

Ngā Āhuatanga Noho o te Hunga Pakeke Māori

E tū te huru mā, haramai e noho

*To the elderly who have reached the pinnacle,
remain as a guiding light for us all*

Living Standards of Older Māori

2002

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Disclaimer

This report represents the views of the authors, and does not necessarily represent the views of the Ministry of Social Development

Foreword

Disparities between Māori and non-Māori are well known. What is especially valuable about the present work is that it provides a strong base for moving forward, for understanding why these exist and how resources can best be used both by government and communities to change the situation for the future.

This project is an excellent example of a coming together of shared perspectives and expertise in research. It extends work completed by the Ministry last year on the living standards of older New Zealanders using mainstream social survey methods and statistical analysis techniques. The current project has adapted this approach to focus on information from a sample of older Māori, with input and guidance from a Māori research group.

A key element in the project's success has been the collegial approach and joint spirit of endeavour of the members of the research team from the School of Māori Studies at Massey University, the Christchurch Health and Development Study of the Christchurch School of Medicine, and the Ministry of Social Development's Knowledge Group. The research has provided an opportunity to gain more understanding about the living standards of older Māori and the factors (including cultural) that contribute to different living standards. This work has been of mutual benefit in advancing the Ministry's and the School of Māori Studies' research programmes.

In the previous research on living standards, a Material Well-being Scale was successfully developed to describe the living standards of older New Zealanders generally. The current study demonstrates the relevance of the Scale of Material Well-being for both older Māori and older non-Māori. This important finding means that this scale, which uses direct responses from people about what they can afford to own and do, provides a valuable tool for looking across Māori and non-Māori living standards in a robust and meaningful way.

I am pleased to see the continued success of the research programme on living standards and its focus on providing information that will assist in generating informed debate and evidence-based policy development and review.



Peter Hughes
Chief Executive, Ministry of Social Development

Preface

*‘Māku tenei, mā te rā e tō ana. He aha kei a koe?
Kei te rā e huru ake ana.’*

‘Leave this for me, the setting sun. And what is for you? The glowing sun is the rising sun.’¹

If children are the hope for the future, then kaumātua, older people, are the foundations upon which that hope can be built. Despite several generations of Western influence, Māori society generally retains a positive view towards ageing and older people, affording them status and at the same time expecting them to fulfill certain defined roles on behalf of the whānau (family) and hapū (tribe and community). In order to meet those obligations, however, kaumātua must contend with a range of issues that impact on their material well-being. In other words, the cultural role cannot be isolated from the circumstances in which older Māori live.

This report documents a survey of 542 older Māori and focuses on the economics of their day to day lives. It reveals that, although the great majority of older Māori are not in dire circumstances, there is nonetheless a relatively high rate of disadvantage, poverty and material hardship levels – around three or four times those of non-Māori.

The findings are important, not only because they reflect the status of the current generation of older Māori but also because the proportion of kaumātua is going to increase quite rapidly over the next two or three decades and as a consequence, the situation could be felt even more acutely. There is an obvious need to plan ahead, and it is hoped that this report will be useful in formulating responses and planning for the material well-being of older Māori at national, regional and iwi levels.

Age travels slowly, but with surety.²

He tira kaumātua, tēnā te haere nā



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1 'The old man has his experience, knowledge and memories but the young man has his life ahead of him'. Quoted in Mead, H. M., Grove N. (2001), *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tipuna*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 280

2 Literally 'A travelling party of elders travels yonder,' quoted in Mead, H. M., Grove N. (2001), *Ngā Pēpeha a Ngā Tipuna*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, p. 125

Overview

This report is the second in a series of studies being undertaken by Ministry of Social Development on the living standards of New Zealanders. The objective of the study was firstly to examine the use and relevance of the Material Well-being Scale to describe the living standards of older Māori, secondly to provide comprehensive information on the living standards of older Māori and the factors impacting on their material well-being and thirdly to relate these findings to the findings from the first study in the series, a study of the general population of older people.

