Accounting for Diversity: Policy Design and Māori Development in Aotearoa New Zealand

Prepared by

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The Ian Axford Fellowships in Public Policy

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The Ian Axford Fellowships were named in honour of Sir Ian Axford, a New Zealand astrophysicist and space scientist.

Since his education in New Zealand, England and later at Cornell University and the University of California, Sir Ian has been closely involved in the planning of several space missions, notably the Voyager probes to the outer planets. Since 1974, Sir Ian has been director of the Max Planck Institute of Aeronomy in Germany. He is the recipient of many notable science awards and was named "New Zealander of the Year" for 1995.

In the world of space science, Sir Ian has emerged as one of the great thinkers and communicators, and a highly respected and influential administrator. Currently, he is working to create the first mission to interstellar space with the Voyager spacecraft.

The Ian Axford Fellowships in Public Policy have three goals:

- To reinforce United States/New Zealand links by enabling fellows of high intellectual ability and leadership potential to gain experience and build contacts in each other's countries.

- To increase fellows' ability to bring about changes and improvements in their fields of expertise by the cross-fertilisation of ideas and experience.

- To build a network of policy experts on both sides of the Pacific that will facilitate international policy exchange and collaboration beyond the fellowship experience.

Fellows are based at a host institution and carefully partnered with a leading specialist who will act as a mentor. In addition, fellows spend a substantial part of their time in contact with relevant organisations outside their host institutions, to gain practical experience in their fields.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Building on Successes

Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand. They make up a relatively small population – of approximately 620,000 – within a relatively small country. But their contributions in New Zealand, and internationally, are substantial. During my short six-month stay in New Zealand, Māori competed at the Academy Awards, won the US Open golf tournament, rose to the top of the Australian banking sector, and beat the touring British and Irish Lions at rugby.

Beyond the achievements of these extraordinarily talented individuals and teams, Māori as a whole have made impressive gains across the economic, cultural and social spectrum of New Zealand in recent decades. Māori unemployment is, at 8 percent, at a record low; more Māori go to school than ever before; and there has been a cultural renaissance.

But not all Māori are benefiting from these upward trends. Some remain unemployed or in low-wage, unskilled jobs that leave them vulnerable to economic shocks. One third of Māori finish their education without any kind of formal qualifications. Māori remain disproportionately poor, with child poverty a particular concern. Persistent gaps in health status remain. The overall picture shows both increasing diversity and increasing socioeconomic inequality within the Māori population.

The Minister of Māori Affairs, Hon Parekura Horomia, has argued that Māori have a window of opportunity over the next five years to build on the achievements of past decades. Further investments in human capital are needed to raise education and skill levels so that Māori can continue to seize opportunities in New Zealand's growing, globalised, and knowledge-based economy. Since Māori are fully integrated within the New Zealand economy, their success depends on overall economic conditions. Māori must be well-positioned to move into sustainable jobs provided by existing labour and skills gaps.

Realizing Māori Potential

Recent approaches to Māori development provide a valuable record of experience and experimentation for policy-makers in New Zealand and other countries. Several key themes have characterized policy developments over the past two decades, including: a desire by Māori to take charge of their own development; an on-going interest in self-determination, autonomy, and involvement in the policies and programmes that affect them; a recognition that policy approaches need to consider the history, culture and position of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand; and a need to tackle socioeconomic disparities between Māori and non-Māori.

At the level of policy design and service delivery, New Zealand has sought to calibrate the extent to which policies should be universal, mainstreamed, and applicable to the entire society, and the extent to which they should be targeted to specific populations. These central questions are directly relevant for other countries – developed and developing nations alike – that aim to improve the welfare of their own indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, and vulnerable groups.

Increasingly, the results suggest that both are needed: inclusive policies that reach all New Zealanders, and policies that recognize the cultural distinctness and particular needs of Māori. Te Puni Kōkiri's (the Ministry of Māori Development) new Māori Potential Framework is distinctive for its emphasis on lifting Māori success, rather than ameliorating failure, while at the same time recognizing the culture and aspirations of Māori as individuals and collectives.

