversity (see below).

Key processes in family resilience:

- **Belief systems (shared)** –
 - Making meaning of adversity
 - Positive outlook
 - Transcendence and spirituality
 - **Organisational patterns** –
 - Flexibility in dealing with internal and external life events
 - Connectedness to others
 - Social and economic resources
 - **Communication/problem solving** –
 - Clear, consistent messages
 - Open emotional expression
 - Collaborative problem-solving
5. Take a “child-centred” approach, especially for child protection, justice, education and health services. This has implications for policy and workforce development to ensure workers have the guidance and skills to implement this approach. This includes listening to, and believing, children’s concerns.
 6. Include appropriate follow-up, monitoring and support of children, their families and whānau after a child protection intervention takes place to ensure the safety and wellbeing of children.
 7. Provide accessible social and health services, such as counselling, to support children and adults in their healing process.
 8. Provide support later in life. For example, adult education provides opportunities to build confidence and vocational capability and a pathway to strengthening positive outcomes in education and employment.
 9. Ensure that policies and services for Māori focus on the health of the whānau (e.g. through the Whānau Ora approach) and on the need to strengthen the capability and capacity of whānau to grow in all the areas of resilience.

05

New Zealand families and their social support networks



5.1 Introduction

A person's relationships and connections play an important role in their sense of wellbeing and can make them more resilient in adversity. Social support networks can be beneficial for people's health and can help them accomplish tasks in life, such as raising children and finding a job. A person may seek support from the family members they live with, including their partner if they have one, and from their extended family outside their home, including parents, siblings, uncles and aunts. Friends, neighbours and work colleagues can also be important members of a person's support network.

A support network is not fixed and can change in its size and composition over the life course. A person's network of friends and family tends to get smaller with age as people spend less time building their network and more time with the people in their network. Support networks can also shrink following a significant change in a person's life, which can leave them less supported and less resilient. Transitioning into parenthood and losing a partner can reduce the size of a person's support network, whereas moving into employment and repartnering can expand support networks.

Superu's Family and Whānau Wellbeing Framework identifies relationships and connections as one of six domains that contribute to family wellbeing. Social support networks can play a role in a number of factors that influence family wellbeing in Superu's framework, such as health and skills, jobs and employment. However, due to a lack of data it has not been possible to monitor the health of support networks among New Zealand families. This changed with the release of the 2014 New Zealand General Social Survey, which included questions about social support networks.

NEW ZEALAND GENERAL SOCIAL SURVEY (NZGSS)

The NZGSS is conducted by Statistics New Zealand with a sample size of approximately 8,000 people. It is a cross-sectional survey that is conducted every two years, starting in 2008. The 2014 survey included questions about family and friends who could be counted on to provide help and support. Help and support could include lending or giving people things, receiving emotional support, helping with tasks and chores and receiving information or advice.





5.2 Findings

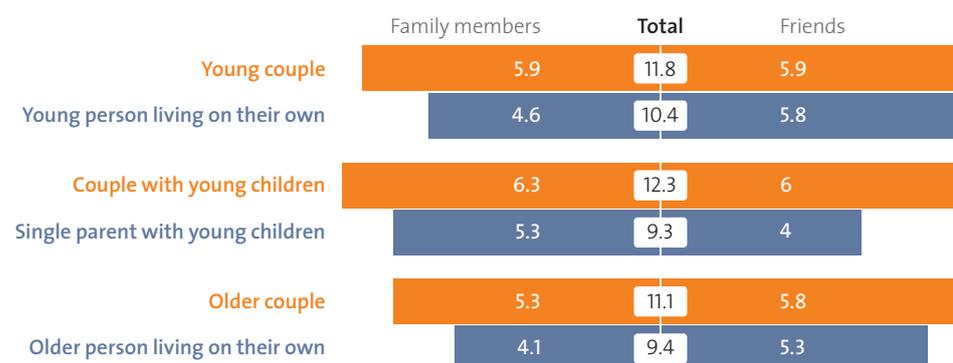
The 2014 NZGSS found that most New Zealanders have family and friends who can help and support them. Over two thirds (70.5 percent) of New Zealanders said they had three or more family members to support them; the same proportion said they had three or more supportive friends. Less than one percent (0.9 percent) of people said they had no family or friends to support them. This chapter looks at the characteristics and strength of people’s social support networks from a family perspective.

People who live with a partner have bigger more supportive networks

One of the benefits of living with a partner is that they can provide help and support directly or by providing access to their support network. Perhaps their parents or a cousin can help with finding a job or lending money. If this is the case, we would expect people who live with their partners to report having bigger support networks than those who do not have a partner, and this is indeed what we found.

Figure 5 describes the number of people who could provide participants with help and support by the type of family they live in.²¹ The bar on the left presents the mean number of family members participants said they could call on for help and support; the bar on the right has the mean number of supportive friends. The figures in the middle give the total mean number of supportive family and friends.

Figure 5_ The number of people who can provide help and support



Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

²¹ Children in couple and single parent families are excluded from the results presented in this chapter.

Living with a partner is associated with having a bigger network of friends and family who can help and support. Young couples have 1.4 more family and friends to support them than a young person who lives alone. The difference is slightly larger for older couples, who have 1.7 more supportive family and friends than older people who live alone. Couples with young children have 3.1 more family and friends to support them than single parents with young children.

Both younger and older couples have more supportive family members than younger and older people who live alone.

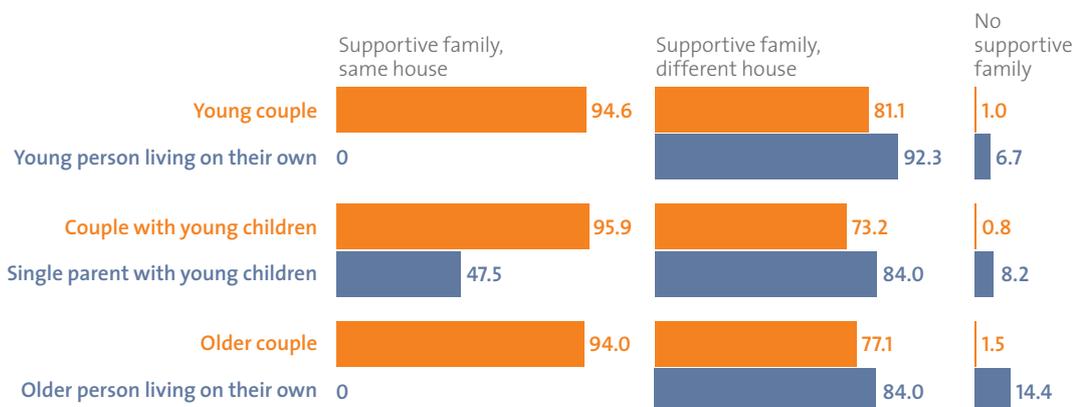
Compared to single parents who live alone, couples with young children have a larger supportive friend network with an average of two more supportive friends.

Partners play an important role in providing help and support, but so do extended family

Having a partner living in the same household makes it easier to get help and support when people need it. A partner can take care of a person when they are sick and it is easier to find time to talk, perhaps during dinner, when partners live under the same roof.

Figure 6 shows that nearly all (93.0–95.9 percent) the people who live with a partner can count on the family they live with for help and support. This is true for younger and older people with no children and for couples with young children. For most of these people, their partner will be their main source of family support within their own household. Fewer than half (47.5 percent) of single parents say they have family in their household who can help and support them.

Figure 6 _ Do you have a partner or other family to support you?



Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014



People can also ask family who do not live with them for help and support. People who do not live with a partner are more likely to say they can expect to receive help and support from other family members. They are also more likely to live close to their family support network. For example, 84.0 percent of single parents say they could get help and support from other family members not living with them, compared with 73.2 percent of couple parents. Single parents (69.4) are more likely to receive help from family members who live in the same region than couple parents (51.5 percent). The same pattern applies for providing support to younger and older people who live alone compared with younger and older couples.

Despite relying more on other family members for help and support and living close to their family, people who do not live with a partner are more likely to say they have no one in their family who could help or support them. This was true for single parents, 8.2 percent (compared with 0.8 percent of couple parents) and for older people who live alone, 14.4 percent (compared with 1.5 percent of older people who live with a partner).

People who do not live with a partner find it harder to get different types of help and support

A person may require different types of help and support during their life, which their support network may not always be able to provide. Table 1 lists the proportion of people in different family types who have no one who can provide them with five specific types of support.

TABLE 01
Having no one to provide specific types of help and support (%)

Family type	Sick with the flu	Feeling depressed and need to talk to someone	Need to borrow \$2,000 in an emergency	Need help finding a job	Urgently need a place to stay
Young couple	1.2	1.5	6.8	8.0	2.4
Young person living on their own	14.4	8.0	12.4	14.0	4.8
Couple with young children	1.4	2.7	7.2	9.5	3.4
Single parent with young children	10.3	5.8	17.5	11.8	4.7
Older couple	1.5	3.8	16.4	18.9	3.8
Older person living on their own	12.0	10.9	23.3	20.0	4.7

Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

Having a partner in the same household can make it easier for a person to get help and support when they need it. Table 1 shows that around one in ten single parents with young children (10.3 percent) and between one in seven and one in eight people who live alone would have no one to support them if they were sick with the flu, compared with less than two percent for people who live with a partner. The pattern is similar for being able to talk to someone when feeling depressed.

People sometimes need to ask their wider support network of friends and family for help. Does having a larger network make it easier to borrow money in an emergency, find a place to stay or find a job? Single parents and people who live alone are twice as likely to say they do not have anyone who can lend them \$2,000, compared to people who live with a partner. People who live with a partner are also more likely to have someone to ask for help with finding a job, although this is mainly true for younger couples. Finding a place to stay is easier for couples, particularly young couples, but harder for couples with young children and older couples.

Older people living on their own are the least able to be able to borrow money in an emergency which could include urgent home repairs or health issues.

It is clear that certain types of support are easier to ask for, which may reflect the ability of friends and family to help out as well as the size of the support network. In an emergency, all family types in Table 1, say they would find it easier to find a place to stay than to borrow \$2,000.

Being employed is associated with having a bigger support network

Employment can provide a way for a person to increase the number of people who can provide help and support. While work colleagues may not be able or willing to provide the same level or type of support as a family member, they could provide help and support similar to friends.

TABLE 02
Support networks for single parents with young children who are employed and not employed (%)

	Single parent with young children (unemployed)	Single parent with young children (employed)
Number of family	5.1	5.4
Number of friends	3.0	4.8
Number of family and friends	8.1	10.1
No family to provide help and support	11.1%	6.1%
No one to support you if you are sick with the flu	13.4%	8.0%
No one you can borrow \$2,000 in an emergency	23.4%	13.2%

Note: Single parents not in employment will include individuals who are actively looking for work and people who are not actively looking

Source: New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

Table 2 compares the support networks of single parents with young children who are in employment with those who are not in employment.



Both groups have similar sized family support networks (5.1 for those in employment compared with 5.4 for unemployed people), but employed single parents have larger friend networks (4.8) than unemployed single parents (3.0). Working with others may make it easier to meet new people and create friendships outside the household and extended family. Single parents in employment find it easier to get support and are less likely to have no one in their family who can support them, than unemployed single parents.

5.3 Implications

- People who do not live with a partner have a smaller network of supportive family and friends. This is particularly evident when comparing couples with young children with single parents with young children and may mean that single parents cannot get as much support from their networks as couples with young children. We also find that employed single parents have more people who can support them than single parents not in employment.
- It is not possible to say whether the act of partnering or getting a job will lead to an increase in a person's social support network. It may be the case that people with large social networks are more successful in finding a partner and getting a job (a potential benefit of knowing a lot of people) than people whose networks are smaller.
- Having a smaller or less supportive network may mean a person is more vulnerable and less resilient when things go wrong, or if they are trying to get ahead, because they have fewer people they can call on to help and support them.
- Older people who live alone are more likely to have little or no support from their family. Around one in seven older people who live alone has no family to support them, compared with around one in fourteen single parents with young children and young people who live alone.
- Living with someone makes it easier to get some types of support, such as help and support when sick with the flu or having someone to talk to when feeling depressed. Other types of support, such as borrowing money in an emergency or needing help finding a job, may be easier with a larger support network.
- When people are desperate and urgently need somewhere to stay most people can get help.
- Larger networks of friends and family may make it easier to get support. However, the kind of support a network can provide will depend on the type of people in the network. A person in your family may have the time to pop round to your house with chicken soup when you are sick, but they may not be able to lend you \$2,000.
- Even if it turns out that partnering and employment can increase a person's social support network, these changes may not be suitable for everyone. For example, employment may not be an option for single parents with pre-school-aged children. However, single parents and people who live alone may benefit from opportunities to create new relationships and connections to improve their support networks, such as by joining a club, enrolling in adult learning or taking part in activities with their local community.