■ The survey participants

The sample was of individuals who were aged 65 to 69 years and were of Māori ethnicity.

Of the 542 Māori participating, almost half were single (living alone or with others) and just over half (53%) were couples (living alone or with others). Over two-thirds of the single participants were women (69%). About three-quarters of the sample (77%) lived in urban centres and about a quarter lived in rural areas. Most (89%) of the respondents lived in the North Island. Just over half (57%) had no formal qualifications.

Across the sample there was great diversity in the levels of identification with, and participation in, te ao Māori (the Māori world).

A relatively large minority of the participants reported serious health problems (hypertension, coronary heart disease, diabetes and arthritis). Single older Māori tended to be at greater risk than couples.

Examination of the economic circumstances of older Māori suggested that in comparison to non-Māori, Māori had lower income levels, lower levels of savings and assets, and were less likely to own their own home. These differences were particularly evident for single older Māori.

■ Measuring living standards

The living standards of older Māori were measured using the Material Well-being Scale; this scale was first developed for the survey of the Living Standards of Older New Zealanders (Fergusson et al, 2001a) and was constructed by combining information from five areas or sub-scales:

- ownership restrictions
- social participation restrictions
- economising
- severe financial problems
- self-assessments (standard of living and adequacy of income).

Before applying this scale to the measurement of older Māori, a series of validation exercises were undertaken, all of which concluded that the Material Well-being Scale could validly be applied to older Māori.

■ Key findings

Most importantly, the results clearly highlighted the marked material hardship many older Māori experienced, with about one in seven (15%) facing some financial difficulty, and a further one in five (20%) facing severe difficulties. In comparison, of the older population generally, 10% faced some financial difficulty and only a further 6% faced severe difficulties.

Also of importance was the fact that older single Māori tended to be in a worse financial situation than older Māori couples. This was primarily due to a history of reduced asset accumulation, high accommodation costs, and for the majority of single older Māori (of whom most were women) - the death of their spouse.

Factors found to predict variation in the living standards of older Māori were:

- net annual income
- savings and investments
- accommodation costs
- economic life events and stresses
- the number of children raised or supported.

The research shows that older Māori most at risk of poor living standards were characterised by a mix of relying solely on New Zealand Superannuation (NZS) for income, having no savings or assets, paying rent or mortgage, experiencing any financial stresses in the last year, experiencing any economic adversities when aged 50-59 years, and having raised eight or more children. Around one in 12 (8%) had experienced five or more of these factors. The results showed a trend for a more secure Māori identity to be associated with reduced material well-being. However, when adjustments were made for the association between cultural identity and the above risk factors, this association between cultural identity and material well-being was explained.

■ Policy themes

The following key policy themes are suggested by the findings:

Sustaining the present scheme

In a previous analysis of all older New Zealanders, it was concluded that the current income support schemes were adequate to meet the economic needs of the majority of older people and for this reason it was important that existing levels of support via NZS and supplements to NZS were sustained (Fergusson et al, 2001a). Given the greater disadvantages experienced by Māori, not maintaining the existing level of income support for older people will exacerbate the already disadvantaged status of older Māori.

The need for additional targeted policies dealing with those in hardship

Targeted policies are needed to provide additional support and assistance to individuals facing financial hardship and difficulty. Key policy criteria for targeting assistance are likely to involve factors related to income, savings and assets, and accommodation costs. Using common criteria to identify hardship does not preclude Māori-specific policy responses to address needs of the Māori sub-group population. Government and community policies to address hardship amongst older Māori can be tailored to meet the specific needs of Māori (e.g. kaumātua housing).

Strengthening the economic base of Māori

Comprehensive and holistic policies are needed to resolve health, educational and economic disparities between Māori and non-Māori in New Zealand. Whilst targeted assistance to older Māori facing severe hardship may be justified, this approach provides only a band-aid solution to the wider issue of ensuring the material well-being of older Māori. It is quite clear from the factors associated with material well-being amongst Māori (and indeed non-Māori) that the older Māori population will remain at risk of relatively depressed living standards for as long as inequities exist between Māori and non-Māori in the areas of economic well-being and health.