Targeting and Tailoring Services to Māori

Policies can be both *targeted*, where ethnicity defines an individual's eligibility to participate in a programme or receive a benefit, and *tailored,* if they are designed to take into consideration the needs and preferences of specific groups. Ethnic targeting may prove effective in some cases, especially if ethnicity – on its own, or in combination with other factors – provides useful information on how to get resources to those who need them.

But decisions about targeting also need to weigh the potential costs and benefits – fiscal, social, and political. Considerations include the particular objectives of the programme itself, and the availability, quality, and costs of collecting ethnic data. Finally, increasing internal diversity of Māori means that targeting to Māori as a group may not be sufficient for meeting policy objectives, and more nuanced approaches which respond to this increasing diversity may be required.

While few policies in New Zealand are targeted to Māori, significant effort has gone into tailoring policies to Māori, to make them more accessible, effective, and responsive. This has been done through devolution and decentralization of service delivery to communities; the participation of Māori themselves in service delivery and governance; strengthened outreach and communication; and incorporation of Māori culture into service delivery. Lessons from this sort of tailoring can influence further policy development, both in New Zealand and abroad.

The distinction between targeted Māori-focused programmes and mainstream approaches is no longer clear-cut. Separate tailored services are now available, and mainstream services incorporate aspects of tailoring. Getting these endeavours right is crucial as the majority of Māori participate in mainstream services.

Alternative Māori services have influenced mainstream service delivery. The emergence of separate Māori services, such as Māori immersion schools and Māori health providers, has been an important development. These alternative services provide relatively limited coverage (e.g. 80-90 percent of Māori participate in mainstream education and health services), but their impact has been far-reaching. They have given Māori opportunities to develop approaches based on their own priorities and culture, provided examples for mainstream services about incorporating diversity, highlighted the shortcomings of mainstream services, and built the capacity and capability of Māori organisations and service professionals.

Non-Māori benefit from tailoring. Diversification of services has also increased choice for many, both Māori and non-Māori. Non-Māori have also benefited from policy innovations developed by and for Māori, both through accessing these services, and from the ways in which these services have influenced mainstream policy design.

More lessons from these approaches can be identified and scaled-up into mainstream services.

Quality is important. Tailoring can improve access. It also has the potential to raise effectiveness and quality. Despite gains, there is still considerable progress to be made in improving outcomes of Māori, and understanding what works in policy design. A greater focus on evaluation of the medium and longer-term outcomes of tailored services would improve policy.

Equity issues require attention. While an improved labour market and greater economic opportunities have increased Māori welfare, not all Māori are benefiting. Services need to be designed to be inclusive and reach Māori who may be poor and excluded. Similarly, while service delivery by iwi and Māori organisations has increased choice and opportunities for some Māori, these services are not evenly distributed, leaving some without access.

Capacity building is needed to make institutions work. Increased opportunities for Māori to participate on boards including those of schools, district health boards, trusts, and other entities have been important. Capacity building is essential for these governance and partnership arrangements to work, and to increase accountability and transparency. Building such capacities takes time.

Political economy issues need managing. As in other countries, issues of targeting and tailoring by ethnicity in New Zealand are politically sensitive. Better information about the actual level of targeted spending, eligibility criteria, and the rationales for targeting and tailoring could improve understanding and acceptance across the population.

Improving Information and Evaluation

The New Zealand experience confirms that good data can influence policy. Efforts to improve the collection of ethnic data have expanded the availability and quality of information regarding Māori, raised awareness of the issues faced by Māori across sectors, and highlighted priority policy areas.

Data Collection and Analysis

Administrative and survey data require more focus on quality and consistency across data sources. In other areas, data gaps persist, particularly regarding poverty, living standards, and expenditures on Māori policies and programmes.

