superu

Families and Whānau Status Report

2016

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 an ongoing research series to meet 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).

Mihi whakatau

E ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā karangatanga maha tēnā koutou katoa. Koutou kua whetūrangitia, haere atu rā, haere atu rā, haere atu rā kit e kāinga tūturu mō tāua te tangata. Tātou te kanohi ora, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēna koutou katoa. Anei te Pūrongo "Families and Whānau Status Report" hei paihere i ō tātou whānau huri noa i te motu, hei kōrero whakahirahira mō te iwi whānui.
Nō reira tēnā tātou katoa.

Acknowledgements

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

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 – Are there ethnic differences in how our families are faring?

Being part of a family, in whatever fashion we define it, is a universal experience that forms the most significant socialising influence in our lives.

In 2015, we presented a national picture of how families and whānau are faring. To find out how families of different ethnicities are faring, we have produced the Families and Whānau Status Report 2016, our fourth. It provides a snapshot of family wellbeing based on survey data spanning 2008 to 2014.

It is important that decision-makers know where to focus their attention and what works to improve outcomes. This report helps build a solid base of evidence to help decision-makers in the social sector make informed decisions about policies and programmes that affect families.

So, how are European, Māori, Pacific and Asian families faring?
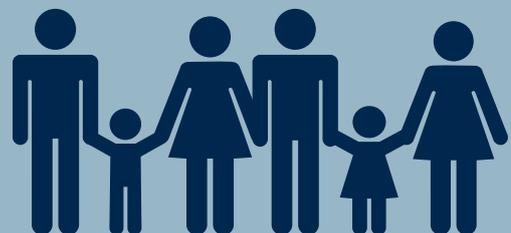
HOW WE MEASURE FAMILY WELLBEING

We use a framework and approach to measure family wellbeing that was developed for the Families and Whānau Status Report 2015 and is found in appendix A.

The *Family Wellbeing Framework* is based on assessing the degree to which families:

- care, nurture and support family members
- manage resources
- provide socialisation and guidance
- provide an identity and a sense of belonging.

We assess 'wellbeing' against six broad themes that influence or contribute to a family's ability to function:

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

We measured wellbeing for six family types in this report:

1. Couples, both under 50 years of age
2. Couples, one or both 50 years of age and over
3. Two parents with at least one child under 18 years of age
4. One parent with at least one child under 18 years of age
5. Two parents with all children 18 years of age and over
6. One parent with all children 18 years of age and over.

Younger European couples are faring reasonably well but younger Māori, Pacific and Asian couples face some challenges

Family type: Couples, both under 50 years of age

Generally, we expect younger families to have fewer financial assets and resources compared to other family types as they have not had the opportunity to build these up over time. This is particularly important for couples who choose to have children as the demand on their resources will increase.

Younger European couples are faring better than similar families overall. They are generally in a good position to build up their financial assets over time and carry out the core functions of being a family.

This is also the case for younger Māori and Pacific couples. These families are more likely to volunteer and provide extended family support. However, they are less likely to have a post-secondary qualification which raises concern about their ability to build and accrue resources and improve their income levels over time.

Younger Asian couples are less well positioned economically, tending to have high housing costs and to live in less well-off neighbourhoods. These families also feel less able to express their identities which may have implications for their social inclusion in the future.

Pacific and Māori couples aged under 50 are less likely to have post-secondary qualifications. This raises concern about their ability to build and accrue resources and improve their income levels over time.

Most older couples are at a life stage where they have become financially secure but health issues are a concern

Family type: Couples, one or both 50 years of age and over

Older couples may have brought up children who have since left home or never had children. They are at a life stage where, hopefully, they have had an opportunity over time to become financially secure, build their resources, and establish family and community networks. The issues of retirement, health and potentially having aging parents are of increasing concern to this group.

About a third of European families are older couples, reflecting the older age distribution of this group. Despite some health issues, older European couples are faring well.

Older Māori couples are doing fairly well, however they are more likely to live in deprived neighbourhoods and have housing problems than the national average.

Older Pacific couples are also faring reasonably well, although they have low results in the knowledge, skills and employment areas.

Of concern for both older Māori and older Pacific couples are the relatively high health issues for these families. This has implications for family functioning and also in terms of the need for assistance and family support.

Older Asian couples are less financially secure. They are less likely to have adequate incomes or live in affordable housing. They also have lower levels of extended family and community engagement. Together these findings have potential implications for older Asian couples having insufficient or scarce resources in later life.

About a third of European families are older couples, reflecting the older age distribution of this group.

Māori, Pacific and Asian families with two parents and younger children face a mixture of challenges

Family type: Two parents with at least one child under 18 years of age

European couples with younger children are generally faring well across the indicator areas.

On the whole, Māori families are also faring relatively well, but they are more likely to live in more deprived areas and have associated housing problems than the national average. The health indicators for these families are slightly lower than average and they are less likely to believe that civil authorities, such as the Police and government departments, are fair. These indicators present challenges for family functioning, particularly in relation to housing. However, Māori families have strong family connections and community engagement.

Pacific couples with younger children have strong relationships and community connections but fare less well generally across the family wellbeing theme areas. This finding is important considering that a third of children are of Māori and Pacific ethnicity. These results suggest that a key area for policy focus is addressing issues of economic security and skills.

Asian couples with younger children appear to be more vulnerable in relation to economic security, housing, and hours of work and pay. These families are more likely to experience discrimination and to feel uneasy about expressing their identities. They are also much less likely to engage with the community through volunteering. These results indicate potential risks in terms of alienation, isolation and exploitation in the workforce. It also highlights challenges for these families in fostering a sense of belonging for their children.

Single parents with younger children face financial and psychological stresses and some struggle with employment and skills

Family type: One parent with at least one child under 18 years of age

Single parent families are facing financial and psychological stresses across all four ethnic groups. This will impact their ability to function well as a family.

Across all four ethnic groups, single-parent families with younger children are facing difficulties and financial stresses. These families also have low mental health outcomes, which further affects their ability to function well as a family.

Financial stresses affected Māori single parents with young children in particular. These families have lower outcomes for skills and employment but higher family and community engagement than sole parents with young children generally.

Both Māori and Pacific single parents with younger children are also less likely to include a family member with post-secondary qualifications or with a job. These findings suggest that Māori and Pacific single-parent families are less well-placed to find employment.

Although Asian single-parent families with younger children face similar financial stresses, their overall profile of wellbeing results is slightly different. They are less likely to have family and community connections but they have better results for health and education indicators. This may place them in a slightly better position for finding employment and for effective family functioning.

Couples with adult children have fair to strong results overall, however Pacific families appear to be facing difficulties

Family type: Two parents with all children 18 years of age and over

Two-parent families with adult children reflect a diverse set of characteristics and contexts. These include parents who are caring for adult children with severe disabilities, adult children staying home while studying, or adult children who have returned home to save money between completing study and beginning full-time work. While some adult children may be living with their parents by choice, for others it may reflect more difficult family circumstances.

While couples with adult children have strong wellbeing results nationally, there are differences across ethnic groups. European and Māori families in this group have similar results to the national average but Pacific families face greater health and economic challenges and have poorer results for their knowledge and skills. In contrast, Asian families are above the national average in health.

The high wellbeing results for couples with adult children are encouraging but there are certain families which face difficulties in contrast to the national picture. Pacific couples with adult children in particular have lower outcomes across several themes which may affect family functioning and reduce their standard of living.

Single-parent families with adult children are doing relatively well economically but many have poorer health outcomes

Family type: One parent with all children 18 years of age and over

Single-parent families with adult children are diverse and include sole parents caring for adult children with severe disabilities, adult children caring for an elderly parent and adult children living at home while studying or so that they can save money.

European, Māori and Asian single-parent families with adult children are doing relatively well economically, but have poorer health outcomes and weaker connections with extended family compared to similar families.

Pacific families with older children are also doing well economically and are more likely to rate themselves healthy, despite being more likely to have a smoker in the family.

For more information about how families are faring by ethnicity, see chapter 2: The wellbeing of European, Māori, Pacific and Asian families.

ISSUES FOR POLICY MAKERS

Improve the wellbeing of families with children aged under 18 with a focus on:

Single-parent families
- economic security and housing
- psychological health
- education, knowledge and skills for Māori and Pacific families

Two-parent families
- economic security and housing for Māori, Pacific and Asian families
- education, knowledge and skills for Māori and Pacific families
- fostering a sense of social inclusion for Asian families.

When making policy and service delivery decisions, note that:
- family and community connections is a common strength for both Māori and Pacific families that can be drawn on for the benefit of these families
- policies to support and strengthen whānau need to be based on evidence that accurately reflects Māori values and realities
- by looking at what impacts family and whānau wellbeing over time from a 'life course' perspective, decision-makers can develop appropriate policies and deliver the right social services and programmes to the right people, at the right time
- there are four core family functions that are universal across cultures (to care, nurture and support; manage resources; provide socialisation and guidance; and provide an identity and a sense of belonging), however there are differences in how these functions are undertaken. These differences need to be explored further when developing policies and programmes for families from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Māori think of whānau in terms of genealogical relationships

Whānau are the cornerstone of Māori society. While the literature shows there is no universal or generic way of defining whānau[1] there is a broad consensus that genealogical relationships form the basis of whānau, and that these relationships are intergenerational, shaped by context, and given meaning through roles and responsibilities.

Figure 1 _ A relational model of whakapapa whānau

Whenua: land, also placenta
Tūpuna: ancestor
Koroua: grandfather, elderly man
Kuia: grandmother, elderly woman
Matua: Father
Whaea: mother

Mātāmua: first-born, elder
Tuakana: elder brother of male, elder sister of female
Au/ahau: I, me
Hoa rangatira: spouse, partner
Teina: younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female

Pōtiki: youngest child
Tamariki: children
Whāngai: adopted child
Mokopuna: grandchild/ren, great grandchild/ren
Uri: descendant, offspring

Drawing on past literature, Figure 1 illustrates the different aspects of whānau, along with relationships to whenua and tūpuna. Whakapapa provides the links between the vertical and horizontal aspects of whānau through hapū and iwi relationships.

Whakapapa relationships are not just ways of situating individuals within a kin group but are connected to roles, responsibilities and obligations, including mutual acts of giving and receiving.

The notion of reciprocal and mutual obligation means that whakapapa "makes you accountable"[2] whether individually or as a group. Whakapapa is invoked in a range of settings to guide decision-making on matters relating to land succession, governance and tikanga.

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1   Lawson-Te Aho, K. (2010). *Definitions of whānau: A review of selected literature*. The Families Commission. Wellington and Smith, G. (1995). Whakaoho whānau: New formations of whānau and an innovative intervention into Māori cultural and economic crises. *He Pukenga Kōrero, 1*, 18-36.

2   Kruger, T., Pitman, M., Grennell, D., McDonald, T., Mariu, D., Pomare, A., Mita, T., Maihi, M., & Lawson-Te Aho, K. (2004). *Transforming whānau violence – A conceptual framework. An updated report from the former Second Māori Taskforce on whānau Violence*. Te Puni Kōkiri. Wellington.

Te Kupenga – An opportunity to better understand whānau in a way that reflects Māori values

This year we have used Te Kupenga, the first Māori Social Survey carried out in 2013, to explore modern expressions of whānau. The purpose of Te Kupenga is to address a substantial gap in the evidence base relating to whānau as official statistics and/or administration data has been dominated by household-based studies of families. Te Kupenga offers an opportunity to go beyond these narrow definitions to better understand whānau in a way that reflects Māori values.

This is important because policies to support and strengthen whānau need to be informed by evidence that accurately reflects Māori values and realities. Until now, official statistics and data have been unable to provide a meaningful level of analysis to inform policy about whānau because of a lack of culturally-informed representative data.

> **The vast majority of Māori (99%)** think of their whānau in terms of genealogical relationships, however **the breadth of those relationships varies greatly.**

Our analysis of Te Kupenga re-affirms the pre-eminence of whakapapa relationships as the foundation of whānau. The vast majority of Māori (99%) think of their whānau in terms of genealogical relationships, however the breadth of those relationships varies greatly, for example from referring solely to the immediate family to the inclusion of extended family.

The importance of cultural factors suggests that policy responses aimed at strengthening whānau connections are likely to be most effective when linked to measures to strengthen cultural connections more generally.

Our analysis also suggests that a number of factors are related to whether or not individuals see their whānau as encompassing extended whānau, such as:

- demographic factors, specifically older age and place of residence
- a basic connection to one's ancestral marae
- a high regard for being involved with Māori culture.

Māori with ready access to cultural support are also much more likely to see their whakapapa whānau in a broad sense such as those who engage in kaupapa Māori education and/or use te reo at home are more likely to broadly define their whānau as inclusive of non-relatives.

It should be emphasised that Māori who count non-relatives among their whānau do not see these relationships as substitutes for whakapapa relationships, nor are they disconnected from Māori identity and culture. Rather, the broadening of whanaungatanga to include non-whakapapa relationships would appear to be evidence of the endurance and vitality of whānau values, rather than a diminution of it.

Our research shows significant geographical variation in perceptions of whānau structure that could be explored in more detail in future Te Kupenga surveys. A larger sample would enable more detailed regional analyses that are more closely aligned with the regional service delivery and policy focus.

This analysis should be seen as merely a starting point for a broader platform of work on whānau that is relevant and useful for Māori, and that has the potential to inform policy responses to achieve the aspirations embodied in the Superu Whānau Rangatiratanga Wellbeing framework.

For more information about whānau, see chapter 3: Expressions of whānau.

Family emphasis on individual and collective outcomes vary between cultures

New Zealand is an increasingly diverse country and families operate in different ways based on a diverse platform of cultural influences.

Across all cultures, families provide the four core wellbeing functions to:

• support, nurture and care for each other

• manage resources

• socialise and guide

• provide a sense of identity and belonging for family members.

Although these functions are universal, there are differences between cultures as to who's considered 'family' and how these family functions are interpreted.

For example, western cultures tend to place greater emphasis on the wants and needs of the individual (individualistic cultural values) and on the independence of individual family members (Independent orientation). The 'family' is often seen as the nuclear family.

Non-western cultures tend to focus more on the wants and needs of the group (collectivistic cultural values) and relationships and obligations between family members (interdependent orientation). These cultures are more likely to include extended family and even the wider community.

We have developed the table on the following page with examples that demonstrate these differences. Different cultures may operate on any part of the spectrum between individualistic and collectivistic cultural values and independent and interdependent family orientations.

TABLE
01

Examples of family functioning

		Individualistic	Collectivistic
		Individualistic The wants and needs of the individual **Independence** Autonomy and personal accountability	**Collectivistic** The wants and needs of the group **Interdependence** Material, and emotional, interdependencies between family members Reciprocal relationships

EMPHASIS

	Individualistic	Collectivistic
CARE NURTURE AND SUPPORT	Parents support children until they are adults	Parents support children throughout their lives
	Support is expected from children, but there is little obligation for reciprocity	There is an expectation and obligation of reciprocity of support amongst family members
	Support is both emotional and instrumental and is often expected to diminish after children have reached maturity	A greater value is placed on instrumental support in comparison to emotional support, and this support is often expected to extend into adulthood
	Extended families are not often included in support network	Extended families are integral to the support network
	Support networks tend to be small and localised	Support networks tend to be large and span across geographic and kinship borders
MANAGE RESOURCES	Economic resources are provided by the proximal family network	Economic resources are provided by the larger family network
	Over the life course individuals become self-sufficient	Over the life course reciprocal economic ties remain between family members
	Economic ties tend to be distinct from community and social relationships	Economic ties are strong to the community and to the diaspora
	Economic resources and security are seen as a component of personal pride	Economic resources and security are a component of collective pride where resources are used for the wellbeing of the family and wider community
SOCIALISATION AND GUIDANCE	Values are communicated through socialisation by parents and the wider society (e.g., school, media)	Values are communicated by extended family and community network, and these may be compromised by values from the wider society
	The concept of family or collective identity is constrained to a small group, and tends to be de-emphasised in comparison to personal identity	The concept of a collective identity (family, ethnic, religious) is broad and collective identity tends to be prioritised in comparison to personal identity
	The individual is ultimately responsible for their life decisions	The collective family unit is responsible for important life decisions

	Individualistic The wants and needs of the individual		Collectivistic The wants and needs of the group
	Independence Autonomy and personal accountability	EMPHASIS	**Interdependence** Material, and emotional, interdependencies between family members Reciprocal relationships

	Individualistic	Collectivistic
IDENTITY AND SENSE OF BELONGING	Self is defined as distinct, but embedded within the family	Self is defined as embedded within the collective family and wider community.
	Focus on the individual and their unique characteristics	Focus on the collective and wellbeing for all members, not solely for individual family members
	Promotion of independent thought and action, as well as accountability and responsibility	Promotion of obligations, respect, face saving, and accountability to the collective
	The degree to which an individual prioritises their relationships is flexible and fluid	Relationships are prioritised over the wants and needs of the individual

For more information about cultural definitions of family, see chapter 4: Cross-cultural dimensions relating to concepts of 'family' wellbeing.

Using a life course model will help us better understand family wellbeing

How well families and whānau are able to function is influenced by other factors besides culture: the community, public policies, what's happening locally and internationally, and historic events all have an impact. To help us understand some of the things that may affect family and whānau wellbeing over time, we propose using a 'life course' approach.

This approach can provide useful information to help develop appropriate policies and deliver the right social services and programmes to the right people, at the right time.

A life course perspective helps us better understand family wellbeing by:

Highlighting the wide range of factors that influence family wellbeing
What's happening in the community? Nationally? Internationally? What are the possible impacts of public policy on family wellbeing, intended or otherwise?

*Showing us how families and whānau are changing*
What factors have an impact on each person's ability to fulfill their role in a family? How are families carrying out their core functions? What's changed and why? How have government and the social sector responded in terms of public policy and family support?

Looking at long-term trends

What factors contribute to good outcomes later in life? What factors contribute to poor outcomes? How can we increase the likelihood of positive outcomes later in life? What is the potential impact of national and international events such as an earthquake, war or financial crisis? What impact do these trends have for the different life stages reflected by the different family types?

Such models usually focus on individuals so we have developed an exploratory family life course model. From the model, you can see some of the events and factors in the community, society, and the wider world that may impact a family's wellbeing.

Figure 2 _ A life course model of family wellbeing

Promoters
Protective factors

Society	Community	Family					
Economic conditions	Family policy & Legislation	Social cohesion	Migration & diversity	Health care
Pre school	Primary school	Secondary school	Parks & recreation facilities	Safe & Connected community	Tertiary
Nurturing parenting	Stability	Growth enhancing experiences	Close family relationships & attachments	Extended family support	Family care

Infant   Child   Adolescent   **Independent young person**   Parent   **Grandparent**
Partner

(Sibling)
(Cousin)   **(Uncle or aunt)**

Abuse & neglect	Parent in prison	Poverty	Parental separation	Family ill health	Unemployment	Death in family	Isolation from family
Lack of access to community resources & services	Crime and safety issues	High deprivation area	Social isolation
Economic recession	International conflict	Social conflict	Unsupportive policies

Risks
Challenges

National

| Property Relationship Act (1976) | Children, Young Person & their Families Act (1989) | Government Superannuation Scheme (2001) | Civil Unions (2005) |

NZ Peak of baby boom (1962) | Domestic Purposes Benefit (1973) | No Fault Divorce Family Proceedings Act (1980) | Migrant points system introduced (1991) | Working for Families (2004) | Whānau Ora (2011)

End of World War II

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000   2010   2016

International

The Pill (1961)

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990) | Smart phones (2000→) | Rise in dairy prices (2006→)

Korean War (1950–1953) | Vietnam War (1964–1972) | UK joins EEC (1973) | Internet (1990→) | Facebook (2004) | Global financial crisis (2007→)

This has been adapted from Zubrick, S. R., Taylor, C. L., Lawrence, D., Mitrou, F., Christensen, D., & Dalby, R. (2009). The development of human capability across the lifecourse: Perspectives from childhood. *Australasian Epidemiologist, 16*(3), 6.

For more information about life courses, see chapter 5: Families and life course.

About the Families and Whānau Status Reports

Each year since 2013, we have produced an annual families 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.

Foreword

Kia ora

This Families and Whānau Status Report for 2016 is the fourth in a series measuring and monitoring the well-being of New Zealand families and whānau. Families and whānau are the back-bone to a flourishing society. A well-functioning family provides us with support during tough times, bolstering our ability to cope.

This report brings together further information from existing statistical and research studies. This report presents the results of the new Te Kupenga survey of Statistics New Zealand. For the first time, we have statistical measures of how Māori families think of whānau and what whānau means to them. The changes we are seeing have many implications in policy settings, service delivery and community development.

We know that not all families and whānau enjoy the same level of resilience. By examining the well-being of New Zealand's families and whānau we are able to better understand the dynamics of how families work, what impacts on them and where government policy, public institutions and communities can help to improve the outcomes of all New Zealanders. While we have long known that single parent families experienced the lowest levels of well-being for many indicators, while older couples generally experienced higher levels of well-being, we have in this year's report further explored ethnic differences in these results.

In order to draw insights from how different ethnic groups perceive their family identity, responsibilities and obligation we have developed ways of summarising complex issues that enable comparing change across cultures and over time. This has implications for our increasingly diverse population in terms of how we live and how we care for those around us. These ways of thinking allow us to understand where tensions can develop in the application of policies and programmes that ignore such differences, or which attempt to reconcile them without confronting how embedded they are among the communities that make up New Zealand.

We will develop further the approaches presented in this report, which I hope will leave us better placed to anticipate the hard questions we need to address in the complex, multicultural society we have become, and where generational differences, changing economic circumstances and population aging bring further challenges to us.

Ngā mihi

Len Cook
Families Commissioner

Contents

Māori terms and meanings

Appendices

List of tables

List of figures

01

Introduction

1.1_ Context for this report

Families are an integral part of people's lives, whether as children growing up, as couples, as parents, or in older age. Being part of a family, however we define 'family', is a universal experience that is the most significant socialising influence in a person's early life. The wellbeing of families is therefore fundamental to the wellbeing both of individuals and of the societies in which they live.

This is the fourth in a series of annual reports on the wellbeing of families and whānau in New Zealand. These reports meet our statutory obligation to publish "an annual Families Status Report that measures and monitors the wellbeing of New Zealand Families".[3] This requirement was introduced by the Families Commission Amendment Act 2014, which came into force in March 2014.

The 2013 and 2014 *Families and Whānau Status Reports* examined relevant literature on wellbeing, families and whānau and also the demographic profile of families in New Zealand and demographic trends. Those two publications also reported on work done to develop separate family and whānau wellbeing frameworks. This led to:

- the consolidation of two frameworks, the Family Wellbeing Framework and the Whānau Rangatiratanga Conceptual Framework
- the use of six family types that reflect life-course transitions – from younger couples who have not yet had children, to older couples whose children have left home
- the development of a set of indicators based on six theme areas, and
- the reporting of family and whānau wellbeing results last year (Superu, 2015a).

The *Family Wellbeing Framework* is based on assessing the degree to which families are being enabled and supported to perform their core functions, which are to:

- care, nurture and support family members
- manage resources
- provide socialisation and guidance
- provide identity and a sense of belonging.

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3   Families Commission Act 2003, section 8.

Family wellbeing, then, is defined as the extent to which families can perform their core functions, regardless of their form and structure. We have also identified a number of factors that influence or contribute to a family's ability to function, grouped into six themes:

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

These themes form the basis for the selection of indicators (five per theme) for measuring family wellbeing. Wellbeing is measured for six family types that reflect a general pattern of life course family transitions – from younger couples who have not yet had children to older couples whose children have left home. They focus on couple only or parent-child relationships where the family members live in the same household.

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.

Those frameworks, family types and family wellbeing indicators are presented in Appendices A, B and C in this 2016 report.

The key findings from the 2015 report were that:

- *Overall families were enjoying good levels of wellbeing, although for each indicator there was a portion who were not doing so well.*
- *Whānau Māori had a wide range of wellbeing outcomes. While many whānau enjoyed high levels of wellbeing across a number of areas of life, others faced complex challenges that restricted their capacity to live well.*
- *Single-parent families with younger children, single-parent whānau, and whānau living in multi-whānau households rated poorly on a range of wellbeing indicators, particularly those related to economic security, housing, mental health, education and employment. (Superu, 2015b, p 1)*

The research completed for the 2013, 2014 and 2015 reports also established an initial platform for further research. However, it also highlighted the complex and diverse nature of families and the need for our work to take account of cultural, cohort, and life-course factors, as well as the changing demographic context.

1.2_ Our ongoing research programme

The ongoing monitoring and reporting of time series data on the wellbeing of families and whānau depends on relevant data being available. The main data sources used for the indicators are the General Social Survey (which is conducted every two years), the New Zealand Population Census, and Te Kupenga (Māori Social Survey). The Census and Te Kupenga surveys will next take place in 2018. Until then, we will continue to report on indicators for population subgroups (by identified ethnicity for example), examine the usefulness of other data sources, and carry out specific research projects to better understand family and whānau wellbeing, what works to improve outcomes for families and whānau and in particular for vulnerability families and whānau.

This ongoing multi-year programme of work forms Superu's Families and Whānau Wellbeing Research Programme. A core publication of this programme is the reporting of research progress and findings in the annual *Families and Whānau Status Report*.

FAMILIES AND WHĀNAU WELLBEING RESEARCH PROGRAMME

The overarching aim is to increase the evidence and use of evidence about family and whānau wellbeing to better understand how families and whānau are faring and the key role they play in society so that decision-makers in the social sector make more informed decisions about social policies and programmes to improve wellbeing.

The specific aim is to measure, monitor and better understand the wellbeing of families and whānau in Aotearoa New Zealand to inform what works to improve wellbeing.

An essential part of this research programme are the two separate but aligned research strands into family wellbeing and whānau wellbeing. These reflect Western and Te Ao Māori worldviews respectively. 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.

A valuable aspect of the programme is that it draws across these two strands of work from time to time. This helps us to gain new insights and broaden our perspectives so that we can better understand the wellbeing of families and whānau, how we might improve our research, and the relevance of our results for enhancing the wellbeing of families and whānau. This two-stranded approach is informed by the He Awa Whiria (Braided Rivers) model put forward by Angus Macfarlane (Macfarlane, Blampied, & Macfarlane, 2011).

1.3_ Focus of this 2016 Families and Whānau Status Report

In 2015, we signalled the intention to further develop the conceptual platform for our research so that we can better interpret what our indicators our telling us about families and whānau in New Zealand. We also said that we would progress research that focuses on better capturing and reflecting diversity in New Zealand. A main focus for the past year has been on cultural and ethnic diversity in family wellbeing.

Diversity has wide-ranging implications for societies. Not only do many different populations have to live together, these groups of people bring culture and traditions that influence the country where they live. These traditions are, in turn, influenced by the culture of that society more broadly.

New Zealand has a unique cultural history built on the bicultural foundation established by the Treaty of Waitangi – the relationship between Māori as tangata whenua (the people of the land) and the British colonials. Since the arrival of the colonials, New Zealand government policies on immigration have had a considerable impact on the growing diversity of the New Zealand population. A key aspect of growing diversity in New Zealand was the change from a traditional source country preference to an immigration policy based on a points system. This change led to increasing immigration from Pacific, Asian and other non-European countries, which has resulted in one of the most ethnically diverse populations in the world (Sobrun-Maharaj, Rossen, & Kim, 2011).

In 2013, the census showed that around 25% of New Zealand's population was born overseas (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). Migration to New Zealand from regions such as Asia has increased significantly between 2001 and 2013, while rates of migration from the UK and Ireland have steadily declined (2001, 2006 and 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings). Overall rates of immigration do not seem to be slowing, with the number of migrant arrivals reaching a record high in 2015. Consequently, New Zealand is not just a diverse and multicultural society: it is among a small pool of nations that can be termed 'super-diverse'. Super-diversity describes a substantial rise in the number of ethnic minorities or immigrant groups within a country (Chen, 2015). Increasing ethnic diversity has important implications for cultural perspectives on the meaning of 'family' and on family wellbeing. This has implications for both policy and service delivery settings.

In the past year, we have begun to examine how our research might best take account of cultural, cohort and life-course factors and the changing demographic context. We have completed two literature reviews, with the first exploring whether there are key family-related cross-cultural dimensions that we can use as reference pillars for thinking about family diversity. The second review considers how we might best use a life-course perspective in our work. Through an analysis of Te Kupenga data, we have also examined how the term 'whānau' is used and the meaning that it conveys. Finally we also looked at how families identifying with different ethnic groups are faring by using our family wellbeing indicators and General Social Survey data combined over three surveys.

The status report presents four key advances in our work. We have:

1. Measured the wellbeing of European, Māori, Pacific, and Asian families for the first time and suggested key areas of policy focus indicated by the results.

2. Examined the extent that Māori vary in terms of who they consider to be part of their whānau and the factors associated with these differences using data from the 2013 Te Kupenga (Māori Social Survey). This is a further step to ensuring that policies to support whānau are informed by evidence that accurately reflects Māori values and realities. This research was undertaken for Superu by researchers at the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis and the University of Auckland.

3. Identified two main dimensions (individualism-collectivism; and independent–interdependent) that can be used by researchers, policy-makers and programme providers as a way to systematically think about family diversity and how families function. We have also reinforced the universal nature of the four core family functions which are to: Care nurture and support; Manage resources; Provide socialisation and guidance; and Provide identity and sense of belonging.

4. 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.

To measure family wellbeing, we have used the framework and approach developed for reporting family wellbeing nationally in the Families and Whānau Status Report 2015. This approach is briefly summarised in the next section followed by a description of each of the four key research advances that have been made in the past year as described above.
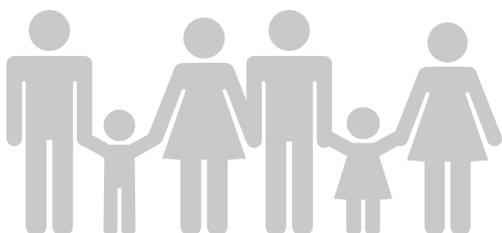
1.4_ Structure of this report

The following four chapters of this report relate to the four key advances described above and their implications for policy and delivery settings.

- Chapter 2 gives an overview of family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian ethnic groups, using national family wellbeing results as a reference point. More detailed information about this analysis is available online on Superu's website, in a separately published Technical Companion Report.[4]

- Chapters 3 and 4 then focus on gaining a better understanding of different cultural perspectives on whānau and family wellbeing. Chapter 3 examines differences among Māori in how the term 'whānau' is expressed, while Chapter 4 examines different perspectives of family and family wellbeing across cultures.

- Chapter 5 discusses the relevance and benefits of a life-course perspective for our research and considers how we might incorporate this perspective into our work.