Developing pre-retirement policies for older Māori

There is a general need for pre-retirement policies, and this is especially important for Māori. Key factors that appear to play an important role include: having sources of income additional to NZS; the development of savings and assets; reducing accommodation costs through home ownership; and avoiding redundancy and unemployment in one's fifties. As the economic base for Māori grows, it will become increasingly important for Māori to ensure that this is used to contribute to securing adequate incomes for Māori in retirement.

Te Whakarāpopoto

Koia nei te pūrongo tuarua o ngā rangahautanga e whakahaerehia ana e Te Manatū Whakahiato Ora e pā ana ki ngā āhuatanga noho o te iwi whānui o Aotearoa. Ko te whāinga tuatahi, he āta tiroiro i te hāngai me te whakamahinga o te Tauine Oranga Whai Rawa hei whakaatu i ngā āhuatanga noho o te hunga pakeke Māori. Tuarua, he whakaputa kōrero whānui mō ō rātou āhuatanga noho, me ngā take kei te pā ki tō rātou oranga whai rawa. Tuatoru, he tūhono i ēnei whakakitenga ki ērā o te rangahautanga tuatahi mō te hunga pakeke whānui o Aotearoa.

■ Ko te hunga i whai wāhi mai

He tangata Māori i waenganui i te 65 me te 69 tau te pakeke te hunga i whai wāhi mai ki tēnei rangahautanga.

E pātata ana ki te haurua o te 542 tāngata Māori i whai wāhi mai, he takakau (e noho kotahi ana, i te taha rānei o t/ētahi atu). Neke atu i te haurua (53%) e noho takirua ana (i tō rāua kotahi, i te taha rānei o t/ētahi atu). Neke atu i te rua hautoru o te hunga takakau, he wāhine (69%). Ko tōna toru hauwhā o te hunga i whai wāhi mai (77%) e noho tāone ana, e pātata ana ki te hauwhā kotahi i tuawhenua e noho ana. Ko te nuinga e noho ana ki Te Ika a Māui (89%). Neke atu i te haurua (57%), kāre kau ā rātou tohu mātauranga ā-kura nei.

He matatini te hunga i whai wāhi mai, he rerekē anō te āhua o tō rātou kuhu, whakapiri hoki ki te ao Māori.

Ahakoia i raro iho i te 50 ōrau, he tokomaha tonu e pāngia ana ki tētahi māuiui āhua taumaha nei (pērā i te maniore, te mate manawa, te mate huka, me te kaiponapona). He kaha kē atu te pāngia o te hunga pakeke Māori e noho takakau ana i te hunga noho takirua.

Ina whakatairitea ngā āhuatanga noho o te hunga pakeke Māori ki ō Tauīwi, he iti ake te whiwhinga moni, he iti ake anō te moni penapena me ngā rawa, he tokoiti ake te hunga nō rātou ake ō rātou kāinga. E tino pēnei ana te hunga pakeke Māori e noho takakau ana.

■ Te ine i ngā āhuatanga noho

Ka whakamahia te Tauine Oranga Whai Rawa hei ine i ngā āhuatanga noho o te hunga pakeke Māori. He mea waihanga tēnei tauine mō te rangahautanga i ngā āhuatanga noho o te hunga pakeke whānui o Aotearoa (Fergusson mā, 2001a), ā, he kōtuitui i ngā kōrero mō ngā kaupapa e rima nei:

- Ngā whakatiki whai rawa
- Ngā whakatiki e aukati ana i te whai wāhi atu ki te hapori
- Ngā whakatiki ōhanga
- Ngā tino whakararu ōhanga
- Ngā aromatawai ā-kiri (mō ngā āhuatanga noho me te rawaka o te whiwhinga moni)

I mua i te whakamahinga o tēnei tauine, ka āta whakamātauria, ā, ko te whakatau i puta, āe, e tōtika ana mō te hunga pakeke Māori.