06

Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga





6.1 Introduction

In Te Ao Māori (Māori society) many practices and principles testify to the primacy of whānau and communities. For many Māori, the wellbeing of whānau is just as important as the wellbeing of the individual, if not more important. Over the last decade there has also been growing interest in whānau wellbeing as a focus for study and for public policy. This chapter contributes to the growing body of knowledge on whānau wellbeing by providing a statistical analysis of data from Te Kupenga.²² It presents an overview of the full research report published by Superu earlier this year.²³

Te Kupenga is the first nationally representative survey of Māori wellbeing. It was carried out by Statistics New Zealand following the 2013 Census, with support from Te Puni Kōkiri and other key Māori stakeholders and communities. Te Kupenga gives an overall picture of the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Māori, including information about the health of the Māori language and culture.²⁴

This chapter focuses on two key questions:

- How well do Māori think their whānau are doing?
- What are the critical factors associated with whānau doing well?

6.2 Who are whānau?

Te Kupenga let respondents define for themselves who belonged to their whānau. The vast majority of Māori (99 percent) thought of their whānau in terms of whakapapa (genealogical) relationships. A much smaller proportion (about 13 percent) also included ‘friends and others’ among their whānau. Other reports²⁵ have shown that those who include ‘friends and others’ in this way are more likely to have strong connections to Māori culture and identity. The broadening of whanaungatanga to include non-whakapapa relationships reflects the endurance and vitality of whānau values rather than a weakening of them.

²² Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to meet the security and confidentiality requirements in the Statistics Act 1975. The results presented in this study are the work of Superu, not Statistics NZ.

²³ See Kukutai, T., Sporle, A. & Roskrug, M. (2017). Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga. Families Commission: Wellington. <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Subjective%20wh%C4%81nau%20wellbeing%20report.pdf>

²⁴ For Te Kupenga, Statistics NZ interviewed a sample of the usually resident Māori population aged 15 years or older. ‘Māori’ was defined on the basis of either ethnicity or ancestry. The survey used a complex sample design intended to create a nationally representative sample of the Māori population. From the 5,549 individual Te Kupenga participants, a nationally representative population of 529,750 was created. Analysing the survey data produces estimates that relate to this nationally representative population.

²⁵ See: Kukutai, T., Sporle, A. & Roskrug, M. (2016) Expressions of whānau. In Families and Whānau Status Report 2016. Families Commission: Wellington.

6.3 Measuring whānau wellbeing

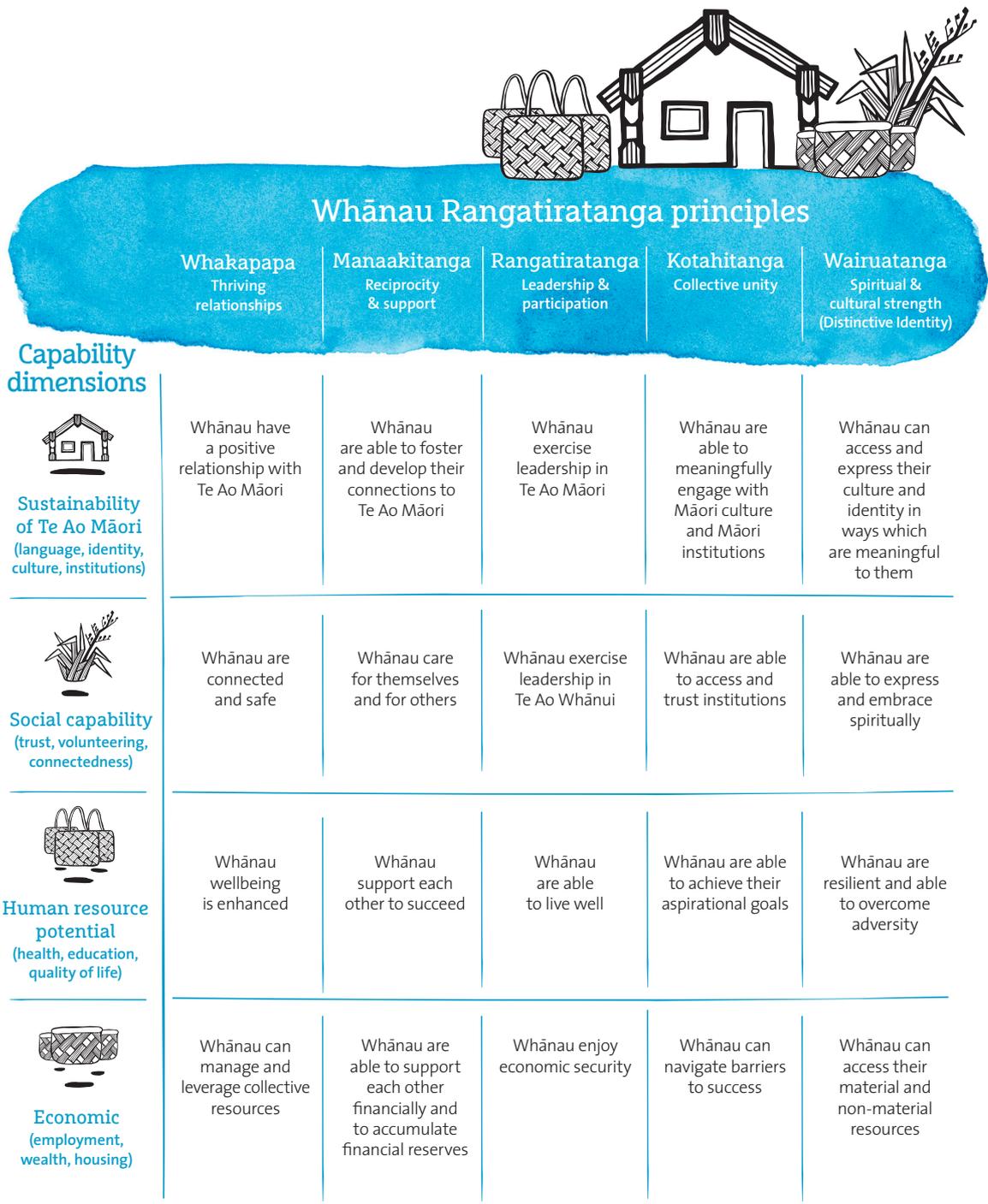
The Whānau Rangatiratanga Measurement Framework to assess whānau wellbeing is based on five principles:

- whakapapa / thriving relationships
- manaakitanga / reciprocity and support
- rangatiratanga / leadership and participation
- kotahitanga / collective unity
- wairuatanga / spiritual and cultural strength.

It covers four capability dimensions:

- sustainability of Te Ao Māori
- social capability
- human resource potential
- economic wellbeing.

Figure 7 _ Whānau Rangatiratanga Measurement Framework



This report focuses on the intersection of whakapapa and human resource potential and considers how these and other factors relating to the four capability dimensions support an enhanced sense of whānau wellbeing.

6.4 Perceptions of whānau wellbeing and associated factors

An overview

Te Kupenga asked individuals to provide subjective self-assessments of how well their whānau were doing, using a scale of zero to 10, with zero indicating 'extremely badly' and 10 indicating 'extremely well'.²⁶ See Appendix E for more detailed technical data tables.

Nearly three-quarters of Māori adults felt positive about how well their whānau are doing. The mean rating was 8.3 and the median was 8 on the 0–10 scale. Only 6.3 percent of respondents reported a wellbeing score of below 5. About one-fifth of Te Kupenga respondents (20.1%) reported a whānau wellbeing score of 5 or 6, and half (49.3%) reported a score of 7 or 8. Nearly one in four (24.2%) respondents reported that their whānau was doing extremely well with a score of 9 or 10.

Two measures stood out as most significant for whānau wellbeing:

- the quality of interpersonal relationships (individuals' perceptions of how well their whānau get along and the level of whānau support)
- individual life satisfaction and feelings of loneliness.

Multivariate analysis showed that after quality of relationships (that is, getting along well), individual life satisfaction was the strongest predictor of whānau wellbeing. These two variables showed a very strong and consistent relationship with perceived whānau wellbeing across all age groups. The analysis also showed that as people get older the effect of age on perceived whānau wellbeing increases.

Self-reported whānau wellbeing

Māori who are part of a couple with at least one dependent child have the highest share reporting a high level of whānau wellbeing, and the lowest share reporting low wellbeing (25.3%, 4.5% respectively).

By contrast, Māori who are part of a single parent family have the lowest share reporting very high whānau wellbeing, and the highest share reporting a very low score (21.4%, 8.2% respectively).

²⁶ This indicator should not be seen as an objective measure of how well whānau are doing; rather it is an indicator of a respondent's **perception** of whānau wellbeing. There is no way of knowing whether respondents' perceptions are shared by other whānau members.



6.5 The relationship between wellbeing and the four capabilities

Sustainability of Te Ao Māori

Although the literature emphasises the importance of cultural identity and participation in Te Ao Māori as a component of whānau wellbeing, the associations between measures of cultural identity and self-assessed whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga were relatively weak. None of the cultural identity and participation indicators (has visited ancestral marae; registered with an iwi; perceived importance of involvement with Māori culture) helped to explain variations in self-assessed whānau wellbeing. The results might look different if participants had been asked an explicit question about the cultural dimension of whānau wellbeing – for example, “How would you rate the cultural wellbeing of your whānau?”

Social capability

Social interaction appeared to be strongly linked to whānau wellbeing. Respondents who felt that their level of contact with whānau was ‘about right’ had the highest proportion (26.7%) reporting very high whānau wellbeing, and the lowest rate (4.9%) reporting very poor wellbeing. Interestingly, those who felt that they had too much contact with whānau were the most likely to report low levels of reported whānau wellbeing (13%, $p < .001$). The closeness of the contact did not appear to be important, as there were no differences in whānau wellbeing between those with recent face-to-face contact with whānau and those with no face-to-face contact.

Both whānau size and whānau concept were significantly associated with self-assessed whānau wellbeing. Those who said that their whānau only included five or fewer people were much more likely to report a high level of whānau wellbeing than those with larger whānau (28%, $p < .000$). Likewise, respondents who thought of their whānau in an extended sense to include aunts, uncles, cousins etc, or even close friends and others, were less likely than those with a narrow concept of whānau to report positive whānau wellbeing ($p < .000$). This may be because those with a broad concept of whānau have more complex relationships to take account of, which decreases the likelihood of all whānau members doing extremely well.

Māori who had provided unpaid help to those living in other households were less likely to report very high levels of whānau wellbeing than those who had not provided help (22.2%, compared with 27.1%, $p < .01$).

Te Kupenga respondents who said they felt lonely most or all of the time (in the last four weeks) were much more likely to report low levels of whānau wellbeing (23.5%) than those who had not experienced any recent loneliness (4.5%, $p < .000$). The latter were also far more likely to report very high levels of whānau wellbeing (28.6%).

Human resource potential

Māori who thought that their whānau got on very well were about six times more likely to report a very high level of whānau wellbeing (36.5%) than those who felt that their whānau got on badly or very badly (5.5%). Nearly one third (31.1%) of the latter assessed their whānau wellbeing as being very low.

Access to support was also strongly associated with self-assessed whānau wellbeing. Nearly 30% of those who had very easy access to general forms of support reported that their whānau were doing extremely well, compared to less than 12% of those who found it hard to access support. One in four of those who found it very hard to access general support also reported that their whānau were doing badly.

How individuals saw their own wellbeing was very strongly associated with their assessment of how well their whānau were doing. Māori who had a very high level of life satisfaction were almost three times more likely to report very high whānau wellbeing than those with low overall life satisfaction (43%, compared with 15.3%, $p < .000$). Similarly, those with very high levels of life satisfaction had the lowest level of reported poor whānau wellbeing (3.4% compared with 26.9% of those with low life satisfaction).