Poverty and living standards. Data on poverty and living standards among Māori in New Zealand are not readily available. The increasing diversity of the Māori population means that policy-makers need data that can capture differences between Māori individuals and groups, inform policy design, and measure policy outcomes.

Expenditures on Māori. New Zealand does not collect aggregate data on spending on Māori programmes and policies by government departments. But such data are important for monitoring the effectiveness of programmes and policies intended to raise outcomes of Māori and other population groups. They are also needed to assess the effectiveness of programmes, perform distributional analyses of public spending, increase transparency, boost accountability, and raise public awareness.

Evaluation of Outcomes

New Zealand needs an ongoing process of evaluating what works. The government has made evaluation of outcomes a priority through the Managing for Outcomes accountability framework. But evaluations are technically difficult, often expensive, and not always well done. There is growing demand from policy-makers, providers, and beneficiaries to know what works and why in improving Māori outcomes.

There is a need to be strategic and selective about evaluation. For reasons of cost-effectiveness and time, it remains impossible to evaluate every small programme. Rather, it will be more valuable to select programmes for evaluation which offer the richest learning for subsequent policy design, group evaluations together, and invest in larger-scale evaluations that allow for comparisons.

In cases where quantitative data is difficult to collect or unreliable, qualitative data can provide useful additional information. Using process evaluations can help policy-makers understand how programmes actually work and monitor longer-term outcomes, as well as provide greater insights into differences within the Māori population.

Summary

Māori development approaches provide a compelling record of experience and innovation for New Zealand and other countries with indigenous and ethnic minority populations. Among the most resonant themes are the desire of Māori to succeed on their own terms within an increasingly integrated and globalised world, the challenge of making policies inclusive, the importance of weaving diversity and culture into policy design, and the need to build on successes. We have much to gain from further study, analysis, and discussion of these experiences—Māori and non-Māori alike.

WHAKARĀPOPOTONGA TAKE

Hanga ki runga i ngā Angitu

He wāhanga taupori tangata whenua paku noaiho a ngai Māori – āhua 620,000 rātou - i roto i te whenua āhua paku. Engari tā rātou takoha ki Aotearoa, me te ao whānui, he nui rawa atu. I te wā o taku noho poto, e ono marama, ki Aotearoa, i whaiwahi te Māori ki ngā Tohu Kiriata, i wikitoria ki te whakataetae hahaupōro Whānui o US, i piki ki te taumata o te rāngai pēke o Ahitereiria, me te wikitoria ki te kapa manuhiri hutupōro Raiona o Ingarangi me Airani.

I runga ake i ngā whakaekenga o ēnei tāngata me ngā kapa pūmanawa kaha, he pai rawa atu ngā whakapikinga a te Māori ki runga i te tūāwhiorangi ōhanga, tikanga, hapori o Aotearoa, i ngā te kau tau tata ki muri. Kei te 8 ōrau te Māori koremahi; kei te maha ake a ngai Māori e haere ana ki ngā kura; me te whakahoutanga tikanga.

Engari ehara ko te Māori katoa kei te whai painga mai i ēnei ia whakapiki. Kei te kore mahi tonu ētahi, kei te mahi rānei ki roto i ngā mahi utu iti, pukenga kore, ka waiho tūwhera ki ngā tikanga ōhanga ohorere. Kotahi toru o ngai Māori e whakamutu ana te haere ki te kura kahore i te whiwhi tohu whai mana. Kei te noho rawakore tonu te Māori, me te rawakore tamariki anō tētahi take pouri. E mau tonu ana ngā wehenga hauora. Kei te whakaatu whānui i ngā rerekētanga e nui haere ana, me ngā wehenga hapori ōhanga e nui haere ana i roto i te taupori Māori.