- A final chapter briefly outlines next steps for the Family and Whānau wellbeing Research Programme.

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4   www.superu.govt.nz

02

The wellbeing of European, Māori, Pacific and Asian families
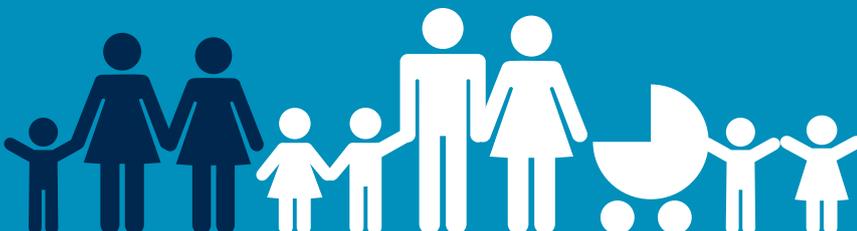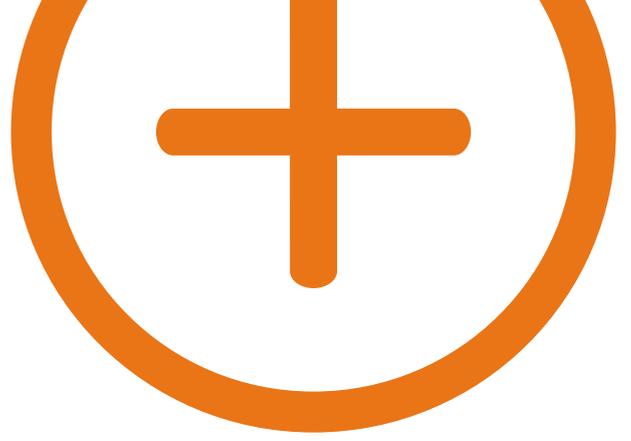
2.1_ Introduction

Families are dynamic – individuals may move in and out of different family types and their circumstances can change over time. In this chapter we present the wellbeing results for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian families[5] using the family wellbeing framework and associated indicators developed in 2015. These results provide a snapshot of how these families were faring at a point in time.

We first describe our approach to measuring wellbeing for the different ethnic groups, followed by an overview of some of the key demographic characteristics relating to ethnicity. Next we present our family wellbeing results for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian groups. The chapter ends with an expert commentary by Natalie Jackson who highlights the broader demographic context of our results and discusses potential policy implications.

2.2_ Definitions and measurement of wellbeing

How we allocated families to different ethnic groups

A family was allocated to an ethnic group if any member identified with that particular ethnicity. Therefore, multi-ethnic families were allocated to more than one group – as they were allocated to every ethnicity identified with by different family members. For example, in the situation where there is one partner who identifies as being of European ethnicity and the other partner identifies as being of Pacific and Asian ethnicity – this family will be represented in three different ethnic groups – namely: European, Pacific, and Asian[6].

The wellbeing indicators we used

The combining of data from several repeat General Social Surveys (2008, 2010, 2012) and repeat Household Economic Surveys (over the period 2008 to 2014) has allowed us to create large enough data samples to conduct this ethnicity analysis. The results of our analysis, therefore, relate to the 2008 to 2014 timeframe. Details of these and the other data sources used are provided in Appendix B.

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5   It was not possible to measure the family wellbeing of other ethnic groups represented in New Zealand because of small sample sizes.

6   Some of our indicators are based on responses from an individual within a family, rather than for the family as a whole. In those cases, a family member will sometimes have contributed to the wellbeing results of ethnic groups to which the family member did not belong. For example, if a family member was European, but the family was identified with both Māori and European ethnicities, the family member's responses will have contributed to the family results for both the Māori and European ethnic groups.

The wellbeing indicators used to measure wellbeing across the four ethnic groups are presented in Appendix C. These are grouped according to the six family wellbeing theme areas:

- Economic security and housing

- Health

- Identity and sense of belonging

- Relationships and connections

- Safety and environment

- Skills, learning and employment.

Details of these indicators are provided in Appendix C.

2.3_ Family ethnicity and regional characteristics

This section presents the distribution of family types across ethnic groups and region. This information provides important context for interpreting the indicator findings that are discussed later in this chapter. A more detailed description and data are presented in the separate Technical Companion Report, which is available at www. superu.govt.nz. Many families were identified with more than one ethnic group, particularly Māori families (77%) and Pacific families (58%). At the time of the 2013 Census of Population and Dwellings, most families had at least one member who identified as being European (80%), compared with 18% for Māori, 13% for Asian, and 8% for Pacific. Pacific families had more children on average than did families from other ethnic groups. For example, for couple families, Pacific families had 2.4 children on average compared with 2.1 or fewer for other ethnicities.

As shown in Table 1 below, some of the family types were more common among certain ethnic groups. For example, families identifying as European had an older age profile compared with the other ethnicities. This is reflected in the fact that European families most commonly belong to the type 'Couples where one or both are 50 or older' (33%). Less than half of the European families were one – or two-parent families with at least one child under 18 (44%). In contrast, 63% and 69% of Māori and Pacific families were one – or two-parent families with younger children. Just over a quarter of all Māori and Pacific families were one parent families with younger children. Just over half of Asian families (52%) were one – or two-parent families with younger children.

TABLE
01

The percentage of families within each family type, by ethnicity

Data source: Census of Population and Dwellings, 2013

	Couple, both under 50	Couple, one or both 50 plus	Two parents, at least one child under 18	One parent, with at least one child under 18	Two parents, all children 18 plus	One parent, all children 18 plus	Total
European	11.7	33.1	32.8	11.2	6.8	4.4	100
Māori	10.3	15.1	35.4	27.8	5.4	5.9	100
Pacific	8.8	8.9	42.3	26.7	7.3	6.0	100
Asian	17.1	15.7	43.2	8.6	10.9	4.4	100
MELAA	20.5	8.7	44.1	15.4	7.0	4.3	100
Other	12.9	29.2	37.0	7.4	9.4	4.1	100
No ethnicity specified for anyone in family	12.4	26.8	23.8	28.4	3.2	5.3	100
Total	11.7	29.3	33.9	12.9	7.4	4.9	100

Notes:

(1) Family ethnicity is defined by at least one person in the family identifying as that ethnic group

(2) MELAA = Middle Eastern/Latin American/African

The percentages of family types within each region varied considerably. As shown in Table 2, in 2013, Marlborough & Nelson (39.1%) and West Coast & Tasman (39.6%) had markedly greater percentages of 'Couples where one or both are 50 or older' than most other regions. Compared with other regions, Gisborne had a much higher proportion of Single parents with at least one child under 18' with just over one in five families (21.7%) being of this family type.

TABLE
02

Percentage of family types within each geographical region, 2013

Data source: Census of Population and Dwellings, 2013

	Couple, both under 50	Couple, one or both 50 plus	Two parents, at least one child under 18	One parent, at least one child under 18	Two parents, all children 18 plus	One parent, all children 18 plus	Total
Northland	7.2	37.5	29.3	16.3	5.2	4.6	40,725
Auckland	13.1	22.0	36.6	12.6	9.9	5.8	374,337
Waikato	10.5	31.6	33.1	14.3	6.1	4.4	108,882
Bay of Plenty	8.6	35.1	30.8	15.9	5.1	4.5	73,842
Gisborne	7.0	28.0	32.1	21.7	5.1	6.1	11,367
Hawke's Bay	7.9	34.3	31.2	16.3	5.6	4.7	40,965
Taranaki	9.8	34.0	33.1	13.1	5.9	4.1	30,081
Manawatu-Whanganui	9.7	34.0	31.1	15.2	5.5	4.6	58,983
Wellington	14.4	26.6	34.6	12.1	7.4	4.9	124,944
West Coast & Tasman	9.2	39.6	32.7	9.8	5.4	3.2	22,215
Marlborough & Nelson	10.6	39.1	29.8	11.7	5.2	3.6	25,419
Canterbury	12.5	32.3	33.4	10.3	7.1	4.5	146,367
Otago	13.0	35.7	32.2	9.7	5.7	3.6	52,497
Southland	10.3	35.1	34.4	11.3	5.4	3.4	25,605
Total	11.7	29.3	33.9	12.9	7.4	4.9	1,136,229

Notes:

Family ethnicity is defined by at least one person in the family identifying as that ethnic group

Excludes respondents who are not in any of these family types (e.g. single people) or hwere no family type is defined

Excludes respondents where no family ethnicity is defined

Figure 1 below shows family ethnicities for the different regions. There were large variations in the percentages of families for each ethnic group for each region. Notably about just over a half (53%) of the families in Gisborne has a family member who identified themselves as Māori. Northland and Bay of Plenty had the next highest percentages of Māori identified families, with 36% and 31% respectively. By comparison, Auckland had much higher percentages of Pacific (15.1%) and Asian (25.5%) families and a much lower percentage of European families (65%).

Figure 1 _ Ethnicity of families for each region, north to south geographical order, 2013
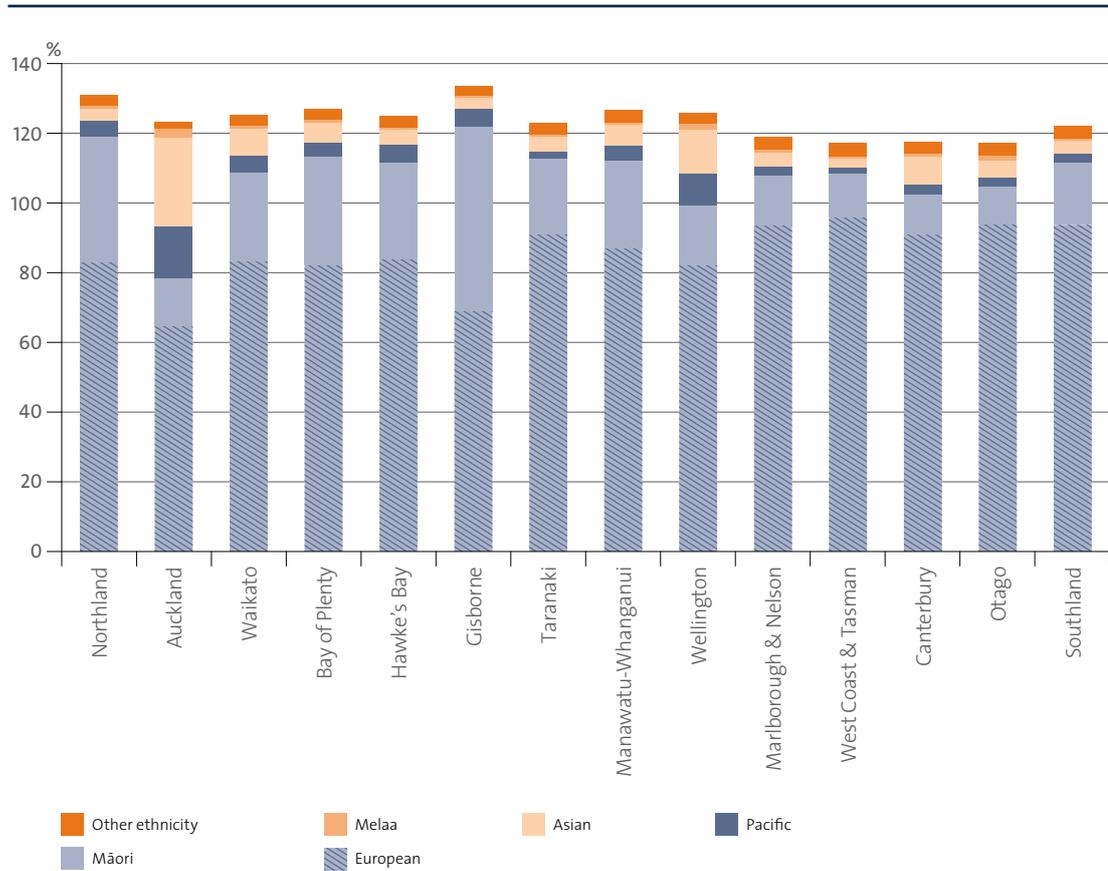
Source: Census of Population and Dwellings 2013.

Notes: Family ethnicity is defined by at least one person in the family identifying with that ethnic group. Therefore, a family can have multiple ethnicities and be allocated to more than one. Consequently, the percentages in the table sum to more than 100%.

2.4 _ Family wellbeing for ethnic groups

This section presents the family wellbeing results for the four ethnic groups. Rather than presenting data for each ethnic group for the six family types, we have taken a summary approach by presenting the overall national wellbeing results for each family type and then used these overall results as a comparator for describing how the four different ethnic groups are faring. The full national results for each family type are presented in Appendix C.

We have focused predominantly on presenting the findings in terms of ethnic group differences in this report. This is because the regional patterns were largely a reflection of the findings of the relative ethnic populations living in those areas. As noted in Chapter One additional detailed technical information and data are available in the Technical Companion Report available on the Superu website.

This section of the report first provides an overview of the common patterns for ethnic groups that were apparent across the different family types. We then present the findings for the four ethnic groups for each of the six family types. We have presented the (sparkler) pattern of overall national results for each family type. We then use this national average as the reference point for describing the family wellbeing for each group.

There were some general patterns apparent across the family types. These are described below.

Almost all of the wellbeing results for European families were similar to the national findings reflecting the high proportion of families who identify with European ethnicity (80%). In the few instances where results varied from the national findings, results were significantly higher.

Māori and Pacific families tended to have higher wellbeing results for the theme 'Relationships and connections' as they were significantly more likely to give support to extended family and to do voluntary community work than for all families nationally.

Additionally, some Pacific families had lower wellbeing results for two or more indicators for the 'Skills, learning and employment' theme. This included, for most family types, not having someone with post-secondary qualifications in the family.

A common pattern for Asian families across several family types was that, relative to the national findings, they were significantly more likely to believe that civil authorities and health/education services were fair to everyone, and significantly less likely to believe they could easily express their identity. Asian families also tended to have higher results in two or more health indicators: this result was most often associated with being less likely to have a smoker in the family or a lower rate of long-term disabilities among members of these family types. However, for some family types, Asian families were less likely to have affordable housing and less likely to provide extended family support and do voluntary community work compared with the national results.
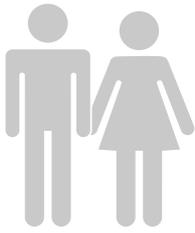
Couple, both aged under 50

Nationally, people in these families had high levels of employment, education, knowledge, skills and health. They were therefore well-positioned to build up their financial assets over time, and to carry out the core family functions – that is, providing care, nurturance and support; managing resources; providing socialisation and guidance; and providing identity and a sense of belonging.

Figure 2 _ Couple, both aged under 50 (Younger couples) – national wellbeing findings
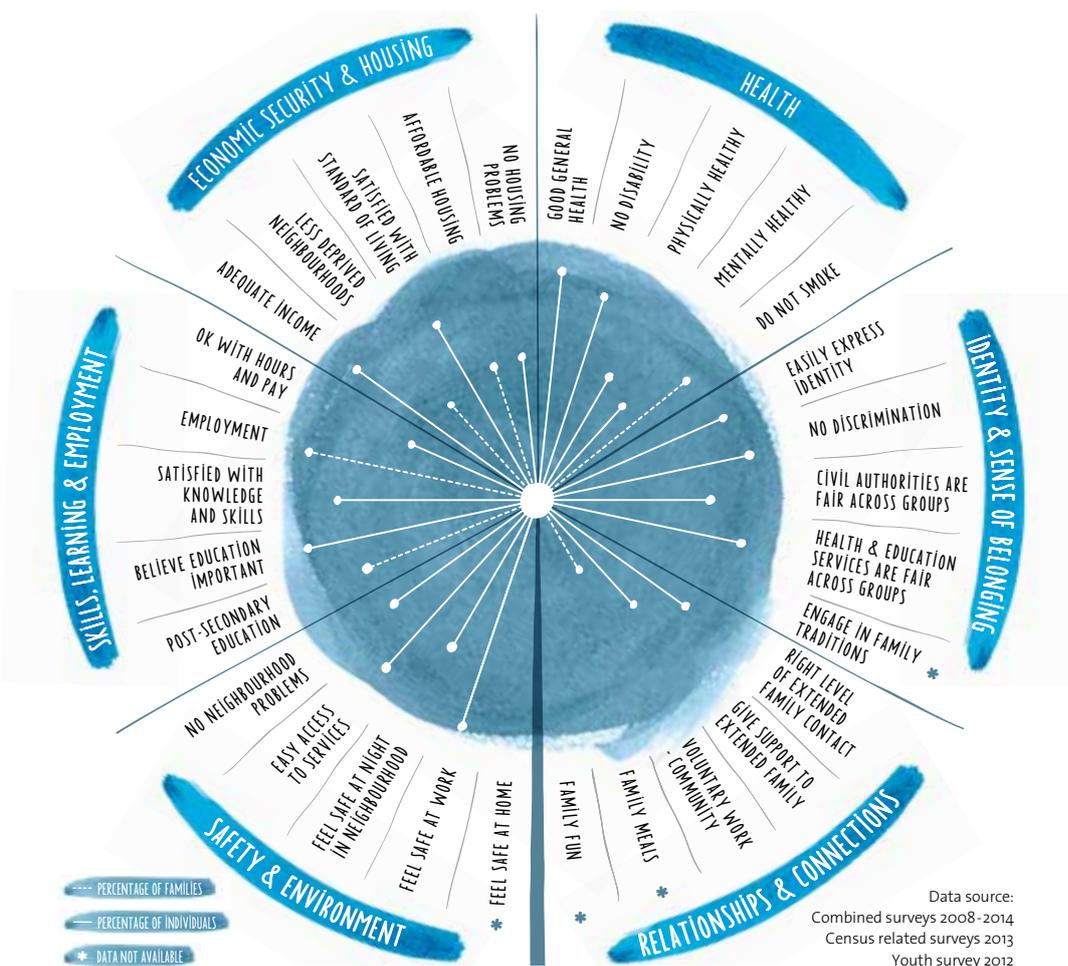
For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram above, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

Most of these families (92%) had an income that was at least 60% of the family median, and over half reported having affordable housing (58%), living in less deprived neighbourhoods (53%), and having no major housing problems (58%). These families had relatively high levels of offering extended family support (62%) but had the lowest levels of volunteering (33%) out of all the six family types. Most reported being able to easily express their identity (82%). They also had the highest result for having a post-secondary qualification (76%) and for general health (94%).

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian **couples who are both under the age of 50**, using the national family wellbeing results as a reference point[7].

OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Younger European couples are faring reasonably well but younger Māori, Pacific and Asian couples face some challenges.

Generally, we expect younger families to have fewer financial assets and resources compared to other family types as they have not had the opportunity to build these up over time. This is particularly important for couples who choose to have children as the demand on their resources will increase.

Younger European couples are faring better than similar families overall. They are generally in a good position to build up their financial assets over time and carry out the core functions of being a family.

This is also the case for younger Māori and Pacific couples. These families are more likely to volunteer and provide extended family support. However, they are less likely to have a post-secondary qualification which raises concern about their ability to build and accrue resources and improve their income levels over time.

Younger Asian couples are less well positioned economically, tending to have high housing costs and to live in less well-off neighbourhoods. These families also feel less able to express their identities which may have implications for their social inclusion in the future.

Compared with national results for all younger couples:

- **European younger couples** had similar results to the national average.
- **Māori younger couples** were more likely to provide extended family support (80%) and to volunteer (46%).
- **Pacific younger couples** were more likely to provide extended family support (81%) and to volunteer in the community (44%), but were less likely to have someone with a post-secondary qualification (58%).
- **Asian younger couples** had similar results to young couples nationally for income and housing problems, but they were less likely to have affordable housing or to live in less deprived neighbourhoods (39% and 45%). They were less likely to feel they could easily express their identities (69%), but were more likely to think that civil authorities and services were fair (86%). Asian families were also more likely to rate their health as good or better, and to not smoke (97%, 84%).

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7   Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.
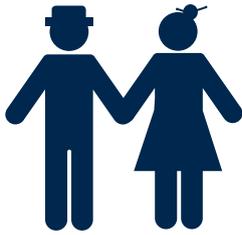
Couple, one or both aged 50 or older

Nationally, these families appeared to be faring well: they were financially secure and had good family and community connections, and sense of identity and belonging results. However, increased health problems were evident for this family type.

**Figure 3 _ Couple, one or both aged 50 or older –
national wellbeing findings**
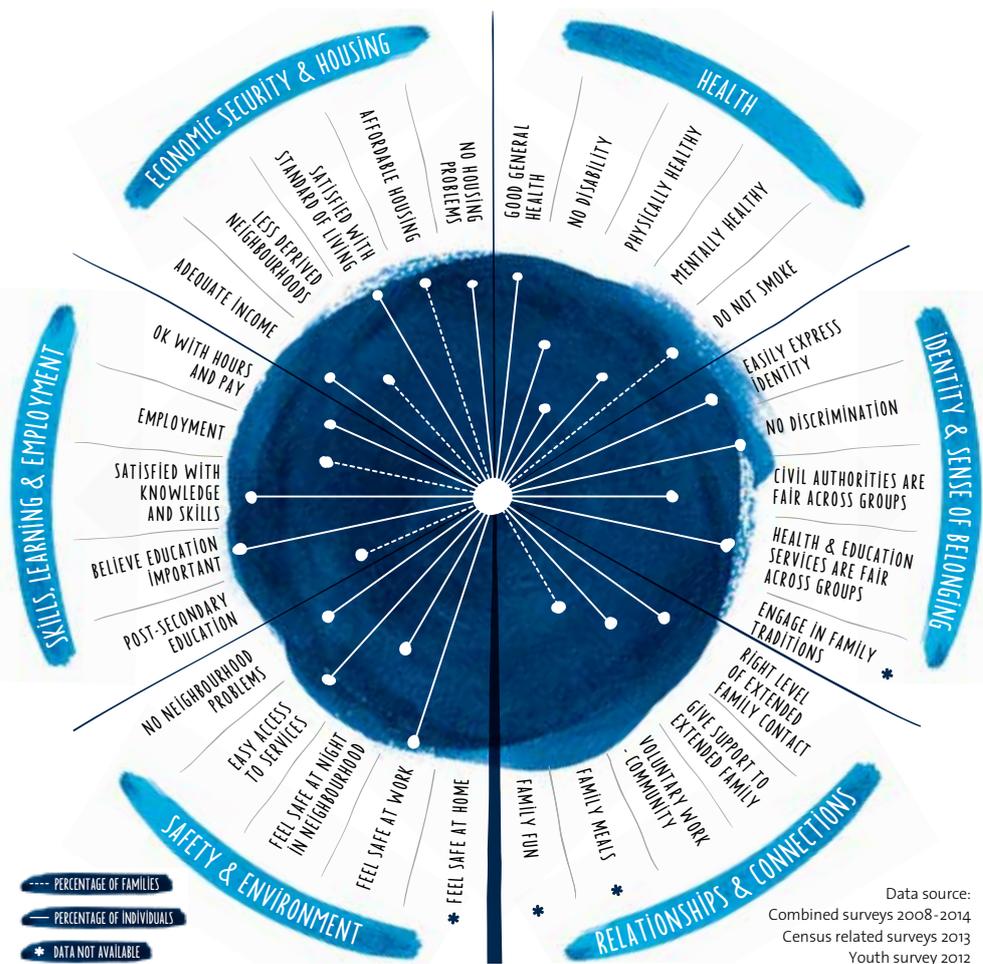
For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

People from these families showed high levels of wellbeing on most of the indicators. The vast majority (89%) were satisfied with their standard of living and 87% reported affordable housing. They showed strong results on indicators relating to 'Identity and sense of belonging' and 'Relationships and connections'; 79% reported having the right amount of extended family contact. However, reflecting the older age structure of this family type, some had health problems: less than half had good physical health (40%) and only 61% reported having no one in the family with a long-term disability, the lowest of any family type. On the other hand, they were also the most likely to have good mental health (62%) and to not smoke (86%).

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian **couples where one or both are over the age of 50**, using national family wellbeing as a reference point[8].

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OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Most older couples are at a life stage where they have become financially secure but health issues are a concern.

Older couples may have brought up children who have since left home or never had children. They are at a life stage where, hopefully, they have had an opportunity over time to become financially secure, build their resources, and establish family and community networks. The issues of retirement, health and potentially having aging parents are of increasing concern to this group.

About a third of European families are older couples, reflecting the older age distribution of this group. Despite some health issues, older European couples are faring well.

Older Māori couples are doing fairly well, however they are more likely to live in deprived neighbourhoods and have housing problems than the national average.

Older Pacific couples are also faring reasonably well, although they have low results in the knowledge, skills and employment areas.

Of concern for both older Māori and older Pacific couples are the relatively high health issues for these families. This has implications for family functioning and also in terms of the need for assistance and family support.

Older Asian couples are less financially secure. They are less likely to have adequate incomes or live in affordable housing. They also have lower levels of extended family and community engagement. Together these findings have potential implications for older Asian couples having insufficient or scarce resources in later life.

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Compared with national results for couples, one or both are over the age of 50:

- **European families of this type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Māori families of this type** were more likely to be employed (78%), but less likely to have no housing problems and live in less deprived neighbourhoods (63%, 37%) that the national average. Older Māori couples did less well for health indicators, including having good physical health (29%), non-smoking and rating their health as good (71%, 77%). These families scored lower for ease of expressing their identity and experiencing no discrimination (82%, 89%), and were less likely to include someone with a post-secondary qualification (47%).
- **Pacific families of this type** were less likely to have good physical health, or to not smoke (24%, 75%). They were more likely to think education is important, but they were less likely to have post-secondary qualifications (37%) and to be satisfied with their knowledge and skills (77%) and work hours and pay (37%).
- **Asian families of this type** were less likely to have an adequate income or affordable housing (57%, 72%). They were also less likely to feel they could easily express their identities (80%), but more likely to think that civil authorities and services were fair.

8   Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.

Two parents with at least one child under 18 years

Nationally, two-parent families with younger children are doing well, although many of them have financial stresses. They are well-placed to carry out the family functions of providing care, nurturance and support, managing resources, providing socialisation and guidance, and providing identity and a sense of belonging.

Figure 4 _ Two parents with at least one child under 18 – national wellbeing findings
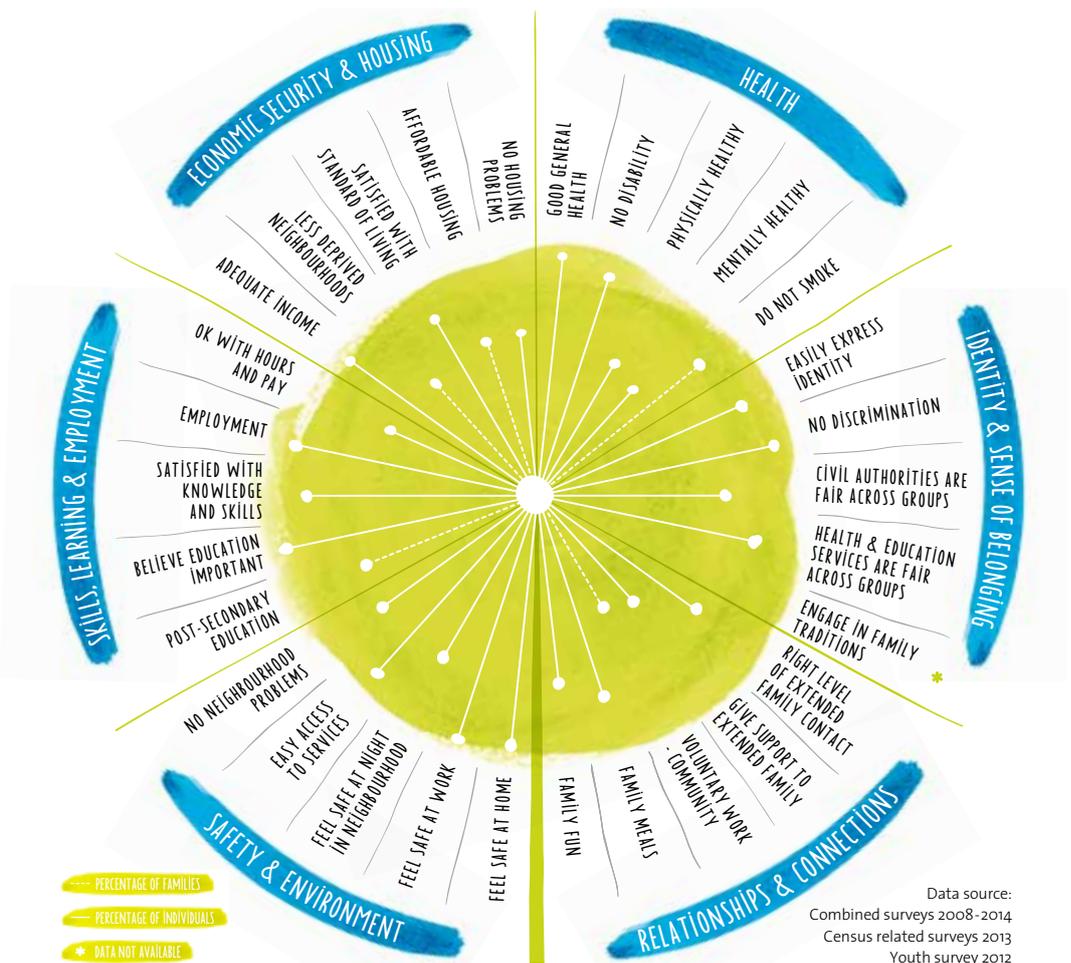
Data source:
Combined surveys 2008-2014
Census related surveys 2013
Youth survey 2012

For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

People from these families showed high levels for employment (94%), adequate income (87%), and general health (91%). Many of them reported having no major housing problems or having affordable housing (59%, 60%). They also scored highly on indicators relating to 'Identity and sense of belonging', and quite well for 'Relationships and connections' (providing extended family support, 58%; volunteering, 47%).

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian **couples with at least one child under 18 years of age**, using national family wellbeing as a reference point[9].

OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Māori, Pacific and Asian families with two parents and younger children face a mixture of challenges.

European couples with younger children are generally faring well across the indicator areas.

On the whole, Māori families are also faring relatively well, but they are more likely to live in more deprived areas and have associated housing problems than the national average. The health indicators for these families are slightly lower than average and they are less likely to believe that civil authorities, such as the Police and government departments, were fair. These indicators suggest that there are some challenges to functioning well as a family, particularly in relation to housing. However, Māori families have strong family connections and community engagement.

Pacific couples with younger children have strong relationships and community connections but fare less well generally across the family wellbeing theme areas. This finding is important considering that a third of couples with children under 18 are of Pacific ethnicity. These results suggest that a key area for policy focus is addressing issues of economic security and skills.