Self-rated health was strongly associated with whānau wellbeing. Just under 36% of those reporting excellent health saw their whānau as doing extremely well, compared with 19% of those respondents with poor self-rated health.

Economic capability

The potential impact of material conditions and resources on perceived whānau wellbeing appeared to be more influential at the lower levels of wellbeing. Economic security may afford a protection against very poor whānau wellbeing, but may be less important for very high wellbeing.

Having enough or more than enough total family income to meet every day needs was connected with higher reported levels of whānau wellbeing. Those with insufficient income, stood out at the lower end of subjective whānau wellbeing scores.

Reported levels of whānau wellbeing were not associated with the respondent's employment status but were associated with the respondent's housing. Those who owned (wholly or in part) their own home were more likely to describe their whānau as doing extremely well (27.3%) compared with those who did not own their homes (21.4%, $p < .000$).

Māori living in overcrowded households (that is, needing at least one more bedroom) were more likely to report that their whānau were doing extremely badly (9%) or only moderately well (24.6%) compared to Māori living in uncrowded houses (5.7% and 19.3% respectively).



6.6 Policy implications

The analysis has shown that there are multiple contributors to whānau wellbeing and improving whānau wellbeing is not about a single factor or even a single domain. Supporting and strengthening whānau wellbeing requires a multifaceted approach that includes social and human resource potential as well as economic factors.

While policy interventions to improve individual and family outcomes often focus on income, this report has highlighted the importance of other subjective measures. The perception of insufficient income to meet every day needs is connected with low levels of perceived wellbeing, but it pales by comparison with other measures examined here.

A key finding of this study is that the quality of whānau relationships is extremely important for whānau to thrive. Māori who feel that their whānau get along very well are much more likely to rate their whānau wellbeing very positively, whether they are rangatahi or kaumātua.

From a policy perspective, efforts to support and strengthen whānau must involve support for whānau networks and the relationships between whānau members. Efforts to support whānau to thrive also requires supporting individual whānau members to live their lives in a way that is meaningful and gives them satisfaction.

6.7 Future directions

The confirmation that Te Kupenga will be run again in 2018 creates an opportunity to include questions about multiple dimensions of perceived whānau wellbeing. It may also be possible to improve the quality of socio-economic measures such as household or family income. These changes would enable a more nuanced understanding of the underpinnings of whānau wellbeing, as well as a limited comparison of results over a five-year time period.

Extending our understanding of whānau wellbeing is going to require some assessment of causality. For quantitative research, this will require longitudinal data. Currently there is no national-level longitudinal data that include variables on whānau wellbeing. Filling this gap would not only enhance our understanding of one of the foundations of contemporary Māori society, it would also inform policies and programmes that enhance Māori wellbeing.

07

**Te Ritorito 2017:
opportunities and
challenges for whānau,
hapū and iwi wellbeing**





7.1 Introduction

Te Ritorito 2017: Towards whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing was an inaugural forum held on 3-4 April 2017 at Pipitea Marae. The forum is part of ongoing collaborative work between Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri, that has been under way since 2012. This chapter presents an interim report of Te Ritorito 2017, undertaken as part of the Families and Whānau work programme. A more in-depth report is scheduled to be prepared jointly by Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri.

This chapter first outlines the forum's development, context, aims and structure. The following sections focus on three substantive aspects of the forum:

- A new framework presented by Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie that drew together the key threads of the forum.
- Key aspects relating to systemic relationships between Te Āo Māori, wellbeing frameworks, policies, programme implementation and evaluation, that underpin the development of a comprehensive narrative on wellbeing. This includes reflections by Len Cook, Families Commissioner and Superu Board Chairperson.
- Four broad areas for future consideration pertaining to establishing interagency working group/s, resourcing, Māori Data Sovereignty and Te Ritorito 2017, continue the journey begun at the forum.

A brief overview of the forum sessions and presentations is provided at the end of the chapter.

7.2 Te Ritorito 2017 draws attention to intergenerational growth and development

Te Ritorito 2017 brought together a range of people to explore thinking that needs to occur for both Treaty partners to be prepared for the future.

The name "Te Ritorito" was given to the forum by Lewis Moeau. It draws our attention to the relevance of nurturing the centre of the flax plant as a metaphor for protecting knowledge in sustaining intergenerational growth and development:

'The harakeke was and still is a very important fibre used for weaving in the everyday life of Māori, the finished woven harakeke taonga – kete, korowai, piupiu, pōtae, pāke, putiputi and whāriki, were and / or are some of the tools of wellbeing for whānau, hapū and iwi'.

Like the harakeke, Te Ritorito 2017 celebrates the timeless legacy of previous seminal work and the significant new offshoots that are emerging. This foundation enables us to search outwards, seizing future opportunities and responding to new challenges.

7.3 Te Ritorito 2017 raises opportunities and challenges for evidence and policy

There is now a significant and growing body of theory, evidence, policies and programmes to support whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing. The work under way on whānau and/or Māori wellbeing frameworks, evidence and measures across government needs to develop its own comprehensive narrative, which is either sourced in or informed by Mātauranga Māori. The forum placed the practicalities of finding evidence to make better decisions alongside the emerging needs from the growth of Māori-specific programmes including Whānau Ora. It was developed to promote information sharing and discussion about the need for greater visibility of a legacy of rich conceptual thinking and frameworks. This is to better understand the very serious challenges that new developments in information and technology bring to all dimensions of knowledge across the social sector.

Key goals of Te Ritorito 2017 were to highlight:

- the growing body of research and evidence under way in the state sector to inform decision-making around whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing
- the innovative development and implementation of Whānau Ora from the perspective of iwi, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Commissioning Agencies, and whānau at the flaxroots
- future directions, opportunities and challenges.

The inaugural forum presented a broad overview of key work through short presentations by presenters whose expertise spanned practice, concepts and the development of enduring insights. It was envisaged that further fora would then explore specific areas of importance likely to be identified by participants.

Te Ritorito 2017 was opened by Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie, who emphasised the importance of the 'natural-built environment' to wellbeing. He spoke of 'iwi being well when our marae flourish, our rivers are safe and where we grow our own estate'. Sir Mason Durie stressed the importance of developing transformative frameworks, with the tools and practices to implement them. His opening address ended with both Treaty partners being urged to take these ideas into the workplace, and ultimately, 'to go the path less trodden.'

A matrix of key themes was identified in session forum planning

We structured the forum around a matrix of key themes as shown in Figure 8 (overleaf). Three themes: Concepts and wellbeing frameworks, Research and evidence base, and Policy and programme implementation were situated across a focus on the past, present and future. In particular, we wanted to create a structure where all the presentations contributed towards a shared picture of whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing.



Figure 8 _ Te Ritorito 2017 themes

	Concepts and wellbeing frameworks	Research and evidence base	Policy and programme implementation
Past	Treaty of Waitangi and wellbeing (Keynote: Justice Joe Williams)	Measures in Māori development	Whānau: past, present and future (Keynote: Dame Tariana Turia)
Present	Wellbeing frameworks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework for Tāmaki Makaurau, Independent Māori Statutory Board 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Te Kupenga and whānau wellbeing Māori statistics What works with Māori? 	Whānau Ora: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iwi Partnership Programme implementation Whānau Ora outcomes framework Service provision at the flaxroots
Future	Emerging whānau frameworks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Office of the Children’s Commissioner Investing In Children The Treasury 	Indigenous Data Sovereignty (Keynote: Dr Tahu Kukutai) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Iwi-specific outcomes and data 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsive policy and programme interventions

7.4 _ A new framework bringing together measurement, policy and whānau wellbeing dimensions

Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie gave the closing presentation for the forum: *Shifting the focus: from deficit thinking, data and policies to the realisation of the potential of whānau, hapū and iwi*. In closing, he drew across the themes and presentations of the two-day forum and presented a framework (Figure 9 overleaf) to identify a pathway forward.

This framework is particularly helpful as it conceptualises distinct aspects of the forum’s focus – research, evidence and policy implementation, to provide ‘the glue’ across and between work under way by both Treaty partners. This is then reflected in three dimensions – Whānau, Policy and Measurement with principles or elements relating to each. An important aspect of the framework is the inclusion of a set of principles for measurement work that can assist in deriving and providing context to how measures are developed, and important considerations for use of measures.

Figure 9 _ A Māori Wellbeing Framework: Three Dimensions

Presented by Sir Mason Durie at *Te Ritorito 2017: Towards whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing*. 4 April 2017. Pipitea Marae.





7.5 Ma pango ma whero ka oti ai te mahi: highlighting systemic relationships

In weaving together the matrix of themes, presentations, frameworks, models, research and evidence from the forum, the following systemic relationships can be identified. Essentially, there is a significant need to grow greater intersectoral understanding and collaboration framed within, and/or informed by, Te Āo Māori perspectives.

- **Te Āo whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori**

Te Āo whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori are the puna or wellspring from which Mātauranga Māori flows. This is to inform concepts and thinking about frameworks, measures, research and evidence, policy and programme development, and implementation and evaluation.

- **Conceptual and measurement wellbeing frameworks**

Conceptual whānau, tamariki, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing frameworks evolve from the puna to flow through and enrich the research environments, creating a range of measurement frameworks. As both the conceptual and measurement frameworks are sourced in or informed by Mātauranga Māori, a natural narrative emerges as to how the frameworks talk to and/or support each other. They distil some of the deeper knowledge that exists about whānau, hapū and iwi.

- **Research and evidence about whānau, hapū iwi and Māori wellbeing**

Having been conceptually grounded in the puna, the frameworks give rise to identifying and constructing qualitative and quantitative research, evidence, measures, statistics, and evolving tools such as the Integrated Data Infrastructure. This informs the development of the research and evidence; the frameworks also guide its analysis.

- **Policies and programmes to support whānau, hapū iwi and Māori wellbeing**

Informed by research and evidence that is sourced within and/or informed by Mātauranga Māori; policies and programmes – such as those targeting investing in whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori – can be developed through a relevant understanding of the characteristics of whānau that are not recognised in traditional statistical measures.

- **Whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing programmes are implemented and evaluated**

Informed by all the above, programme implementation can now be prioritised and resourced where it is most effective. Finally, the policies, programmes and their implementation are able to be evaluated from a knowledge base that is evidence-informed to ascertain programme effectiveness in achieving what it is that whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori identify as wellbeing.

To draw on the opportunities and challenges emerging from these systemic relationships, a greater awareness and understanding of the interface between Western science and Mātauranga Māori is required. This understanding is critical in order to frame the conceptual and measurement narratives arising within this work programme. In doing so we need to develop the tools required to explore policies, programme implementation and evaluation that are more relevant to whānau.

Reflections on opportunities and challenges by Families Commissioner, Len Cook

As part of this emerging narrative, Families Commissioner, Len Cook, presented his reflections on Te Ritorito 2017 in his recent article *Reflections on whānau – the bigger picture, and what the future implications are for Māori and Government*.²⁷ He raises a number of opportunities and challenges including that:

- *Whānau Ora brings a huge challenge for government systems.* Government systems have limited forms of evidence on whānau and we have devoted little resource to understanding where and how whānau involvement leads to different outcomes. Systems will need to adapt.
- *Whānau-based programmes are ambitious.* We must not lose momentum in getting whānau-based programmes running and performing, or in getting behind new thinking about defining performance.
- *Whānau and iwi outcomes are not necessarily aligned, unless there is deliberate intent.* They are relevant in different contexts from social, economic and cultural perspectives.
- *While public administration brings a strong compliance focus, there needs to be a better understanding of how whānau think about evidence.* Accountability for delivery and what is measured must be recognised and valued on both sides.
- *Government needs to give more consideration to understanding whānau as a unit.* Whānau are rich with social connectedness and are a strength in our society, but there is great potential still untapped.
- *Measuring ‘what works’ challenges our current thinking.* Existing public sector targeting and standards for performance measurement differs from how whānau think about and measure ‘what works’.
- *As ‘whānau’ become an instrument of policy, there is a high risk that specific characteristics will be lost to public officials through a narrow understanding.* A better understanding of whānau is needed if we are to accurately capture evidence of ‘what works’.