Kua tohe te Minita mō ngā Take Māori, te Honore Parekura Horomia, kua whiwhi huarahi pai a ngai Māori, mō ngā tau e rima kei mua, ki te hanga atu ki runga i ngā tutukitanga o ngā te kau tau ki muri. Me tuku rawa anō ki runga i te pūmanawa tangata ki te whakapiki i ngā taumata akoranga, me ngā taumata pukenga, kia āhei te Māori ki te hopu i ngā huarahi kei roto i te ōhanga, e tipu ana, kei te ao whānui, me ngā papa mātauranga o Aotearoa. I runga i te mea kua whakakotahitia te Māori ki roto i te ōhanga o Aotearoa, ka tau atu tā rātou angitu ki runga i ngā tikanga ōhanga whānui. Me whakapakari a ngai Māori i a rātou ki te mau i ngā tūranga mahi tauwhiro e whakawhiwhia ana e ngā wehenga mahi me ngā wehenga pukenga.

Te Whakatinana i te Pūmanawa Nohopuku Māori

Kua whakawhiwhia e ētahi mahi whakapakari i a ngai Māori ināatata nei, he tuhinga mātauranga me ngā whakamātautau pai mō ngā kaihanga kaupapa here ki Aotearoa me ētahi whenua ake. He maha ngā kaupapa take nui kua whakaāhua i ngā mahi kaupapa here whakapakari i ngā tau rua te kau ki muri, ko ētahi ko: te hiahia a te Māori ki te whakahaere a tā ratou ake whakapakaritanga; te whaipānga atu ki te whakatika i a rātou, ki te mana motuhake, me te whaiwāhi tika atu ki ngā kaupapa here me ngā mahinga e pā tata ana ki a rātou; te whakaāetanga kia whiriwhiria ngā hītori me ngā tikanga, me te tūranga a te Māori hei tangata whenua o Aotearoa, ki roto i ngā huarahi kaupapa here; me te hiahia ki te whakatika i ngā wehenga hapori ōhanga kei waenga i te Māori me tauiwi.

Kei ngā tuamata hanga kaupapa here me ngā mahi tuku ratonga, kei te whai kē a Aotearoa ki te whakatōkarikari me pēwhea ngā kaupapa here ki runga i te katoa, ki te rīroa, me te hapori katoa, me pēwhea hoki te whakahāngai atu ki ngā taupori

motuhake. He mea hāngai pū ana ēnei pātai ki ngā whenua ake – ahakoa kua pakari, kei te whakapakari atu rānei – e whai ana ki te whakapai ake i te oranga o a rātou ake tāngata whenua, itinga tikanga-ā-iwi, me ngā rōpū whakaraerae.

Kei te kaha haere ngā whakaaturanga tuku kia whakamaua ngā kaupapa here e rua: ngā kaupapa haere whakauru ka pā atu ki ngā tāngata katoa o Aotearoa, me ngā kaupapa here e whakanui ana i ngā tikanga rerekē me ngā hiahia ake a te Māori. He mea kōhure te wāhanga Pou Tarāwaho Pūmanawa Nohopuku Māori a Te Puni Kōkiri me tāna whai kaha ki te hiki i te angitu Māori, kahore ki te whakaheke i ngā takanga, ā i taua wa anō ki te whakanui i ngā tikanga me ngā tūmanako a te Māori ngātahi, rōpū rānei.

Te Whakahāngai me te Whakatika i ngā Ratonga ki te Māori

Ka taea tonu te *whakahāngai* ngā kaupapa here, ki ngā wāhi e whakaatu ana ko te momo iwi ka āhei te tangata ki te whaiwāhi ki ngā kaupapa mahi, ki te whiwhi painga rānei, me te *whakatika,* mehemea kei te hangaia ngā kaupapa here kia whaiwhakaaro atu ki ngā hiahia me ngā manakohanga a ngā rōpū motuhake. Tērā ka tau tika te whakahāngai momo iwi i ētahi wā, mehemea te momo iwi ake anō – ko ia anake, ki te taha o ētahi take rānei – kei te whakawhiwhi pārongo pai mō te tango rawa ki a rātou e hiahia ana.