Asian couples with younger children appear to be more vulnerable in relation to economic security, housing, and hours of work and pay. These families are more likely to experience discrimination and to feel uneasy about expressing their identities. They are also much less likely to engage with the community through volunteering. These results indicate potential risks in terms of alienation, isolation and exploitation in the workforce. It also highlights challenges for these families in fostering a sense of belonging for their children.

Compared with national results for all two-parent families with younger children:

- **European families of this type** mostly had similar results to the national average, but scored higher on indicators relating to economic security and identity.

- **Māori families of this type** were similar to all two-parent families with younger children in their results for employment and adequate income, but were less likely to live in well-off neighbourhoods or to report having no major housing problems (40%, 48%). These families' results were lower for many health indicators and for identity and sense of belonging, but they were higher for providing extended family support and volunteering (72%, 58%).

- **Pacific families of this type** were doing less well on many indicators relating to 'Economic security and housing' and to 'Skills, learning and employment' compared with two-parent families with younger children nationally. These Pacific families had lower physical health and fewer were non-smoking (53%, 64%). They were less likely to feel safe at night (57%), to have easy access to services (80%), and to share family meals (74%), but they were more likely to provide extended family support (74%).

- **Asian families of this type** were doing less well on many of the economic security and housing indicators and were less likely to provide extended family support and volunteer (50%, 25%). They were less likely to feel OK about hours of work and pay (47%), to have experienced no discrimination (81%), or to find it easy to express their identity (68%). However, they were more likely to think that civil institutions and health and education services were fair (82%, 90%).

9   Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.

One parent with at least one child under 18 years

Nationally, the stresses faced by single parents with younger children provide challenges for effective family functioning, particularly the stresses relating to low financial security and housing affordability. Although these families were generally in good health, many experienced relatively poor mental health.

Figure 5 _ One parent with at least one child under 18 – national wellbeing findings
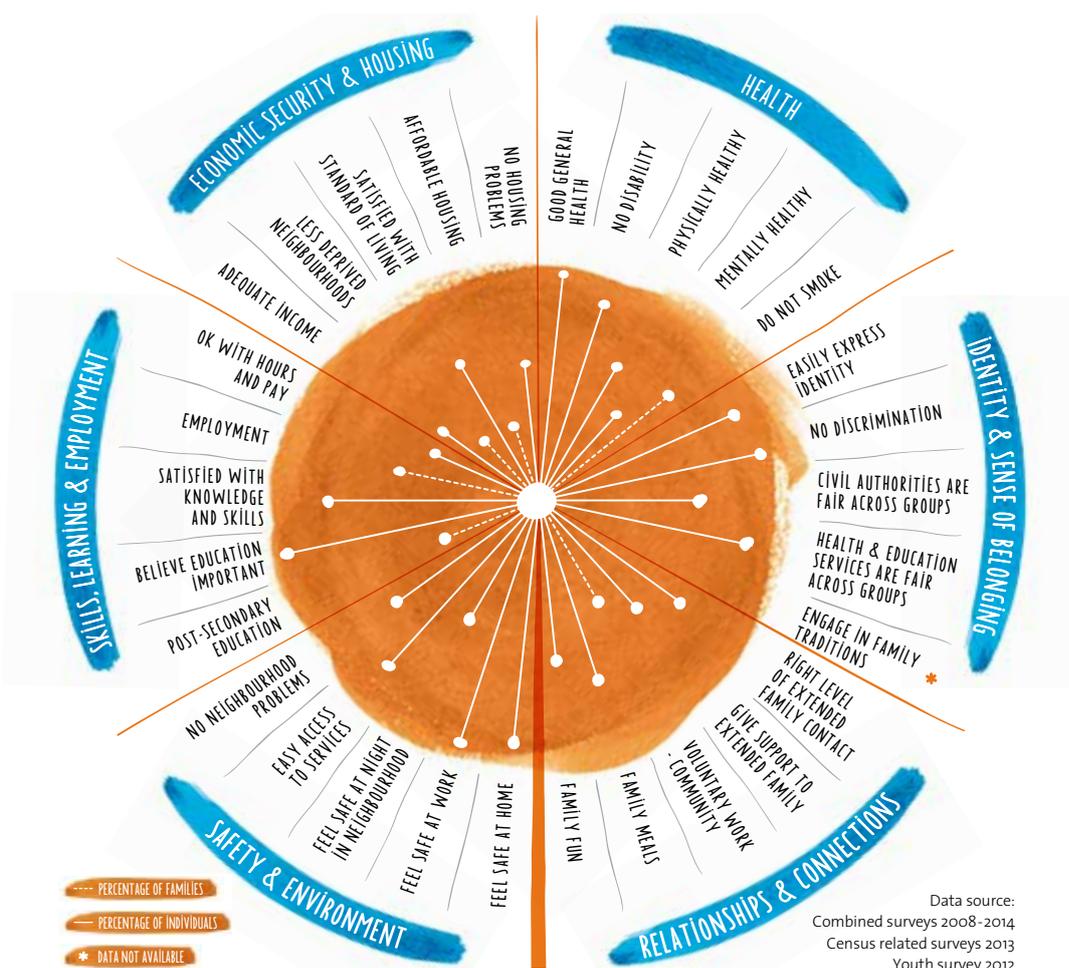
For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

Many people living in single-parent families with younger children faced economic difficulties. For example, just 46% had an income above 60% of the family median and 31% lived in affordable housing. Individuals in these families had comparatively low levels of post-secondary education and employment (41%, 56%), and few had good mental health (41%). On the positive side, many had good physical health and family members were unlikely to have a disability (58%, 78%). Extended family support was provided by 57% of these families.

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian **single parents with at least one child under 18 years**, using national family wellbeing as a reference point[10].

OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Single parents with younger children face financial and psychological stresses and some struggle with employment and skills.

Across all four ethnic groups, single-parent families with younger children are facing difficulties and financial stresses. These families also have low mental health outcomes, which further affects their ability to function well as a family.

Financial stresses affected Māori single parents with young children in particular. These families have lower outcomes for skills and employment but higher family and community engagement than sole parents with young children generally.

Both Māori and Pacific single parents with younger children are also less likely to include a family member with post-secondary qualifications or with a job. These findings suggest that Māori and Pacific single-parent families are less well-placed to find employment.

Although Asian single-parent families with younger children face similar financial stresses, their overall profile of wellbeing results is slightly different. They are less likely to have family and community connections but they have better results for health and education indicators. This may place them in a slightly better position for finding employment and for effective family functioning.

Compared with national results for all one-parent families with younger children:

- **European families of this type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Māori families of this type** were doing less well economically and were less likely to have adequate income, to have a problem-free house, or to live in a less deprived neighbourhood (38%, 41%, 18%). They were less likely to be employed (46%) or to include someone with post-secondary qualifications (35%), but they were more likely to provide extended family support and to be volunteering (70%, 52%).
- **Pacific families of this type** had similar results to this family type nationally but were less likely to be employed (46%) or to include someone with post-secondary qualifications (34%).
- **Asian families of this type** were less likely to be providing extended family support and to be volunteering (32%, 27%). However, these families were more likely not to include a smoker (85%) or someone with a long-term disability (92%) and have post-secondary qualifications (48%).

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10 Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.

Two parents with all children aged 18 or older

Nationally, couples with adult children were doing well across all wellbeing themes. In particular, they were economically secure, had strong extended family connections, and felt secure at home and in their neighbourhood.

**Figure 6 _ Two parents with all children aged 18 and older –
national wellbeing findings**
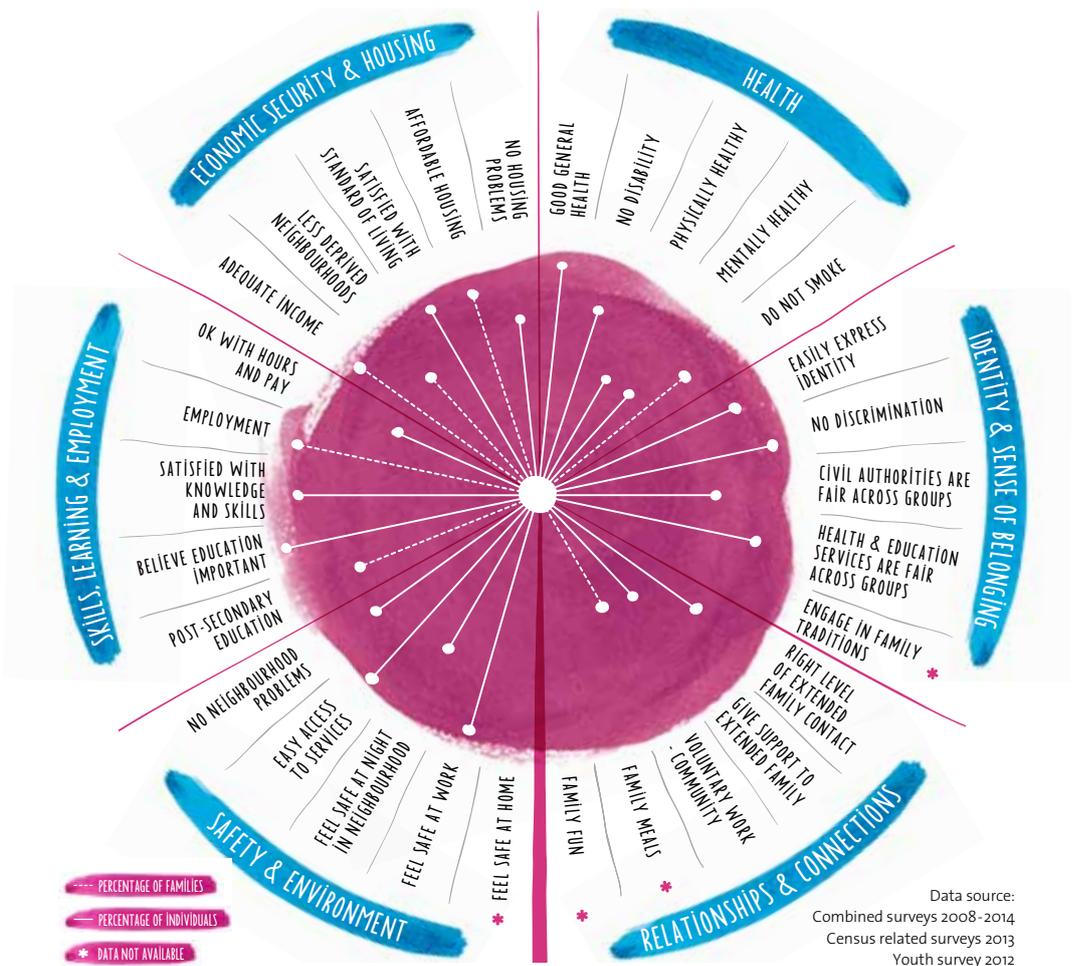
Data source:
Combined surveys 2008-2014
Census related surveys 2013
Youth survey 2012

For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

Most of these families were doing well financially – 88% had an income of at least 60% of the family median, and 82% had affordable housing. People in these families had good levels of employment, post-secondary education, and satisfaction with their knowledge and skills. They had the highest level of volunteering (51%), were well-connected with extended family, and 72% were non-smoking.

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian **two-parent families with all children aged 18 or older**, using national family wellbeing as a reference point[11].

OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Couples with adult children have fair to strong results overall, however Pacific families appear to be facing difficulties.

Two-parent families with adult children reflect a diverse set of characteristics and contexts. These include parents who are caring for adult children with severe disabilities, adult children staying home while studying, or adult children who have returned home to save money between completing study and beginning full-time work. While some adult children may be living with their parents by choice, for others it may reflect more difficult family circumstances.

While couples with adult children have strong wellbeing results nationally, there are differences across ethnic groups. European and Māori families in this group have similar results to the national average but Pacific families face greater health and economic challenges and have poorer results for their knowledge and skills. In contrast, Asian families are above the national average in health.

The high wellbeing results for couples with adult children are encouraging but there are certain families which face difficulties in contrast to the national picture. Pacific couples with adult children in particular have lower outcomes across several themes which may affect family functioning and reduce their standard of living.

Compared with national results for all two-parent families with adult children:

- **European families of this family type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Māori families of this family type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Pacific families of this family type** were less likely to be satisfied with their standard of living (63%), to have no major housing problems (37%), and to live in well-off neighbourhoods (23%). Fewer individuals in these families had good mental health or were non-smokers (34%, 55%), and they were less likely to have post-secondary qualifications or to be satisfied with their knowledge and skills (55%, 70%).
- **Asian families of this family type** were more likely to include no smoker or someone with a long-term disability (82%, 88%). They were also more likely to think that civil institutions and services were fair, but less likely to feel they could easily express their identity (85%, 70%).

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11 Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.

One parent with all children aged 18 or older

Nationally, single-parent families with adult children have mixed wellbeing results. They are doing relatively well economically, but they have poorer health outcomes and weaker connections with extended family.

Figure 7 _ One parent with all children aged 18 or older – national wellbeing findings
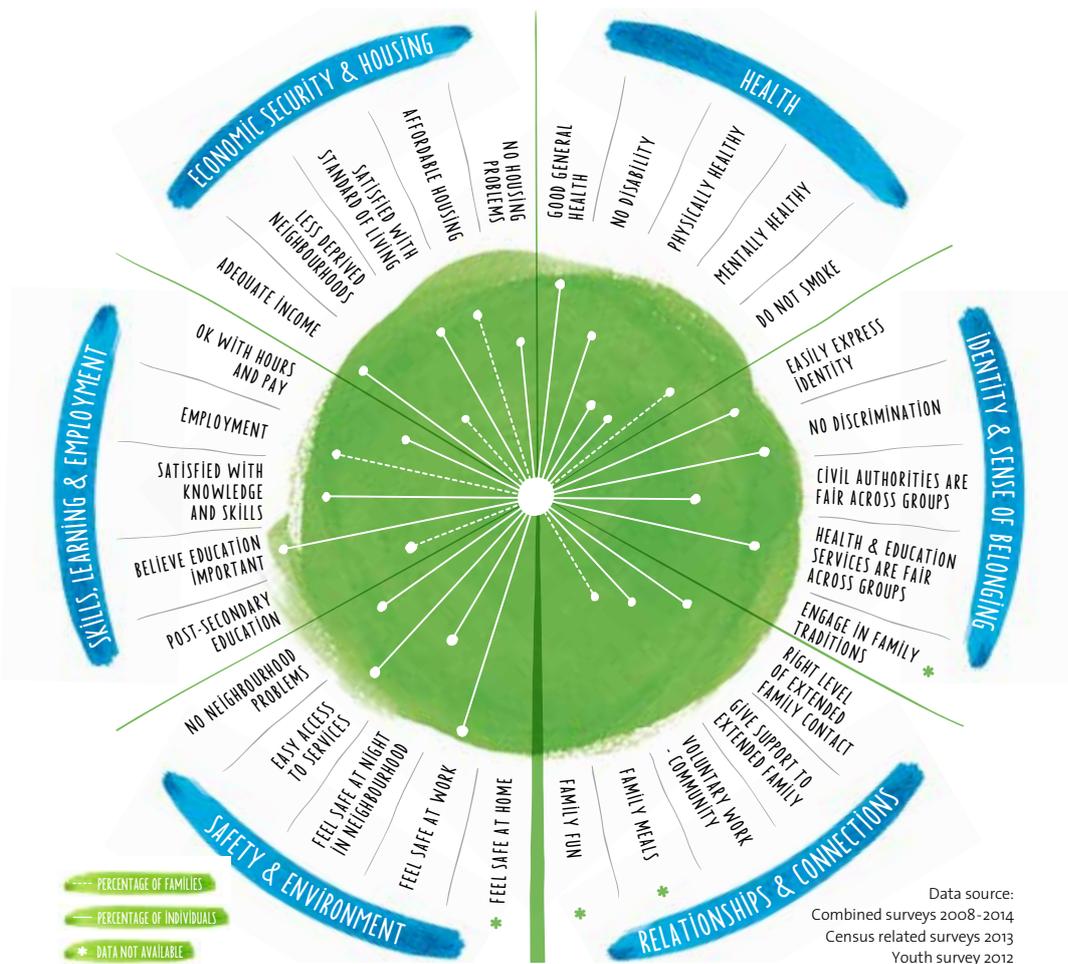
Data source:
Combined surveys 2008-2014
Census related surveys 2013
Youth survey 2012

For each of the six theme areas shown on the outer edge of the sparkler diagram, the pattern of associated indicator results is shown by the lines radiating outwards. Longer lines show a higher percentage of families doing well, to a maximum of 100%.

The wellbeing indicators present a mixed picture for sole parents with adult children. These families had a reasonable amount of financial security, with 78% earning at least 60% of the median family income and 75% living in affordable housing. However, these families scored poorly on many health indicators, with few family members having good mental and physical health (both 44%), and about two thirds were free from any long term disabilities (65%). Fewer of these families were non-smoking (65%) and they scored relatively low on giving support to extended family and on having the right level of extended family contact (51%, 68%).

Family wellbeing for European, Māori, Pacific and Asian single-parent **families with all children aged 18 years and over**, using national family wellbeing as a reference point[12].

OUR INDICATOR FINDINGS SUGGEST THAT:

Single-parent families with adult children are doing relatively well economically but many have poorer health outcomes.

Single-parent families with adult children are diverse and include sole parents caring for adult children with severe disabilities, adult children caring for an elderly parent and adult children living at home while studying or so that they can save money.

European, Māori and Asian single-parent families with adult children are doing relatively well economically, but have poorer health outcomes and weaker connections with extended family compared to similar families.

Pacific families with older children are also doing well economically and were more likely to rate themselves healthy, despite being more likely to have a smoker in the family.

Compared with national results for all one-parent families with adult children

- **European families of this family type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Māori families of this family type** had similar results to the national average.
- **Pacific families of this family type** had similar results to the national average, but were more likely to report good general health (93%) and less likely to have no smokers in the house (56%).
- **Asian families of this family type** had similar results to the national average.

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12 Variations from the national results are presented here where two or more results in a theme area vary significantly. 'Significantly' means, for survey data other than the Census of Population and Dwellings, achieving statistical significance at 95% confidence compared with the national result, or, for the Census indicator results, being more than 5 percentage points below or above the national result.

2.5_ Commentary on the family wellbeing of different ethnic groups – by Natalie Jackson

Trends in dominant family types in New Zealand

As elsewhere in the world, New Zealand's families are changing. While two-parents-and-children was still the dominant family type nationally at the 2013 Census, these families outnumbered couples without children by less than 1 percent, down from 3 percent in 2001. The trend towards more couples without children is expected to continue, as it reflects several trends:

- falling birth rates
- increasing numbers of younger couples delaying having children, thereby increasing the number who have not yet had children
- increasing proportions of people not having children at all
- increasing numbers of 'empty-nesters' – where children have left home – among people aged 50 and over
- people becoming empty-nesters much earlier compared to when people had more children
- increasing life expectancy, which means older couples are likely to live in this empty-nest stage for longer.

Although the proportion of couples without children is expected to increase overall in the coming years, this trend is not seen universally across all ethnic groups. For Māori and Pacific peoples, the dominant family form continues to be two parents with children. This reflects the higher birth rates and greater proportions of Māori and Pasifika at the key reproductive ages. For Europeans, the dominant form is couples without children, where low birth rates and greater longevity have reduced the proportion in the family formation ages. For the Asian population, the two-parents-with-children family is, as for Māori and Pacific peoples, the dominant family form, but this is more a reflection of recent migration patterns by age than of birth rates, which are extremely low. These patterns show that although the population overall is aging, families with children (both couples and sole parents) continue to be New Zealand's dominant family type, regardless of ethnic group.

We find Māori and Pacific families falling behind their European and Asian counterparts on most indicators. Again, this is particularly so for families with children, and it occurs regardless of whether there are one or two parents (although two-parent families tend to fare better than one-parent families). This longstanding situation is concerning not only for the families and ethnic groups to which they belong, but also for New Zealanders generally. This is because Māori and Pacific children account for 30% of those aged under 20, increasing to one-third for children under five, and these children will account for similar proportions of future workforce entrants.

The Māori and Pacific populations have very youthful age structures, with half under 24 and 21 years of age, respectively. By comparison, the median ages (above and below which half the population falls) of the European and Asian populations are 41 and 31 respectively.

Younger people are more likely to need qualifications and jobs, to be seeking a home and forming a family, and to be a child or parent in a young family. Due to the relatively youthful Māori and Pacific populations, the family wellbeing findings for younger couples and families with young children are disproportionately related to Māori and Pacific families relative to the other ethnic groups (about double).

In older populations, people are more likely to be part of a middle-aged or older couple, where children may have left the home and health may be deteriorating. However, this group are also more likely to have (or have had) jobs and steady incomes, and to own their own home. Because of their older age structure, the wellbeing outcomes for older couples and those with older children (homeownership for example) relate disproportionately to the European and Asian populations.

The difference in the prevalence of these different family types for these ethnic groups, and therefore the difference in their associated family wellbeing outcomes, is relevant for understanding why, overall, New Zealand's families lag behind many of their OECD counterparts on a number of family indicators. This is particularly so for outcomes relating to children, and for understanding why New Zealand's older families without children fare relatively well (OECD 2011, 2015; and also evidenced in chapter 2 of this Superu report). Indeed, what most separates higher and lower scores on most indicators used for this analysis is the presence or absence of children.

Implications for New Zealand's future workforce

In the future, as the structurally older European population enters retirement in disproportionately higher numbers, there will be smaller numbers of workforce entrants to replace them. This will lead to increased competition for people to replace those who have left – the beginnings of which we are already seeing. Over the next two decades, people of the age to enter the workforce (entrants) will be increasingly outnumbered by those of the age to leave the workforce (exits). As an indication, the ratio is projected to fall from eight workforce entrants per 10 exits at present, to just six per 10 exits by 2023.

This next period of a falling workforce entry/exit ratio may be particularly important for Māori, half of whom are currently aged under 24, and similarly so for Pacific peoples, half of whom are under 21 years of age. Their numbers will greatly contribute to the replacement of the retiring European baby-boomers, with the projected shortfall between workforce entrants and exits expected to reduce the high unemployment rates of the past. We will need to think more deeply about how we invest in today's children if we are to ensure that the opportunities on offer are in fact able to be capitalised on by Māori and Pacific peoples, both for their own benefit and for all New Zealanders. As explained above, today's children will in effect constitute a 'collateral demographic dividend' for New Zealand (Jackson 2011, 2016).

New Zealand's children and their relative wellbeing have in fact already been getting increased attention, as shown by the Fifth Periodic Report by the New Zealand Government under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCROC, 2015). However, the longstanding gaps for Māori and Pacific families, and one-parent families in particular, need to close much faster than they have been. As the UNCROC report notes, around one-quarter of New Zealand's children live in a one-parent family, which is the third-highest proportion out of 27 industrialised countries. As discussed above, their labour market outcomes will have a very significant impact on New Zealand's future.

These key demographic changes that New Zealand is undergoing will have implications for how families manage and function in the future. For example, the children and young people who are part of the 'collateral demographic dividend' need to be skilled and educated in order to maximise labour market opportunities, which in turn will have a positive impact on the economic security of families and whānau. Further, an inability to realise economic security will have implications for how older families are able to be supported by younger or working age families in the future.

Prioritising education and training

Good education is a key prerequisite for a productive work-life. It is concerning that Māori one-parent families where all children are over 18 are the least likely to believe that education is very important, followed by one-parent families with children under 18. These findings seem to indicate an urgent need to communicate the new opportunities awaiting today's Māori and Pacific youth. There is a similar need in relation to all one-parent families with at least one child under 18. Of all families with children, these families have the lowest levels of post-secondary school qualification or of employment, regardless of ethnic group.

The structural ageing of New Zealand's population will generate many employment opportunities, but training in relevant jobs, particularly in emerging job fields, will be needed more than before (World Economic Forum, 2016). In considering these, the policy context needs to consider the trade-off between work expectations, and education and training expectations.

Developing equitable policies for New Zealand families and whānau

Family-related policy development particularly needs to take into account ethnicity-based differences, as the increasing focus on population ageing may direct attention away from the needs of younger families. This could result in 'one-size-fits-all' policies that fail to deliver equity to ethnic groups that have significantly different age structures and family composition.

One feature that particularly needs to be acknowledged is that the age structures of the Māori and Pacific populations today are almost identical to the age structure of the European population in the 1960s, when New Zealand's baby boom was in full swing. Under the policies of that era, there was a variety of supports to families (e.g. the universal family benefit and the ability to capitalise this as assets for purchasing a home, low cost tertiary education and health support and an era of full employment). That context lies behind many of the current differences in economic circumstances between younger and older families (indicated in this chapter).

The fact that New Zealand's population is ageing, as indeed are all of its ethnic groups, is a very important issue, and it is vital that we prepare for the increasing numbers and proportions at older ages – especially those living in single-person/widowed households. It is also vital to prepare for the opportunities this ageing will bring to the younger population. But as the indicator results show, New Zealand's older families, especially among Europeans, are faring relatively well compared to its younger families, and this relative wellbeing to a large extent relates to past social and economic policy settings.

Falling levels of homeownership at younger ages, for example, may have implications for the welfare state. Once the highest in the Western world, New Zealand's homeownership rates among young families are now approaching the levels of the 1930s, with increasing reliance on the private rental market (Hurnard, 2007; Mitchell, O'Malley, Murphy, & Duncan., 2007; Morrison, 2008; Nana, Stokes, Keeling, Davey, & Glasgow., 2009). This will have implications for how families accessing the private rental market are supported throughout the life course.

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03

Expressions of whānau

Tahu Kukutai, Andrew Sporle,
Matthew Roskruge

Introduction

Whānau are the cornerstone of Māori society. Without whānau, collective Māori identity, and the values and norms that give meaning to that identity, would cease to exist. Much has been written about whānau in terms of its definition, component parts, functions, roles and relationships (Cunningham, Stevenson, & Tassell 2005; Durie, 1997, 2001; Irwin, Hetet, Maclean, & Potae, 2013; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Metge, 1995; Smith, 1995). These studies have drawn on mātauranga Māori, archival sources, ethnographic research and in-depth interviews to offer a rich and multi-layered understanding of whānau. However, aside from studies focused on household structure and circumstances, there is relatively little quantitative evidence on whānau (Cunningham et al., 2005; Tibble & Ussher, 2012). Addressing this gap is important, given the emphasis on whānau in the context of social policy and social service delivery (Durie, Cooper, Grennell, Snively & Tuaine, 2010; Superu, 2015) and the routine use of quantitative research to inform policy responses.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore expressions of whānau as reported in Te Kupenga, the first Māori Social Survey. As the first nationally representative survey of Māori wellbeing, Te Kupenga is well suited to a statistical analysis of whānau. Unlike other official surveys such as the Census of Population and Dwellings and the General Social Survey, Te Kupenga was specifically designed with Māori values and priorities in mind (Statistics New Zealand, 2009). It provides a comprehensive picture of the social, cultural and economic wellbeing of Māori and allows us to explore a number of questions relevant to whānau. For example: How do individuals define who belongs to their whānau? How are expressions of whānau related to cultural identity, household living arrangements, and social context? How well do Māori think their whānau are doing and what are the factors associated with doing well? How can these factors be supported through collective and institutional responses that empower whānau rangatiratanga[13] (family self-determination) and whānau wellbeing?

This chapter provides descriptive as well as multivariate analyses of individuals' descriptions of their whānau as reported in Te Kupenga. There are three parts:

- The first part identifies key themes in the literature. Several comprehensive reviews of whānau concepts and definitions have already been undertaken (Durie et al., 2010; Irwin et al., 2013; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Smith, 1995), so we do not attempt to repeat these efforts. Rather the purpose of our chapter is to identify concepts that can help frame our analysis and interpretation of results.

- The second part looks at how respondents in Te Kupenga described their whānau, and the demographic, economic, social and cultural factors associated with those descriptions.

- The third part undertakes a multivariate analysis to identify the factors most strongly associated with different expressions of whānau, guided by the views and concepts identified in the literature.

- A concluding section then briefly considers the implications of the results for whānau-focused policy and interventions, and also makes suggestions for next steps.

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13   See the Whānau Rangatiratanga framework (Superu, 2015). Appendix A of this report also has information about that framework.

Part 1. Approaches to understanding whānau

Whakapapa whānau

While there is no universal or generic way of defining whānau (Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Smith, 1995), there is a broad consensus that genealogical relationships form the basis of whānau, and that these relationships are intergenerational, shaped by context, and given meaning through roles and responsibilities.

The word whānau literally means to 'to be born' or to 'give life' (Williams, 2000). To be part of a whānau is to share common whakapapa that can be articulated in various ways. In a traditional sense, whakapapa is understood as descent-based relationships that extend from the physical world (te ao kikokiko) to the spiritual world (te ao wairua) (Kruger et al., 2004). These connections are given tangible form through the acknowledgement and valuing of tūpuna; through acts such as the recitation of whakapapa; and through the transmission of tūpuna knowledge and practices across generations. In a more general sense whakapapa refers to the layers of relationships that connect individuals to ancestors, to the living, and to the natural environment (Te Rito, 2007). This web of connections is part of what makes whānau distinct from the western concept of family. In Te Ao Māori, individual knowledge or willingness to identify with whakapapa is neither necessary nor sufficient for a whakapapa connection to exist. According to Royal (1992, p. 21), whakapapa is "...an inescapable fact of human existence. Whether you know your parents or not, as a human you are the product of a group of people brought together in a number of antecedental events".

There are many operational definitions of whānau (Cunningham et al., 2005; Lawson-Te Aho, 2010). Tukukino (1988) distinguishes between whānau who have passed on (e.g., tūpuna), whānau whānui (e.g. iwi), and whānau te rito (close family). Moeke-Pickering (1996) notes that the traditional concept of whānau typically comprised three or four generations and was embedded within the larger cultural institutions of hapū, iwi and waka. These relationships were not static, rather each whānau "mixed, divided, rekindled, migrated and formed fresh relationships" (p. 8).

Tate (2010) uses the concept of whanaungatanga to describe the relational foundations of whānau. These relationships extend vertically through generations, and stretch horizontally across whānau, hapū and iwi. His four models of whanaungatanga distinguish between heke tika, tuakana-teina, karanga, and hunaonga-hungawai. *Heke tika* refers to relationships that are based on direct lines of descent and includes tūpuna (ancestors), mātua (parents), tamariki (children) and mokopuna (grandchildren). Every whānau has a common tūpuna, which can be "five or more generations back from the youngest living member (p. 57)". *Tuakana-teina* refers exclusively to sibling relationships, both same-sex and different-sex, while *karanga* forms of whanaungatanga are the relationships that come from different heke tika lines such as cousins, aunt and uncles. The significance of these relationships is defined by generational roles rather than by age. The fourth model of whanaungatanga, *hunaonga-hungawai*, refers to in-laws who become heke tika through social and formal marriage. For whanaungatanga to flourish, the goal must be "... to rekindle, establish and maintain as many *whanaungatanga* links as possible" (Tate, 2010, p. 56, original emphasis). The importance of strengthening whakapapa ties is a widely shared sentiment in the whānau literature, particular in relation to the care and protection of tamariki. The landmark Tukukino (1988) report observed that the placement of children was once the means by which kin group or whānau structures were strengthened. Thus, "[t]he child is not the child of the birth parents, but of the family, and the family was not the nuclear unit in space, but an integral part of a tribal whole, bound by reciprocal obligations to all whose future was prescribed by the past fact of common descent" (Tukukino, 1988, p. 74).