7.6 Where to from here?

This was a key question for many of the participants. As hosts of this inaugural forum, Superu and Te Puni Kōkiri have received significant taonga that map and guide pathways forward for both Treaty partners. We consider the inaugural forum sends a strong signal to reposition and explore the research, evidence, measures and policies about whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing across the social sector. In particular the drive for a social investment approach across government needs to be enabled by the research, knowledge and evidence on whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori wellbeing articulated in many of the presentations.

²⁷ See Len Cook, Families Commissioner’s blog, 19 April 2017. <https://nzfamiliescommissioner.com/2017/04/19/reflections-on-whānau-the-bigger-picture-and-what-the-future-implications-are-for-māori-and-government/>



While the implications, opportunities and challenges are yet to be fully scoped, Te Ritorito 2017 suggests four broad areas of focus for further consideration:

1. Establish interagency working group/s to strengthen collaboration on whānau and Māori wellbeing frameworks, measures and evidence. In particular, to:

- construct an integrated narrative across the state sector around the differing roles and commonalities of the conceptual and measurement wellbeing frameworks
- draw on the narrative and frameworks to establish informed mechanisms for decision-making around data and evidence
- identify collective opportunities, initiatives and challenges for the state sector arising from existing and emerging whānau and Māori wellbeing frameworks
- explore the opportunities and challenges of a systemic, integrated Māori research and evidence strategy, to inform and support targeted investment across the social sector.

2. Resource the Treaty partnership to:

- support whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori to develop their own evidence to drive decision-making and investment
- build Crown capability to effectively engage with and support the aspirations of whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori.

3. Engage with Māori Data Sovereignty to:

- identify opportunities and challenges for both Treaty partners that arise through greater flexibility of and accessibility to data and information.

4. Te Ritorito 2017: continuing the journey

- Initial feedback on Te Ritorito 2017 showed that over 90% would attend Te Ritorito again, 80% of participants rated the forum from 'very good' to 'excellent', over 80% want Te Ritorito to be run either annually or biannually, with over 75% stating that the networking provided new opportunities for their work.
- It was clear that there is also a demand for ongoing regional workshops and/or fora. This is to enable people to 'drill down' in more depth on issues pertinent to them. For example:
 - workshops and fora targeted at different audiences, such as NGO staff working at the flaxroots
 - understanding the role of statistical wellbeing data and how it is developed and analysed
 - why and how to develop wellbeing frameworks
 - greater sharing and promotion of success stories from the flaxroots
 - relationships between Māori Data Sovereignty, official data and research ethics
 - fora that bring together policy developers, community workers and whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori
 - information-sharing across NGOs Whānau Ora providers, commissioning agencies and the Iwi Partnership Group.

Te Ritorito 2017: Towards whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing

Overview of the forum

The forum was opened by Emeritus Professor Sir Mason Durie

Sir Mason Durie emphasised the importance of the ‘natural-built environment’ to wellbeing. He spoke of ‘iwi being well when our marae flourish, our rivers are safe and where we grow our own estate’. The presentation stressed the importance of developing transformative frameworks, with the tools and practices to implement them. His opening address ended with both Treaty partners being urged to take these ideas into the workplace, and ultimately, ‘to go the path less trodden.’

Day One Session One, Learning from the past

In designing this session, the project team drew together the seminal legacy from the past that is representative of the Treaty partnership, wellbeing and Māori statistics. This legacy creates a solid platform on which to stand to build and view current developments and identify future opportunities and challenges.

Justice Joe Williams provided a keynote address, highlighting the impact of worldviews in collision on whānau, hapū and iwi. He stressed that this has resulted in a system where whanaungatanga has been removed from economy, law and religion and where resource allocation is controlled by central government, as opposed to the traditional mechanisms of the hapū. Joe Williams noted that the social control mechanisms of whānau and hapū have been replaced by a central government of the police and the courts. Joe Williams concluded that in spite of this:

‘Whanaungatanga lives on and is the great challenge of the Post-Settlement era. Government can’t do it; iwi can’t do it; but in partnership they may succeed.’

Day One Session Two: Framing the frameworks

This session was designed to present a range of existing and emerging conceptual and measurement whānau and/or Māori wellbeing frameworks. All frameworks presented were either sourced in or informed by Mātauranga Māori. There is a growth of whānau and Māori wellbeing frameworks taking place in social sector agencies. However, as this work is framed by key Māori principles and concepts, the different wellbeing frameworks are able to conceptually speak to each other.

In terms of the state sector there is a need to draw together the differing whānau and/or Māori frameworks to understand where alignment may be possible, as well as where this may not be appropriate. For example:

'If we don't investigate where and how this work may be integrated, then statistics can be entered into the Integrated Data Infrastructure without an informed mechanism for decision-making'.²⁸

Day One Session Three: Whānau data and measuring wellbeing

This session focused on measures of wellbeing and continued the earlier themes from the first two sessions. It highlighted the need to develop statistics and data from a Te Ao Māori perspective, presenting some of the tools and insights arising from this work. The session also introduced the Integrated Data Infrastructure and iwi classifications.

Superu launched its publication *Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga*,²⁹ providing an opportunity to better understand whānau in a way that reflects Māori values. The report enables Māori to evaluate how well their whānau are doing, rather than relying on the judgements of external observers, or narrowly constraining wellbeing to objective measures such as income and employment.

The inclusion of a presentation from Ministry for Primary Industries among social sector research and evidence was to emphasise the connectedness of social, cultural, economic and environmental resources as key to whānau and hapū wellbeing.

The first day culminated in an evening address at the forum dinner by Helen Leahy, Chief Executive of Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu. Helen outlined the significance of whenua to whānau wellbeing, through the experience of Ngāti Kuia as kaitiaki of Te Waikoropupū Springs.

Day Two Session One: Implementing whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing – what works?

While a key focus for the first day was on research and evidence, day two was about its application, drawing on Whānau Ora to illustrate this. *Session One, Implementing whānau hapū and iwi wellbeing – what works?* opened with a keynote address by Dame Tariana Turia, who provided an example of whānau resilience to show the importance of Whānau Ora in our everyday lives.

The session then presented the structure and development of the Whānau Ora initiative. Importantly, the project team wanted to highlight the different aspects of Whānau Ora, and how these aspects come together to deliver oranga whānau. While many people have engaged with various parts of Whānau Ora, the whole initiative needs to be seen in its entirety. The session concluded with existing research into key reflections on what it is whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori have said works with Māori.

²⁸ Whetu Wereta Te Ritorito 2017.

²⁹ See See Kukutai, T., Sporle, A. & Roskrug, M. (2017). *Subjective whānau wellbeing in Te Kupenga*. Families Commission: Wellington. <http://www.superu.govt.nz/sites/default/files/Subjective%20owh%C4%81nau%20wellbeing%20report.pdf>

Day Two Session Two, Where to from here?

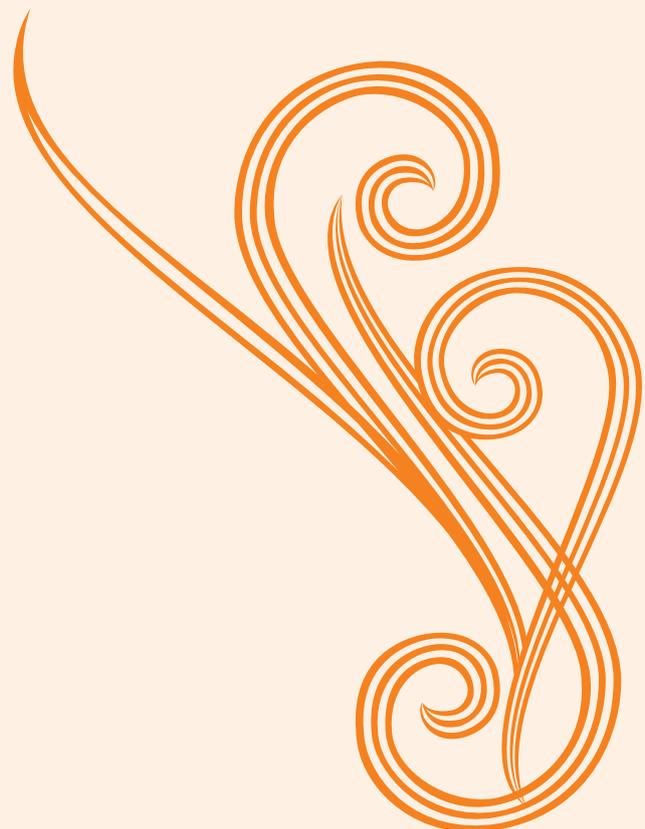
This session was aimed at positioning research, evidence and implementation on whānau, hapū and iwi wellbeing as the basis for future opportunities and challenges.

A keynote address by Dr Tahu Kukutai on Indigenous Data Sovereignty opened the session. The keynote highlighted the increasing impact of data and new technologies on individuals and on whānau, hapū and iwi. This was further informed by a presentation on the importance of iwi-specific outcomes in decision-making. As a key theme emerging from the forum was the importance of Mātauranga Māori to frame Māori outcomes, this session also explored the interface between Mātauranga Māori and Western science.

The forum was then summarised and closed by Sir Mason Durie

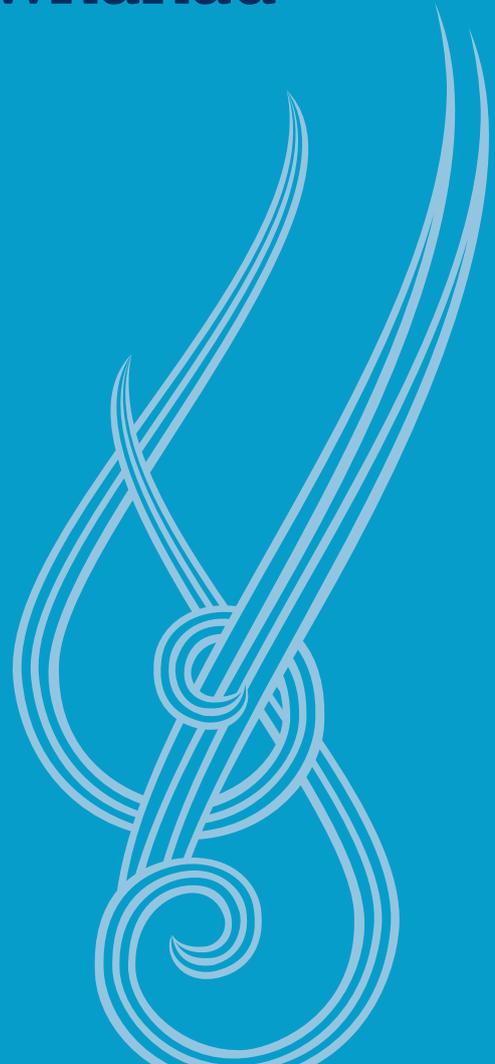
Sir Mason summarised all key themes, opportunities and challenges from Te Ritorito 2017 that arise for both Treaty partners going forward. The development and presentation of a new framework to 'shift the focus from deficit thinking, data and policies to the realisation of the potential of whānau, hapū and iwi' was a highlight for the forum.

In particular, the framework identifies the need to develop measures and policies from a Te Ao Māori perspective to be more effective and relevant to whānau.



08

Bridging cultural perspectives – families and whānau





8.1 Introduction and rationale

This chapter presents the underlying rationale, key features of a Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach (which uses He Awa Whiria as a central platform), how it was implemented and reflections on using it. The use of this approach in our work encourages consideration of the different ways in which the generic family “concept” is embodied by the two perspectives. It is an example of how such an approach has been implemented. This chapter draws on work done in an associated Superu research project to articulate and better understand what using a He Awa Whiria-based approach means. A Bridging Cultural Perspectives discussion paper and resources for using this approach will be released by Superu in July 2017.

A key feature of the families and whānau wellbeing research programme and associated status reports has been the emphasis on a dual stranded approach. This approach builds evidence and understanding from two different perspectives exemplified by the development of the separate family wellbeing and whānau rangatiratanga wellbeing frameworks and associated work strands. The deliberate focus on these two knowledge strands was a choice made at the outset of the families and whānau work with the adoption of the He Awa Whiria (Braided Rivers) model³⁰ as the platform for doing so.