Engari me āta tirohia e ngā whakataunga whakahāngai ngā utunga me ngā painga pūmanawa nohopuku – ā-moni, ā-hapori, ā-tōrangapū. Ko ētahi o ngā tirohanga nei ko ngā whāinga kei roto i ngā kaupapa mahi, te wāteatanga, te papai, me te utu ki te kohikohi i ngā raraunga momo iwi. Hei whakamutunga, tērā kahore i te kaha rawa ngā kaupapa whakahāngai ki te Māori kia eke ki ngā whāinga kaupapa here, kia pakari ai te Māori, me huri kē pea ki ētahi huarahi āhuatanga hei whakatutuki i te rerekētanga e kaha ake nei.

Ahakoa he iti ngā kuapapa here ki Aōtearoa e hāngai ana ki te Māori, he nui ngā kaha kua pau ki te whakatika i ngā kaupapa here ki te Māori, ki te hanga kia āhei, kia hāngai, kia whaiwhakaaro. Kua mahi tēnei ki roto i ngā kaupapa tuku mana whakahaere, me te tuku wehewehe i ngā ratonga tuku ki ngā hapori; te whaiwāhi o te Māori ake ki te tuku ratonga me te kāwanatanga; te whakapakaritanga o ngā taupuni tawhiti me ngā mahi pāho; me te whaiwāhitanga o te tikanga Māori ki roto i ngā tukunga ratonga. Mā ngā akoranga mai i ēnei mahi whakatika e tautoko i ngā whakapakaritanga kaupapa here ki Aotearoa me ngā whenua ake.

Kua kore e mārama ināianei te rerekētanga i waenga i ngā kaupapa arotahi-Māori me ngā huarahi rīroa. Kua wātea mai ētahi ratonga whakatika, ā kua uru atu ngā mahinga whakatika ki roto i ngā ratonga rīroa. He mea whakahirahira tēnei kia tika ngā whāinga i te mea kei te whaiwāhi te nuinga o te Māori ki roto i ngā ratonga rīroa.

Kua whakaawe atu nga ratonga Māori ake i te tukunga ratonga rīroa. He whakapakaritanga whakahirahira te putanga mai o ngā ratonga Māori wehe, pērā i ngā kura kaupapa Māori me ngā kaihoatu hauora Māori. Ahakoa kahore i te whānui rawa te whakawhiwhinga o ngā ratonga ake nei (hei tauira, 80 – 90 ōrau o te Māori kei te whaiwāhi ki ngā ratonga mātauranga, hauora rīroa kē) he kaha rawa ngā whakapātanga atu. Kua wātea mai he huarahi ki te Māori ki te hangai i a rātou ake huarahi i runga i a rātou ake hiahia tuatahi me ngā tikanga, he tauira ki ngā ratonga

rīroa kia uru atu he mahinga whānui ake, kua whakaatu i ngā hapa kei roto i ngā ratonga rīroa, me te hanga i te raukaha me te kaha o ngā rōpū Māori me ngā ahorangi ratonga.

Ngā painga whakatika ki a tauiwi. Nā te whakawhānuitanga o ngā ratonga i maha ake ngā kōwhiritanga mo te nuinga, mo te Māori, me tauiwi. Kua whaipainga a tauiwi mai i ngā kaupapa here hou i hangaia e te Māori mō te Māori, i roto i te arotakenga i ēnei ratonga, me te āhua o ngā whakapātanga o ēnei ratonga ki ngā mahi hanga kaupapa here rīroa. E kitea anō he akoranga mai i ēnei huarahi hei whakauru atu ki ngā ratonga rīroa.

He mea whakahirahira te kairangi. Mā te whakatika ka pai ake ngā huarahi. Me te pūmanawa nohopuku ki te hiki i te hāngaitanga me te kairangi. Ahakoa ngā piki, he nui tonu ngā mahi ki te whakapai ake i ngā hua a ngai Māori, me te whai māramatanga atu ki ngā kaupapa e tautoko ana e ngā kaupapa here ka hangaia. Mēnā ka kaha ake te arotahi atu ki te aromatawai i ngā hua waenganui me ngā hua wā roa o ngā ratonga whakatikaina, ka pai ake anō ngā kaupapa here.