■ Ngā Whakakitenga Matua

He tokomaha ngā pakeke Māori e tino pāngia ana ki te pōharatanga. Kotahi o roto i te tokowhitu (15%) e pāngia ana ki ngā whakararu ōhanga. Tāpiri atu ki tēnā, kotahi o roto i te rima (20%) e tino pāngia ana. Ina whakatairitea ki te hunga pakeke whānui o Aotearoa, 10% te tokomaha e pāngia ana ki ngā whakararu ōhanga, ā, e 6% anake e tino pāngia ana.

He kaha kē atu te pāngia o te hunga pakeke Māori e noho takakau ana i te hunga e noho takirua ana. I pēnei ai, nā te mea kāore te hunga takakau i āta penapena i ā rātou rawa i roto i te takanga o te wā, he nui te utu mō ō rātou whare noho, ā, mō te tokomaha o te hunga pakeke Māori (ko te nuinga he wāhine), kua mate kē ō rātou hoa rangatira.

Koia nei ngā take e taurangi ai ngā āhuatanga noho o te hunga pakeke Māori:

- Te whiwhinga moni ā-tau
- Ngā moni penapena me ngā haumi
- Te utu mō te whare noho
- Ngā āhuatanga ōhanga i pā i roto i te roanga o ngā tau e ora ana me ngā taumahatanga
- Te tokomaha o ngā tamariki i whakapakeketia, i whāngaitia rānei

Koia nei ētahi āhuatanga o te hunga pakeke Māori e tino pōhara ana te noho: e whakawhirinaki ana ki te penihana koirā anake te whiwhinga moni; kāre kau ā rātou penapena moni, rawa rānei; e utu ana i te rīhi whare, te mōkete rānei; kua pāngia ki ngā taumahatanga ōhanga i te tau kua hori, i ā rātou i waenga i te 50 ki te 59 tau te pakeke rānei; tokowaru, neke atu rānei ngā tamariki i whakapakekehia. E pātata ana ki te kotahi o roto i te 12 (8%) i pāngia ki te rima neke atu rānei o ēnei āhuatanga. E āhua hono ana te pōharatanga ki te hunga e piri ana ki tō rātou tuakiri Māori. I tua atu i te hunga e pakari ana i tō rātou ao Māori, kāore e tino rerekē ana ngā take e pōhara ai te hunga pakeke Māori me te hunga pakeke whānui o Aotearoa.

■ He Kaupapa Here

Koia nei ngā kaupapa here matua e puta ana i ngā whakakitenga:

Kia mau tonu ngā kaupapa penihana o nāiane

Ko tētahi o ngā whakatau i puta i te rangahautanga i te hunga pakeke whānui o Aotearoa, e mea ana, kei te rawaka ngā kaupapa penihana o nāiane hei whakatutuki i ngā hiahia o te nuinga o te hunga

pakeke. Nō reira, he mea nui kia mau tonu, kia rite tonu te penihana me ōna āpitihanga (Fergusson mā, 2001a). Ki te kore e pērā, ka kaha kē atu te pāngia o te hunga pakeke Māori ki te pōharatanga.

Kia waihangatia he kaupapa here e hāngai ana ki te hunga e tino pāngia ana ki te pōharatanga

E tika ana kia waihangatia he kaupapa here hei whakatutuki i ngā hiahia o te hunga e tino pāngia ana ki te pōharatanga me ngā uauatanga ōhanga. Ko ngā paearu matua e whiwhi ai te tangata i ngā painga o ēnei momo kaupapa, e hono ana ki tōna whiwhinga moni, āna penapena moni, rawa hoki, me te utu mō tōna whare noho. Ahakoa te hāngai o ēnei paearu ki te hunga pakeke whānui, kāore e aukatia ana ngā kaupapa here e hāngai pū ana ki te hunga pakeke Māori. Arā pea ko ngā kaupapa e takea mai ana i tā te Māori titiro (hei tauira - whare kaumātua).