The first families and whānau status report noted that the Families Commission (which subsequently became Superu) supported the view that:

Knowledge in New Zealand emanates from two separate streams, the Western Science stream and the Te Ao Māori (Māori world) stream. This approach has resulted in two distinct frameworks, one for thinking about family wellbeing and one for whānau wellbeing. This has allowed the different frameworks to come from and sit within, their relevant cultural and value systems. p.7

In more recent status reports, the dual families and whānau bicultural approach is described as recognising the Crown’s unique relationship with Māori as tangata whenua (people of the land, New Zealand’s indigenous population) under the Treaty of Waitangi.

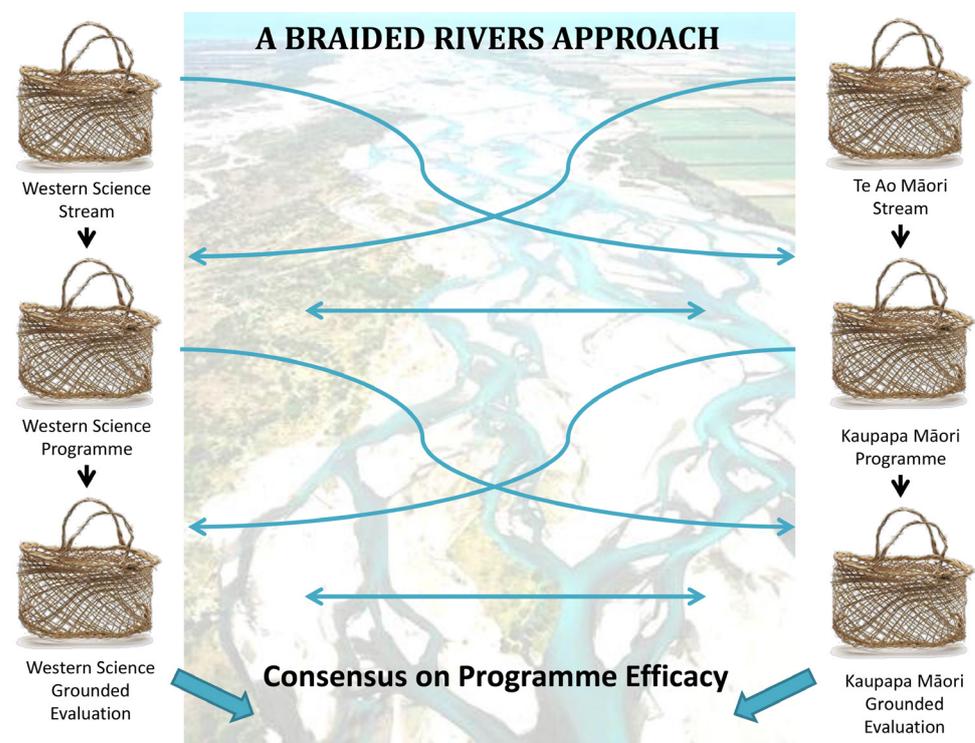
³⁰ Macfarlane, A, Blampied, N & Macfarlane, S, (2011) ‘Blending the clinical and the cultural: A framework for conducting formal psychological assessment in bicultural settings’, *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 40: 5-15



8.2 Do the two knowledge streams ever become one?

The He Awa Whiria model that was adopted is depicted in Figure 10 below.

Figure 10 _ The He Awa Whiria – Braided Rivers model



Source: Ministry of Social Development. (2015). In A. Macfarlane, S. Macfarlane, & G. Gillon, Sociocultural realities: Exploring new horizons. Christchurch: Canterbury University Press

The 2014 Families and Whānau Status Report described the He Awa Whiria model in the following way.

There are three important elements of the Braided Rivers approach.

Firstly, the streams start separately, within their own knowledge frameworks (Western Science and Kaupapa Māori).

At various points in the project their tributaries come together to exchange knowledge and findings.

Finally the two streams or strands come together for a consensus based on the knowledge acquired from both streams. p113

The 2014 status report presented an analysis of elements that were perceived as common to both the families and whānau wellbeing frameworks. That report proposed that future work would be based on a combined reporting of indicators relating to these common features. One dimension from the whānau-related framework (sustainability of Te Ao Māori) was identified as unique and it was proposed that this would be reported on its own.

Following the release of the 2014 report, further consideration about how He Awa Whiria should best be implemented raised questions such as: Why and when should braiding occur? Do the two strands become one hybrid approach, and if so, how can that be readily interpreted? These questions are addressed in a related Superu project, Bridging Cultural Perspectives. This project aims to better understand, articulate and provide markers for undertaking a He Awa Whiria-based approach with integrity. The approach draws from two models: He Awa Whiria – Braided Rivers and Negotiated Spaces³¹ and involved a review of literature, ongoing consultation with an expert steering group, and wānanga.

The Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach suggests that:

“in the braided river metaphor, both streams start at the same place and run beside each other in equal strength. They come together on the riverbed and then they move away from one another. Each stream spends more time apart than together. In the model, when they do converge, the space created is one of learning, not assimilating. This project aims to increase the integrity of both streams in order to represent wellbeing for all people.”³²

8.3 An example of Bridging Cultural Perspectives

The Bridging Cultural Perspectives project clarified the importance of maintaining two separate families and whānau knowledge strands that come together (are braided) when there are specific research questions to be addressed. The two strands are separate research paths that evolve and are interpreted within their own world views. Valuable insights and knowledge are also gained from the two strands being progressed together within one research programme and organisation.

³¹ Smith, L., Hemi, M., Hudson, M., Roberts, M., Tiakiwai, S.-J., & Baker, M. (2013). Dialogue at a Cultural Interface: A Report for Te Hau Mihi Ata: Mātauranga Māori, Science & Biotechnology. Te Kōtahi Research Institute, University of Waikato.

³² Bridging Cultural Perspectives discussion paper – work in progress.



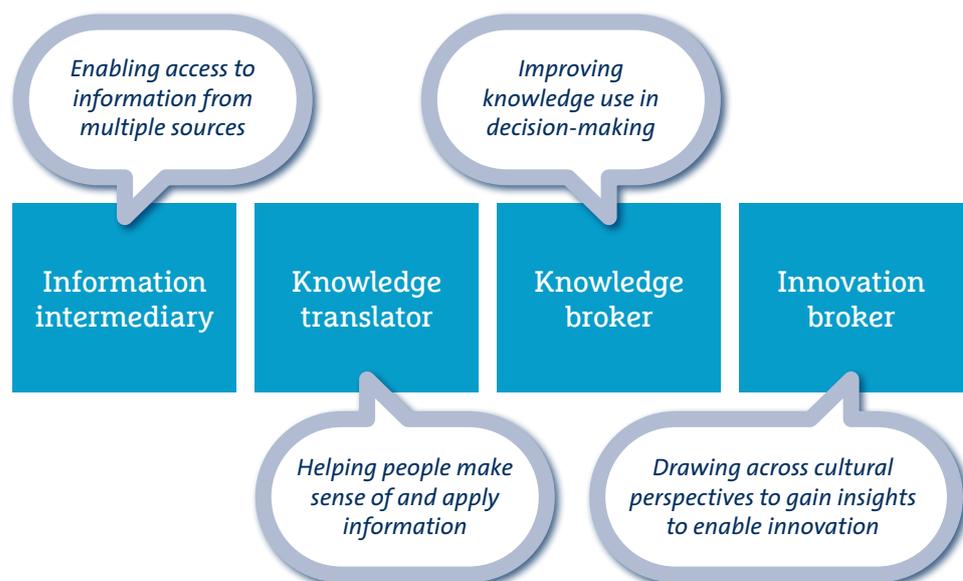
Purpose and roles

A key emphasis of Bridging Cultural Perspectives is having a clear and shared understanding of the aims, roles, and potential consequences of working in collaboration. The approach identifies its use for pursuing four different general aims (with associated roles).³³ It also proposes seven markers of integrity for successful implementation. The remainder of this chapter situates our families and whānau work within the four aims identified and reflects on how the markers of integrity relate to our work.

Figure 11 below shows the four different general aims with associated roles identified in Bridging Cultural Perspectives. These aims range from information creation and sharing, to assisting interpretation, use of evidence from dual perspectives in making decisions and recommendations, and creating innovative solutions by drawing across both perspectives.

The family and whānau wellbeing research work is located towards the right-hand side of the roles shown in Figure 11 – *Information intermediary and Knowledge translator*. Our work advances knowledge from both traditional “Western” (families) and Te Ao Māori (whānau) perspectives by progressing our conceptual thinking, conducting research, making information and evidence accessible and helping people make sense of and apply it.

Figure 11 _ Bridging Cultural Perspectives – Purpose and roles



³³ Adapted from a model proposed by Fisher C. (2010) Knowledge Brokering and Intermediary Concept. http://www.preventionweb.net/files/workspace/33381_knowledgebrokeringandintermediaryco.pdf

Seven markers of integrity

Bridging Cultural Perspectives identifies seven markers for working with integrity as shown in Table 3. These are: Partnership (collaboration), Protection, Participation, Respect, Honesty, Relevance and Reciprocity.

TABLE
03
Bridging Cultural Perspectives:
Markers of integrity in practice

Markers	Application
Partnership (Collaboration)	Ensure Māori and Indigenous peoples can tell their stories in their own voice. Provide enough time and space for clear and explicit discussion about how the results will be used.
Respect	Acknowledge that in Aotearoa New Zealand we recognise and value two distinct knowledge systems, Western science and Mātauranga Māori, as well as other knowledge systems.
Honesty	Acknowledge any lack of understanding about other knowledge systems. This then provides a basis to understand the extent of the cultural divide between different groups. Understand that there is more than one truth.
Relevance	Be clear about who will benefit and how they will benefit. Provide clear articulation and understanding of the aims and use of results.
Reciprocity	Negotiate from the beginning of the research process or evaluation. Consider how the research or evaluation is to be conducted and analysed and how the results of the work will be shared with others.
Protection	Ensure that the intellectual property rights of Māori and Indigenous peoples will be observed and protected from misuse and misrepresentation.
Participation	Ensure that dialogue spaces are culturally safe for open debate and discussion. Recognise that the dialogue space fosters open inquiry and discussion. Build trust between the different groups early.

Partnership (Collaboration)

*Ensure Māori and Indigenous peoples can tell their stories in their own voice.
Provide enough time and space for clear and explicit discussion about how the results will be used.*

Working collaboratively with people and organisations external to Superu is a key element of successfully progressing our work. This brings essential skills, knowledge, experience, relationships and perspectives to the families and whānau research strands. In particular, relationships relating to the whānau wellbeing research (such as with members of our Board, our Whānau Reference Group, Te Puni Kōkiri, and Tahu Kukutai, Andrew Sporle and other researchers we work with), are essential in helping to ensure that Māori can tell their stories and Māori voices are heard.



Although the annual reporting of family and whānau wellbeing for this research series began in 2013, it only represents a portion of a much larger building and accumulation of knowledge over time. A fundamental contribution to the families and whānau wellbeing research and reporting completed over the past five years is the invaluable legacy of work that had been undertaken previously by the Families Commission and elsewhere. As the Te Ritorito 2017 forum experience highlights (see Chapter 7 of this report), improving outcomes for whānau (and families) draws on the conversations, relationships and efforts of the past to progress current initiatives with an eye to the opportunities and challenges for the future.

Respect

Acknowledge that in Aotearoa New Zealand we recognise and value two distinct knowledge systems, Western science and Mātauranga Māori, as well as other knowledge systems.

Respect, acknowledgement, recognition and valuing of two distinct knowledge systems, Western science and Mātauranga Māori, has been a feature of the families and whānau wellbeing work from the outset. Resourcing, developing and advancing two distinct knowledge strands (And-And approach) rather than focusing on one core strand of work and gaining alternative cultural perspectives on it (Add-on approach) is an essential characteristic of our work.

Honesty

Acknowledge any lack of understanding about other knowledge systems. This then provides a basis to understand the extent of the cultural divide between different groups.

Understand that there is more than one truth.

It is perhaps this marker of integrity that causes the most self-reflection in terms of how we perceive and accept other cultural perspectives. The families and whānau journey has meant that at times we have had to grapple with tensions around the “One Truth” concept and progress our work in a way that acknowledges and recognises limitations in our understanding of other knowledge systems.