Me whakatikaina ngā take tōkeke. Ahakoa kua kaha ake te oranga Māori i te pai ake o ngā tikanga mahi me ngā huarahi ōhanga, kahore ngā Māori katoa i te whiwhi painga. Me hangaia ngā ratonga kia uru mai kia hono mai ngā māori e rawakore ana kei waho tonu. He rite anō, te whanui ake o ngā kōwhiritanga me ngā huarahi ki ngā rōpū tuku ratonga e ngā rōpū Iwi me ngā rōpū Māori, kahore i te tohatoha ōrite ēnei ratonga, ko ētahi kahore i te whiwhi huarahi.

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Te Whakapai ake i ngā Pārongo me te Arotakenga

Ko te whakaaro o Aotearoa, ka taea te raraunga pai ki te ārahi kaupapa here. Kua tau ngā mahi whakapai kohikohi raraunga momo-ā-iwi, ki te whakawhānui ake i te wāteatanga me te pai o ngā pārongo e pā ana ki te Māori, ki te whakarewa i ngā mōhiotanga o ngā take e tau ana ki te Māori i runga i ngā rāngai, me te whakamārama atu i ngā wāhi kaupapa here whai tikanga.

Te Kohikohi me te Tātari Raraunga
Me arotahi kaha atu ngā raraunga whakahaere, titiro whānui, ki te pai me te rite ki runga i ngā rawa raraunga. I roto i ētahi wāhi ake, kei te wehe tonu ngā raraunga e pā ana ki te rawakore, ki ngā āhuatanga noho, me ngā moni e pou ana ki runga i ngā kaupapa here me ngā mahinga Māori.

Te rawakore me ngā ahuatanga noho. Kahore i te tino wātea ngā raraunga o te rawakore me ngā āhuatanga noho o te Māori ki Aotearoa. Nā te rerekētanga e kaha haere nei mō te taupori Māori ki Aotearoa, ka whakahau i ngā kaihanga kaupapa here kia mōhio ki ngā raraunga e hopu ana i te rerekētanga i waenganui i te Māori ngātahi me ngā rōpū Māori, e whakaatu ana i te hanga kaupapa here, me te meiha i ngā hua kaupapa here.

Ngā moni e whakapoua ana mō te Māori. Kahore a Aotearoa e kohi ana i ngā raraunga whakaemi mō ngā moni e whakapoua ana e ngā tari kāwanatanga mō ngā mahinga me ngā kaupapa here Māori. Engari he mea whakahirahira ēnei raraunga hei aromatawai i te hāngaitanga o ngā mahinga me ngā kaupapa here e whai ana ki te whakapiki i ngā hua mō ngai Māori me ngā rōpū taupori ake. Anō te hiahia mō ngā raraunga ki te arotake i te hāngaitanga o ngā mahinga, ki te hanga tātaritanga tohatoha o ngā whakapounga moni kāwanatanga, te whakanui mahi tautika, te whakakaha pūataata, me te tuku whakamārama atu ki te minenga.

Arotakenga i ngā Hua
Me hangaia e Aotearoa he whakaritenga ki te arotake he aha kei te mahi pai. Kua hangaia e te kāwanatanga te arotakenga o ngā hua he take tuatahi mā roto i te pou tarāwaho whakatau tika Whakahaere mō ngā Hua. Engari he mahi hangarau uaua te arotakenga, he nui te utu, kahore i te mahi pai i ngā wā katoa. Me ngā tono e tipu ake ana, mai i ngā kaihanga kaupapa here, ngā kaihoatu, me ngā kaiwhiwhi painga kia mōhio rātou he aha e mahi pai ana, he aha ai, te whakapai ake i ngā hua mō te Māori.