Finally, Metge (1995) identifies five contemporary uses of the term 'whānau' that derive from pre-European uses. They are:

- siblings born to the same parents
- all descendants of a relatively named ancestor, regardless of whether they know about each other or interact with other
- all descendants of a relatively named ancestor who act and interact with each other on an ongoing basis
- a group consisting of a descent group core with the addition of members' spouses and children adopted from outside
- broader descent groups including hapū and iwi.

Drawing on the above insights, Figure 8 illustrates the vertical and horizontal aspects of whānau, along with relationships to whenua and tūpuna. The term 'whāngai' refers to those who are adopted (usually informally) into whānau; in customary Māori contexts whāngai often came from heke tika and karanga lines. Whakapapa provides the links between the vertical and horizontal aspects of whānau through hapū and iwi relationships.

Figure 8 _ A relational model of whakapapa whānau

Whenua: land, also placenta
Tūpuna: ancestor
Koroua: grandfather, elderly man
Kuia: grandmother, elderly woman
Matua: Father
Whaea: mother

Mātāmua: first-born, elder
Tuakana: elder brother of male, elder sister of female
Au/ahau: I, me
Hoa rangatira: spouse, partner
Teina: younger brother of a male, younger sister of a female

Pōtiki: youngest child
Tamariki: children
Whāngai: adopted child
Mokopuna: grandchild/ren, great grandchild/ren
Uri: descendant, offspring

Whakapapa relationships are not just ways of situating individuals within a kin group but are connected to roles, responsibilities and obligations, including mutual acts of giving and receiving. As Metge notes (1995):

> There is the duty to care for each other, expressed in the words ahu (tend, foster), atawhai (show kindness to, foster), awhi (embrace, foster, cherish), manaaki (show respect or kindness to), taurima (treat with care, tend) and whāngai (feed, nourish, bring up). All these words imply meeting not only the physical needs of others but also their need to be nurtured mentally and spiritually… This duty of care for each other includes the responsibility laid upon older generations to teach the young right ways and to hand on knowledge that belongs to and will benefit the whānau as a whole.

This notion of reciprocal and mutual obligation means that whakapapa "makes you accountable" (Kruger et al., 2004, p. 10), whether individually or as a group. Whakapapa is invoked in a range of settings to guide decision-making on matters relating to land succession, governance and tikanga.

Several studies have noted that the western focus on family structure and functioning, and on the household as the economic unit of production, has little in common with a Māori worldview of whānau (Cram & Pitama, 1998; Cunningham et al., 2005; Taiapa, 1995). For Māori the household is not an independent economic unit but is part of a wider group where resources flow between the two. While few Māori are able to live in customary communal settings with collective responsibilities for resources, care and protection, case studies show that whānau values are still relevant and meaningful for many (Taiapa, 1995).

Kaupapa whānau

Demographic and economic transformations coupled with the impact of colonisation mean that some Māori may see whānau in a traditional sense as encompassing an extended set of kin relationships, while others might think of whānau in the narrow sense of a nuclear family. Regardless of scope, these relationships are still grounded in the foundations of whakapapa.

The literature also refers to the concept of kaupapa whānau, which is based on a common purpose or shared interests (see, for example, Lawson-Te Aho, 2010; Metge, 1995; Smith, 1995; Tibble & Ussher, 2012; Walker, 2014). In kaupapa whānau, individuals purposefully engage to achieve a common goal. It is through collective action based on whānau values that whānau-like relationships of support and reciprocity are established. Kōhanga reo is an often used example of a kaupapa whānau (Smith, 1995). The term 'whānau' has also become a term used in multiple contexts, including kapa haka and sports (e.g., waka ama).

Kaupapa whānau may include individuals who are related by whakapapa, but it is the act of acting, not relatedness with relatives, that is the basis for the relationship. One of the key differences that distinguishes a kaupapa-based concept of whānau is the permanence of the relationship and the degree of choice involved. Those who see themselves as part of a kaupapa whānau are relatively free to leave, whereas those who are born in whānau cannot opt out. Even if individuals choose to distance themselves from their kin, or do not have detailed knowledge of their whakapapa, they are still connected to a broader set of relationships. By contrast, relationships that are based solely on a common purpose or goal may be more fleeting in nature and are far less likely to be grounded in intergenerational relationships (Kruger et al., 2004). Irwin et al. (2013, p. 40) see this as an important distinction in that "whakapapa whānau are the more permanent and culturally authentic form of whānau". However, they also note that, for both whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, the intent is to contribute "to the building and strengthening of bonds of kinship and to give effect to the collective practices of whanaungatanga (whānau support)" (p. 40).

Taken together, the foregoing themes suggest that expressions of whānau in Te Kupenga may have a number of features:

- Whakapapa, whether narrowly or broadly conceived, is likely to be fundamental to how individual Māori think about their whānau.
- Those who have deeper or more expansive ties to Te Ao Māori, whether through knowledge, networks or participation, are more likely to see their whānau in a broader customary sense.
- The inclusion of non-genealogical relationships within whānau is likely to reflect particular contextual associations such as involvement in kaupapa Māori education and circumstances that call for greater levels of external support.

These potential associations are explored in the analysis that follows.

Part 2. Expressions of whānau in Te Kupenga

This chapter uses data from the Te Kupenga Confidentialised Unit Record File (CURF). Te Kupenga is a post-censal survey that was undertaken by Statistics New Zealand, after the 2013 Census. The survey involved interviewing a sample of the usually resident Māori population, defined on the basis of either ethnicity or ancestry.

For this report we weighted our data using probability weights, which means that the sample can be generalised to the entire Māori population. This created a representative population of 529,750 from a sample of 5,549 individual participants. Standard errors are estimated using replicate weights computed by Statistics NZ (Statistics New Zealand, 2014). The CURF enabled us to undertake the analysis more efficiently than was possible using the full dataset of Te Kupenga microdata (see Superu, 2015). Microdata can only be analysed within the confidential environs of a datalab, and all results must undergo a confidentiality check. The creation of the CURF required some variables to be removed or response ranges to be aggregated in order to confidentialise the dataset. These changes limit the range of variables and the level of detail available compared with the full dataset. However, the only impact for our analysis is that we were unable to use the household income variable. This was not a significant issue, as we had no compelling reason to explore income as a determinant of whānau.

In defining whānau, the approach taken in Te Kupenga was to acknowledge whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, and to leave it to the individual to define their own whānau within four broad relationship categories (Tibble & Ussher, 2012). This approach is consistent with the sentiment expressed by whānau in national and regional whānau development conferences that "whānau is who whānau says it is" (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005, p. 3). Figure 9 illustrates the distinction between whakapapa and kaupapa whānau, and nuclear and extended whānau categories, as measured in Te Kupenga.

Figure 9 _ Te Kupenga model of whānau
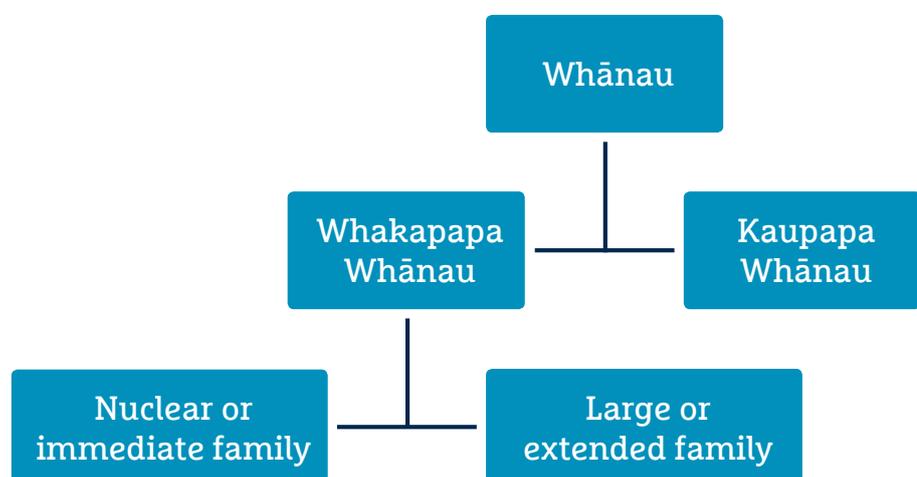
Source: Tibble & Ussher, 2012

Respondents were asked to describe their whānau after answering a series of questions about their whānau wellbeing, level of contact, and support. While respondents' descriptions of their whānau were elicited in the context of these specific questions, interviewers were instructed to inform respondents that whānau referred to 'the group of people that you think of as your whānau'. From the literature we know that whānau is distinct from western concepts of family and household, and that how individuals think about their whānau is likely to be shaped by their connections, knowledge and perceptions, lived experiences, and contexts. Subjective perceptions of whānau are also likely to change over the life-course and in response to changes in locality, networks and whānau composition (e.g. the passing of grandparents and the arrival of children and mokopuna). Accordingly we treat individuals' descriptions of their whānau as subjective expressions of whānau, rather than objective or fixed measures of whānau structure, composition or function.

Individuals were given four whānau categories to choose from (Figure 10) and were able to select as many categories as were relevant to them. Responses relate to individuals' own whānau rather than their understanding of whānau in a more general or conceptual sense. Most Māori will think of whānau as comprising kuia, koroua and mokopuna, but some will not have grandchildren or living grandparents of their own. For such people in Te Kupenga, their response to the whānau question probably excluded grandparents and grandchildren.

Figure 10 _ Whānau categories from Te Kupenga

Which group or groups include those your were thinking about as your whānau? You can select as many as you need.

A. Parents, partner/spouse, brothers and sisters, brothers/sisters/parents in-law, children	**C.** Aunts and uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces, other in-laws
B. My grandparents, my grandchildren	**D.** Close friends, others

Although Te Kupenga permitted multiple responses to the whānau question, we assigned individuals to a single whānau category for the purposes of this report. To do this we grouped individuals according to their **broadest expression of whānau**. For example, an individual who reported A, B and C was allocated to C, and an individual who reported B and D was allocated to D.

The four whānau options given in Te Kupenga represent whānau in a particular way, and the use of different categories, such as the four categories of whanaungatanga described by Tate (2010), would likely reveal different expressions of whānau. Nevertheless, the categories used in Te Kupenga provide a useful starting point for exploring different expressions of whānau and the factors associated with those differences. The low level of non-response to the whānau description question (0.1% did not know; 1.2% did not answer) suggests that the categories were readily understood, and seen as valid, by the vast majority of respondents.

Analysis

We begin by showing the full distribution of all combinations of responses to the whānau description question, excluding the small proportion (1.3% of the overall sample) that did not report a whānau type (see Table 13 in Appendix E). As Figure 11 below shows, Te Kupenga respondents reported a diverse range of whānau. The majority of respondents (90%) fell within five kinds of responses, some of which were single categories, others of which were combinations. Just over 40% reported that their whānau solely comprised immediate family members. Less than 5% reported that their whānau **only** comprised grandparents and grandchildren (B), extended family (C), or close friends and others (D). Nearly all respondents (95%) included the nuclear family in their description of whānau, and just over 40% said that their whānau included either grandparents/grandchildren or aunts/uncles, cousins, nephews/nieces, or other in-laws. We note that **less than 1%** said that their whānau **only** included close friends and others (D) – that is, expressions of whānau that were solely based on a kaupapa concept were extremely rare.

Figure 11 _ Percentage of responses to different whānau categories from Te Kupenga

Description of whānau
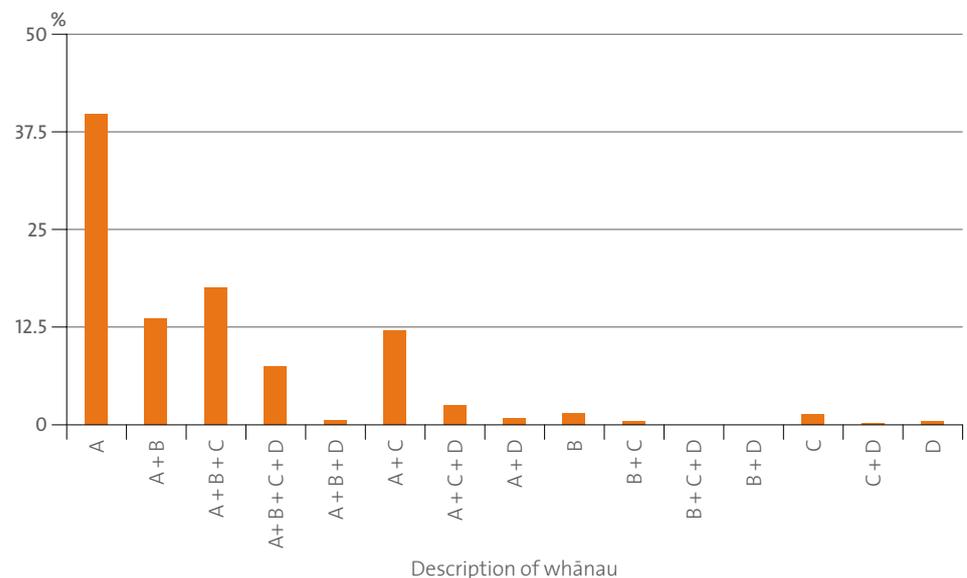
For reasons already stated in this section, respondents were grouped in terms of the broadest whānau category that they reported. The distribution of respondents across the four definitions of whānau is shown in Table 3 below. The rest of the section draws on bivariate analysis to explore associations between individual-level demographic, social, economic and cultural factors and expressions of whānau. The full results for each of the variables, including confidence intervals, can be found in Table 14 in Appendix E.

TABLE
03

Distribution of respondents across whānau categories

Broadest whānau category reported in Te Kupenga	Percent
A. Parents, partner/spouse, brothers and sisters, brothers/sisters/parents-in-law, children	40.2
B. Grandparents/Grandchildren	15.2
C. Aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, other in-laws	31.9
D. Close friends/others	12.5

Immediate whānau

Just over 40% of respondents in Te Kupenga reported that their whānau **only** consisted of immediate relatives – that is, parents, partner/spouse, brothers, sisters, brothers/sisters/parents-in-law, and children. This concept of whānau contrasts sharply with the relational model of whakapapa whānau (depicted in Figure 8, page 55) which includes at least three generations and extended kin. What factors might be associated with this disconnect?

In terms of demographic characteristics, Māori living in Auckland were significantly more likely than Māori living outside Auckland to have whānau that only included immediate relatives (45% vs 39%). This is not due to age differences, as the age structure of the Māori population in and outside Auckland is similar. Nor is it likely to be a proxy for a general urban effect, as there were no significant differences in concepts of whānau among urban and rural-dwelling Māori respondents. It may reflect the relatively high proportion of Tāmaki Māori who are taurā here as the result of migration that extends back several generations (Kukutai & Taylor, 2012), and the difficulty of maintaining wider whānau networks outside the region. These challenges may also be present within Auckland, given the geographic spread of the region and the difficulties of regular commuting. To better understand the potential relationship between residential location and expressions of whānau, we replace the binary Auckland/non-Auckland variable with a more detailed set of regional indicators in the multivariate analysis that follows.

Figure 12 _ Whānau types for whānau living in Auckland and the rest of the country

The literature suggests that life-course stage is likely to influence the whānau structures that individuals belong to, and this was evident in Te Kupenga. Figure 13 shows that Māori aged 55 and older were far less likely than those at other ages to state that their whānau consisted solely of close relatives. Only just over one-quarter of older Māori reported being part of a nuclear whānau, compared to 45% of those aged 15–24.

Figure 13 _ Whānau types for different age groups
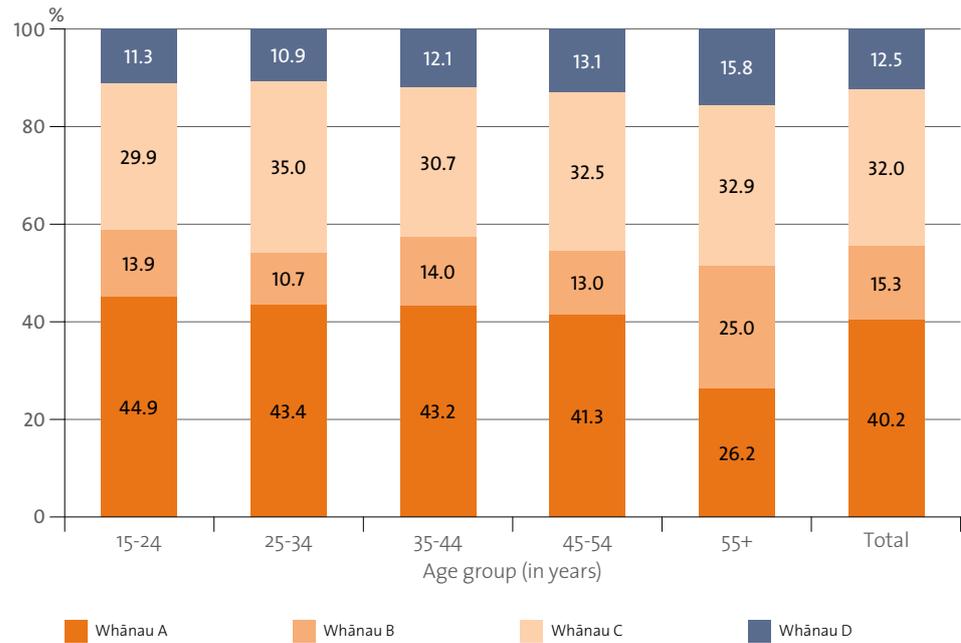
One of the benefits of Te Kupenga is that it enables us to explore how expressions of whānau are related to household composition. Most quantitative approaches to whānau employ a household-based definition of family, yet its relevance for Māori has been subject to a number of critiques (Cunningham et al., 2005; Tibble & Ussher, 2012). In Te Kupenga, the bivariate association between whānau and household family type is significant, but the association is mostly due to variation in one category. Figure 14 shows that Māori who were part of a couple with at least one co-resident dependent child were much more likely than those living in other family types to state that their whānau consisted only of immediate family (45%). Those who were part of a family with adult children, or who had co-residing children of unknown dependency status, were the least likely to describe their whānau in this way (37%). Māori who were part of a couple with no co-resident children were also more likely than those living in other household arrangements to report their whānau as including grandchildren and grandparents. This likely captures the strong age effect noted above.

Figure 14 _ Whānau types for different family types
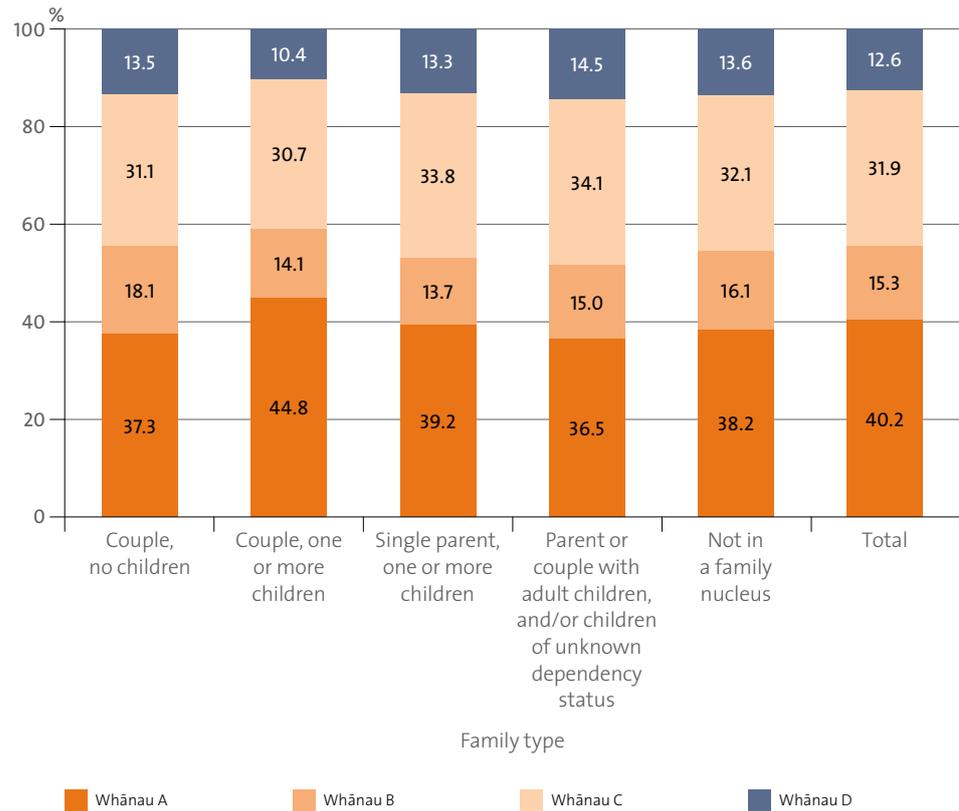
Individuals with weaker connections to their whakapapa in terms of hapū affiliation, iwi registration, and visiting their ancestral marae were more likely to give a nuclear description of their whānau. This is consistent with insights from the literature that suggests those with looser connections to Te Ao Māori may have a narrower set of whānau relationships. Respondents who had been to kōhanga, kura or wānanga were less likely to report a nuclear concept of whānau. By contrast, economic indicators appeared to have little bearing on how individuals described their whānau.

Grandparents and grandchildren

In Te Kupenga, 15% of respondents reported that their whānau included grandparents and grandchildren, but not extended whānau or friends. It is unsurprising that those aged 55 or older were far more likely to be in this group, given that they are far more likely to have grandchildren. Those in couple-only families were also more likely to describe their whānau as including grandparents and grandchildren, which is likely to be related to their age profile.

It is worth noting here the differences between Te Kupenga and Te Hoe Nuku Roa, the longitudinal study of Māori households undertaken by Massey University. Just under 70% of participants in the fourth wave of Te Hoe Nuku Roa (Cunningham et al., 2005) reported that they were part of a three-generation whānau, which is much higher than the 41% in Te Kupenga (this includes all the responses that include whānau B (Grandparents and grandchildren): see Table 13 in Appendix E). The difference may reflect period differences in that the surveys were undertaken a decade apart, but more likely it is the result of a selection effect. Te Kupenga is a nationally representative survey of Māori individuals, whereas Te Hoe Nuku Roa was a study of selected households within specific regions. As such, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa sampled population was more likely to involve individuals who were part of multi-generational whānau.

Other demographic and socio-economic factors appear to be inconsequential for explaining why some individuals have whānau that include grandparents or grandchildren versus other whānau types.

Extended whānau

Just under one-third of Te Kupenga respondents stated that their whānau included aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, and/or other in-laws, but stopped short of including close friends and others. This extended whānau form does not appear to be related to specific demographic characteristics, including age, gender, rurality, or living in Auckland.

There was, however, a clear pattern with regard to higher reported levels of cultural engagement. Those who placed a high value on involvement in Māori culture, and those who had some level of connection with their tūpuna marae, were more likely to describe their whānau as including extended family members.

Figure 15 _ Whānau types for whānau who placed more importance on culture compared with other whānau

Whānau A | Whānau B | Whānau C | Whānau D

Not important: 45.2, 15.3, 29.3, 10.2
Important: 34.5, 15.4, 34.9, 15.2

Importance of culture
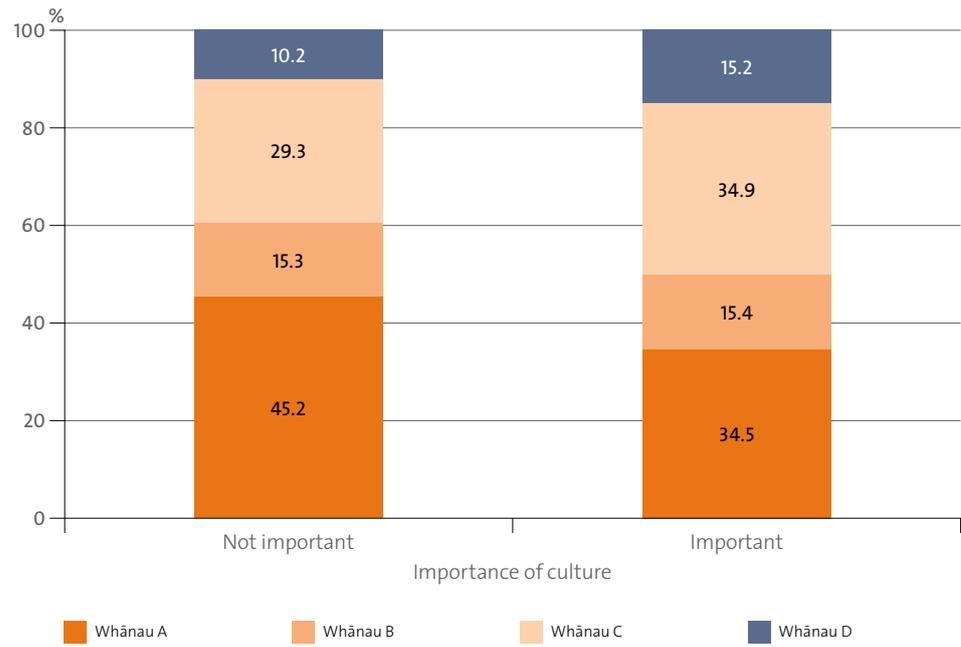
Figure 16 _ Whānau types for whānau who had visited ancestral marae compared with other whānau

Whānau A | Whānau B | Whānau C | Whānau D

No: 46.2, 15.5, 26.7, 11.6
Yes: 36.5, 15.2, 35.2, 13.1

Visited ancestral marae
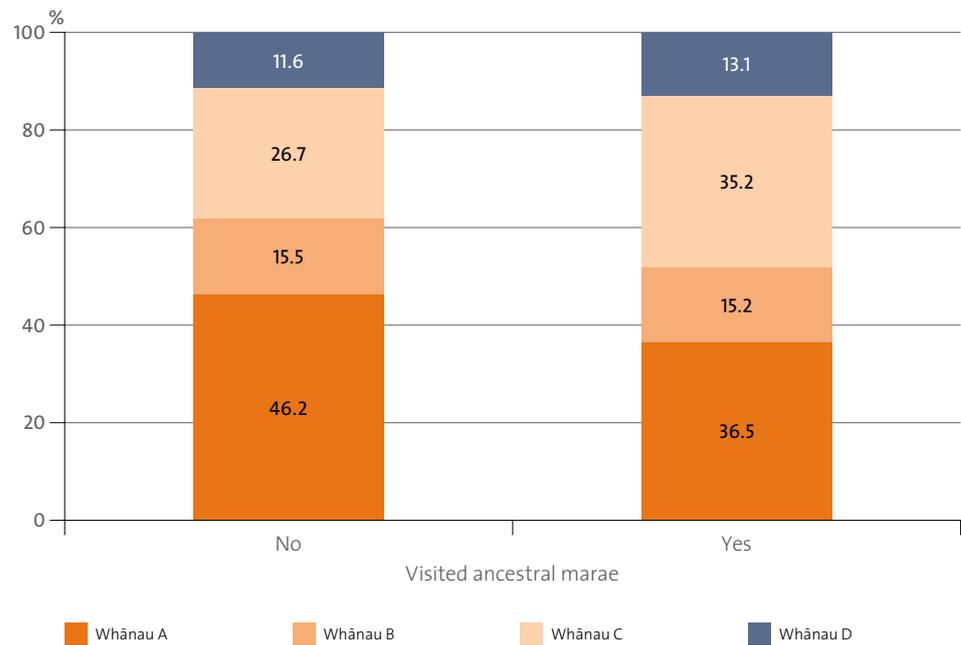
Having ready access to cultural support (Figure 17) was also significantly associated with the likelihood of reporting an extended whānau concept. This reflects the emphasis in the literature on the importance of manaakitanga within the context of horizontal and vertical whānau relationships.

Figure 17 _ Whānau types for whānau who had easy access to cultural support compared with other whānau
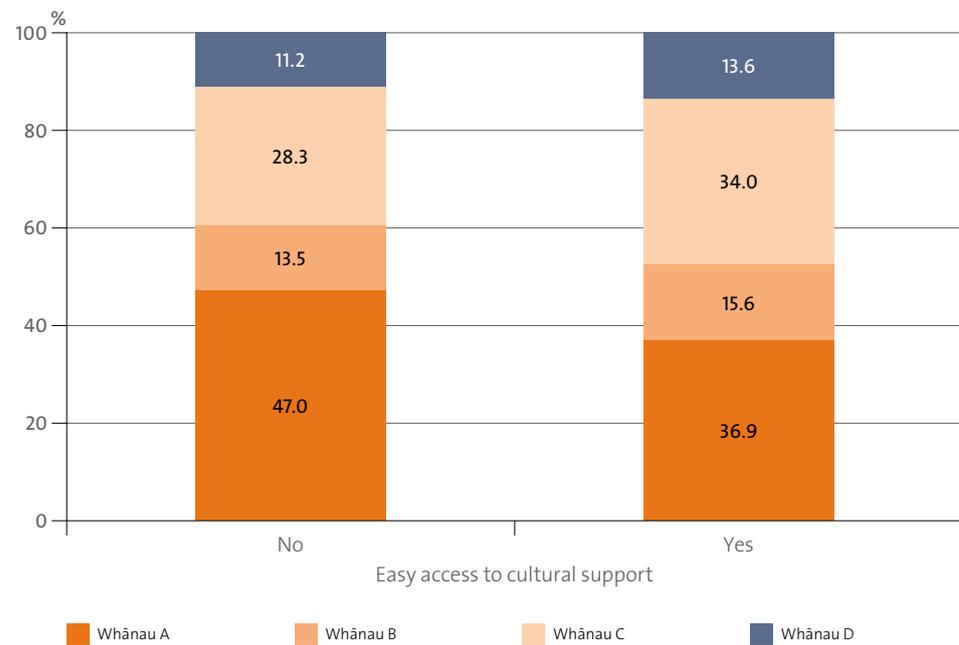
Close friends and others

Nearly 13% of Te Kupenga respondents stated that their whānau included close friends and others. The vast majority also included whakapapa relationships in their descriptions of whānau (i.e., A, B and/or C). The proportion reporting that their whānau consisted only of close friends and others was just 1%.