Kia pakari ake te tūāpapa ōhanga o te iwi Māori

E tika ana kia whānui anō ngā momo kaupapa hei whakapiki i ngā āhuatanga whakatiki o te hauora, o te mātauranga, me te ōhanga kei te pā ki te iwi Māori, kia kore ai e rerekē ki a tauwiwi. Ahakoa te tika o ngā kaupapa āwhina i te hunga pakeke Māori e tino pangia ana ki te pōharatanga, he pāpaku ēnei momo kaupapa, kāore e tino aro ana ki te oranga whai rawa tauroa. Ki te kore e pakari te ōhanga whānui o te iwi Māori, kia rite ki tō tauwiwi, ka mau tonu ngā whakatiki me te pōhara o te noho ki tētahi wāhanga nui o te hunga pakeke Māori.

Kia whakahiatoria he kaupapa here mō te wā ka tata mutu te whai mahi a te hunga pakeke Māori

He whānui anō te hiahia kia whakatūria he kaupapa here tiro whakamua mō te wā ka tata mutu te whai mahi a te hunga pakeke, ā, e tino hāngai ana tēnei whakaaro ki te pakeke Māori. Koia nei ngā take matua: kia whiwhi pūtea hei āpiti anō i te penihana; ko te penapena moni, rawa hoki; kia whakaitia te utu mō te whare noho, arā, kia noho te Māori ki tōna ake whare; ko te ārai i te aukatinga mahi i roto i ngā rima tekautanga o te tangata. Arā anō ētahi take pēnei. Ina pakari haere te tūāpapa ōhanga o te iwi Māori, e tika ana kia āta whakaritea tētahi wāhanga hei rourou āwhina i te hunga pakeke Māori, kia eke ai tā rātou whiwhinga moni ki te taumata e tika ana.

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Background

Te Takenga Mai

This study forms part of a series of studies on the living standards of New Zealanders based on analysis of data from three surveys undertaken in 2000¹. These living standards surveys were: a survey of 3060 people aged 65 years and over; a survey of 542 Māori aged 65 to 69 years; and a survey of 3682 people aged 18 to 64 years. A requirement of the living standards research was that the information could be used to make reasonably accurate statements about the situation of Māori (as tangata whenua of New Zealand) as well as non-Māori.

The first study was completed last year (Fergusson et al, 2001a) and involved successfully developing a scale of Material Well-being, using this scale to describe the living standards of older people, these being defined as people aged 65 years and over, and examining the potential determinants of variation in living standards for older people generally. Although there was some preliminary analysis of the situation of older Māori which indicated that older Māori were a relatively disadvantaged group compared with older non-Māori, a full analysis was not conducted at that time.

The present report extends the living standards programme of research by presenting findings on the situation of older Māori through detailed analysis of the information from the living standards survey of 542 Māori aged 65 to 69 years. This chapter presents three key areas of background information to this research: the characteristics of the NZS programme, the previous study on the living standards of older New Zealanders, and the aims of the current study.

■ Characteristics of the New Zealand Superannuation Programme

NZS is the basis of New Zealand's retirement income system. This tax-funded programme provides universal, flat-rate payments to New Zealand residents aged 65 and over (see Box 1). The entitlement for these payments is not affected by income from other sources. In this respect, NZS differs from income-tested social assistance (such as unemployment benefit). In addition, a range of supplementary assistance and support services are available for people on low incomes, including older people. This retirement income system is quite different from those of many other countries where an earnings-related pension is combined with a social assistance pension to address hardship.

Box 1: Features of the New Zealand Superannuation Programme

Universal

New Zealand Superannuation (NZS) is payable to every individual over the age of 65 who meets the residency requirements. There is no income, asset or retirement test.