Me mahi rautaki, mahi whiriwhiri ngā arotakenga. I runga i ngā whakarite utu hāngai, me te wā, he mahi uaua te arotake i ngā kaupapa mahinga pakupaku. Na reira he pai ake ki te kōwhiri i ngā kaupapa mahi hei arotake, ka āwhina i ngā akoranga mō te hanga kaupapa here, te whakatōpū arotake, me te whakahaere arotake nui ake ka tuku i ngā mahi whakataurite.

I roto i ngā mahinga, kei te uaua te kohikohi raraunga ine tātai, ka pai ngā raraunga ine tātai hei whakawhiwhi pārongo tāpiri. Mā te whakamahi i ngā arotake whakaritenga, ka āwhina i ngā kaihanga kaupapa here kia mārama ki ngā mahinga whakahaere kaupapa, te aromatawai i ngā hua wā roa ake, me te whakawhiwhi tirohanga nui ake ki ngā rerekētanga kei roto i te taupori Māori.

Whakarāpopotonga

Kua whakawhiwhia e ētahi mahi whakapakari i a ngai Māori, he tuhinga mātauranga me ngā mahi wairua hihikou pai mō Aotearoa me ētahi whenua ake, kei reira he taupori tangata whenua me ngā momo iwi itiiti. Kei roto i ngā kaupapa pāorooro ko te hiahia a ngai Māori ki te angitu ki runga ki a rātou ake tikanga ki roto i te ao whakakotahi, i te ao mahere, te wero ki te hanga kaupapa here tāpiti, te mea whakahirahira ki te raranga i te whānuitanga me ngā tikanga ki roto i ngā hanganga kaupapa here, me te manako ki te hanga ki runga ake i ngā mahi angitu. He nui ngā painga mai i ngā rangahau ake, ngā tātari, me ngā whiriwhiringa i ēnei mōhiotanga - mō ngai Māori me tauiwi e rite ana.

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1   INTRODUCTION

Background and Objectives

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.[1]   They make up a relatively small population – of approximately 620,000 – within a relatively small country.   However, their contributions at home, and internationally, are substantial. During my short six-month stay in New Zealand, Māori competed at the Academy Awards, won the US Open golf tournament, rose to the top of the Australian banking sector, and beat the touring British and Irish Lions at rugby.

As well as these achievements of extraordinarily talented individuals and teams, Māori as a whole have made impressive gains and contribute across the economic, cultural and social spectrum of New Zealand.   More Māori participate at all levels of education than ever before.   Māori unemployment is at a 20-year low, and Māori are working across the economy.   There has been a cultural renaissance.   Use of the Māori language is thriving.

However, not all Māori are benefiting from these upward trends.   Some Māori remain unemployed, or in low or unskilled jobs vulnerable to economic shocks.   Māori are disproportionately represented among the poor, especially Māori children.   Health is a major concern.   Similar to indigenous peoples in other countries, there is a significant gap in life expectancy of 8-9 years between Māori and non-Māori (Annex 1).

Recent Māori development approaches provide a valuable record of experience and innovation for New Zealand and other countries.   The past twenty years have seen the emergence and growth of services developed, owned, and provided by Māori, as well as numerous initiatives to make mainstream programmes more inclusive and responsive.   This has included formulation of policy strategies, strengthening of Te Puni Kōkiri (The Ministry of Māori Development), building capacity within government departments for developing and delivering services, and considerable diversification of service delivery.

A central question in many debates about how to improve human development outcomes for indigenous peoples, ethnic minorities, and vulnerable groups is to what extent policies should be universal, mainstreamed, or 'colour-blind', and apply to the whole of society, and to what extent they should be targeted, or tailored, to the needs of the group, by taking into consideration factors such as culture and language.

Public policy in New Zealand has much to offer here.   New Zealand has traversed a wide range of approaches, including specific, targeted programmes, efforts to work within mainstream services, as well as a mix in between.   This experience raises key questions – what have been the outcomes and results?   What has worked and what has not?   And what has made the most difference in improving outcomes for Māori in New Zealand?

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[1] Aotearoa is the traditional Māori name for the islands that make up New Zealand.

