

Māori social capital and wellbeing

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- *Access to the data used in this study was provided by Statistics New Zealand under conditions designed to keep individual information secure in accordance with requirements of the Statistics Act 1975.*
- *The opinions presented are those of the author and do not necessarily represent an official view of Statistics New Zealand*

So... What are we talking about?

Social capital common concept applied to represent the benefits gained from knowing and networking with other people:

Social capital is the qualities and quantities of linkages between individuals, along which information flows

- Social capital is argued to have both a productive (economic wellbeing) and consumptive (utility increasing) role in contributing to wellbeing.
- Qualitative aspects of a network or connection matter (e.g. Bridging, bonding, linking)
- Framed largely in a western, eurocentric perspective of social connectedness and infrastructure – both in measurement, expression and outcomes
- Unclear from existing research whether this is appropriate for Māori- what does social capital look like and how is it applied from a te ao Māori perspective?

Basically we're talking about understanding and activating Māori social capital

Over-arching research programme

Founded in observations around observing a paradox within social capital studies:

Māori (and Pacific Island peoples) consistently outperform in western measures of social capital, but this has little effect on stubborn negative outcomes

Is this because we are measuring the wrong things- either as proxies or as outcomes?

Is social capital playing a role in mitigating/perpetuating discrimination and structural racism?

What role is Māori social capital playing beyond te ao Māori?

- Funded by 5-year Rutherford discovery fellowship
- Seeks to bring Māori perspectives into the social capital discourse, understand matauranga Māori in this area and develop more meaningful models
- Explores themes of bonding (within te ao Māori) and bridging (between Māori and non-Māori) social capital along with understanding Māori social infrastructure
- Application of findings better outcomes for Māori- benefiting both Māori and NZ economies

Background: Western perspectives

There is strong interest in the determinants of individual social capital, a concept linked to economic and social outcomes and wellbeing

Traditional measures of social capital, civic and social participation are designed with European social capital in mind (e.g., Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam) – activities and behaviours measured are euro-normative

Previous work on social capital New Zealand used data well suited to general analysis:

- NZGSS, World Values Survey, Quality of Life survey, NZ electoral survey

Ethnicity mattered, but no consideration of what those ethnicity variables meant nor assessment of if the measures were telling a story relative to non-Europeans

Creates problems for policy makers and planners, following traditional social-capital enhancing interventions appear unlikely to yield equal benefits across ethnicities

Background: Indigenous perspectives

Diverse range of international researchers have explored indigenous social capital, primarily from an entrepreneurship or sociological perspective

Within the Pacific, scattered studies from an indigenous Australian (e.g. Hunter, Foley, Onyx), Canadian (e.g. Côté, Migone), American (e.g. Trask, Malpica). Fiji (e.g. Vunibola)

- Often strongly focused on western framework of formation, measurement and outcome

Emerging themes

- Networks within indigenous communities are formed and maintained differently - Role of broader family, tradition, expressions of cultural membership, shared struggle
- Indigenous conceptualisations of social capital are different - ‘cultural’ over ‘civic’ participation; reciprocity; respect; spirituality; customary practice
- Indigenous social capital contributes to alternative economies and economic resilience – not just traditional economic wellbeing measures (Utility from cultural wellbeing?)

Background: Māori perspectives

Social capital rarely directly explored from Māori perspective

-Robinson & Williams 2001, 2004 (policy); Tompkins, 2015 (social work)

Indirectly features prominently in research, rich matauranga Māori, just not labelled or considered from economic/ statistical perspective. Examples include:

- Durie's Whare Tapa Wha and Te Pae Mahutonga (1999) models include 'social' elements
- Manuka Henare's (2011,2014,2016) Mana Economy model
 - Social capital relationship to mana, tradition, custom and context
- Contemporary writers in Māori studies, sociology, entrepreneurship studies and environmental studies often touch on Māori custom, values or behaviours which have many similarities to western conceptualisation of social capital

Gap in 'economic' perspective and formalisation of discourse around social capital, difficult for policy makers and Māori to understand investment and activation initiatives

ONE SIZE FITS ALL?