This marker emphasises the importance of reflecting upon and discussing the perspectives that different people bring to a project as part of the project work. For the families and whānau work, it relates to our decision to further consider and review how best to implement a He Awa Whiria approach in 2014.

The building of cultural understanding over time has also been a key feature of the work with increased understanding by some members of the project and the organisation more generally. Initial self-reflection by project members and acknowledgement of limitations can provide a starting point for improving understanding. Some project members gained improved cultural understanding from being involved in specific capability building activities and through being involved in the families and whānau work itself.

Relevance

Be clear about who will benefit and how they will benefit.

Provide clear articulation and understanding of the aims and use of results.

The questions raised in 2014 about why and when to “braid” across the families and whānau knowledge strands are highlighted in considering the Relevance marker. The use of the Bridging Cultural Perspectives approach to locate our work across the Information Intermediary and Knowledge Translator context provides us with a basis for thinking about the value that our work provides. Our work can be thought of as building and enhancing the conceptual and information platforms of the two distinct traditional “Western” and Te Ao Māori knowledge strands. Without the articulation of these strands it would be impossible to look across these two perspectives. Braiding of these strands can most fruitfully occur in response to a specific decision-making or social policy or programme issue.

Reciprocity, Protection and Participation

These three markers are considerations we keep in mind in progressing our families and whānau wellbeing work. As mentioned previously an essential element of our research is engaging with others (for example, our Whānau Reference Group) and maintaining ongoing relationships that help guide and inform our work in a way that is mindful of these concerns.

Māori terms and meanings

Āhua	<i>(noun)</i> Shape, appearance, character, likeness, nature, figure, form. <i>(verb)</i> to form, make
Au	<i>(pronoun)</i> I, me
Awhi	Embrace, cherish, cuddle
E tipu e rea	This is part of a statement, a parting wish uttered by the late Sir Apirana Ngata in 1949, which became a vision for many young Māori. 'E tipu e rea, mo ngā rā o tōu ao, ko to ringa ki ngā rakau a te Pākeha hei ora mo te tinana, ko to ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tīpuna Māori hei tikitiki mo to mahunga, a ko to wairua ki te atua, nana nei ngā mea katoa. (Thrive in the days destined for you, your hand to the tools of the Pākeha to provide physical sustenance, your heart to the treasures of your ancestors to adorn your head, your soul to God to whom all things belong)
Hapū	<i>(noun)</i> Sub-tribe (stative) (to be)pregnant
Hoa Rangatira	<i>(noun)</i> Spouse, partner
Hunaonga	Son in law, daughter in law
Hungawai	Mother in law, father in law
Iwi	<i>(noun)</i> Extend kinship group, tribe. Bone/s
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology – a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society
Kotahitanga	Unity, togetherness, collective action
Kanohi ki kanohi	Face to face
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan or purpose
Kuia	Grandmother, elderly woman
Kōhanga reo	Language nest (where only te reo Māori is used)
Koroua	Grandfather, elderly man
Kura	<i>(noun)</i> School, <i>(verb)</i> to teach
Manaakitanga	Generosity, care and respect of others, kindness
Marae	Traditional tribal and hapū meeting place or complex. There are now urban and some pan-Māori marae complexes
Marae Tupuna	Ancestral marae
Mātāmua	First, elder
Matua	<i>(noun)</i> Father



Mātua	Parents
Mihi	<i>(verb)</i> To greet
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren or Great grandchild/ren
Pākeke	Adults
Pōtiki	Youngest child
Rangatiratanga	Right to exercise authority, Chiefly autonomy, leadership of social group
Tamariki	Children
Taonga	Treasure, anything prized
Taura here	Tribal members in the city who join taura here groups to help to retain their identity and links back to their tribal homelands
Te Kupenga	<i>(noun)</i> Net, fishing net. For the purpose of this report Te Kupenga is the name given to Statistics NZ Māori Social Survey
Teina	Younger brothers (of a male), younger sisters (of a female), cousins (of the same gender) of a junior line
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Tikanga	Norms of behaviour and practices, traditions and customs
Tuākana	Elder brothers (of a male), elder sisters (of a female), cousins (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the whānau)
Tūpuna	Ancestors
Turangawaewae	A place to stand. Where there are rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa
Uri	Descendant, progeny, offspring
Whaea	Mother
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Wānanga	<i>(noun)</i> Tertiary education institute, University <i>(verb)</i>
Whakatauki	Proverbial saying, adage
Whānau	<i>(verb)</i> To give birth, to be born <i>(noun)</i> Extended family, family group
Whānau Ora	A social service delivery policy which uses providers and navigators working closely with families and whānau
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of connection to family
Whāngai	Foster or adopted child
Whare Tupuna	Ancestral house

Appendix A

An overview of previous Families and Whānau Status Reports

The first **2013 Families and Whānau Status Report** examined relevant literature on wellbeing, families and whānau. It provided a demographic profile of New Zealand and mapped the most significant changes over the past 20 to 30 years. These included smaller family sizes, increased longevity, relatively high fertility levels, higher rates of household formation and dissolution, an aging population and greater diversity in family forms.

The report presented the first draft of the Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework and discussed some of the key issues around data for measuring whānau wellbeing. The framework drew on the following key Māori principles and the capability dimensions of the Māori Statistics Framework for its development:

Principles

- **Whakapapa** – principles associated with descent (including kinship, the essence of whānau, hapū and iwi).
- **Manaakitanga** – principles associated with duties and expectations of care and reciprocity.
- **Kotahitanga** – principles associated with collective unity.
- **Wairuatanga** – principles associated with a spiritual embodiment.
- **Rangatiratanga** – principles associated with governance, leadership and the hierarchal nature of traditional Māori society.

Capability dimensions

The Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework focused on four dimensions of whānau wellbeing: the sustainability of Te Ao Māori; social capability; human resource potential; and economic self-determination. These dimensions align with the ‘capabilities approach’ to measuring wellbeing. This approach focuses on opportunities, potential and the ability to achieve one’s own aspirations.

The 2013 report established the broad conceptual underpinnings for developing two wellbeing frameworks for measuring and monitoring family and whānau wellbeing and for discussion and consultation with key stakeholders. The two frameworks draw on the two separate streams of knowledge about families or whānau. They were developed in order to better understand the differing knowledge systems of the Treaty partners. This bicultural approach continued to inform the Commission’s work.

The **2014 Families and Whānau Status Report** introduced the Family Wellbeing Framework and set out the two frameworks in more detail and included preliminary analysis of trends in family and whānau wellbeing. The Family Wellbeing Framework is structured around four domains – physical, material, emotional and social – and identifies a number of key factors within each domain that contribute to the ability of families to perform their core functions.

The Family Wellbeing Framework is expected to evolve over time to reflect improvements in the data that is available and our improved understanding of family wellbeing. The Commission recognised that no one set of indicators will be able to provide a comprehensive overview of family wellbeing, and that a wider research work programme was needed to improve our understanding of family wellbeing. This was put in place.

The **2015 Families and Whānau Status Report** refined and consolidated the conceptual frameworks as the basis for measuring, monitoring and better understanding family and whānau wellbeing. It also presented a coherent set of family wellbeing indicators relating to families, and to individuals within six different types of families (see Appendix B):³⁴

- Couple, both under 50 years of age
- Couple, one or both aged 50 years and over
- Two parents with at least one child under 18 years of age
- One parent with at least one child under 18 years of age
- Two parents with all children 18 years of age and over
- One parent with all children 18 years of age and over.

The report has separate analyses of family and whānau wellbeing based on their respective conceptual wellbeing frameworks. The Family Wellbeing Framework addressed each of the six family types separately using a range of indicators, clustered into six themes:

- Health
- Relationships and connections
- Economic security and housing
- Safety and environment
- Skills, learning and employment
- Identity and sense of belonging.

The whānau wellbeing analysis included an additional classification for multi-family households, and a coherent set of whānau wellbeing indicators using data from the first national Māori Social Survey, Te Kupenga.³⁵

³⁴ These family types relate to family members who were usually resident in a household when survey data was collected.

³⁵ See: *Superu At a Glance: Frameworks to measure family and whānau wellbeing* or download the full report: superu.govt.nz/statusreport



The **2016 Families and Whānau Status Report** reported on advances in the research programme. Over the year, the research team:

- Measured the wellbeing of European, Māori, Pacific, and Asian families using the family wellbeing framework and indicators for the first time and suggested key areas of policy focus indicated by the results.
- Explored whānau relationships as reported in Te Kupenga (the Māori Social Survey); to address a substantial gap in the evidence base about whānau).
- Identified two main dimensions (individualism-collectivism; and independent–interdependent) that researchers, policy-makers and programme providers can use as a way to systematically think about family diversity and how families function.
- Examined how a life course perspective can be useful for framing family-focused policy and research and identified an initial exploratory model for doing so. The six family types used in this and earlier reports reflect a general pattern of family transitions for people as they age. They also reflect movement back and forth between one and two parent family circumstances.

The report found that:

- Younger European couples are faring reasonably well but younger Māori, Pacific and Asian couples face some challenges.
- Most older couples are at a life stage where they have become financially secure but health issues are a concern.
- Māori, Pacific and Asian families with two parents and younger children face a mixture of challenges.
- Single parents with younger children face financial and psychological stresses and some struggle with employment and skills.
- Couples with adult children have fair to strong results overall, however Pacific families appear to be facing difficulties.
- Single parent families with adult children are doing relatively well economically but many have poorer health outcomes.
- The vast majority of Māori think of their whānau in terms of whakapapa (genealogical relationships), but the breadth of these relationships varies greatly, for example from referring solely to the immediate family to the inclusion of extended family.

Appendix B

Definitions of different family types

Families can be defined in many different ways – for example by descent, by choice or by residence. For this research, we are reliant on the definitions of ‘family’ used by our main statistical collections. Statistics New Zealand collects information on those who are usually resident in a household and the nature of the relationships between them. We used this information to identify families living in the household and to classify them into one of several family types, based on classification rules. We defined six different family types as a basis for examining family wellbeing. These family types relate to a family who was usually resident in the household at the time that survey data were collected.²⁴ The categories are mutually exclusive (that is, each family is allocated to only one of the family types). The family types are:

1. Couple, both under 50 years of age

Two people who are married, in a civil union, or in a de facto relationship, and who usually live together in the same household.

They are both aged under 50.

They either have no children or do not have their children living with them.

2. Couple, one or both aged 50 years of age or older

Two people who are married, in a civil union, or in a de facto relationship, and who usually live together in the same household.

One or both of them are aged 50 or older.

They either have no children or do not have their children living with them.

3. Two parents with at least one child under 18 years of age

Two parents with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household.

At least one of the children is under 18.



4. One parent with at least one child under 18 years of age

One parent with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household.

At least one of the children is under 18.

5. Two parents with all children 18 years of age and older

Two parents with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household.

All the children are 18 or older.

6. One parent with all children 18 years of age and older

One parent with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household.

All the children are 18 or older.

For the family wellbeing analysis we have separated the concepts of family and household. We have allocated all families to their relevant family type according to the classifications above, regardless of whether they are living with other families in a household. For example, if two families are living in the same household they are counted as two different families.

We chose a definition of 'child' that was solely age-based. This is consistent with the definitions in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Care of Children Act 2004, and the Children's Commissioner Act 2003, all of which refer to children under the age of 18. We note that this differs from the Statistics New Zealand use of the category 'dependent child', which excludes children aged from 15 to 17 years who are in full-time employment.

The ethnic identity of families has been categorised on the basis that at least one family member has identified with that group. The Census ethnicity question allowed for a respondent to identify with more than one ethnic group and for different family members to identify with different ethnicities. This means that a family can be represented in more than one ethnic grouping. Therefore results presenting ethnicity across the family types will sum to greater than the number of families.



Appendix C

The Family Wellbeing and Whānau Rangatiratanga Conceptual Frameworks

The Family Wellbeing Framework depicted in Figure C1 overleaf provides a comprehensive structure for understanding family wellbeing. It identifies four core functions of family wellbeing and factors that influence and contribute to the ability of families to fulfil their core functions. These core functions and factors contribute to family wellbeing across the wellbeing domains. There is a complex interplay across these functions, factors and domains. A more detailed discussion of the Family Wellbeing Framework can be found in the Families and Whānau Status Report 2015.