Reporting a whānau that includes those not related by whakapapa appears to be strongly associated with demographic factors – especially a respondent's household structure and age. Only 10% of couples with at least one co-resident child regarded their whānau as including friends and others. Similarly, only 11% of respondents aged 25–34 described their whānau in these terms. Respondents aged over 55 were the age group most likely to include friends as whānau members. A higher proportion of respondents living outside Auckland included close friends and others in their whānau compared to those living in Auckland (14% vs 9%).

The incorporation of friends and others into whānau appears to be strongly associated with cultural identity. Just over 15% of those who regarded Māori culture as important included close friends and others in their whānau, compared with 10% of those who did not place a great deal of importance on culture (Figure 15, page 65). Respondents who spoke te reo, or who lived in homes where te reo was spoken, were also significantly more likely to include non-whakapapa relationships in their whānau (Figures 18 and 19), as were those who had participated in some form of Māori-medium education.

Figure 18 _ Whānau types for whānau who spoke te reo compared with other whānau

Stacked bar chart. Y-axis: % from 0 to 100. X-axis: Speak Te Reo (No, Yes).

No: Whānau A 41.6, Whānau B 15.0, Whānau C 31.7, Whānau D 11.8
Yes: Whānau A 34.4, Whānau B 16.6, Whānau C 33.6, Whānau D 15.4

Legend: Whānau A, Whānau B, Whānau C, Whānau D
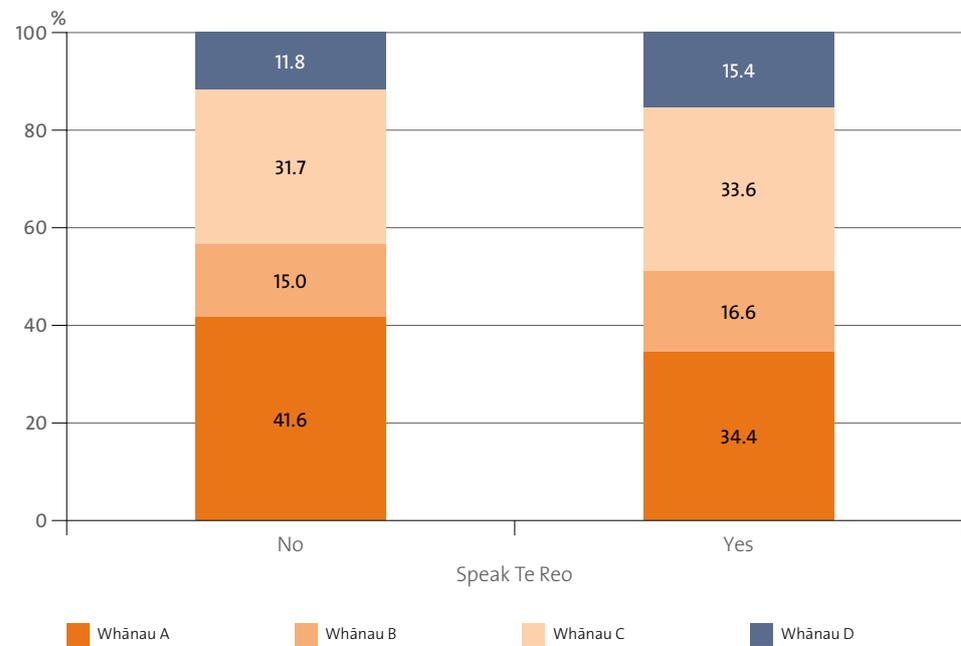
Figure 19 _ Whānau types for whānau who spoke te reo at home compared with other whānau

Te Reo spoken in the home

Whānau A　　Whānau B　　Whānau C　　Whānau D
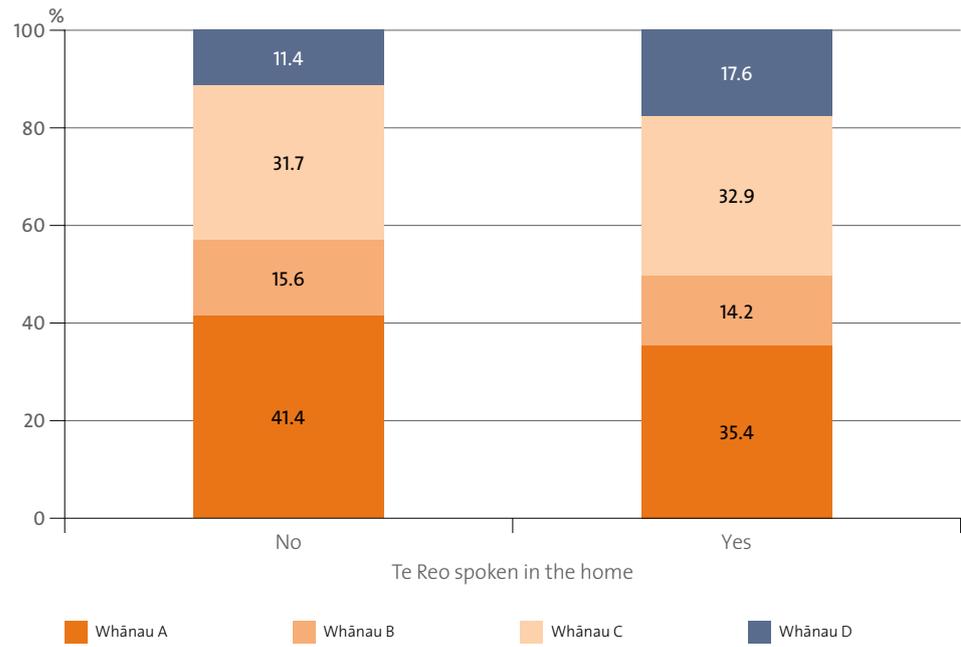
Figure 20 _ Whānau types for whānau who spoke te reo at kōhanga, kura or wānanga compared with other whānau

Educated at Kōhanga, Kura or Wānanga

Whānau A　　Whānau B　　Whānau C　　Whānau D
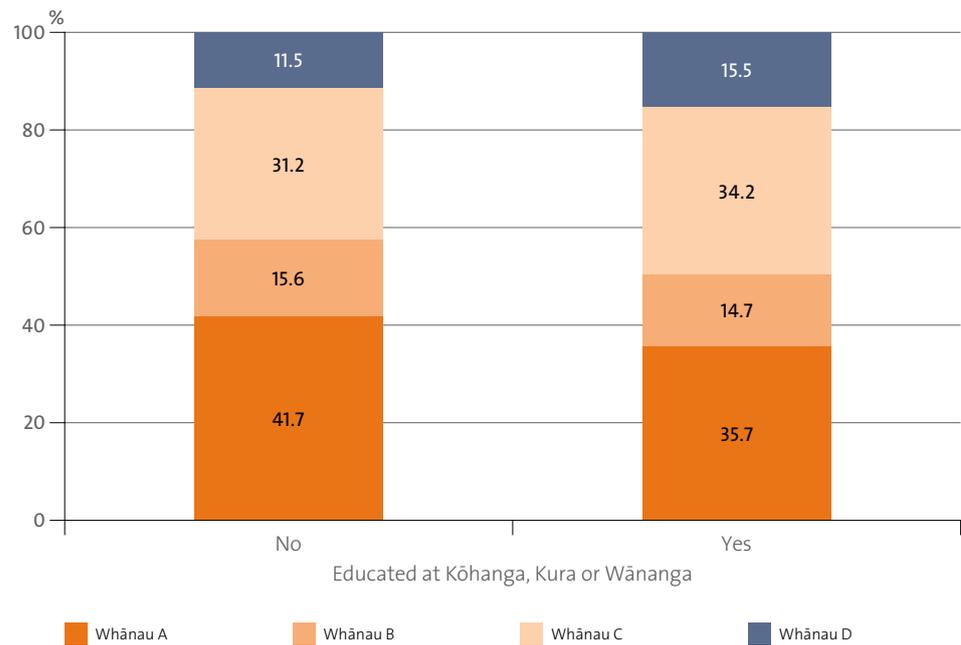
Finally, there is some evidence that the extension of whanaungatanga to include non-kin relationships is related to material circumstances. Individuals who reported not having sufficient income were slightly more likely to report an extended whānau, as were those living in areas of higher area-based measures of deprivation (14% vs 10%). Whānau that included friends and others also had an association with higher levels of manaakitanga. Respondents who had provided some form of unpaid help in another household were more likely to describe their whānau as including friends and others than those who had not provided that type of help (15% vs 9%).

Figure 21 _ Whānau types for whānau who provided help to other households compared with other whānau

Has provided help without pay in other household

- Whānau A
- Whānau B
- Whānau C
- Whānau D
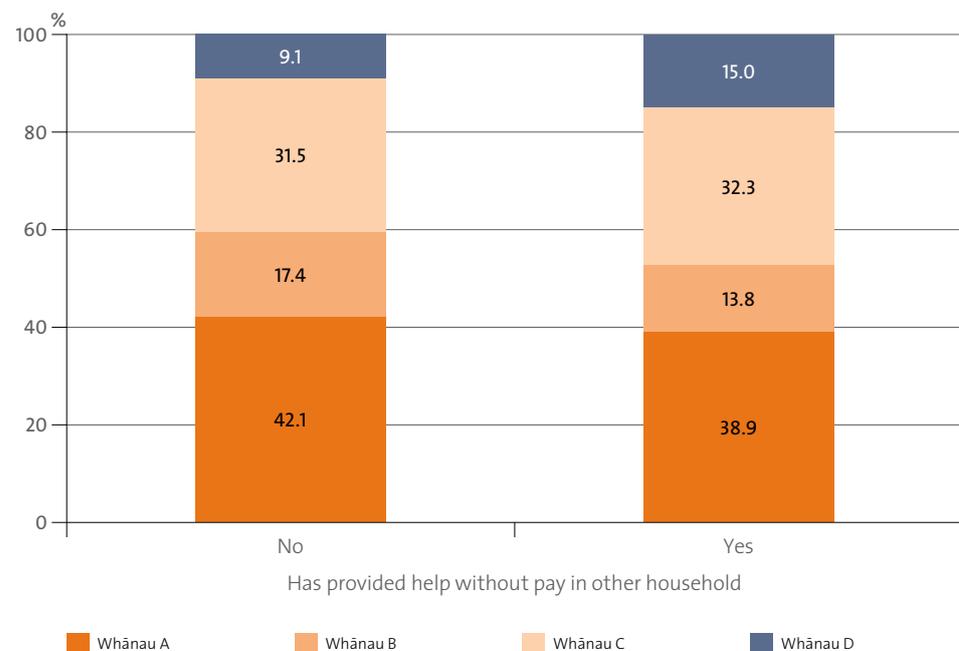
Part 3. Toward an explanation of whānau diversity

The previous analysis confirmed that Māori think about their whānau in a variety of ways. This is not surprising given the diversity that exists among Māori as a result of historical experiences such as colonisation, urbanisation, and state policies of cultural assimilation. It would be unrealistic to expect that whānau takes a common form for all Māori. We also identified a range of factors that may partly explain variation in expressions of whānau. This section provides a more complex analysis to help identify the **relative** importance of demographic, economic, social and cultural factors. In undertaking this analysis, we do not seek to test explicit hypotheses about key factors that are mostly closely associated with varying expressions of whānau. As such, this analysis should be treated as exploratory and subject to further development using future iterations of Te Kupenga. The variables used in our model are shown in Table 4 below.

TABLE
04

Variables in Te Kupenga that might explain whānau variation

Demographic	Economic	Social	Cultural
Age 15 – 24 (base) 25 – 34 35 – 44 45 – 54 55 and over	Residential deprivation (NZDep13) Q1 (base) Q2 Q3 Q4 Q5	Life satisfaction Low (0-4) Med (5-6, base) High (7-8) Very high (9-10)	Te reo spoken at home
Sex	Has sufficient income	Has felt lonely all, most or some of the time over the last 4 weeks	Has attended kōhanga, kura or wānanga
Residence Auckland (base) Wellington Canterbury Rural, Upper NI Urban, Upper NI Rural, Lower NI Urban, Lower NI Rural, SI Urban, SI	Has at least a bachelor degree	Has provided help without pay in another household at least once a month	Knows hapū
Household family type Couple, no resident child Couple, at least 1 resident child Sole parent, at least 1 resident child Parent or couple with adult children, and/or children of unknown dependency status Not in family nucleus		Is satisfied with level of whānau contact	Is registered with an iwi
		Has easy or very easy access to cultural support	Has visited own ancestral marae before
			Sees involvement in Māori culture as important or very important

Note: Upper NI excludes Auckland, Lower NI excludes Wellington, SI excludes Canterbury.

There are theoretical and analytical reasons for why we aggregate the variables into four domains. Demographic concepts enable us to highlight the potential influence of age, sex, residence and household living arrangements on whānau while the economic domain includes potentially modifiable economic determinants. The social domain reflects broader social conditions as well as access to and provision of support, and satisfaction with whānau contact. The cultural domain includes individual and household measures of Māori identity, practices and engagement, enabling a more nuanced assessment of the link between whānau and culture. For example we might expect that those who retain connections to hapū and marae, which are ties based on shared whakapapa (Figure 8, page 55), are more likely to have a broad concept of whānau than those lacking such connections. Likewise those who have been involved in some form of kaupapa Māori education, which uses whānau terms to describe relationships between teachers, students and parents, may be more likely to include friends and significant others in their definition of whānau.

The previous section suggests that demographic and cultural factors are more important for understanding differences in whānau than economic or social characteristics. Regression models enable us to test this more formally. More specifically they allow us to quantify the strength of the association between respondents' whānau and each of the selected variables, while statistically controlling for the associations between whānau and all other variables. We stress that the models only tell us about relationships of association, not causality. Making claims about causality from observational data usually requires longitudinal data for the same individuals over several time points and the use of more advanced analytic methods (Davis, 2013). The inability to distinguish relationships of causality means that we cannot be sure about the directionality of a relationship or, more specifically, which factor is logically prior. For example, we cannot know whether knowing one's hapū increases the likelihood of an extended whānau form, or whether having an extended whānau form increases the likelihood that an individual will know his or her hapū. Nevertheless, being able to establish which relationships are most significant is a useful exercise given the lack of statistical evidence that we are currently faced with.

Demographic characteristics

Whānau form is clearly related to age or, more specifically, to older age. For older respondents in Te Kupenga, the likelihood of having a whānau that included grandparents and mokopuna (versus only immediate whānau) was about three times higher than for those in the youngest age group. This relationship existed even after taking account of the effects of other demographic, social, economic and cultural factors. Respondents who were aged 55 or older were also significantly more likely than Māori at the youngest ages[14] to have whānau that included extended family members, as well as close friends and others. There were no significant differences in whānau between those aged between 35 and 54, and those at the youngest ages.

14   For whānau C (vs A) the confidence intervals for those aged 55+ years overlapped with those for all age groups 25 years and older. In other words the estimates may not be statistically different from zero (i.e., no difference in the relative risks of including extended family in descriptions of whānau).

Once we introduced the full range of control variables, household-based family type had no bearing on how individuals described who belonged to their whānau. This is a significant finding and needs to be highlighted. It suggests that, for Māori, household-based measures of family are a very poor proxy for the more complex set of relationships that exist within whānau. It also suggests that the focus on household-based family as the unit of analysis in research may be generating knowledge and policy responses that have limited relevance for whānau Māori.[15]

The inclusion of an expanded set of residential indicators offers more nuanced insights into the relationship between expressions of whānau and spatial context. In most areas outside of Auckland, Māori were significantly more likely than those living in Auckland to have whānau that included extended family members, or friends and others (versus only immediate whānau). The only area where Māori were less likely than Aucklanders to report an extended whānau was in the rural South Island (RRR = .53). Māori living in urban areas in the upper North Island were the most likely to report an extended versus immediate whānau (RRR = 2.5). Māori living in urban areas in the South Island (excluding Canterbury) were the most likely to describe their whānau as including friends and others (RRR = 2.6).

Economic circumstances

Expressions of whānau are weakly related to individuals' economic characteristics and circumstances, measured here by education level, perception of sufficient income, and residential deprivation. This is not unusual as there is very little emphasis in the literature to suggest that individuals' economic situations and their sense of whānau are closely related. There is, of course, a very substantial literature on family structure and economic outcomes but, as we have already shown, household-based family types and whānau are quite different constructs. This means that the relationships described in the literature between family structure and economic outcomes should not be assumed to apply to whānau structures.

Those who reported having enough income were significantly less likely (than those who didn't have enough income) to see close friends and others as part of their whānau. This suggests that the development of 'whānau-like' attachments to include those who are not kin may be at least partly related to relationships of support in the context of reduced resources. Māori living in areas of high deprivation were significantly less likely than those living in low deprivation areas to report an extended whānau (versus an intermediate whānau). We are not clear why this relationship exists, except we note that deprivation may be correlated with other unmeasured factors that may be more closely associated with whānau (e.g. capacity to visit with whānau).

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15   Given the potential confounder of age, we also ran regression models for each age group separately and examined the relationship between family type and descriptions of whānau. For 15–24 year olds, those who were part of a couple with no resident child were significantly less likely than those not in a family nucleus to report grandparents and grandchildren as part of their whānau (RRR = .324, p <.01). It is unclear what accounts for this difference. Conversely, among 45–55 year olds, those who were part of a couple with at least one co-resident child were significantly more likely to report grandparents and grandchildren among their whānau than those not in a family nucleus (RRR = 2.284, p <.001). This association probably reflects the greater likelihood that middle-aged Māori living in a 'nuclear'-type family have a grandchild, compared to those living alone or in shared living arrangements.

Cultural identity

There are a number of ways in which Māori identity, practices, knowledge and attitudes are related to individuals' expressions of whānau. Respondents who had visited their tūpuna marae at least once were about 1.4 times more likely than those who had never been to their marae to include extended family among their whānau. Placing a high degree of importance on Māori culture was also positively associated with having an extended whānau. These findings are consistent with the Māori worldview of whānau, identity and culture as intrinsically related.

Te Kupenga also shows a strong association between cultural factors and expressions of whānau that include close friends and others. Respondents who reported knowing at least one of their hapū, or who placed a high degree of importance on Māori culture, were much more likely to count friends and others as part of their whānau (versus immediate whānau, RRR of 1.3 and 1.5 respectively). Those who had participated in some form of Māori-medium education were also more likely to define their whānau as including non-whakapapa relationships (RRR = 1.3, but only $p <.05$), as were those who lived in a home where te reo was spoken (RRR=1.4). The relationship between te reo and kaupapa whānau may reflect the well-documented 'whānau-like' relationships that prevail within kaupaupa Māori institutions. In such settings, manaakitanga between kaiako, tauira, and whānau is normalised, and staff are addressed using whānau terms such as 'kōkā' (aunt), 'matua' (father) and 'whaea' (mother) as signs of respect and affection (Smith, 1995).

The foregoing findings are significant in that they challenge the tendency to situate kaupapa whānau as a form of relatedness for Māori who lack a strong sense of cultural identity or belonging. In Te Kupenga the opposite appears to be the case. While only a relatively small proportion of Māori include non-genealogical relationships in their whānau, those who do so are more likely to be knowledgeable about their whakapapa and to be engaged with Māori identity and culture. In this sense, widening the meaning of whānau to include those with no shared whakapapa suggests that whānau-like relationships are forged within particular cultural contexts where expressions of manaakitanga and identity are valued.

Social situation and support

Finally we consider how expressions of whānau are related to social circumstances. Respondents who reported a low level of overall life satisfaction (versus a moderate level) were more likely to state that their whānau included extended relatives as against immediate family. The Te Kupenga question on overall life satisfaction is a very general subjective assessment of how respondents feel about all aspects of their life. The association with an extended perception of whānau may partly reflect correlations with socio-economic measures and expressions of manaakitanga through providing unpaid help to other households. In the latter case, those who gave help were about 1.7 times more likely to count friends and others among their whānau than those who did not.

Social cooperation among those with lower levels of socio-economic resources may result in a broader social network being defined as being part of whānau due to their relationships of reciprocity. Actively engaging with other households is likely to be founded on a perception of broader social responsibilities, and frequent contact or cooperation can build a level of active participation that, over time, becomes whānau-like. Those who had ready access to cultural support were also more likely to define their whānau in extended terms (versus immediate whānau), or to include friends and others.

Some social factors were also negatively related to different whānau forms. For example, those who had experienced some form of loneliness in the past four weeks were less likely to have extended relatives among their whānau. Again, we do not know the direction of these associations; it may well be that Māori who have an extended whānau to draw on are less likely to feel lonely.

Concluding comments

The purpose of this chapter has been to address a substantial gap in the evidence base relating to whānau, which has been dominated by household-based studies of families. Te Kupenga offers an opportunity to go beyond these narrow definitions to better understand whānau in a way that reflects Māori values. This is important because, if policies are to be successful in supporting and strengthening whānau and the functioning of whanaungatanga, the evidence informing policy interventions needs to be conceptually and methodologically fit for purpose.

This report has afforded insights into areas of whānau that were previously inaccessible, at least using statistical techniques, because of a lack of culturally informed representative data. The findings clearly affirm the pre-eminence of whakapapa relationships as the foundation of whānau. The vast majority of Māori (99%) think of their whānau in terms of genealogical relationships. However, the breadth of those relationships varies greatly. For a sizeable share (40%), their expression of whānau appears to begin and end with immediate whānau – that is, parents, spouses, siblings, children, and close in-laws. This is equal to the share who think of their whānau in a broad sense to include aunties, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces and other in-laws (40%; see Table 13 in Appendix E). In theory, most (and perhaps all) Māori have whakapapa linkages that include all of these relationships, so it is significant, although not surprising, that many Māori do not describe their own whānau as including extended whānau members.

Our multivariate analysis suggests that a number of factors are related to whether or not individuals see their whānau as encompassing extended whānau. Demographic factors, specifically older age and place of residence, are important, as is having a basic connection to one's ancestral marae and a high regard for being involved with Māori culture. Māori with ready access to cultural support are also much more likely to see their whakapapa whānau in a broad sense, although the relationship may well be bidirectional. The importance of cultural factors suggests that policy responses aimed at strengthening whānau connections are likely to be most effective when linked to measures to strengthen cultural connections more generally.

The analysis has also helped to better contextualise our understanding of the contexts within which non-whakapapa relationships are perceived as 'whānau-like'. These contexts have a cultural component – particularly in relation to kaupapa Māori education and the use of te reo in the home – but are also given expression in the context of relationships of manaakitanga (helping out in other households), and material need (having insufficient income). It should be emphasised that Māori who count non-relatives among their whānau do not see these relationships as substitutes for whakapapa relationships, nor are they disconnected from Māori identity and culture. Rather, the broadening of whanaungatanga to include non-whakapapa relationships would appear to be evidence of the endurance and vitality of whānau values, rather than a diminution of it.

Future directions

One of the outcomes of this report has been to demonstrate the value and importance of Te Kupenga, as a nationally representative survey based on tikanga Māori and Māori epistemologies. The inclusion of both mainstream and Māori concepts of wellbeing makes Te Kupenga an invaluable resource for exploring the variation in, as well as correlates of, Māori wellbeing at individual and collective levels of whānau, household and family. It has also identified areas and shortcomings that could be strengthened in future iterations.

One issue that requires further exploration is sample size. The report shows significant geographical variation in perceptions of whānau structure, and this could be explored in more detail in future Te Kupenga surveys. A larger sample would enable more detailed regional analyses that are more closely aligned with the regional service delivery and policy focus. Stakeholder responses to the initial Te Kupenga-based Superu report on whānau wellbeing[16] (Superu, 2015) included requests for robust regional data as well as a strong demand for robust iwi-specific descriptions of wellbeing. The combination of increased iwi and regional capability would also enable the application of mana whenua and taura here concepts in analysis. A repeat of Te Kupenga has been confirmed for 2018. Meeting the demand for iwi – and regional-specific capability will require increases in the sample size and modifications to the sampling design for this next survey.

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16 See Kukutai, Sporle, & Roskruge (2015). Whānau wellbeing. In *Families and Whānau Status Report 2015*. Retrieved from www.superu.govt.nz.

It is also possible that the closed question format affected the results, as respondents were asked to select from four pre-determined categories. Future work on whānau and whānau wellbeing should explore alternative ways of asking about individuals' whānau. This could include more flexible response options and a greater distinction between how individuals think of their whānau (subjective expressions) and the applicability of the response categories. For example, if a respondent has no living kuia and koroua, and is not yet old enough to have mokopuna, then they are unlikely to describe grandparents and grandchildren as being part of their whānau (category B). However, we are unable to determine this without information on living whānau. Likewise, the coupling of in-laws with parents, children and siblings conflates relationships that, in a customary sense, would be seen as quite different (e.g. hunaonga-hungawai versus heke tika – Tate, 2010).

In terms of whānau response options, any changes would need to be carefully tested to ensure that comparisons would still be possible with baseline data from Te Kupenga 2013 (Statistics New Zealand, 2014), while also allowing greater flexibility in terms of whānau aggregations. This report should thus be seen as merely a starting point for a broader platform of work on whānau that is relevant and useful for Māori, and that has the potential to inform policy responses to achieve the aspirations embodied in the Superu whānau rangatiratanga framework. The analysis of future iterations of Te Kupenga will also provide a greater degree of confidence in whether the relationships observed in the baseline survey are stable across time.

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04

Cross-cultural dimensions relating to concepts of 'family' wellbeing
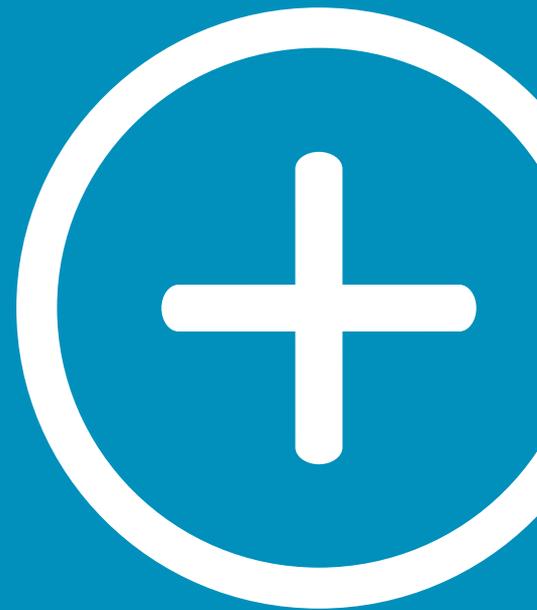
4.1_ Introduction

Diversity has wide-ranging implications for societies. Not only do many different populations have to live together; these groups of people bring culture and traditions that influence the country where they live. These traditions are, in turn, influenced by the culture of that society more broadly.

New Zealand has an increasingly diverse population, including strong pan-Pacific communities[17] (in large numbers since the 1950s) and more recently pan-Asian[18] communities (see Chapter 1 of this report). Our research needs to be mindful of the culturally diverse perspectives of these groups if it is to be relevant, inclusive and useful. This chapter presents the findings of a review to help us explore ways in which we can best capture this cultural diversity in our work. It explores whether there are key cross-cultural similarities and differences relating to family wellbeing across cultures. These similarities and differences can serve as key markers to keep in mind as we further develop our approach to the choice, measurement and interpretation of indicators to best reflect New Zealand's culturally diverse society, help with effective policy decision making and inform more effective service design and delivery.

We begin by briefly discussing New Zealand's increasing ethnic diversity and the distinction between the terms 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. We then explore the role that cultural values play in understandings of family and wellbeing, and the meanings of 'family' and 'wellbeing' across cultures. Finally this chapter explores some of the key cultural similarities and differences in how families function.

4.2_ Defining ethnicity and culture

The task of describing families and cultural diversity is complex. It raises issues about how families are defined and how they function, about the influence of culture and ethnicity, and about the importance of cultural values in family life. To explore this cultural diversity, it is useful to clarify the distinction between 'culture' and 'ethnicity'.

Statistics New Zealand defines culture as "the shared knowledge, values, and practices of specific groups" (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a). Culture is strongly tied to lived experience and can be thought of as the way an individual or group views everyday life, or the sum of attitudes, customs and beliefs that distinguishes one group of people from another (Matsumoto & Fletcher, 1996). Culture influences thoughts, intentions, expectations and therefore behaviour.

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17   The Pacific peoples ethnic group include people who identify as being Samoan, Cook Islands Māori, Tongan, Niuean, Tokelauan and Fijian. In the 2013 Census, 7.0% (295,941) of the usually resident population said they belonged to the Pacific peoples ethnic group. Nearly half of the Pacific peoples group (48.7%) said they belonged to the Samoan ethnic group, 20.6% were Cook Islands Māori, and 20.4% were Tongan.

18   The Asian ethnic group includes people who identify as being Chinese, Indian or South-east Asian (e.g. Filipino, Korean, Japanese, Fijian Indian and Sri Lankan). In the 2013 Census, 11.1% (471,708) of the usually resident population said they belonged to the Asian ethnic group, 34.6% said the Chinese ethnic group, 30.4% said Indian, 8.6% said Filipino, and 6.4% said Korean.

Culture is a dynamic and fluid concept that is socially conveyed and that changes in response to the surrounding environment. As Hannerz has written, "Humankind has ... bid farewell to that world which could ... be seen as a cultural mosaic, of separate pieces with hard, well defined edges. Cultural connections increasingly reach across the world" (Hannerz, 1997, p. 109). This is important to highlight, as this review looks at the different understandings of 'family' wellbeing across some of New Zealand's cultural groups. Cultural concepts for these groups will therefore have been influenced by their ethnic background and traditional cultural contexts as well as their lived experience of New Zealand 'culture'.

In comparison to culture, 'ethnicity' is defined as meaning an ethnic group or groups that an individual identifies with or feels that they belong to (Hartley, 1995). As defined by Statistics New Zealand (2008), an ethnic group is made up of people who have some common characteristics, such as a shared culture, heritage and ancestral roots, or a unique community. Ethnicity can be seen as a self-perceived measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Statistics New Zealand records ethnicity as self-defined and it is becoming increasingly common for individuals to identify with more than one ethnicity. Such multi-ethnic individuals are common in New Zealand, with its historically high rates of intermarriage across ethnic and religious groups.

4.3_ Exploring 'family' and 'wellbeing' across cultures

The meanings of 'family' across cultures

Identifying a universally agreed definition of 'family' is extremely difficult. As Yanagisako (1979) suggested, words like 'family' are useful as descriptive statements, but the concept of family itself reflects a complex, multifunctional institution with different cultural principles and meanings.