- Literature points to a gap in economic understanding of indigenous social capital, and in particular statistical application of indigenous social capital concepts
- There are 'hints' in national datasets that Māori values, attitudes and behaviours signal high 'social capital' in a western sense, but not telling full story
 - Focus on community, participation and volunteering – related to Māori values?
 - Reduced trust, formal networks, societal inclusion – discrimination? Racism?
- However, these datasets are limited in the predictive power (small Māori sample) and in the questions asked (general or western-cultural values)
- How do we build a framework that represents 'Māori social capital', capturing both the participation in te ao Māori and te ao pakeha?
- Scoping this theory using Te Kupenga (2013, 2018) survey

Examples of different measures

Common ‘western’ measures:

Civic participation

- Voting in general/local elections
- Trust in institutions

Social participation

- Participating in social activities E.g. Church, Sports, Hobby clubs
- Volunteering
- Contact with family and/or friends

Attitudinal variables

- Trust in others
- feelings of isolation, belonging or safety

Possible Māori measures (Dalton):

Wananga

- Participating in hui, cultural activities
- Exchanging knowledge/ matauranga Māori
- Activities/volunteering on marae

Whakapapa

- Connection to whanau
- Connection to ancestral lands, beliefs and behaviours

Whakawhānaungatanga

- Active building of connections- participation
- Expression of Māori values and cultural identity

Summary of results using western measures

Survey	Social capital measure	Māori	Pacific	Asia
QoL	Trust in others	insig	-ve	-ve
	Participation in activities	+ve	+ve	-ve
	Sense of Community	+ve	+ve	+ve
	Council performance	insig	+ve	+ve
NZGSS	Interpersonal Contact	insig	-ve	-ve
	Safety after dark	+ve	insig	-ve
	Social Inclusion	-ve	insig	-ve
	Participation in activities	insig	+ve	-ve
	Volunteering	+ve	+ve	insig
ALL	Participation in activities	+ve	+ve	-ve
	Volunteering	+ve	+ve	-ve
WVS	Trust in others	-ve	-ve	insig
	Participation in activities	+ve	+ve	insig

- Māori ethnicity variable is consistently positive and significantly associated with social capital across datasets and measures
- Some hints that discrimination is at play (trust in others, social inclusion)
- Nothing in these regressions do more than treat ethnicity as a 'control'- limiting policy and intervention options

Early findings with ‘Māori’ measures

- Very much preliminary work- theoretical and analysis frame still under development!
- Quantitative methods using unit record survey data – Te Kupenga CURF 2013

Three groupings of determinants of social capital formed the base for the framework:

Personal characteristics applicable to individuals (P_i)

- Demography, Socio-economic indicators

Human capital of the individual (H_i)

Geographic and location specific variables (G_r)

$$KS_{ir} = (P_i, H_i, G_r)$$

Predict social capital formation using logit (binary) regression, then predict wellbeing using ordinal logit (scales) regression in Stata

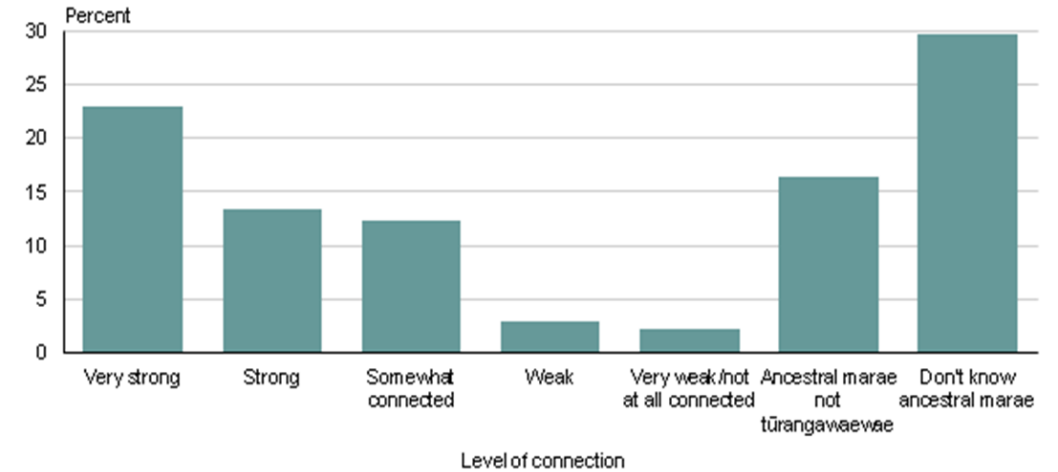
Te kupenga (2013, 2018)