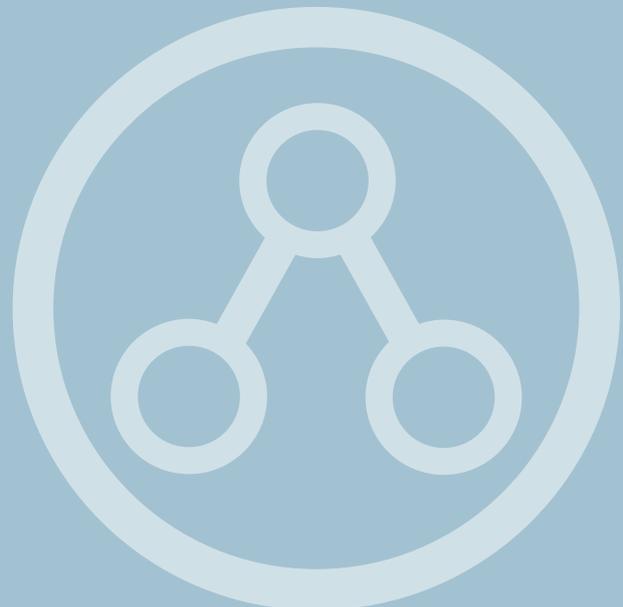
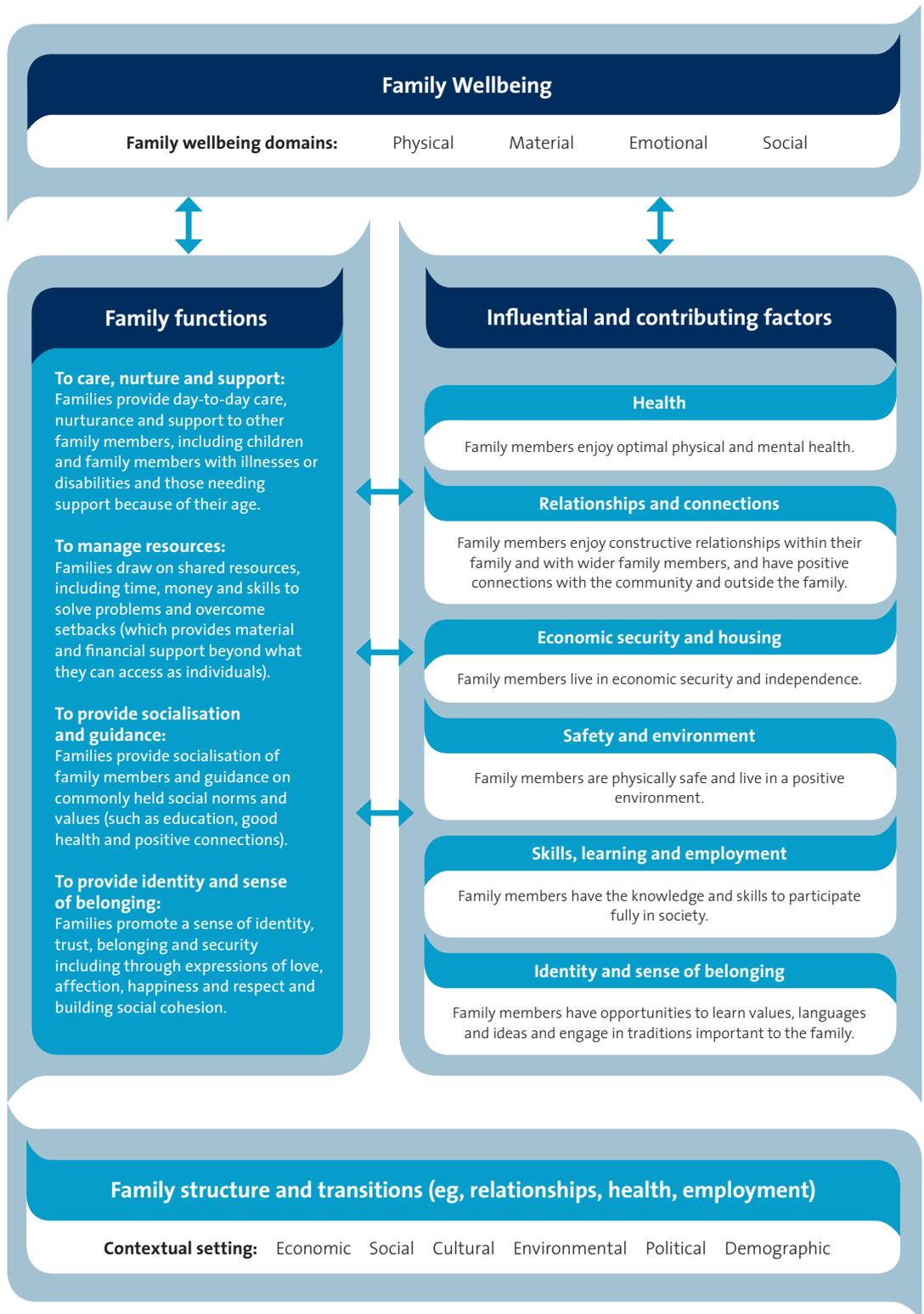




Figure C1_ Family Wellbeing Framework



The Whānau Rangatiratanga Conceptual Framework has drawn on capability dimensions and whānau rangatiratanga (whānau empowerment) principles to measure and understand outcomes of whānau wellbeing. The framework provides a Māori lens to view trends in whānau wellbeing over time. Inside the framework there are also ‘areas of interest’ or ‘factors’ that contribute to or influence whānau wellbeing. The development of the Whānau Rangatiratanga Framework is discussed in more detail in Families and Whānau Status Report 2013 and in a Superu report on the development of the whānau rangatiratanga frameworks.³⁶

Figure C2_ Whānau Rangatiratanga Conceptual Framework



³⁶ See *The Whānau Rangatiratanga Frameworks: Approaching whānau wellbeing from within Te Ao Māori*, 2016 http://www.superu.govt.nz/whanau_rangatiratanga_frameworks

Appendix D

Measuring multiple disadvantage

The multiple disadvantage measure used for this exploratory analysis includes sixteen indicators from the 2014 General Social Survey, corresponding to eight life domains. For four of the domains, only one appropriate indicator was available which means that disadvantage identified in those indicators directly corresponds with disadvantage in its respective domain. The other four have between two and four indicators for each life domain. To identify disadvantage for these domains, we selected the number of indicators needed to be in disadvantage for each domain using insights from the literature and advice from the cross sector reference group. Figure D1 overleaf shows all the indicators, their thresholds, and the number of indicators needed to be in disadvantage to determine disadvantage for each life domain.

The General Social Survey, Statistics New Zealand

The General Social Survey was first conducted in 2008, with further surveys every two years. This survey provides information on the wellbeing of New Zealanders aged 15 years and over with one individual per household meeting this criterion selected at random to complete the survey. This research uses data from the 2014 survey.

The General Social Survey has an overall sample size of around 8,500. However, when it is divided up among the six family types, the smaller numbers for each family type meant that we had to be cautious about interpreting any differences in the indicator results between groups as being a real difference in wellbeing, rather than merely a random result (because of the small sample size).

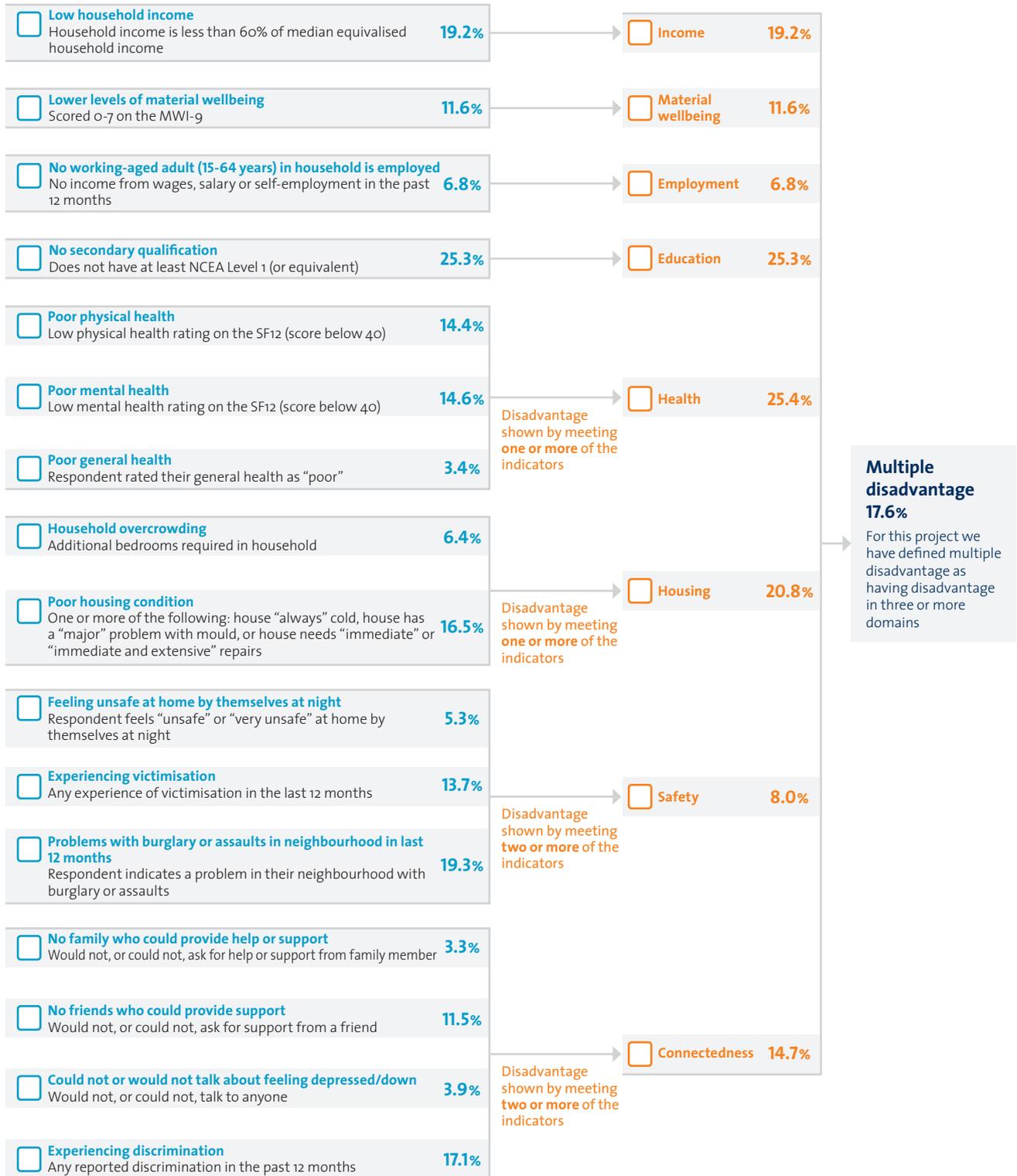
Figure D1_ Indicators and life domains used in Superu’s multiple disadvantage measure

Percentages show the proportion of the total population aged 15 and above

Indicators

All indicators sourced from the New Zealand General Social Survey 2014

Domains



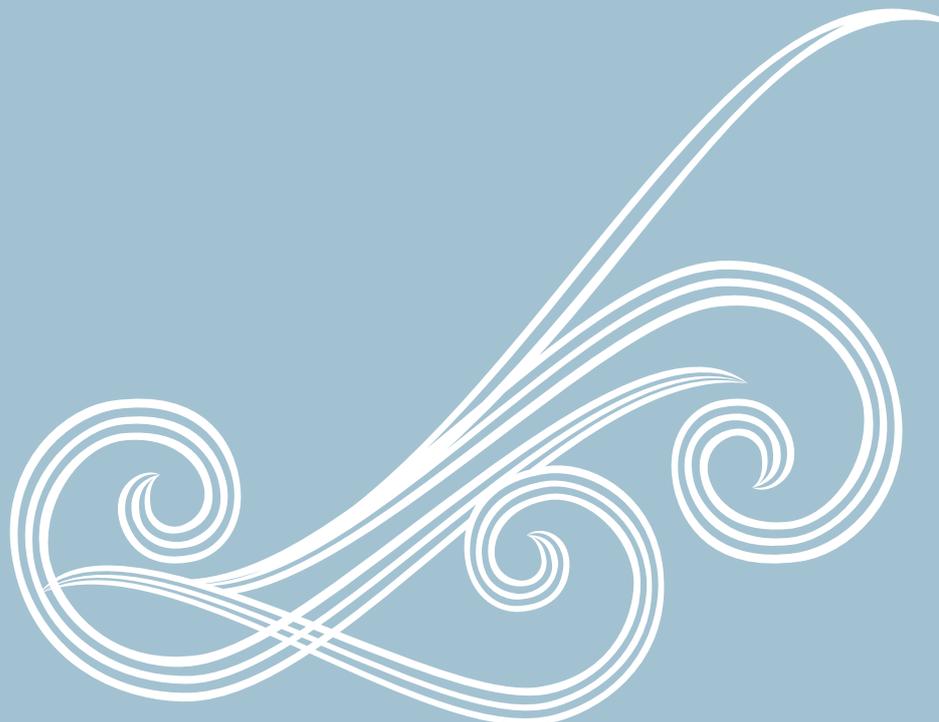
Appendix E

Subjective whānau wellbeing: The Te Kupenga survey and detailed tables and graphs

Te Kupenga Survey, Statistics New Zealand

Te Kupenga is the first nationally representative survey of Māori wellbeing. It was carried out by Statistics New Zealand following the 2013 Census, with support from Te Puni Kōkiri and other key Māori stakeholders and communities. Te Kupenga gives an overall picture of the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Māori, including information about the health of the Māori language and culture. As an official survey, it is unprecedented in the breadth and depth of the topics covered and, more importantly, in its relevance for Māori.