For both statistical and policy purposes, family is often defined in terms of legal relationships, biological connectedness, or shared households. Statistics New Zealand defines a family as "two or more people living in the same household, who are a couple with or without children, or one parent and their children" (Statistics New Zealand, 2014a, p. 6). The number of parents, the age and number of children, and whether others live in the household are used to distinguish between different family types. This definition is based on the idea of co-residence, so that the family unit is defined by shared household living arrangements. However, families are diverse and dynamic, households change over time, and patterns of co-residence do not necessarily reflect family connectedness.

Defining family based on co-residence is problematic when describing culturally diverse families, as relationships may extend well beyond the household, with ties to the broader ethnic and religious community, or even to other countries. For instance, remittances sent overseas, family immigration sponsorship, and arrangements for marriages across countries are some examples of how family connections go beyond households and even national borders.

Differences and commonalities in cultural values

'Cultural values' refers to a set of beliefs and attitudes that guide behaviour, define what is acceptable, and give a set of standards for evaluating oneself and others (Schwartz, 2006). Cultures differ in what values they endorse, how families are structured, and the role the family plays in promoting wellbeing. Two key dimensions for thinking about culturally diverse values when thinking about families are those of Individualism-Collectivism (Hofstede, 2001) and Independent-Interdependent (Kagitcibasi, 2006).

Figure 22 _ Overarching dimensions relating to family cultural values

Individualistic		Collectivistic
The wants and needs of the individual	EMPHASIS	The wants and needs of the group
Independence		Interdependence
Autonomy and personal accountability	EMPHASIS	Material, and emotional, interdependencies between family members
		Reciprocal relationships
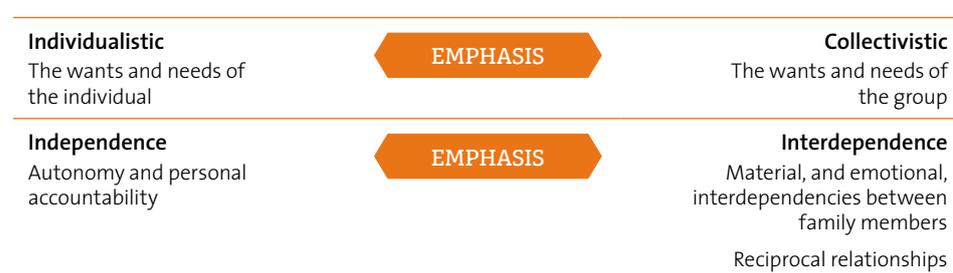
One of the most well-known cultural value dimensions is individualism and collectivism, which was proposed by Hofstede (2001) in his seminal work on national cultures. His research, which now spans across over 70 countries, examines how strongly cultures emphasise the wants and needs of the individual (known as 'individualism') compared with the group (known as 'collectivism'). Loyalty to the group and familial obligations are important aspects of collectivistic culture. Individualistic cultures, on the other hand, tend to place less importance on the family as a way for individuals to define themselves.

The differences found between individualistic and collectivistic cultures are also reflected by Kagitcibasi's (2006) family model of independence and interdependence. The independent family model is typical for western, individualistic cultures where people tend to live in small, nuclear families. Autonomy and personal accountability are highly valued in this family model, and material, and emotional, interdependencies between family members are de-emphasised (Ip, 1996). Parenting tends to focus on children's independence and uniqueness, with an emphasis on encouraging a sense of self-worth as distinct from others. There is a relatively small focus on the importance of interpersonal relationships. Extended family, such as grandparents, cousins and other more distantly related kin, are not expected to have much of an influence on the central family unit (Georgas, 2006).

This contrasts sharply with the family model of interdependence (Kagitcibasi, 2006), which is prevalent in non-western, collectivistic cultures. This family model is characterised by the interrelationships and responsibilities between family members. Reciprocal relationships among family members are emphasised rather than an individual's personal autonomy. Parenting tends to focus on material and emotional interdependence, with obligations to the family, and conformity and duty, being very important (Ip, 1996).

This can be seen in Chao's (1995) cross-cultural study of immigrant Chinese and European American mothers, which looked at childrearing beliefs concerning love. Chao and Tseng (2002) uses the findings of this study to illustrate the contrast between parenting for interdependent versus independent goals (Chao & Tseng, 2002). They found that mothers across cultures fostered loving relationships with their children. However, Chinese mothers emphasised the importance of love for fostering a close, enduring parent-child relationship, whereas European American mothers emphasised the importance of love for fostering the child's self-esteem.

In general, individualistic cultures tend to be associated more with independent families where the wants and needs of the individual are associated with fostering autonomy and personal accountability. Collectivistic cultures tend to be associated more with interdependent families where the wants and needs of the group are aligned with an emphasis on material and emotional interdependencies and reciprocal relationships. However, within both individualistic and collectivistic cultures, families vary a lot in terms of their relative emphasis on fostering either independence or interdependence.

Family structure and roles across cultures

Family structure refers to who is included and how many members there are in the family, their kinship with one another, and their position and roles within the family. Commonly, family members are expected to carry out traditional roles and obligations based on their age, gender or position in the family, or their part in the family structure. Family structures vary across cultures. The increase in cultural diversity of families over time has also seen an increasingly complex range of family structures. Indeed, the number of extended family households is currently on the rise in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2014b).

Nuclear and extended multi-generational families

In western societies, the traditional form of family is termed the 'nuclear family'. This family form consists of two generations: parents and their biological children. The focus of these families tends to be on developing and maintaining close relationships between these core individuals within the family (e.g. the parenting relationship and the intimate relationship between partners). The relationships with extended family members, however, tend to be on the periphery for this type of family structure. In other cultures, particularly Asian and Pacific[19], the extended family is considered to be as fundamental as the nuclear family, so that grandparents, aunts, nieces, cousins and other more distantly related kin are considered part of the main family unit (Carteret, 2011; Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

Extended families generally consist of at least three generations of family members, and may have either a patrilineal or matrilineal authority structure. The matriarch (oldest female, often the grandmother) or patriarch (oldest male, such as the grandfather) is the head of the family, controlling finances and economic resources, making all important decisions, providing support and advice, as well as having responsibility for the safety and wellbeing of the family (Georgas, 2003).

For Asian and Pacific groups in New Zealand, the extended family network (grandparents, aunts, nieces, cousins and other related kin) are considered to be just as important as the nuclear family (Carteret, 2011; Ministry of Social Development, 2012). Pacific families, in particular, often consider fictive kin[20] or unrelated individuals who have close ties and history with family members and provide care and support to be a part of the core family unit (Nakhid, 2009).

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19 The concept of whānau also relates to a broader family concept relating to a "common whakapapa, descent from shared ancestors, with which certain responsibilities and obligations are maintained" (Durie 1997, p.1). Further information is provided in Chapter 3 of this report, which examines Māori perspectives of the term 'whānau'.

20 Fictive Kin is a term used to describe forms of kinship relationships that are based on neither blood ties nor by marriage ties – similar to concepts of whānau.

In addition to the members of the core family being different in extended family structures, in comparison to nuclear families, kinship in these family structures is also defined in different ways. In western 'nuclear' families, kin are those family members from both sides of the family who are equally 'related' to the individual (Carteret, 2011) – this is called 'bilateral kinship'. In contrast extended families tend to focus on a unilateral concept of kinship, and to define kinship through one side of the family, from either a male or female ancestor. Furthermore, extended family structures tend to adhere to a family solidarity model, where connections and bonds between unrelated individuals have relevance for defining kinship (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, & Silverstein, 2002). This means that kinship can be very fluid.

Kinship relationships are very important in extended family networks and often govern residence, inheritance and marriage. This means that the decisions of family members on all-important life choices such as where to live, who to live with, whom to marry, and one's career and education are often driven by obligations to the family. In multi-generational households, daily tasks and responsibilities are often shared between individuals, such as keeping up the home or looking after children, and it is common to have some flexibility of roles between family members. According to Carteret (2011), it is normal for grandparents or even eldest siblings to be the main caregivers of the younger children while their parents focus their attention and time on providing income and resources for the family. A similar focus on the importance of elders collectively and the wider family exists in Pacific Island cultures, although there is some variation among, for example, Tongan, Samoan, and other Pacific Island groups.

It is useful to reiterate here our acknowledgement that families are diverse in their cultural influences and that not all families are necessarily embedded in their traditional cultural values. Migration patterns, urbanisation, generational differences and the multi-ethnic make-up of families mean that the concept of family, including its structure, kinship models and the roles each member plays, can be both fluid and dynamic.

4.4_ Cultural perspectives and wellbeing

Not only can meanings of family differ across cultures, the strengths of a family and how they promote family functioning can differ across cultures. For instance, in interdependent orientated families, support often requires sacrificing personal goals in order to foster communal wellbeing. Therefore, an individual's behaviour is largely dictated by ensuring that their actions contribute to the overall wellbeing of the family and maintain high levels of harmony, trust and care within the family, as opposed to bringing shame or conflict to the family (Ho & Bedford, 2008; Kim, 2014). This type of behaviour can be in tension with one's personal desires and happiness. In contrast, for independently oriented families, individuals are able to separate their own personal wellbeing from that of the family, meaning that personal goals may take precedence over those of the family.

Cultural values and family wellbeing

Family wellbeing is a multi-dimensional, dynamic and highly complex concept that includes the wellbeing of individual family members as well as intra-familial processes, and both internal and external resources (Wollny, Apps, & Henricson, 2010). Family wellbeing encompasses a range of factors that relate to physical, spiritual, economic, social and psychological wellbeing, but also includes access to basic needs such as adequate shelter, quality schools, health care, a safe environment, and functional relationships between family members, such as communication, problem-solving, coping, and parenting (Families Commission, 2014; Zubrick et al., 2000).

It is important to recognise that just like the idea of family, the concept of what constitutes positive family wellbeing can differ by culture. When considering the wellbeing of diverse families, it is important to consider the influence of cultural values, as these not only shape who is considered to be part of the family unit, but also the overall levels of wellbeing of the family (Lau, Cummins, & McPherson, 2005; Schmitt & Allik, 2005).

One of the challenges when looking at cultural models of wellbeing is the great diversity within ethnic groups such as Pacific and Asian people. An examination of cultural models of wellbeing is presented in Appendix F, relating to either ethnic-specific models or models that have been designed to represent an overarching cultural representation of wellbeing (for example, Fonofale).

4.5_ Family functions across cultures

Previous research has clearly shown that there are four universal functions for families around the world: support, nurture and care; managing resources; socialisation and guidance; and providing a sense of identity and belonging (Georgas, 2003; Hartley, 1995; Ho & Bedford, 2008; Pryor, 2007). The 2015 Status Report reflects these as the four core family functions within the Family Wellbeing Framework, which was developed as the platform for measuring how families are faring (see Appendix A; Superu, 2015). Although these family functions are universal, it is the way in which they are carried out to maximise wellbeing that differs across cultures.

The following section explores these four family functions across cultures, focusing on how the previously described individualistic-collectivistic and independent-interdependent cultural value dimensions relate to differences in how these functions are performed in the family context.

To care, nurture and support

It is well-established that the family function of care, nurturance and support is universal across cultures. All different forms of families strive to nurture the positive development of their young and the family as a whole (Georgas, 2003; Hartley, 1995; Pryor, 2007). However, as Table 5 illustrates in this area of family functioning, some key traditional cultural differences were identified relating to: what expectations and obligations there were; reciprocity; and the types of support provided.

TABLE

05

Ways of providing care, nurturance and support: Differences between Individualistic-Collectivist and Independent-Interdependent

Individualist culture Independent Family orientation	EMPHASIS	Collectivistic culture Interdependent Family Orientation
Parents support children until they are adults		Parents support children throughout their lives
Support is expected from children, but there is little obligation for reciprocity		There is an expectation and obligation of reciprocity of support amongst family members
Support is both emotional and instrumental and is often expected to diminish after children have reached maturity		A greater value is placed on instrumental support in comparison to emotional support, and this support is often expected to extend into adulthood
Support networks tend to small and be localised		Support networks tend to be large and span across geographic and kinship borders
Extended families are often not included in support network		Extended families are integral to the support network
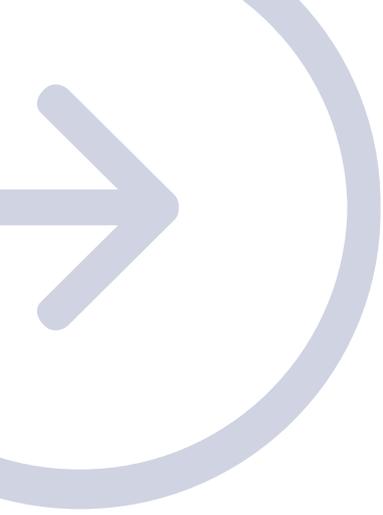
With respect to attitudes towards care and support in New Zealand families, Peterson et al. (2014) found that it was very important for Asian parents that their children value and respect their parents and the extended family group. The expectation that every family member adheres to their role within the family and fulfils their associated obligations is fundamental to maintaining wellbeing in interdependent families. Accepting the obligation towards family and the older generation was found to be positively related to feelings of happiness among Chinese immigrants in New Zealand (Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000).

Another key cultural difference between families was the concept of reciprocity. For example, although it is rarely expressed by European parents, Asian parents discussed the desire for their children to care for and support them when they were older (Chao & Tseng, 2002). In interdependent cultures, there is often an expectation that children will care for their parents just as they were cared for when they were young, and therefore there is a greater expectation for interdependence in old age (Guo, Chi, & Silverstein, 2012).

For Cook Islands Māori, the concept of reciprocity involves an understanding that family members have a duty to each other, in both 'giver' and 'receiver' support roles, and those duties are critical to maintaining their *turanga* (acknowledgment of their position and potential within the collective) and family wellbeing. Likewise, for Fijian families high levels of *sautu* (family wellbeing) is the product of showing one's *vakarokoroko* (respect), as well as providing *veitokoni* (mutual support) and reciprocal care (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

The social support given by family can be separated out into two main dimensions: structural and functional support (Chen & Silverstein, 2000). The structural aspect of support consists of the people in a person's social network and how capable they are of providing support and how available they are (Antonucci, Sherman & Akiyama, 1996). By contrast, the functional aspect of support refers to the tangible factors of financial, instrumental, and emotional support (Takagi & Saito, 2013). These differences are illustrated in Table 5 in relation to who is included in support networks and the type of support they receive.

Families also differ, according to their cultural value orientation, in the types of functional support they provide across the lifecourse. Independent families tend to expect to provide instrumental support to family members before they reach adulthood, and to provide emotional support across the life-course. Interdependent families, by contrast, place a greater focus on instrumental support across all life stages. For example, in independently oriented families there is an expectation that adults will remain autonomous as they age, and therefore elderly parents do not expect to receive financial or instrumental support from their children (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Guo et al., 2012).

Overall, the research finds that while the way in which families demonstrate care and support may look different across cultural borders, it is clear that at the very core of every functioning family is the desire to provide a secure and supportive base so that individuals, as well as the family, can flourish

To manage resources

The second core function of the family is as an economic unit that ensures the stability and economic wellbeing of family members, providing shared resources, such as income, expertise and skills, to create a safe and secure environment and overcome hardship (Superu, 2015).

TABLE
06

Ways of managing resources: Differences between Individualistic-Collectivist and Independent-Interdependent

Individualist culture		Collectivistic culture
Independent Family orientation	EMPHASIS	Interdependent Family Orientation
Economic resources are provided by the proximal family network		Economic resources are provided by the larger family network
Over the life course individuals become self-sufficient		Over the life course reciprocal economic ties remain between family members
Economic ties tend to be distinct from community and social relationships		Economic ties are strong to the community and to the diaspora
Economic resources and security are seen as a component of personal pride		Economic resources and security are a component of collective pride where resources are used for the wellbeing of the family and wider community

Across all cultures families strive to attend to basic survival, such as providing food, clothing, economic security, good housing, and physical safety in a positive environment (Pryor, 2007). Without adequate income, a good standard of living or affordable housing, families may experience economic hardship, which has severe consequences for levels of care, nurturance and family wellbeing in general (Demo & Acock, 1996). Table 6 presents some of the key cultural differences identified relating to the breadth of collective responsibility assumed and to the prioritising of different resource uses.

For example, for Pacific families the values around collective responsibility, respect and service to others influences how resources are shared and whom they are shared with. The responsibility of the collective means that a Pacific individual does not stand on his or her own, but is an integral part of an extended family (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Tamasese, Peteru, & Waldegrave, 1997; Tau'akipulu, 2000). The collective responsibility means that financial resources are shared among extended family within New Zealand, as well as among family remaining in the Pacific by way of remittances. Concepts such as tithing and donating to the church are also prominent within Pacific communities in New Zealand, with the church acting as a critical cultural base and a source of social networks (Pomana, 2006; Small & Dixon, 2004). The management of resources in this way is seen as a reciprocal relationship within and between family and community, and often means that in times of difficulty the family will support the individual and vice versa (Koloto & Sharma, 2005; Tamasese, Peteru, & Waldegrave, 1997; Tau'akipulu, 2000).
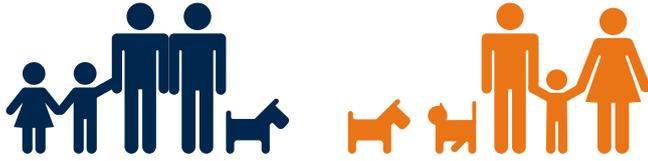
There are also cultural differences in the prioritising of how resources will be managed. For example, many Asian families manage and build their economic resources by prioritising education, with the hope that this will ensure job opportunities and subsequent financial security in the future (Ho, 2015; Kim & Nayar, 2012). More specifically, it is common for Asian families to become 'transnational' by moving family members to different countries as a way of pursuing education and career opportunities, increasing wealth and social standing, and expanding their material resources. In this way, they strengthen the family as an economic unit and increase overall wellbeing by ensuring the family has enough resources to thrive in a secure environment (Yeoh, Huang, & Lam, 2005). The idea of becoming transnational to pursue educational success is also shared among Pacific people, specifically Samoans and Tongans (Lee & Francis, 2009). The sacrifice that individuals and families make to pursue educational success may lead to greater economic success, which will in turn be beneficial for the family as a whole.

To provide socialisation and guidance

The family is the foundation for teaching young people appropriate behaviours, beliefs and values, so that they can make sense of and manoeuvre within society. The social norms and values that parents pass onto their children are culturally determined, and therefore the cultural orientation of the family is a fundamental influence on socialisation and guidance (Kim, 2014; Schwartz, 1999). In this way, the family provides tools for family members to engage in cultural behaviours and to foster connections and positive relationships within the broader community, as well as offering opportunities for language learning and the transmission of cultural values. As is seen in Table 7 below, families from independent cultural orientations tend to promote and teach qualities such as self-reliance, assertiveness and autonomy, whereas interdependent families are more likely to endorse obedience, harmony, and collective identity (Georgas, 2003).

TABLE
07

Ways of providing socialisation: Differences between Individualistic-Collectivist and Independent-Interdependent

Individualist culture Independent Family orientation	EMPHASIS →	Collectivistic culture Interdependent Family Orientation
Values are communicated through socialisation by parents and the wider society (e.g., school, media)		Values are communicated by extended family and community network, and these may be compromised by values from the wider society
The concept of family or collective identity is constrained to a small group, and tends to be de-emphasised in comparison to personal identity		The concept of a collective identity (family, ethnic, religious) is broad and collective identity tends to be prioritised in comparison to personal identity
The individual is ultimately responsible for their life decisions		The collective family unit is responsible for important life decisions

One key family value that takes on different forms across cultures is respect for parents, which is also known as 'filial piety'. Respect for parents can be considered to be important for all families, although it has very specific meanings for both Pacific and Asian families (Guo et al., 2012; Manuela & Sibley, 2013). Specifically, for interdependently oriented families, filial piety means that children are obligated to obey, respect, support and care for parents throughout their life and to defer to their wants and needs at the expense of their own (Chen & Silverstein, 2000; Guo et al., 2012; Schwartz et al., 2010).

The concept of parental respect within these families is based on authority and hierarchy, where seniority is determined by generation, birth order, and gender of family members. Most importantly, individuals (including adults) are expected to show respect through unquestioning obedience to their parents (Takagi & Saito, 2013). In some cultures obligations carry on after death, with deceased parents, grandparents or great grandparents and other ancestors continuing to be respected and venerated.

There are countless examples of how families across cultures differ in the norms, beliefs and values they teach their children or in how they teach them, and reviewing all of these differences is outside the scope of this research. However, what is clear is that the passing on of traditions and ways of understanding the world is crucial to the development of well-adjusted individuals and the overall wellbeing of the family.

Alongside the teaching of values, families are also expected to provide guidance on matters such as education, health, and positive connections, providing young family members with valuable skills and knowledge to enable them to participate fully in society (Superu, 2015). One place where this has been found to be common across cultures is the passing on of social norms and values concerning religion. There are strong connections between religious institutions and family life, and all religions include a set of beliefs that have direct relevance for family life and relationships between family members. Religion sets parameters for moral values, informs the roles of men and women, and operates as a community where family values can be taught and reinforced. Indeed, religious institutions play a very important role in fulfilling families' spiritual social, psychological and cultural needs (Trommsdorff & Chen, 2012). Where the family system is strongly reinforced by religious morality, this can have wide-ranging effects on both family structures and family values. For example, research conducted in Australia found that only a small proportion of those identifying with the Greek Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish faiths were involved in de facto relationships, and those who held strong religious views in general were less likely to have premarital sex or to get divorced (Gariano, 1994).

In New Zealand, religion plays a central role in the wellbeing of Pacific Island families (Tiatia, 1998). For this cultural group, the church is a setting where individuals can express traditional Pacific ways of life, as well as attain social connections and social support. Further, the church setting is used as a means of immersing families in cultural practices and language. Tiatia (1998) suggests that "an equilibrium point must be achieved in the link between culture and God, for both are equally important to express and proclaim who we are as either a Samoan, Tongan or Niuean people" (p. 7). Indeed, in the holistic models of Pacific health, religion and spirituality are inextricably intertwined, with family as the foundation and spirituality as one of the pillars (Manuela & Sibley, 2013; Ministry of Health, 1995).

Although social norms are taught by families across European, Asian and Pacific cultures, the way that socialisation is understood across these cultures differs. This is well-illustrated by the fact that for independent, individualistic cultures, individuals are separate and autonomous from one another. By contrast, in Pacific cultures for example, the individual is not separate from their family or their community, but rather is embedded into their relationships and cannot be treated as distinct from their context (Tiatia, 2008). Thus, family members are often deeply involved in all aspects of the individual's life and the wellbeing of the family as a whole impacts on the individuals, and vice versa (Helu, Robinson, Grant, Herd, & Denny, 2009).

Identity and sense of belonging

The final core family function is to provide identity and a sense of belonging. This is accomplished by learning the values, language, and belief systems of one's family and cultural group, while also participating in important customs and traditions (Superu, 2015). Cross-national research has shown that the family has an important influence on the development of personal identity. However, as demonstrated in Table 8 ways of encouraging the growth and maintenance of various aspects of identity will differ in content and emphasis across cultural groups.

TABLE
08

Ways of fostering identity and sense of belonging: Differences between Individualistic-Collectivist and Independent-Interdependent

Individualist culture Independent Family orientation	EMPHASIS	Collectivistic culture Interdependent Family Orientation
Self is defined as distinct, but embedded within the family		Self is defined as embedded within the collective family and wider community.
Focus on the individual and their unique characteristics		Focus on the collective and wellbeing for all members, not solely for individual family members
Promotion of independent thought and action, as well as accountability and responsibility		Promotion of obligations, respect, face saving, and accountability to the collective
The degree to which an individual prioritises their relationships is flexible and fluid		Relationships are prioritised over the wants and needs of the individual

Identity itself functions to provide individuals with a sense of continuity over time, to differentiate the self from others, and to provide direction and meaning in life (Marcia, Waterman, Matteson, Archer, & Orlofsky, 1993). Developing a strong and solid sense of oneself depends on the socialisation experiences in the family, the community and the wider society (Sam & Oppedal, 2002). Families are integral for socialising individuals into their own value systems, but this process takes place in the large social context, which defines acceptable behaviours and successful outcomes for the family.
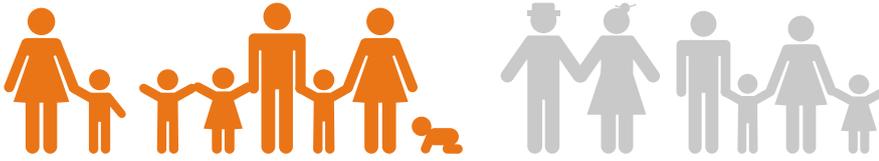
This means that for minorities, it is likely that the wider society has different value systems and prescribes different ways of behaving compared to their family or ethnic cultural group. For minority groups, ethnic identity – the strength of a person's identification with their ethno-cultural group – is a key component of identity that families attempt to develop. Phinney (1990) suggests that a stable and secure ethnic identity is central to the psychological functioning of those who live in societies where their group is a minority, as it both provides a sense of coherence and is a marker of ethnic differentiation. Research has consistently found that higher levels of ethnic identification are related to a variety of positive adjustment indicators for ethnic minorities, although they also tend to be linked to higher levels of perceived discrimination (Oppedal, Røysamb, & Heyerdahl, 2005).

Speaking the language of one's culture and engaging in cultural practices, customs and traditions can further strengthen this sense of belonging and bolster the development of identity (Anae, 1998; Manuela & Sibley, 2013). Research has shown that in both Asian and Pacific cultures, because family forms a core aspect of a person's identity, it is particularly important to have one's identity anchored to the family through customs and behaviours (Kim, 2014; Manuela & Sibley, 2013).

Religious groups or communities can also provide families with social connections and support, while also fulfilling cultural needs, and this gives families a sense of belonging (Manuela & Sibley, 2013; Peterson et al., 2014). Research carried out on the importance of religion in the Pacific community has also found that religion can help individuals to formulate and negotiate their identity (Manuela & Sibley, 2013). The church can be a setting where cultural practices are carried out, cultural communities are reaffirmed, support is offered, and cultural values are transmitted.

Pacific migrants to New Zealand see the church as a critical cultural base and a source of social networks (Pomana, 2006; Small & Dixon, 2004). The church replaces the village structure as the place for cultural practice (Maliko, 2000; Tu'ua, 2005) and helps avoid assimilation into the dominant culture (Tau'akipulu, 2000).

4.6_ Conclusions and future directions

The findings of this review provide us with reassurance that the frameworks and indicators we have developed over the past three years for reporting family and whānau wellbeing are a useful platform for further work. It reiterates the universal importance of the role of families of providing support, nurture and care; managing resources; socialising and guiding; and providing a sense of identity and belonging.

This chapter has articulated the core individualistic-collectivistic and independent-interdependent cultural value dimensions and explored how they relate to the four core family functions for Pacific and Asian communities in New Zealand; this provides useful markers for thinking about how we might broaden our frame of reference to reflect these cultural differences. Although it was outside the scope of this research project, these findings resonate well with the research that has examined perspectives on the term 'whānau' (in Chapter 3 of this report) and on whānau wellbeing.

In particular, this review highlights significant differences across cultures in the expectations, obligations and degree of reciprocity that apply to family members over the life-course. It also highlights the varying degrees of emphasis across ethnic groups on promoting a sense of ethnic or cultural identity.

Given the complexity and diversity of cultural understandings of family wellbeing, we have taken a pragmatic approach and focused on identifying and examining broad traditional cultural approaches for New Zealand European, Pacific and Asian groups. We recognise that there are many differences within these groups and that in reality families will adopt and portray a complex mix of cultural influences. To reflect this complex mix in depth is outside the scope of our wellbeing research programme. However, our aim is to develop our understanding of some of the core features of cultural differences across ethnic groups in New Zealand. This will help us to better understand and interpret our wellbeing measures. It will also provide a basis for us to undertake work next year to explore the potential to report on additional indicator measures that can be used in further research (undertaken either collaboratively with others or by others) to examine the family wellbeing of particular subgroups.

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05

Families and life course
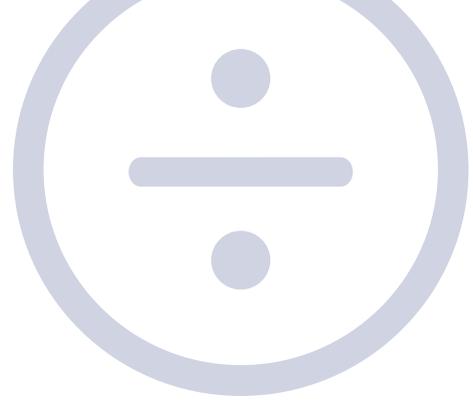
This chapter describes the key features of taking a life course perspective and the relevance this approach has to better understanding family (and whānau) wellbeing. It also presents an initial exploratory life course model that we will refine and use for our wellbeing research.

5.1 Introduction

Families and whānau are dynamic in their form and composition and change over time as their member's transition through several family types over the course of their lives. An example of this is the transition for an older couple when their children leave home. As noted in the introduction of this report, the six family types used for presenting family wellbeing reflect a general pattern of family transitions for people as they age. They also reflect movement back and forth between two parent and one parent family circumstances.

Family types as a general reflection of life stages

Couple, both under 50 years of age Couple who usually live together in the same household who are both aged under 50 years. They either have no children or do not have their children living with them.	This family type reflects younger families who may yet have children. Relative to the other family types, this population is more likely to be in a phase of building up their assets and resources.
Families with at least one child under 18 years of age One or two-parent families with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household At least one of the children is under 18.	This family type reflects younger families with pre-school and school-age children. The role of the family in bringing up children, particularly in their early years, is a key emphasis in this stage. This stage can include shifts in family composition from two to one parent living arrangements (and vice versa) and create blended families.
Families with all children 18 years of age and older One or two-parent families with one or more children, all of whom usually live together in the same household All the children are 18 or older.	This family type reflects older families with adult children living in the household. This living arrangement may reflect a situation of convenience or one of necessity. It will include situations where parents are looking after adult children with financial or health difficulties as well as adult children who are looking after aging parents.
Couple, one or both aged 50 years of age or older Couple who usually live together in the same household, where one or both of them are aged 50 years or older They either have no children or do not have their children living with them.	This family type reflects older couples who have had children who have since left home or perhaps never brought up any children. Relative to the other family types, this group would hopefully have had an opportunity to build up their financial assets and resources and to establish family and community networks. Health concerns, retirement and aging parents are more likely to be concerns for this group.

5.2_ Key features of a life course perspective

A more detailed life course approach can also be applied to our families and whānau wellbeing research. Using a life course perspective can help us identify and take into account historical, demographic and policy changes over time as part of interpreting the meaning of our wellbeing results. It can also help us consider more systematically what the future implications might be for our wellbeing results for different family types.