- Statistics New Zealand sample surveys are designed to look at New Zealand at an aggregate level- Māori sample often too small to draw robust conclusions, or look within the population
- Te Kupenga is the first survey of Māori wellbeing undertaken by Statistics New Zealand, with a large enough sample to support detailed statistical analysis
- Te Kupenga aims to give an overall picture of the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of Māori in New Zealand
- The survey also aims to provide information about the health of Māori language and culture
- Continued funding and expansion requires researcher interest

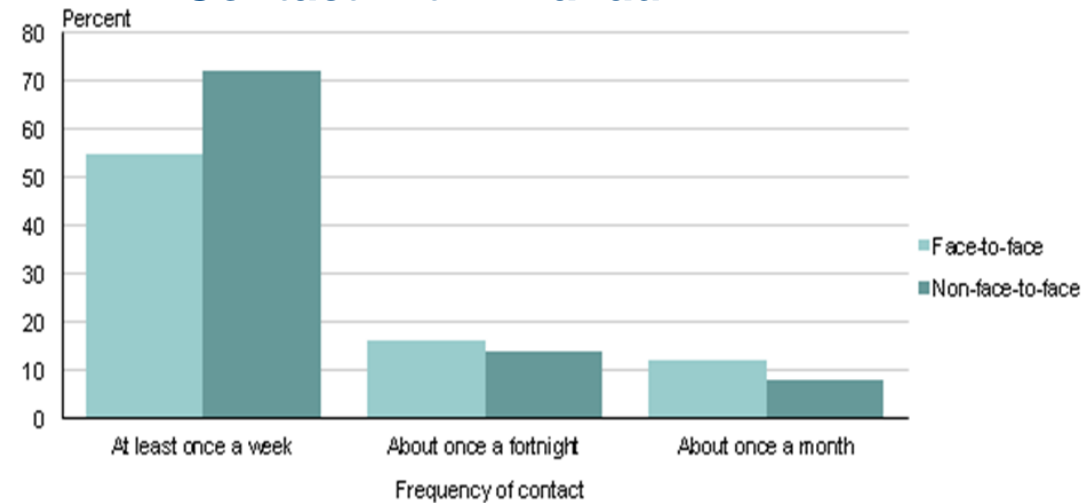
Variables unique to Te Kupenga

Variable	Perc
Watched Māori TV	75%
Explored Whakapapa	60%
Took part in Māori performing arts	56%
Wore Māori jewellery	49%
Taught Māori culture with others	46%
Contacted Māori by social networking sites	44%
Went to hui	39%
Went to Māori festival	37%
Wore Māori-branded clothing	25%
Listened to a Māori radio station	34%
Read a Māori magazine	25%
Took part in Māori healing or massage	11%

Visiting tūrangawaewae



Contact with whanau



Dependent variables

Four variables only available through Te Kupenga were selected:

- Have you voted in an iwi election in the last three years? (for those registered and eligible)
- Over the last 12 months, have you ever been to a hui?
- Over the last 12 months, have you ever sung a Māori song, performed a haka, given a mihi or speech, or taken part in Māori performing arts or crafts?
- Overall, would you say that you have too much contact, about the right amount of contact, or not enough contact with your Whānau?