Flat-rate

The payment is a standard dollar amount, unrelated to previous earnings levels. The amount is dependent only on partnership status and living arrangements.

Tax-funded

Funding comes entirely from general government revenues. No direct contributions or pay-roll taxes are levied on employers or employees.

Pay-as-you-go

Funds are annually appropriated by Parliament to pay current superannuitants. Some provision has been made for future liabilities through partially pre-funding NZS by setting aside and investing a proportion of tax revenues to meet the cost of future NZS entitlements.

1 This research was initiated by the Super 2000 Taskforce and transferred to the Ministry of Social Policy in March 2000. The Ministry of Social Policy subsequently merged with the Department of Work and Income to become the Ministry of Social Development in October 2001.

Retired people's incomes are a combination of NZS and income resulting from their own private arrangements to provide for their retirement. However, among the current population of older people (most, but not all, of whom are retirees), levels of private savings are generally low (excluding home ownership) and most older people rely heavily on NZS as their major source of income. This is particularly the case for older Māori.

■ Research on the living standards of older New Zealanders

The study on the living standards of older New Zealanders (Fergusson et al, 2001a) focused on two general questions about the living standards of older people:

- How can the relative living standards of older people be measured and described?
- What factors contribute to or influence the living standards of older people?

The measurement approach adopted for the study used a concept of living standards based on the material conditions and consumption of people living in private households. The material conditions and consumption referred to the goods that people have and consume, and their participation in common social activities.

Information was gathered about many items which related to both low and high living standards including: possessions people want but cannot afford; social activities they want to do but cannot afford; serious financial problems (such as inability to pay power bills); self-assessed adequacy of income for buying necessities; and self-assessed level of living standards. These items were then successfully combined into a robust Material Well-being Scale of the living standards of older people.

Statistical analysis techniques were then used to identify the economic, personal, social and related factors associated with variation in living standards for older people as measured by the scale.

These were the key findings of the research on the living standards of older New Zealanders:

- The system of income support (NZS and associated payments) for older people has been successful in protecting the great majority of older people from hardship. However, a small minority of around 6% reported quite marked hardship and a further 5 to 10% reported some hardships.
- Older people tended to report fewer material restrictions than younger people (aged 18 to 64 years) for both Māori and non-Māori populations.
- Three sets of factors operated cumulatively to influence the overall material well-being of older people in the survey. These factors were:
 - current economic circumstances: net annual income, value of savings and investments, and accommodation costs
 - exposure to past and current economic stresses
 - social background: household composition, age, ethnicity, socio-economic status.
- Older Māori respondents had material well-being scores that were markedly lower than those of older European-Pakeha/other respondents.
- Older Pacific respondents had mean scores that were lower than both older Māori and older European-Pakeha/other respondents.

The primary focus of the study was on information from the survey of 3060 older people generally and included only a preliminary investigation of the data from the survey of 542 older Māori . Even so, the results reiterated the findings of other studies regarding disparities (Te Puni Kōkiri , 2000) and set the context for further research on fully measuring the material well-being of older Māori , and gaining greater understanding of the factors (including cultural) that might influence variation in material well-being for older Māori .

■ Research on the living standards of older Māori

To undertake further research on living standards focusing on older Māori a collaborative research team was established.