For Te Kupenga, Statistics NZ interviewed a sample of the usually resident Māori population aged 15 years or older. 'Māori' was defined on the basis of either ethnicity or ancestry. The survey used a complex sample design intended to create a nationally representative sample of the Māori population. From the 5,549 individual Te Kupenga participants, a nationally representative population of 529,750 was created. Analysing the survey data produces estimates that relate to this nationally representative population.



Technical data tables

Figure E1_ Distribution of responses to whānau wellbeing question in Te Kupenga

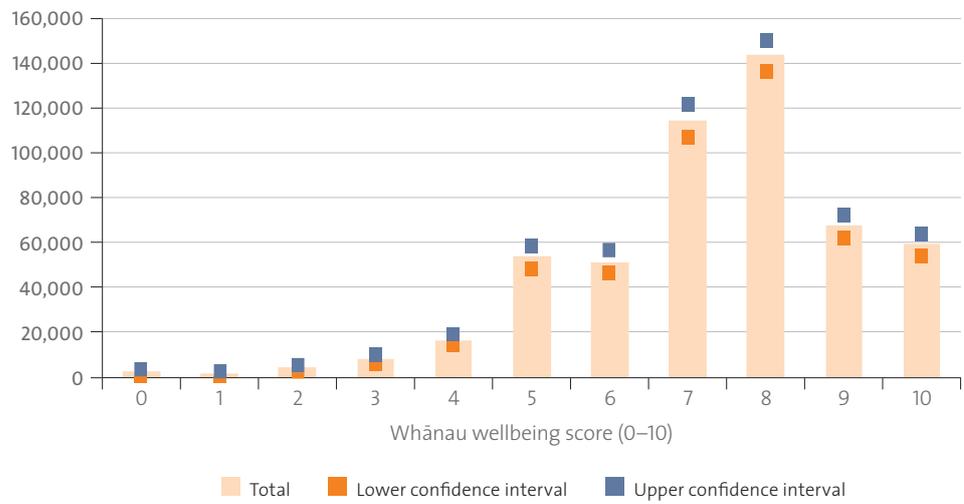


Figure E2_ Self-assessed whānau wellbeing by age group

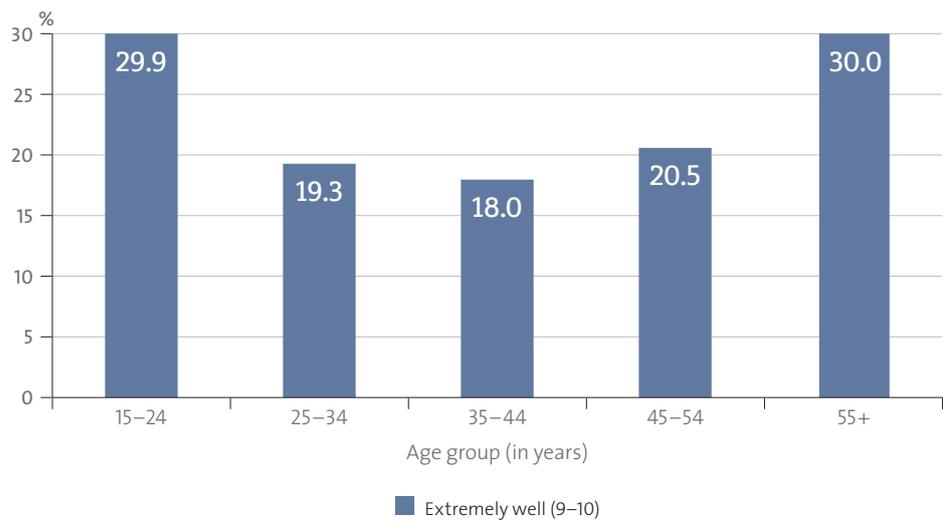




Figure E3 _ Self-assessed whānau wellbeing (badly; extremely well) by recent feelings of loneliness

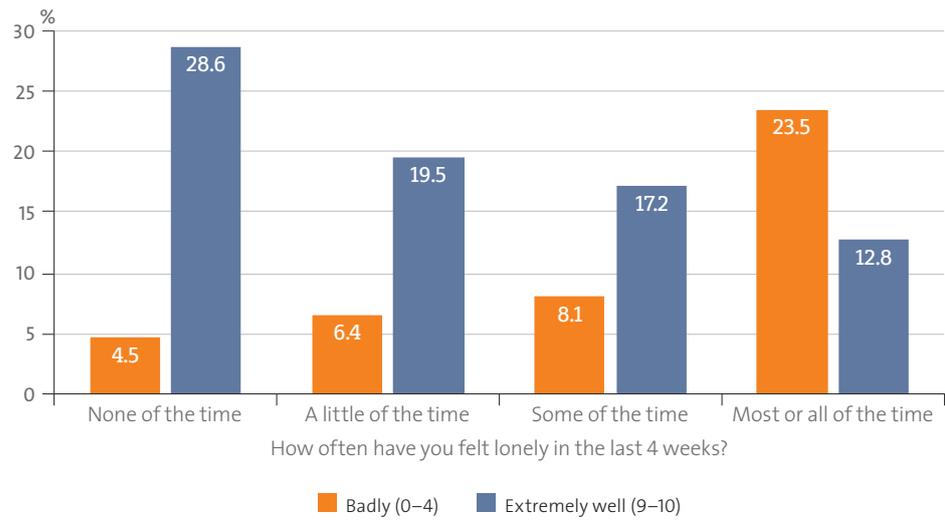


Figure E4 _ Self-assessed whānau wellbeing (badly; extremely well) by satisfaction with level of whānau contact

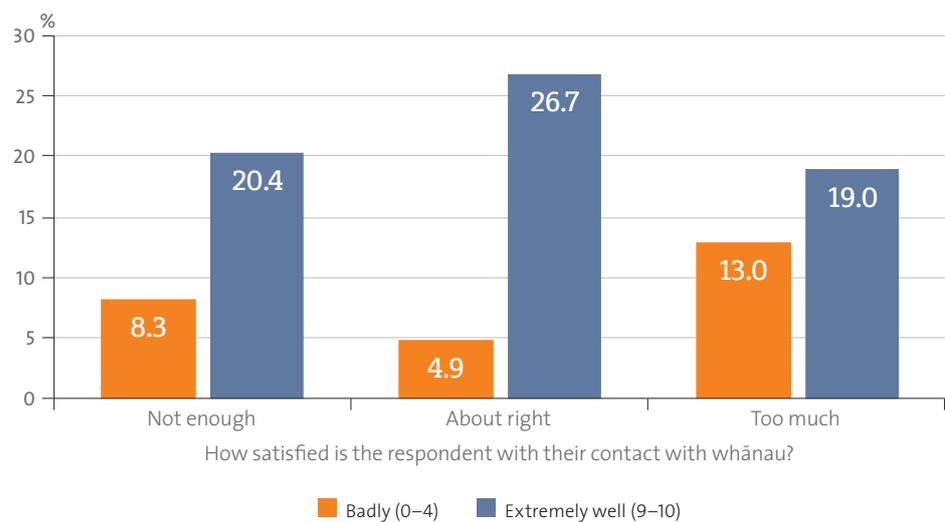


Figure E5 _ Self-assessed whānau wellbeing (badly; extremely well) by perception of how well whānau get along

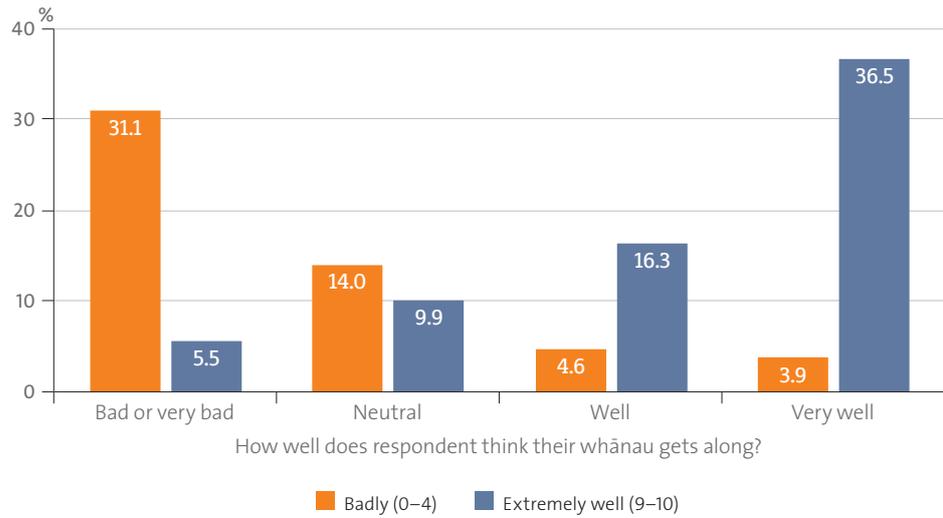
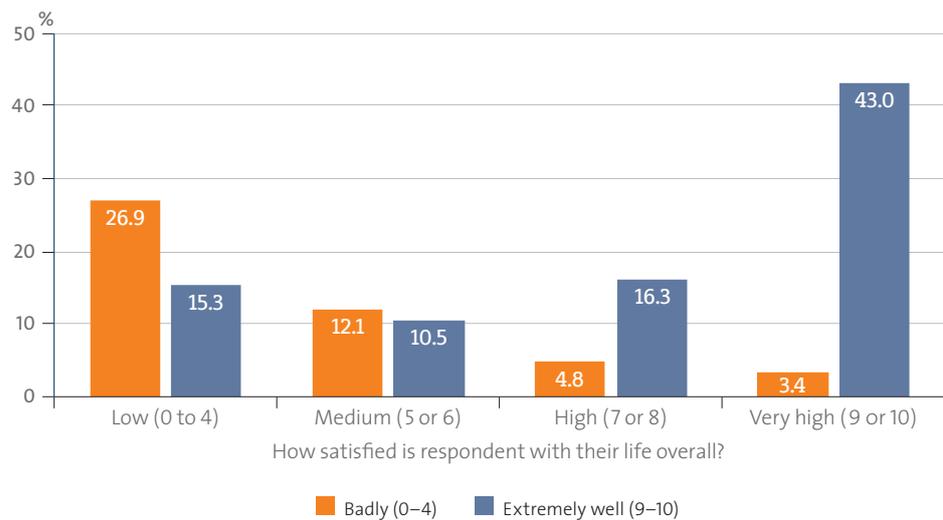


Figure E6 _ Self-assessed whānau wellbeing (badly; extremely well) by self-rated life satisfaction



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