Wellbeing proxied by Overall life satisfaction (0-10)

Descriptives- dependant variables

Dependant variable		Perc.
Voting in Iwi elections	Eligible	34%
	Voted	54% of eligible/ 18% of total
Attending Hui in last 12 mths		40%
Participating in cultural event last 12 mths		57%
Satisfied with contact with Whānau		66%

Descriptives- indep. Variables

Variable	Perc.	Variable	Perc.
Male	44%	Employed full time	48%
Age 15_19	14%	Employed part time	15%
Age 20_24	11%	Unemployed/ Not in LF	37%
Age 25_34	18%	Education- No qual/other	29%
Age 35_44	18%	Education- school/Cert	39%
Age 45_54	16%	Education- diploma	15%
Age 55_64	13%	Education- degree	10%
Age 65 and over	10%	Good health	82%
Partner	50%	Material wealth index	12.6%
Children	46%	NZDep 2013	7%

Results: social capital formation

Variables	Iwi voting	Attend Hui	Part. Culture	Satisfied contact
Tane (male)	-0.254**	-0.023	-0.225***	-0.165***
	(0.102)	(0.062)	(0.060)	(0.062)
Age 20_24	0.187	-0.146	-0.358***	0.165
	(0.459)	(0.134)	(0.129)	(0.132)
Age 25_34	0.526	-0.017	-0.345***	0.159
	(0.440)	(0.123)	(0.121)	(0.123)
Age 35_44	0.738*	0.226*	-0.403***	-0.015
	(0.436)	(0.125)	(0.123)	(0.125)
Age 45_54	0.910**	0.357***	-0.543***	0.034
	(0.436)	(0.128)	(0.125)	(0.128)
Age 55_64	1.218***	0.661***	-0.409***	0.200
	(0.441)	(0.136)	(0.133)	(0.137)
Age 65 and over	1.279***	0.578***	-0.501***	0.378**
	(0.448)	(0.143)	(0.139)	(0.147)
Partner	-0.075	-0.129*	-0.107	-0.020
	(0.110)	(0.067)	(0.066)	(0.068)
Children	0.158	0.385***	0.352***	0.190***
	(0.119)	(0.070)	(0.069)	(0.070)

Results- formation (cont.)

Variables	Iwi voting	Attend Hui	Part. Culture	Satisfied contact
Employed full time	0.227*	0.160**	0.101	-0.268***
	(0.129)	(0.076)	(0.075)	(0.078)
Employed part time	-0.085	0.063	0.117	-0.158*
	(0.158)	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.095)
Education- school/cert	-0.045	0.043	0.276***	0.112
	(0.126)	(0.074)	(0.072)	(0.075)
Education- diploma	0.173	0.243***	0.495***	0.175*
	(0.144)	(0.092)	(0.090)	(0.093)
Education- degree	0.346**	0.799***	0.987***	0.170
	(0.165)	(0.111)	(0.115)	(0.113)
Good health	0.047	-0.100	0.077	0.156*
	(0.128)	(0.080)	(0.079)	(0.081)
Material wealth index	-0.003	-0.039***	-0.018***	0.035***
	(0.011)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)
NZDep 2013	0.058***	0.106***	0.074***	0.018
	(0.020)	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)

Social capital and wellbeing

VARIABLES	Wellbeing (Common Ks var)	Wellbeing (Common + Te Kupenga ks Var)
Trust in others	0.235***	0.233***
	(0.053)	(0.053)
Participation	0.157***	0.143**
	(0.054)	(0.058)
Volunteering	0.113**	0.097*
	(0.053)	(0.055)
Attend Hui past 12 months		-0.001
		(0.061)
Participate in cultural activities		0.063
		(0.058)
Satisfaction with contact with Whānau		0.099*
		(0.053)

Findings:

1. Are common, western proxy measures of social capital suitable for Māori?

Common western proxy measures appear to capture some of the social capital, but do not tell the full story

2. If they are not, what are more appropriate measures which could be adopted?

Common measures seem to tell a lot of the story, but there is some early evidence that other variables (Particularly connection to Whānau) matter for wellbeing

Much more work to be done in this area!

3. Do we gain a better understanding of wellbeing, and social capital formation, if we use more appropriate measures?

Yes, though less than expected, need to revisit with kaupapa Māori theoretical foundation & framework

THANK YOU FOR LISTENING!

Questions/comments:

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Web links:

www.massey.ac.nz/te-au-rangahau/

www.royalsociety.org.nz/rutherford-discovery-fellowships/

www.stats.govt.nz/tekupenga/

www.stats.govt.nz/nzgss/