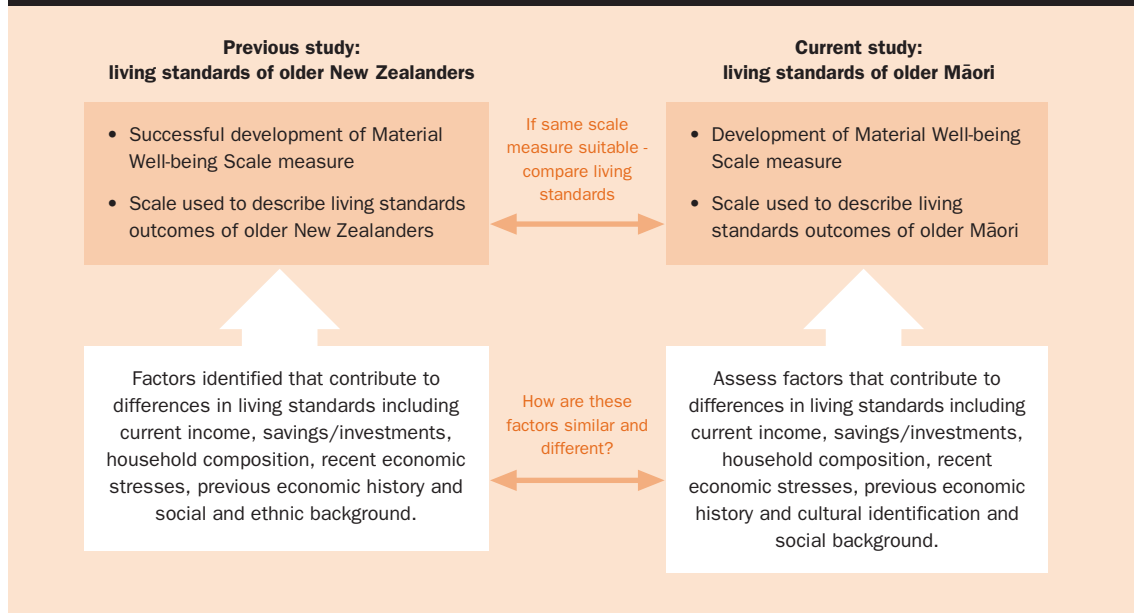
- The primary role of contextual interpretation and writing of the research report aimed at improving understanding of the living standards of older Māori was commissioned to a research team at the Department of Māori Studies, Massey University. The research team included Professor Mason Durie, Dr Chris Cunningham, Eljon Fitzgerald, and Brendan Stevenson, whose input also drew heavily on the experience and findings of Te Hoe Nuku Roa.²
- Professor David Fergusson and John Horwood of the Christchurch School of Medicine were engaged to provide advice and assistance with the analysis and the reporting of the technical aspects of the research.
- Additional support and input to the project was provided by officials from the Ministry of Social Development, including Mike Rochford, John Jensen and Bev Hong.

The research derives from a model in which the research methodology employed has been adapted from existing research using a mainstream social survey methodology, with this process of adaptation being overseen and approved by a Māori research group. The key elements of the research approach are similar to those adopted for the previous study on the living standards of older New Zealanders (Fergusson et al, 2001a). The relationship between the previous and current living standards studies is depicted in Box 2. The first aspect of the current study focuses on developing a scale, describing living standards outcomes for older Māori, and if a common scale is appropriate, comparing the living standards of older Māori and older New Zealanders generally. The second aspect of the study is to examine the factors that contribute to variation in living standards for older Māori and consider how these factors may differ for older Māori and older New Zealanders generally.

Overall, the key aims of the study were to:

- examine the material well-being scale approach in relation to older Māori and if applicable, describe the living standards of Māori aged 65-69 years using this scale

2 Best Outcomes For Māori: Te Hoe Nuku Roa, School of Māori Studies, Massey University.

Box 2: Key living standards study components

- investigate the factors associated with variation in living standards for older Māori
- compare findings regarding older Māori with those from the previous study on older people (predominantly non-Māori) generally.

This study is one of the initial stages in an on-going programme of research on material living standards by the Ministry. Other projects to be completed in 2002 include:

- a descriptive study of the living standards of New Zealanders of all ages, including a separate analysis of the Māori population
- an examination of Māori perspectives on the measurement of living standards which is being undertaken by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team funded by a grant provided by the Ministry of Social Development.

The completion of these projects in 2002 will form the basis for further development work and consultation to be undertaken on the measurement of material living standards of Māori, in preparation for a further survey of living standards in 2003. The 2003 survey is planned to include a sample of at least 500 Māori participants.