A life course perspective has been used in a range of disciplines; for example, to conceptualise child development (Fine & Kotelchuck, 2010; Zubrick et al., 2009), in the sociological study of the family (Crothers & McCormack, 2006) and as the framework for longitudinal studies, such as New Zealand's recent Growing up in New Zealand study (Morton et al., 2013). It has most often been used to focus on the development of individuals, with family considered as part of a person's context and as an influence on their development. Key features of a life course perspective are presented in Box 1 below.

BOX 1. KEY FEATURES OF LIFE-COURSE MODELS

Life-course models examine:

- An individual's (or family's) full life history, not just one stage or period
- Milestones and transitions between stages
- Risk and protective factors associated with later outcomes
- Early programming (how early events influence later life decisions and outcomes)
- Common pathways or trajectories (timing and sequencing of phases or events constituting the developmental pathways of the individual)
- Critical or sensitive periods
- A range of individual, environmental, family, community and societal influences
- The cumulative impact of events or experiences (the accumulation of adversity can lead to later poor outcomes, for example).

(adapted from Fine & Kotelchuck, 2010)

5.3_ An exploratory family-focused life course model

We have developed an initial exploratory family-focused life course model, adapted from Zubrick et al.(2009), which is presented in Figure 23 below. This depiction shows how individual development is influenced by factors in multiple domains including family, community and societal level factors. Such an approach implies that the "development of health [or other outcomes] over a lifetime is an on-going, interactive process and that pathways are changeable" (Fine & Kotelchuck, 2010, p. 4). Such an approach, therefore, suggests that it is possible to intervene and improve later outcomes. This focus aligns with a social investment approach, where the main intervention emphasis shifts towards being preventative rather than curative (Mayer, 2009).

Figure 23 seeks to show how individual development unfolds over time as a result of progressive engagement with widening spheres of influence, beginning ante-natally and progressing through infancy, childhood, and adolescence into adulthood (for an example in relation to vulnerable children see NZ Government, 2012). The figure provides examples of risk and protective factors and, through a timeline at the bottom of the figure, lists important national and international events including significant policies or legislation. This model can be used to systematically consider the role that different family members play and how the ways these roles are performed can change over time.

Figure 23 _ Exploratory family wellbeing life course model (Adapted from the hypothetical life-course data design model, Zubrick et al., 2009)

Promoters
Protective factors

Economic conditions	Family policy & Legislation	Social cohesion	Migration & diversity	Health care
Pre school	Primary school	Secondary school	Parks & recreation facilities	Safe & Connected community	Tertiary
Nurturing parenting	Stability	Growth enhancing experiences	Close family relationships & attachments	Extended family support	Family care

Society / Community / Family

Infant   Child   Adolescent   **Independent young person**   Parent   Grandparent
Partner

(Sibling)
(Cousin)   (Uncle or aunt)

Abuse & neglect	Parent in prison	Poverty	Parental separation	Family ill health	Unemployment	Death in family	Isolation from family
Lack of access to community resources & services	Crime and safety issues	High deprivation area	Social isolation
Economic recession	International conflict	Social conflict	Unsupportive policies

Risks
Challenges

National

- Property Relationship Act (1976)
- Children, Young Person & their Families Act (1989)
- Government Superannuation Scheme (2001)
- Civil Unions (2005)
- NZ Peak of baby boom (1962)
- Domestic Purposes Benefit (1973)
- No Fault Divorce Family Proceedings Act (1980)
- Migrant points system introduced (1991)
- Working for Families (2004)
- Whānau Ora (2011)

End of World War II

1950   1960   1970   1980   1990   2000   2010   2016

International

- The Pill (1961)
- UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990)
- Smart phones (2000→)
- Rise in dairy prices (2006→)
- Korean War (1950–1953)
- Vietnam War (1964–1972)
- UK joins EEC (1973)
- Internet (1990→)
- Facebook (2004)
- Global financial crisis (2007→)

A life-course perspective will help in understanding how families and whānau are changing the way they carry out their core functions, and in understanding what might drive those changes and how we should respond in terms of public policy and family support. For example, we have seen changes in New Zealand families' use of early childhood childcare in recent years. There are a number of potential drivers of this change (e.g. education and employment) and it is difficult to predict whether the trends (e.g. increased use of private daycare) will continue. However, we need to improve our understanding of the childcare needs of families in order to determine how we support them. If we base our policies on outdated notions of family and how different family functions are carried out (e.g. the stay-at-home mother who cares for young children) there is a danger that policies will not be effective, and may in fact be counterproductive.

A benefit of the life-course perspective discussed here is in making explicit the influence of factors across a range of interacting spheres of influence (e.g. community and society). It also highlights the possible impacts of public policy – both those that are intended and those that may be unintended. A life course model also makes explicit the importance of examining longer-term trends and the potential impacts of national and international events. Recent examples include the Global Financial Crisis, as a global scale event, and the Christchurch earthquake, as an example of a regional but significant event.

Mapping population family type based cohorts

This approach has also been developed as a way of mapping and thinking about life course events and factors that influence population-based outcomes. At a population level, the model can be used to think about the different family types as age-based cohorts. For example – a population subgroup such as "older couples without children in the household" could be used and significant historical events and policies relevant to potential family life stages over time could be mapped out. We can position this family type's wellbeing indicator results within our exploratory life course model (for example, post-parenting – unlikely to have more of their own children –potential grand-parent related roles) and relate this group to historical and current policy settings that this group has been exposed to (such as assistance into first homes and lower cost tertiary education) as well as demographic changes over time. This would provide a rich interpretative context for the indicator findings as well as a basis for considering the future implications of these findings for this family type

The life course perspective usefully informs our families and whānau work at both the individual level with respect to the different family members as well as at the population level in terms of the different family types.

The life course perspective is therefore a useful tool for helping us to:

- map out the historical, policy, and demographic context and changes to those over time as they relate to different age groups and family types
- place the family at the centre of the narrative
- identify intervention opportunities relating to future implications and the "what next" relating to life stage transitions over time
- map and build our understanding of the wellbeing of families in a systematic way to gain further insights about the social sector, social policies and programmes, what works, how they work, when and for whom
- consider influences and factors spanning across the social sector and highlight gaps in our knowledge.

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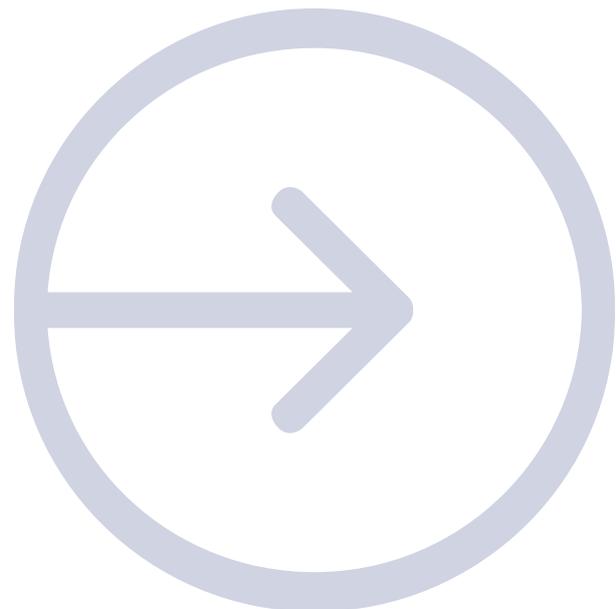
06

Next steps

Measuring and monitoring the wellbeing of families and whānau is a complex task. As a follow-on to the reporting of national family and whānau wellbeing indicators for the first time in 2015, we have begun to examine the characteristics of how families function and how different subgroups in the population are faring.

In the next year, Superu will continue its research journey to measure, monitor and better understand family and whānau wellbeing. This includes the release of research on the enablers of whānau wellbeing using 2013 Te Kupenga data; and reporting on the outcomes of an He Awa Whiria (Braided Rivers) series of workshops which are currently underway. These workshops draw across the Family and Whānau Rangatiratanga frameworks, identified indicators and findings to bring out insights for each strand of work and increased understanding for working together in partnership.

Over the past year, we have also completed a consultation exercise to help guide our research programme over the medium term. This targeted consultation was with government organisations who were familiar with the research programme including the Ministry for Social Development, Treasury, Statistics New Zealand, Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Health, and academic researchers who had been involved in our work. We also discussed the future focus of our programme with our Whānau, Pacific and Ethnic Reference Group members and our Social Sector Experts panel. These discussions clearly confirmed the direction and aims of the work programme. These were to better understand diversity across families and the factors that contribute to family and whānau wellbeing. Increased evidence in these areas will help us to understand what works for families and whānau to improve their wellbeing.

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Māori terms and meanings

Āhua	(noun) Shape, appearance, character, likeness, nature, figure, form. (verb) to form, make
Au	(pronoun) 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)[21]
Hapū	(noun) Sub-tribe (stative) (to be)pregnant
Hoa Rangatira	(noun) Spouse, partner
Hunaonga	Son in law, daughter in law
Hungawai	Mother in law, father in law
Iwi	(noun) 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	(noun) School, (verb) to teach
Manaakitanga	Generosity, care and respect of others, kindness
Marae	Traditional tribal and hāpū meeting place or complex. There are now urban and some pan-Māori marae complexes
Marae Tupuna	Ancestral marae
Mātāmua	First, elder

21 Retrieved from http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/nga-tamariki-maori-childhoods/page-4 21 May 2015

Matua	*(noun)* Father
Mātua	Parents
Mihi	*(verb)* To greet
Mokopuna	Grandchild/ren or Great grandchild/ren
Pākeke	Adults
Pōtiki	Youngest child
Rangatiratanga	Right to exercise authority, Chiefly automony, 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	*(noun)* 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[22]
Uri	Descendant, progeny, offspring
Whaea	Mother
Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Wānanga	*(noun)* Tertiary education institute, University[23] *(verb)*
Whakatauki	Proverbial saying, adage
Whānau	*(verb)* To give birth, to be born *(noun)* 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

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22 Retrived from http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&keywords=turanga waewae&search=

23 Some meanings were sourced from http://www.maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&keywords=turangawaewae&search=

Appendix A

Frameworks for understanding family and whānau wellbeing
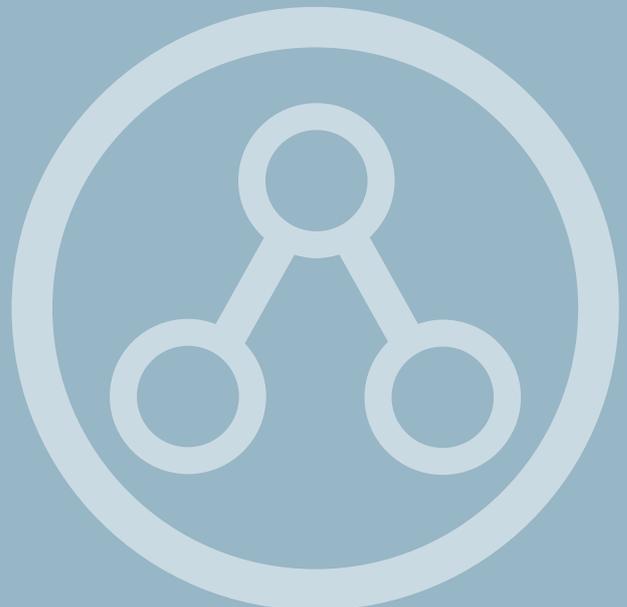
A1 _ Family Wellbeing Framework

The Family Wellbeing Framework 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 fulfill 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 *Families and Whānau Status Report 2015*.

Family Wellbeing

| Family wellbeing domains: | Physical | Material | Emotional | Social |

Family functions

To care, nurture and support:
Families provide day-to-day care, nurturance and support to other family members, including children and family members with illnesses or disabilities and those needing support because of their age.

To manage resources:
Families draw on shared resources, including time, money and skills to solve problems and overcome setbacks (which provides material and financial support beyond what they can access as individuals).

To provide socialisation and guidance:
Families provide socialisation of family members and guidance on commonly held social norms and values (such as education, good health and positive connections).

To provide identity and sense of belonging:
Families promote a sense of identity, trust, belonging and security including through expressions of love, affection, happiness and respect and building social cohesion.

Influential and contributing factors

Health
Family members enjoy optimal physical and mental health.

Relationships and connections
Family members enjoy constructive relationships within their family and with wider family members, and have positive connections with the community and outside the family.

Economic security and housing
Family members live in economic security and independence.

Safety and environment
Family members are physically safe and live in a positive environment.

Skills, learning and employment
Family members have the knowledge and skills to participate fully in society.

Identity and sense of belonging
Family members have opportunities to learn values, languages and ideas and engage in traditions important to the family.

Family structure and transitions (eg, relationships, health, employment)

| Contextual setting: | Economic | Social | Cultural | Environmental | Political | Demographic |

A2 _ Whānau Rangatiratanga Conceptual 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.

Appendix B

Definitions, methodology and data source

Definitions of the 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.

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24 This approach does not adequately capture the extension of 'family' beyond the household and the reality for those children spending time with separated parents in different households. We will capture the experiences of these groups through more focused research studies on these issues.

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 in our analysis.

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.

Data sources

Most of the data come from the General Social Survey. The next most frequently used source was the Census of Population and Dwellings, which was last conducted in 2013. The other three sources were the Youth 2012 Survey, the Disability Survey (2013), and the Household Economic Survey, which is conducted annually.

Census of Population and Dwellings, Statistics New Zealand

The Census surveys the entire population, and is usually conducted every five years, except for in 2011 when the survey was postponed until 2013 because of the Christchurch Earthquake. Census data was our preferred indicator data source where relevant information was collected because data was available for every member of the family. However, this was only the case for a small number of indicators.

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 criteria selected at random to complete the survey. In this report, the analyses of wellbeing of families belonging to the different groups and regional family wellbeing have been done using combined data from the first three surveys, that is, 2008, 2010 and 2012. This was done rather than using just one survey's data, in order to increase the sample size. The 2014 survey data were available to us, but were not used because many of the questions from which our indicator results were derived had changed between 2012 and 2014.

The General Social Survey has a reasonable 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).

Household Economic Survey, Statistics New Zealand

This survey is conducted annually, and collects information on household expenditure and income. Households are randomly selected, and all individuals aged at least 15 years within the households are asked to complete the survey. For the analysis of the wellbeing of families belonging to each ethnic group and the regional analysis, we combined the data from the last six Household Economic Surveys, that is, the surveys conducted in 08/09, 09/10, 10/11, 11/12, 12/13 and 13/14. We have used this data to provide information for two indicators – income adequacy, and housing affordability.

Household Disability Survey, Statistics New Zealand

The sample for this survey includes both people both with and without disabilities. It is conducted after each population census. The sample for the 2013 survey was 23,000 people, of whom 14,900 were aged 15 years or older and 8,100 were aged under 15 years.

A disability is defined as an impairment that has a long-term, limiting effect on a person's ability to carry out day-to-day activities. 'Long-term' is defined as six months or longer. 'Limiting effect' means a restriction or lack of ability to perform day-to-day activities.

The questionnaire was redeveloped for the most recent 2013 survey, which has meant that there are potential problems with comparing the 2013 results with previous years. Therefore we have only used data from the 2013 survey as an indicator of the percentage of people within a family type who have a disability.

Youth 2012, Adolescent Health Research Group, Faculty of Medical and Health Science, University of Auckland

Youth 2012 is the last of three surveys that were undertaken in 2001, 2007, and 2012. Generally, secondary schools and the pupils within them were randomly selected and invited to participate. As with the Disability Survey, there were changes in the way that the relevant indicator-related questions were asked over the three surveys, so that we decided only to use the results from the Youth 2012 Survey. In 2012, 91 of 125 invited schools (73%) took part in the survey. In total, 12,503 pupils were invited to participate, and 8,500 (68%) pupils did so.

Because of the nature of the data, the only applicable family types for these indicators were single parents or couples with at least one child under 18. A small number of the children would have been 18 years or older, but we were unable to separate them out. This will have introduced a small error into the measurement of these indicators.

We used three Youth 2012 indicators. In future years, it is likely that we will be able to use the General Social Survey as the source of data for these indicators because of new questions that have been added to that survey.

Confidence intervals, statistical significance, and the implications of sample sizes

The sample sizes of surveys have implications for the statistical precision of the results, and they affect the extent to which the indicators can be examined for subgroups such as for different ages and ethnicities within family types.

Smaller sample sizes are associated with more uncertainty about the accuracy of the results – there is a greater likelihood that the result occurred by chance, rather than being a true reflection of some characteristic for a family type. This is reflected statistically in the 'confidence interval' that is placed around each result. The 95% confidence interval gives us a range within which an accurate measurement of an indicator would be found 95 out of 100 times. If it appeared that two groups had different results for a particular indicator, and the confidence intervals for each of the results did not overlap, we could conclude that the difference was real, rather than being a random difference caused by small sample sizes.

When a survey sample is split into subgroups, such as into family types, ethnic groups, or regional groups, confidence intervals increase, as there are fewer people in each of those groups. Unless the original sample was very big, the potential inaccuracy of the measurement and the confidence intervals can be prohibitively large, to the extent that some results are too unreliable to be reported. In this report, this was the case for some of the results for Pacific and Asian families, and was common when doing the regional analysis for the results at the family-type level.

The Census indicators are not affected by this issue because it is a survey of the entire population. Because of this, no confidence intervals are provided for Census results. Notwithstanding this, Census data are not completely without the potential for error as they are subject to some coverage and non-response error. Coverage error is where people are not included in the Census – for example, some homeless people may be missed out. Non-response error is where people are included in the Census, but do not answer all questions. The extent of coverage and non-response error varies between different population groups and regions.

We have been cautious about reaching conclusions about results that were derived from surveys other than the Census, and that appear to show that one group had different levels of wellbeing than another group, unless the difference is statistically significant. Statistics New Zealand have helped us in this by providing us with confidence intervals for each result derived from their survey data, and, similarly, the Adolescent Health Research Group at Auckland University has done the same for the Youth 2012 indicator results.

There are other sources of imprecision in the indicator results. The first source is sampling errors. One of the principal sampling errors comes about because, for most surveys, a significant minority of the people who are initially included in a sample do not end up participating in the survey. These people might differ in some way from the people who participate in the survey. Consequently, the results are not truly representative of the original sample. This does not much affect the Census results, because people can be compelled to participate, and considerable efforts are made to ensure that almost everyone does so. Nevertheless, as already explained, it does occur for the Census to a small extent. It does, however, affect all the other surveys used for this report more significantly. Another source of imprecision is related to the frequency of the events that we are attempting to measure. Briefly, there is greater uncertainty about infrequent events than frequent events.

Having regard to the potential for imprecision, we decided that the criterion for concluding that there was a real difference between the results for two groups would be that there was no overlap in the 95% confidence intervals for the results.

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Appendix C

Wellbeing indicators and results

Two types of measurement indicators

We presented the results for two different types of measurement indicators: the percentage of families and the percentage of individuals. Reporting the percentage of families who have a certain characteristic is our ideal. However, there was limited survey data that could be analysed in this way, as it requires data relating to all members of a family. This was only possible using Census data or where the characteristic of interest was measured at a family level (such as family income in the case of the Household Economic Survey). For example, the Census included data on all members of a family who smoke, and therefore we could specify and report on an indicator relating to the percentage of two-parent families with all adult children where at least one person smokes.

We reported on the percentage of individuals who had a certain characteristic for the results derived from data from the General Social Survey and other surveys. This is because our analysis was based on responses from one individual who we could allocate to a family type. These individual responses were weighted to reflect the general population for our analysis.

The indicators

Table 9 below briefly describes each of the 30 indicators, grouped according to the six indicator themes. The indicators have to be interpreted differently, depending on the nature of the survey from which they were sourced. Further details are provided about this in the Technical Companion Report, but in brief this comes about because the Census and the Household Economic Survey collect data from every member of a family, whereas the General Social Survey, the Disability Survey, and the Youth 2012 Survey collect information from only one individual within a family. Consequently, for indicators sourced from the Census and the Household Economic Survey we are able to say *whether a family has a particular characteristic*. For example, Census data can be used to tell us how many New Zealand families have someone who smokes. Indicators sourced from the General Social Survey, the Disability Survey, and Youth 2012 instead tell us *the proportion of individuals within the different family types who have a certain characteristic*. For example, the General Social Survey can be used to tell us what percentage of individuals 'living in two parent families with at least one child under 18 years of age' consider themselves to have good health.

There is also a difference between the Youth 2012 Survey and the other surveys in that its sample is restricted to secondary school pupils. We have used data from this survey to tell us what percentage of secondary school pupils living in different family types felt safe at home, or thought their families often ate or had fun together.

TABLE
09

Description of family wellbeing indicators

Indicator title	Survey question(s) / item(s)	Measurement	Source
Theme: Economic security and housing			
1. Adequate income	Median equivalised family disposable income	Percentage of families at or above 60% median equivalised family disposable income	Household Economic Survey
2. Less deprived neighbourhoods	The NZDep2013 Index of Deprivation is used to identify families living in the least deprived neighbourhoods	Percentage of families living in the least deprived (decile 1–5) neighbourhoods	NZDep2013 Index of Deprivation Census
3. Medium or better standard of living	How satisfied are you with your standard of living?	Percentage of individuals that are satisfied or very satisfied with their standard of living	General Social Survey
4. Affordable housing	Ratio of family housing costs to family equivalised disposable income	Percentage of families where housing costs are less than 25% of equivalised family disposable income	Household Economic Survey
5. No housing problems	Think about any major problems you have with this house/flat. [Looking at list]1 Are any of these things major problems for you? You can choose as many as you need.	Percentage of people who do not have any major problems with their house or flat	General Social Survey
Theme: Health			
1. Good general health	In general would you say your health is excellent, very good, good, fair or poor?	Percentage of people with good or better health rating	General Social Survey
2. No disability	Do you have a long-term disability	Percentage of people without long-term disability	Disability Survey
3. Physically healthy	Calculated from the SF12 questions about physical health, and emotional and stress problems	Percentage of people with health equal to or higher than the median	General Social Survey
4. Mentally healthy	Calculated from the SF12 questions about physical health, and emotional and stress problems	Percentage of people with health equal to or higher than the median	General Social Survey
5. Do not smoke	Do you smoke cigarettes regularly (that is, one or more a day)?	Percentage of families where no-one smokes	Census

Indicator title	Survey question(s) / item(s)	Measurement	Source
Theme: Identity and sense of belonging			
1. Easily express identity	Here in NZ how easy or difficult is it for you to express your own identity?	Percentage of people who find it easy or very easy to express their own identity	General Social Survey
2. No discrimination	In the last 12 months have you been treated unfairly or had something nasty done to you because of the group you belong to or seem to belong to?	Percentage of people who have not been treated unfairly because of the group they belong to	General Social Survey
3. Civil authorities are fair across groups	Do you think that staff at [council, police, judges and court, government departments] treat everyone fairly, regardless of what group they are from?	Percentage of people who did not raise concern about civil authorities (council, police, judges and court, government departments) treating people fairly	General Social Survey
4. Health & education services are fair across groups	Do you think that staff at [doctors, health services, schools, education facilities] treat everyone fairly, regardless of what group they are from?	Percentage of people who did not raise concern about health and education services (doctors, health services, schools, education facilities) treating people fairly	General Social Survey
5. Engage in family traditions	Data not available	Data not available	Data not available
Theme: Relationships and connectedness			
1. Right level of extended family contact	Think about all types of contact with family or relatives (who don't live with you). Would you say you have the right amount of contact, or not enough contact with them?	Percentage of people who report about the right amount of contact with their extended family	General Social Survey
2. Give support to extended family	Do you (you or your partner) give any of them any of these types of support [List shown to respondents]1?	Percentage of people reporting any of the listed types of support for their extended family	General Social Survey
3. Voluntary work – community	In the last 4 weeks, which of these [activities]1 have you done without pay?	Percentage of families where at least one person did unpaid work outside of their own home	Census

Indicator title	Survey question(s) / item(s)	Measurement	Source
4. Family fun	How much do you and your family have fun together?	Percentage of youth who have family fun often or a lot	Youth Survey
5. Family meals	During the past 7 days, how many times did all, or most, of your family living in your house eat a meal together?	Percentage of youth who report having a family meal together at least 3 times in the past 7 days	Youth Survey
Theme: Safety and environment			
1. Feel safe at home	Do you feel safe at home?	Percentage of youth who feel safe at home at least sometimes	Youth Survey
2. Feel safe at work	In your day-to-day life, overall, how safe do you feel in the following situations: … at work?	Percentage of people who feel safe or very safe at work	General Social Survey
3. Feel safe at night in neighbourhood	In your day-to-day life, overall, how safe do you feel in the following situations: …walking alone at night in your neighbourhood?	Percentage of people who feel safe or very safe walking alone at night in their own neighbourhood	General Social Survey
4. Easy access to services	How many of the facilities [list shown to respondents]1 you want to go to can you easily get to?	Percentage of people who can easily get to all or most services	General Social Survey
5. No neighbourhood problems	Think about any major problems you have with the street or neighbourhood. Are any of these things [list shown to respondents]1 major problems for you?	Percentage of people who report no major neighbourhood problems	General Social Survey
Theme: Skills learning and employment			
1. Post-secondary education	Print your highest qualification, and main subject	Percentage of families where at least one person has a post-secondary qualification	Census
2. Believe education important	Which of the answers on [list of statements] matches your feelings about education?	Percentage of people who believe education is important or very important	General Social Survey

Indicator title	Survey question(s) / item(s)	Measurement	Source
3. Satisfied with knowledge and skills	In general, how do you feel about your knowledge, skills and abilities?	Percentage of people who are satisfied or very satisfied with their knowledge, skills and abilities	General Social Survey
4. Employment	Employment is where an individual worked for pay, profit or income for an hour or more over the last week	Percentage of families where at least one person is employed	Census
5. OK with hours and pay	Think about the total number of hours you work (for all your jobs). If you had the opportunity would you choose to: Work more hours and receive more pay Work the same amount of hours and receive the same pay? Work less hours and receive less pay	Percentage of people who would choose their current pay and hours of work	General Social Survey

TABLE
10

Family wellbeing indicator results

Theme area	Data source	Label	All family types	Couple both under 50	Couple one or both 50+	Two parents one child <18	One parent one child <18	Two parents all children 18+	One parent all children 18+
Economic security and housing	HES	Adequate income	80.0%	92.1%	76.3%	86.8%	46.3%	88.3%	78.3%
	Census	Less-deprived neighbourhoods	54.1%	52.6%	60.5%	58.0%	31.6%	60.9%	40.5%
	GSS	Satisfied with standard of living	80.2%	83.0%	89.3%	77.4%	59.0%	83.8%	74%
	HES	Affordable housing	67.3%	58.0%	87.2%	59.9%	30.7%	81.5%	75.4%
	GSS	No housing problems	65.0%	57.9%	79.8%	59.4%	50.9%	70.8%	62.2%
Health	GSS	Good general health	87.0%	93.5%	84.2%	91.3%	84.4%	88.4%	80.9%
	Disability survey	No disability	76.7%	87.1%	60.7%	86.8%	78.3%	74.3%	64.8%
	GSS	Physically healthy	52.0%	60.2%	39.7%	60.8%	57.8%	52.5%	44.3%
	GSS	Mentally healthy	52.4%	49.3%	61.9%	52.5%	40.8%	53.0%	44.4%
	Census	Do not smoke	77.6%	77.1%	86.2%	78.6%	63.6%	71.5%	64.5%
Identity and sense of belonging	GSS	Easily express identity	83.9%	81.9%	88.7%	82.7%	79.7%	82.9%	82.3%
	GSS	No discrimination	90.0%	87.4%	94.8%	89.5%	84.0%	91.3%	86.6%
	GSS	Civil authorities are fair across groups	67.5%	68.1%	68.6%	70.1%	60.1%	67.1%	62.1%
	GSS	Health & education services are fair across groups	84.4%	84.5%	89.5%	82.6%	76.2%	82.9%	82.1%
	No source	Engage in family traditions							
Relationships and connections	GSS	Right level of extended family contact	73.5%	71.3%	79.1%	71.8%	67.5%	73.1%	68.2%
	GSS	Give support to extended family	59.5%	61.9%	67.7%	58.1%	57.3%	57.1%	51.2%
	Census	Voluntary work – community	45.8%	33.2%	48.7%	47.3%	45.0%	51.2%	43.3%
	Youth Survey	Family fun	69.2%			71.9%	61.7%		
	Youth Survey	Family meals	78.0%			80.1%	72.2%		

Theme area	Data source	Label	All family types	Couple both under 50	Couple one or both 50+	Two parents one child <18	One parent one child <18	Two parents all children 18+	One parent all children 18+
Safety and environment	Youth Survey	Feel safe at home	94.3%			95.2%	92.2%		
	GSS	Feel safe at work	95.8%	96.5%	96.6%	95.6%	95.2%	95.4%	92.9%
	GSS	Feel safe at night in neighbourhood	61.7%	63.8%	61.2%	64.4%	51.7%	65.7%	57.7%
	GSS	Easy access to services	91.4%	91.8%	94.6%	90.5%	86.9%	92.3%	91.2%
	GSS	No neighbourhood problems	71.8%	69.1%	77.4%	70.7%	66.4%	74.9%	66.2%
Skills, learning and employment	Census	Post-secondary education	62.9%	75.6%	56.5%	70.8%	41.1%	72.8%	52.0%
	GSS	Believe education important	96.7%	96.5%	98.3%	96.9%	95.5%	95.8%	95.7%
	GSS	Satisfied with knowledge and skills	87.5%	88.5%	91.2%	86.7%	80.0%	88.8%	82.3%
	Census	Employment	80.4%	94.8%	66.5%	94.1%	56.3%	92.9%	77.2%
	GSS	Ok with hours and pay	59.0%	55.5%	68.6%	58.9%	48.4%	59.4%	53.6%

Appendix D

Demographic tables

TABLE 11

Ethnicity of families for each region (%)

Data source: Census of Population and Dwellings 2013

	European	Māori	Pacific	Asia	MELAA	Other Ethnicity
Northland	83.2	36.0	4.6	3.6	0.6	3.2
Auckland	65.0	13.5	15.1	25.5	2.3	2.2
Waikato	83.6	25.4	4.8	7.7	1.0	3.0
Bay of Plenty	82.4	31.0	4.1	5.9	0.8	3.0
Hawke's Bay	84.2	27.8	5.0	4.3	0.6	3.3
Gisborne	69.2	53.0	5.0	3.3	0.5	2.8
Taranaki	91.3	21.6	2.2	4.1	0.6	3.5
Manawatu-Whanganui	87.4	25.1	4.3	5.8	0.8	3.6
Wellington	82.4	17.0	9.3	4.0	1.8	3.3
Marlborough & Nelson	93.8	14.3	2.4	4.2	0.8	3.8
West Coast & Tasman	96.2	12.6	1.5	2.7	0.5	4.2
Canterbury	91.2	11.3	3.0	7.9	1.1	3.4
Otago	94.2	10.7	2.5	5.1	1.2	3.8
Southland	94.0	17.7	2.8	3.6	0.5	3.9

Notes: If any member of a family identifies with a particular ethnicity, the family will be identified with that ethnicity. A family, therefore, can have multiple ethnicities, and, consequently, the percentages in the table sum to more than 100%.

TABLE 12

Family type by ethnic group (%)

Data source: Census of Population and Dwellings 2013

	European	Māori	Pacific	Asia	MELAA	Other Ethnicity	Total
Couple, both under 50	62.8	12.7	4.8	15.1	2.0	2.6	100
Couple, one or both is 50 plus	80.1	8.5	2.2	6.2	0.4	2.7	100
Two parents, at least one child under 18	60.2	15.0	7.8	13.0	1.5	2.6	100
One parent, at least one child under 18	50.2	28.9	12.1	6.4	1.3	1.3	100
Two parents, all children 18 plus	61.6	11.3	6.6	16.2	1.1	3.2	100
One parent, all children 18 plus	59.9	18.7	8.3	9.9	1.1	2.1	100

Appendix E

Expressions of whānau in Te Kupenga

Whānau concept	Weighted n	%
A. Immediate (Parents, partner/spouse, brothers, sisters, in-laws, children)	**210,335**	**39.7**
B. Grandparents and grandchildren		15.1
A + B	71,828	13.6
B only	7,645	1.5
C. Extended (aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, other in-laws)		**31.6**
A + B + C	93,026	17.6
A + C	64,029	12.1
B + C	2,579	0.5
C only	7,465	1.4
D. Close friends, others		**12.4**
A + B + C + D	39,987	7.5
A + B + D	3,058	0.6
A + C + D	13,900	2.6
A + D	4,993	0.9
B + C + D	138	0
B + D	145	0
C + D	884	0.2
D only	2,488	0.5
No response	**6,706**	**1.3**
	529,750	**100**

Note: This table was produced from the Te Kupenga Confidentialised Unit Record File (CURF). Since confidentiality rules are applied in advance of release to researchers, these numbers are shown here unrounded from the CURF.

TABLE
14

**Bivariate analysis
of whānau
description question
in Te Kupenga**

DEMOGRAPHIC RESULTS

	Whānau description (%)			
	Whānau A	Whānau B	Whānau C	Whānau D
Age Group				
15-24 years	**44.9** (41.8, 48)	**13.9** (11.9, 16.3)	**29.9** (27.1, 32.8)	**11.3** (9.6, 13.3)
25 to 34 years	**43.4** (40, 46.9)	**10.7** (8.8, 12.9)	**35.0** (31.7, 38.4)	**10.9** (9, 13.2)
35 to 44 years	**43.2** (39.7, 46.8)	**14.0** (11.6, 16.9)	**30.7** (27.5, 34.1)	**12.1** (10, 14.6)
45 to 54 years	**41.3** (37.7, 45.1)	**13.0** (10.7, 15.7)	**32.5** (29, 36.2)	**13.1** (10.9, 15.7)
55 or over years	**26.2** (23.7, 28.9)	**25.0** (22.4, 27.9)	**32.9** (30.1, 35.8)	**15.8** (13.7, 18.2)
Total, 15+ years	**40.2** (38.7, 41.7)	**15.3** (14.2, 16.4)	**32.0** (30.5, 33.4)	**12.5** (11.6, 13.5)
Sex				
Female	**38.8** (36.9, 40.8)	**16.2** (14.8, 17.8)	**32.0** (30.2, 33.9)	**12.9** (11.7, 14.3)
Male	**41.7** (39.5, 44.1)	**14.3** (12.7, 16)	**31.9** (29.8, 34.1)	**12.1** (10.8, 13.6)
Rural/Urban				
Rural	**39.8** (37.9, 41.7)	**15.2** (13.9, 16.6)	**32.4** (30.7, 34.2)	**12.7** (11.5, 13.9)
Urban	**41.1** (38.6, 43.6)	**15.6** (13.8, 17.5)	**31.1** (28.8, 33.5)	**12.3** (10.8, 13.9)
Living in Auckland?				
No	**38.7** (37.1, 40.4)	**14.4** (13.3, 15.6)	**33.1** (31.6, 34.7)	**13.8** (12.7, 14.9)
Yes	**44.6** (41.1, 48.1)	**18.0** (15.5, 20.7)	**28.5** (25.4, 31.8)	**9.0** (7.2, 11.1)
Family Type				
Couple, no children	**37.3** (34.2, 40.6)	**18.1** (15.7, 20.7)	**31.1** (28.2, 34.2)	**13.5** (11.5, 15.8)
Couple, one or more children	**44.8** (42.1, 47.6)	**14.1** (12.2, 16.2)	**30.7** (28.2, 33.3)	**10.4** (8.9, 12.1)
Single parent, one or more children	**39.2** (35.7, 42.9)	**13.7** (11.4, 16.5)	**33.8** (30.3, 37.5)	**13.3** (10.9, 16)
Parent of couple with adult children or children of unknown dependency status	**36.5** (32.2, 40.9)	**15.0** (12.3, 18.2)	**34.1** (29.8, 38.6)	**14.5** (11.7, 17.8)
Not in a family nucleus	**38.2** (34.9, 41.5)	**16.1** (13.8, 18.7)	**32.1** (29.1, 35.3)	**13.6** (11.6, 15.9)
Total	**40.2** (38.7, 41.7)	**15.3** (14.2, 16.4)	**31.9** (30.5, 33.4)	**12.6** (11.6, 13.5)

	Whānau description (%)			
	Whānau A	**Whānau B**	**Whānau C**	**Whānau D**
Sufficient income?				
No	**38.4** (36.3, 40.5)	**15.0** (13.5, 16.6)	**32.4** (30.3, 34.5)	**14.3** (12.9, 15.9)
Yes	**41.7** (39.6, 43.9)	**15.5** (14, 17.1)	**31.8** (29.8, 33.8)	**11.0** (9.8, 12.3)
NZ Dep13 (Quintile)				
Quintile 1	**42.4** (37.4, 47.5)	**16.0** (12.4, 20.4)	**31.5** (27, 36.4)	**10.1** (7.5, 13.5)
Quintile 2	**42.4** (37.8, 47)	**15.1** (12, 18.7)	**30.9** (26.8, 35.4)	**11.7** (9.2, 14.7)
Quintile 3	**40.1** (36.3, 43.9)	**15.7** (13.2, 18.6)	**33.1** (29.6, 36.8)	**11.2** (9.1, 13.7)
Quintile 4	**38.9** (35.9, 42)	**14.4** (12.5, 16.7)	**33.7** (30.8, 36.7)	**13.0** (11.1, 15.1)
Quintile 5	**39.4** (37.2, 41.6)	**15.8** (14.2, 17.6)	**30.7** (28.6, 32.8)	**14.2** (12.7, 15.8)
Has at least a bachelor Degree				
No	**40.1** (36.5, 41.7)	**15.3** (14.2, 16.5)	**31.9** (30.5, 33.5)	**12.6** (11.7, 13.7)
Yes	**41.3** (36.7, 46.2)	**14.9** (11.6, 19.0)	**32.1** (27.7, 36.8)	**11.7** (8.9, 15.2)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESULTS

	Whānau description (%)			
	Whānau A	**Whānau B**	**Whānau C**	**Whānau D**
Importance of involvement with Māori culture				
Not important	**45.2** (43.1, 47.4)	**15.3** (13.8, 16.9)	**29.3** (27.4, 31.2)	**10.2** (9.1, 11.5)
Important	**34.5** (32.5, 36.6)	**15.4** (13.9, 17)	**34.9** (32.9, 37.1)	**15.2** (13.8, 16.8)
Ever visited ancestral marae?				
No	**46.2** (43.7, 48.8)	**15.5** (13.8, 17.5)	**26.7** (24.4, 29)	**11.6** (10.1, 13.3)
Yes	**36.5** (34.7, 38.4)	**15.2** (13.9, 16.6)	**35.2** (33.4, 37)	**13.1** (11.9, 14.4)
Speak Te Reo?				
No	**41.6** (39.8, 43.3)	**15.0** (13.8, 16.2)	**31.7** (30.1, 33.4)	**11.8** (10.8, 12.9)
Yes	**34.4** (31.4, 37.4)	**16.6** (14.4, 19.1)	**33.6** (30.7, 36.7)	**15.4** (13.3, 17.8)
Te Reo spoken in the home?				
No	**41.4** (39.7, 43.1)	**15.6** (14.4, 16.8)	**31.7** (30.2, 33.4)	**11.4** (10.4, 12.5)
Yes	**35.4** (32.3, 38.6)	**14.2** (12, 16.7)	**32.9** (29.9, 36.1)	**17.6** (15.3, 20.1)
Registered with an Iwi?				
No	**43.6** (41.5, 45.7)	**14.9** (13.5, 16.5)	**30.2** (28.3, 32.2)	**11.4** (10.2, 12.7)
Yes	**36.4** (34.3, 38.6)	**15.8** (14.2, 17.4)	**33.9** (31.9, 36.1)	**13.9** (12.5, 15.5)
Know their Hapū?				
No	**41.2** (39.6, 43)	**14.9** (13.7, 16.1)	**31.9** (30.3, 33.5)	**12.0** (11, 13.1)
Yes	**36.2** (33, 39.5)	**16.9** (14.6, 19.6)	**32.1** (29.2, 35.3)	**14.8** (12.6, 17.3)
Educated at a Kura, Kōhanga or Wānanga?				
No	**41.7** (39.9, 43.5)	**15.6** (14.3, 16.9)	**31.2** (29.5, 32.9)	**11.5** (10.5, 12.7)
Yes	**35.7** (33, 38.4)	**14.7** (12.7, 16.9)	**34.2** (31.6, 36.9)	**15.5** (13.6, 17.6)

	Whānau description (%)			
	Whānau A	Whānau B	Whānau C	Whānau D
Overall Life Satisfaction (0-10)				
Low	35.8 (29.4, 42.8)	14.2 (9.8, 20)	33.5 (27.3, 40.4)	16.5 (11.8, 22.6)
Moderate	39.9 (36.1, 43.8)	15.4 (12.8, 18.4)	31.1 (27.6, 34.9)	13.6 (11.2, 16.3)
High	41.5 (39.3, 43.7)	14.3 (12.9, 16)	32.3 (30.2, 34.4)	11.9 (10.6, 13.4)
Very High	39.1 (36.5, 41.7)	16.7 (14.8, 18.8)	31.7 (29.3, 34.2)	12.6 (11, 14.3)
Often feel lonely?				
No	39.8 (38.1, 41.4)	15.4 (14.3, 16.7)	32.7 (31.1, 34.3)	12.1 (11.1, 13.2)
Yes	42.5 (39, 46.2)	14.5 (12.1, 17.4)	28.3 (25.3, 31.6)	14.6 (12.3, 17.2)
Help in another household without pay				
No	42.1 (39.7, 44.5)	17.4 (15.7, 19.3)	31.5 (29.3, 33.7)	9.1 (7.8, 10.5)
Yes	38.9 (37, 40.8)	13.8 (12.5, 15.2)	32.3 (30.5, 34.2)	15.0 (13.7, 16.4)
Satisfied with their contact with Whānau?				
No	37.8 (35.3, 40.4)	15.2 (13.4, 17.2)	33.9 (31.5, 36.5)	13.1 (11.5, 14.9)
Yes	40.6 (38.8, 42.5)	15.5 (14.2, 16.9)	31.5 (29.7, 33.2)	12.4 (11.3, 13.7)
Access general support easily?				
No	44.1 (40.8, 47.5)	14.1 (11.9, 16.6)	28.6 (25.7, 31.6)	13.2 (11.2, 15.5)
Yes	39.2 (37.5, 40.9)	15.6 (14.4, 16.8)	32.9 (31.3, 34.5)	12.4 (11.4, 13.5)
Access crisis support easily?				
No	42.8 (39.4, 46.2)	14.3 (12, 16.8)	30.0 (27, 33.3)	13.0 (10.9, 15.3)
Yes	39.6 (38, 41.3)	15.5 (14.3, 16.8)	32.4 (30.8, 34)	12.5 (11.4, 13.6)
Access cultural support easily?				
No	47.0 (44.3, 49.8)	13.5 (11.7, 15.5)	28.3 (25.9, 30.8)	11.2 (9.7, 13)
Yes	36.9 (35.1, 38.7)	15.6 (14.2, 17)	34.0 (32.2, 35.8)	13.6 (12.4, 14.9)

Left margin: SOCIAL RESULTS

Note: 95% confidence intervals are shown in brackets after each measurement.

Separate multinomial logistic regression model was run for each domain (demographic, social, economic, and cultural), including variables within each domain. This enabled us to examine the relative importance of each domain to an individual's descriptions of their whānau before combining all variables into a single model to see which specific variables were most important overall. The exponentiated coefficients are interpreted as relative risk ratios (RRR). Table 15 shows the results for the final model with the full list of variables. Tests for multicollinearity were undertaken and no issues were identified.

Independent variables	Unstandardized coefficients			Relative risk ratios		
	WhānauB	Whānau C	Whānau D	WhānauB	WhānauC	Whānau D
Age (years)						
25 to 34	-0.233 (0.163)	0.136 (0.119)	-0.086 (0.174)	0.792 (0.130)	1.146 (0.136)	0.918 (0.160)
35 to 44	0.033 (0.155)	-0.017 (0.128)	0.108 (0.147)	1.034 (0.161)	0.983 (0.126)	1.114 (0.164)
45 to 54	-0.063 (0.189)	0.072 (0.137)	0.119 (0.165)	0.939 (0.178)	1.075 (0.147)	1.126 (0.186)
55 and older	1.061*** (0.165)	0.507*** (0.140)	0.784*** (0.178)	2.889*** (0.476)	1.660*** (0.232)	2.189*** (0.390)
Male	-0.222** (0.111)	-0.064 (0.079)	-0.019 (0.103)	0.801** (0.089)	0.938 (0.074)	0.981 (0.101)
Residence						
Wellington	0.012 (0.193)	0.301** (0.131)	0.612*** (0.210)	1.012 (0.196)	1.351** (0.177)	1.844*** (0.388)
Canterbury	-0.402 (0.285)	0.169 (0.172)	0.780*** (0.260)	0.669 (0.191)	1.185 (0.204)	2.182*** (0.567)
Rural area of the Upper North Island (ex AKL)	0.156 (0.154)	0.316** (0.128)	0.371** (0.170)	1.168 (0.180)	1.372** (0.176)	1.449** (0.246)
Urban area of the Upper North Island (ex AKL)	0.718*** (0.165)	0.933*** (0.122)	0.881*** (0.197)	2.050*** (0.337)	2.541*** (0.310)	2.414*** (0.476)
Rural area of the Lower North Island (ex WEL)	-0.260 (0.205)	0.366** (0.171)	0.170 (0.249)	0.771 (0.158)	1.443** (0.246)	1.185 (0.295)
Urban area of the Lower North Island (ex WEL)	-0.619*** (0.183)	-0.062 (0.142)	-0.101 (0.201)	0.538*** (0.099)	0.940 (0.134)	0.904 (0.181)
Rural area of the South Island (ex Cant)	-0.275 (0.263)	-0.641** (0.265)	-0.159 (0.364)	0.759 (0.200)	0.527** (0.140)	0.853 (0.310)
Urban area of the South Island (ex Cant)	-0.397 (0.288)	-0.135 (0.213)	0.948*** (0.238)	0.673 (0.194)	0.874 (0.186)	2.581*** (0.615)

Independent variables	Unstandardized coefficients			Relative risk ratios		
	WhānauB	Whānau C	Whānau D	WhānauB	WhānauC	Whānau D
Family type						
Couple, no resident child	0.018 (0.139)	-0.063 (0.138)	0.011 (0.151)	1.019 (0.142)	0.939 (0.130)	1.011 (0.153)
Couple, at least 1 resident child	0.063 (0.148)	-0.091 (0.132)	-0.236 (0.161)	1.065 (0.157)	0.913 (0.121)	0.789 (0.127)
Sole parent, at least 1 resident child	0.159 (0.179)	0.101 (0.144)	-0.079 (0.197)	1.172 (0.210)	1.106 (0.159)	0.924 (0.183)
Parent or couple with adult children and/or children of unknown dependency status	-0.005 (0.195)	0.102 (0.176)	0.099 (0.200)	0.995 (0.194)	1.107 (0.195)	1.104 (0.221)
NZDep13						
Quintile 2	-0.087 (0.225)	-0.024 (0.174)	0.161 (0.254)	0.916 (0.206)	0.977 (0.170)	1.175 (0.298)
Quintile 3	0.016 (0.223)	-0.004 (0.163)	0.052 (0.252)	1.016 (0.227)	0.996 (0.162)	1.053 (0.266)
Quintile 4	-0.161 (0.216)	-0.044 (0.153)	0.130 (0.226)	0.852 (0.184)	0.957 (0.147)	1.139 (0.257)
Quintile 5	-0.175 (0.213)	-0.338** (0.150)	0.140 (0.235)	0.839 (0.179)	0.713** (0.107)	1.150 (0.270)
Has sufficient income	0.002 (0.102)	-0.073 (0.081)	-0.285*** (0.096)	1.002 (0.102)	0.929 (0.075)	0.752*** (0.072)
Has at least a Bachelor degree	-0.072 (0.176)	-0.158 (0.129)	-0.098 (0.189)	0.931 (0.164)	0.854 (0.111)	0.906 (0.171)
Has visited ancestral marae	0.033 (0.130)	0.283*** (0.098)	-0.034 (0.109)	1.033 (0.134)	1.328*** (0.130)	0.967 (0.105)
Te reo spoken at home	-0.070 (0.153)	-0.091 (0.108)	0.351** (0.138)	0.932 (0.142)	0.913 (0.099)	1.421** (0.196)
Is registered with an iwi	0.032 (0.126)	0.077 (0.092)	0.027 (0.127)	1.032 (0.130)	1.080 (0.099)	1.027 (0.130)
Know hapū	0.174 (0.121)	0.014 (0.114)	0.289** (0.137)	1.190 (0.144)	1.014 (0.116)	1.335** (0.182)
Has enrolled in kōhanga, kura or wānanga	0.065 (0.139)	0.079 (0.103)	0.237* (0.127)	1.067 (0.149)	1.082 (0.112)	1.268* (0.161)

Independent variables	Unstandardized coefficients			Relative risk ratios		
	WhānauB	Whānau C	Whānau D	WhānauB	WhānauC	Whānau D
Sees Māori culture as v. important/ important	0.132 (0.107)	0.258*** (0.088)	0.401*** (0.120)	1.141 (0.123)	1.295*** (0.113)	1.493*** (0.179)
Overall life satisfaction						
Low	0.192 (0.280)	0.528** (0.220)	0.329 (0.277)	1.212 (0.340)	1.696** (0.374)	1.389 (0.385)
High	-0.133 (0.165)	0.001 (0.111)	-0.074 (0.150)	0.875 (0.144)	1.001 (0.111)	0.928 (0.139)
Very high	-0.144 (0.188)	-0.043 (0.117)	-0.021 (0.158)	0.866 (0.163)	0.958 (0.112)	0.979 (0.155)
Has been lonely in last four weeks	-0.161 (0.140)	-0.288** (0.110)	-0.067 (0.130)	0.851 (0.119)	0.750** (0.083)	0.935 (0.122)
Satisfied with level of whānau contact	-0.100 (0.101)	-0.118 (0.078)	-0.067 (0.108)	0.904 (0.091)	0.889 (0.070)	0.936 (0.101)
Has easy access/ very easy access to cultural support	0.264** (0.120)	0.286*** (0.091)	0.242** (0.120)	1.303** (0.157)	1.331*** (0.121)	1.273** (0.153)
Has given unpaid help in another household	-0.103 (0.105)	0.023 (0.081)	0.511*** (0.124)	0.902 (0.095)	1.023 (0.083)	1.667*** (0.207)
Constant	-0.984*** (0.340)	-0.708*** (0.245)	-2.295*** (0.295)	0.374*** (0.127)	0.493*** (0.121)	0.101*** (0.030)
Population size	523,044	523,044	523,044	523,044	523,044	523,044
Unweighted n	5,001	5,001	5,001	5,001	5,001	5,001

Notes:
1. Base = Whānau A – immediate whānau
2. Jack-knife Standard errors in parentheses
3. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Appendix F

Exploring wellbeing:
Some specific cultural models

As a social institution the family plays an important role for survival, protection and support, and socialisation. A core function of the family that transcends all international and cultural boundaries is to create strong, capable and secure individuals who positively influence and contribute to society. Without family as a resource to instil knowledge and values and to provide support and guidance, it is much harder for children to grow into well-adjusted adults.

As a gateway to appreciating the range of diverse cultural concepts of family wellbeing, this section explores whether there are any common markers of family wellbeing across different cultural perspectives. We do so by focusing on New Zealand European, Asian and Pacific viewpoints and by considering the traditional concepts associated with these ethnic groups as a starting point.

One of the challenges when looking at cultural models of wellbeing is the great diversity within ethnic groups such as Pacific and Asian people. The brief examination of models of wellbeing presented below therefore relates either to ethnic-specific models or models that have been designed to represent an overarching cultural representation of wellbeing (for example, Fonofale).

Pacific models of wellbeing

Nga Vaka o Kāiga Tapu (Ministry of Social Development, 2012) is a conceptual model for addressing family violence in seven Pacific communities in New Zealand. This approach begins with the premise that wellbeing, peace and harmony are states that all Pacific people aspire to, and that core aspects of culture are significant in maintaining and restoring wellbeing to families. Across the seven ethnic groups there were a number of shared elements that were viewed as strengthening and protecting individual and family wellbeing. These include: reciprocity, respect, genealogy, observance of tapu relationships, language, and belonging.

The Fonofale model was developed as a Pacific island model of health for use within the New Zealand context (see below). This model depicts a Samoan fale, or house, as a way to illustrate the most important influences of health for Pacific cultural groups.

Figure 24 _ Fonofale model of Pacific health

The family represents the foundation of the Fonofale, which Pulotu-Endemann (2001) describes as the foundation of all Pacific Island cultures. Culture was also a central tenet of Pacific people's health and the roof represents cultural values and beliefs that is the shelter of the family for life (Fulotu-Endemann, 2001).

Although this work is looking at family wellbeing, it is also important to note other work that has been done looking at Pacific wellbeing in New Zealand at the individual level. For example the work undertaken by Manuela and Sibley (2013) in creating the Pacific Identity and Wellbeing Scale (PIWBS), which represents a culturally appropriate measure of Pacific people's lived experiences, and their expressions of identity and wellbeing in the New Zealand context. Although targeted towards the individual, the measure positions family wellbeing as central to the subjective wellbeing of an individual, and it includes family wellbeing as one of the significant measures of an individual's wellbeing, with questions assessing components of Pacific family values, relationships and support.

Family plays a central role in Pacific people's wellbeing, with concepts of interdependence influencing both how family is structured and the cultural values that influence concepts of wellbeing. The family is viewed as a vehicle for providing identity, status, honour, prescribed roles, care and support (Manuela & Sibley, 2013). Family also conveys interconnectedness (a system of interrelated obligations, responsibilities and benefits). The roles and responsibilities of each individual within the family are defined by the family (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

Asian models of wellbeing

Models of Asian wellbeing were harder to locate within the literature, given the vast cultural diversity among Asian countries; however, selected literature looks at the shared cultural values of interdependence and how they inform family wellbeing.

In most Asian cultures, family is traditionally seen as of primary importance, and the needs of the family often supersede the needs of individuals (Huang, 1994). People from collectivistic cultures often show a strong concern for the wellbeing of others, and the support for each other goes beyond the nuclear family to include extended families. Consistent with the family functions outlined in the 2015 report (Superu, 2015), traditional Asian values, such as filial piety, saving face, and maintaining harmonious relationships with others, play an important role in shaping Asian family wellbeing (Chan, Levy, Chung, & Lee, 2002; Kuo & Kavanagh 1994).

A positive family relationship, defined as harmonious relationships and strong emotional bonds among family members, is a robust predictor of individual wellbeing for Asian families (Barber & Buehler, 1996; Johnson, LaVoie, Spenceri & Mahoney-Wernli, 2001). In Asian families, it is important for individuals to respect and endorse the cultural values that their families subscribe to. Many Asian people who have migrated to other cultures with their family take up the predominant cultural values their host countries have, while maintaining the traditional cultural values their families subscribe to. For instance, Liu, Mg, Weatherall, and Loong (2000) studied New Zealand Chinese adults' attitudes toward caring for older generations in the family, also known as filial piety (a Confucian ideology predominantly adopted by Asian cultures), and the relationship between filial piety and individual wellbeing. They found that participants with the highest acculturation score (i.e. those who adopted both western and traditional Chinese values) also reported the highest filial piety score; there was also a positive relationship between filial piety score and self-reported levels of happiness. Therefore, traditional Asian (or interdependent) cultural values still play an important role in shaping Asian individuals' wellbeing, even when they live in a predominantly independently orientated culture such as New Zealand.

The ethno-theory (model) underlying Asian families' values and behaviour regarding children is that moral duty is the route to self-fulfilment. A 'good' child is first and foremost morally sound. This means respectful, obedient, and, as a consequence, smoke-free. This is consistent for Hindu Indian children (Saraswathi & Ganapathy, 2002; Seymour, 1999), Muslim children (Becher, 2008), and Chinese children (Lam, 2005; Wu, 1996). Self-fulfilment is desirable – doing well at school, participating in sport and in cultural practices, maximising health (for example by not smoking), and realising self through religious practices – but this also contributes to maintaining the family and community. Thus self-maximisation occurs but it is within a framework that emphasises relatedness (Kâgitçibasi, 2007; Sinha & Tripathi, 1994; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). It aims to fulfil moral duties and responsibilities to family. This is common in traditional and modern non-western societies and for Asian families in western countries. It is supported by a qualitative study (Lam, 2005) with Canadian Chinese adolescents (n=19) and their parents (n=10). They describe child socialisation goals that emphasise morality and self-development to maximise harmony and inter-dependence in a qualitative study about adolescent development. The resulting themes were:

> be a good person (self-cultivation); be a good child (filial piety), be a self-reliant person to honour family (Chinese familism), and be a mature person (the quest for harmony and other-related attributes).

The following examples relate to children and aspects of the macro-system level ideologies of Confucianism and Hinduism largely because the Asian participants in the KKS Study are predominantly South-east Asian, Chinese and Fijian Indian. Confucianism is the dominant mode of cultural governance in China (where it originated), Vietnam, Japan, Korea and Singapore. In Confucianism, identity is determined through one's place in the interdependent family and community hierarchy. Children move through life stages based on their position in the gendered hierarchy of the family. They are subordinate to older siblings, parents, teachers and elders. As they get older they become responsible for those who are younger. The nomenclature of Chinese family titles reflects this. Older and younger siblings have every-day titles that reflect their status and gender. Aunts and uncles have titles that reflect gender and birth order (Tung, 2000). The father is the head of the family.

The relationship between children and older family members and teachers with Confucian backgrounds is distilled into a heightened form of respect, deference and obligation called 'filial piety'. Children never forget their moral duty to their elders. Filial piety is so important that people express their gratitude and respect via ancestor worship.

Hindu peoples have a 'template' for life based on interdependence and interrelatedness. Interdependence binds individuals together across family and other social groups in the present. Interrelatedness refers to the connection of prior, current and future life cycles through the repeated process of rebirth-and-death (samskara), until salvation (moksha) and release from this cyclical process is attained. The concept of moral cause and effect (karma) shapes individuals' destinies. Karma comprises the individual's destiny, which can be shaped by actions ('good' and 'bad' deeds). These alter the progression and regression through the cycles of rebirth-and-death (Kakar, 1981). Thus actions in one life are affected by actions in previous lives. They also affect future existences. Good deeds now are important for future generations.

In contrast to the examples above, ethno-theories about children in western society, based on the belief in the freedom of the individual and individual rights, lead to models of child development that assume the goal of child socialisation is self-fulfilment, autonomy and independence.

Some theorists assume that developmental stages are universal – this is not the case (Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni & Maynard, 2003). For example, studies demonstrate that cultural factors influence biological development. In other cultures, developmental stages emphasise collective rather than individual characteristics. The perpetuation of collective structures and processes is paramount. Children are encouraged to develop their individual potential in order to support their families and countries. Western and non-western schema of normal human development and family differ. For example, Kakar (1981) compares Erikson's scheme of life stages with the ideal Hindu life cycle for Hindu men (Table 16 below). Unsurprisingly Erikson's scheme is focused on the development of the potential of the individual with no wider goal whereas the Hindu scheme focuses on the development of dharma or moral duty.

The Hindu life cycle reflects stages of the development of dharma, a complex concept reduced here to 'moral duty'. The practice of dharma enables moksha. Although the life stages reflect the gendered nature of Hindu culture and are consequently different for males and females, the object of existence and developmental and child socialisation goals all relate to dharma – moral duty and social responsibilities – rather than self – fulfilment through self-maximisation. This is reflected in qualitative research with Indian parents by Saraswathi and Ganapathy (2002).

For Hindu girls, the life stages centre around moral duty and social responsibility as well as marital status and having children. Females are in a pre-marital status, married and ideally mothers, and finally widows. One very critical role of mothers is to protect the spiritual health of their families at home by taking responsibility for puja (religious observance or prayer).

TABLE 16

Erikson and Hindu Models of Life Stages and Tasks

Source: Kakar (1981 p. 43)

Erikson's scheme		Hindu scheme	
Stage	**Specific task and "virtue"**	**Stage**	**Specific task and "virtue"**
1. Infancy	Basic trust vs mistrust: Hope	Individual's "pre-history" not explicitly considered	Preparation of the capacity to comprehend dharma
2. Early childhood	Autonomy vs shame Doubt vs willpower		
3. Play age	Initiative vs guilt: Purpose		
4. School age	Industry vs inferiority: Competence	1. Apprenticeship (brahmaharya)	Knowledge of dharma: Love and care
5. Adolescence	Identity vs identity diffusion: Fidelity		
6. Young adulthood	Intimacy vs isolation: Love	2. Householder (garhasthya)	Practice of dharma: Love and Care
7. Adulthood	Generativity vs stagnation: Care	3. Withdrawal (vanaprastha)	Teaching of dharma: Extended care
8. Old age	Integrity vs despair: Wisdom	4. Renunciation (sannyasa)	Realisation of dharma: Wisdom

The above examination of some of the work done looking at wellbeing for different cultural groups illustrates that there are some distinct similarities of wellbeing across all cultures.

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