This report looks at these questions, with a focus on the experience of programmes which have been targeted and tailored to Māori. These policy choices raise basic questions about the role of ethnicity and culture in policy-making. First, is ethnicity a useful indicator for allocating resources and programmes? And, second, how does inclusion of ethnicity and culture in policy design influence outcomes? The report also includes an overview of recent trends in Māori development and policy. This introductory chapter introduces the policy questions and their relevance to the work of the World Bank and its client countries, as well as New Zealand.

Relevance for the World Bank[2]

During my stay in New Zealand, many people asked me why the World Bank – a multilateral development agency focused on fighting poverty in developing countries – would be interested in the experience of Māori policy in New Zealand. There is growing interest within the World Bank and among its client countries in the experience of OECD countries such as New Zealand. What are the secrets of their success? What has worked and why? And how can other countries learn from their successes and failures? The unique experience of New Zealand in designing and implementing policies by and for Māori over time is of broader interest globally.[3]

Lessons from the Māori experience are relevant to the work of the World Bank in various country contexts. While there are obvious parallels for indigenous peoples in Latin America, Asia, and elsewhere, lessons from policy and implementation experience are also relevant for other ethnic groups such as Roma (gypsies) in Central and Eastern Europe, as they raise issues around service delivery, social inclusion, and the specific role of culture in development.[4] These issues are also of interest in OECD countries, including those with indigenous populations.

The World Bank itself has become more involved in indigenous and minority issues in recent years. In 1991 it adopted an Operational Directive on indigenous peoples which mandates that all World Bank financed projects "not cause adverse impacts upon indigenous peoples, and that they provide culturally-compatible social and economic benefits." This policy has been subsequently revised and elaborated and is pending approval by the Bank's Board of Executive Directors.[5] World Bank projects have increasingly incorporated attention to indigenous groups and ethnic minorities. The number of World Bank operations that specifically mention a focus on indigenous peoples quadrupled between 1990-94 and 2000-04 (Gibbons, et al, 2004).[6]

Questions of how to design policies to reach and meet the needs of specific population groups are relevant globally. The World Bank has increasingly worked on service delivery at the local level, moving beyond national governments and capital cities, and recognizing that local governments and communities can improve access and

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[2] Note that this paper does not reflect the views of the World Bank.
[3] For example a recent report on indigenous peoples in Latin America cited bilingual education in New Zealand as an example for other countries (Hall and Patrinos, 2005).
[4] Appendix A to this report discusses issues common to Māori and the Roma minority.
[5] The revised draft is available at:
http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/63ByDocName/IndigenousPeoples.
[6] From 16 to 61 projects.

quality of service delivery.[7] The 2004 World Development Report, *Making Services Work for Poor People*, formulated a framework for thinking about how to make services work most effectively for the poor.

One of the main themes of that report was that greater involvement of local communities in implementing and monitoring services can increase the accountability of services, and ultimately their effectiveness. New Zealand has much to offer on this question, because of the growing level of Māori participation in services – through ownership and involvement in governance and directly as service providers. These issues are discussed in Chapter 4.

A topical issue in New Zealand and elsewhere is the role of culture in policy-making and development. This question has been of growing interest to researchers and policy-makers alike. In 2004, the World Bank launched a major new publication, *Culture and Public Action*, which analyzes the role culture can play in development from an economic perspective (Rao and Walton, 2004). The volume stresses the need to incorporate culture as intrinsic to the development process, and the need to emphasize the social and cultural contexts of individuals as well as groups.

Relevance for New Zealand

Considerations of diversity, culture, ethnicity and policy are not new in New Zealand. There has been discussion and debate about the relationship between Māori and the Government (the Crown), dating back to the early colonization period of the 19th century. In addition to specific issues of Māori as New Zealand's indigenous population, there has been increasing attention to diversity more broadly, given growing Pacific and Asian populations through immigration. There has also been an increase in the share of the population declaring multiple ethnic backgrounds.[8]

Policy in New Zealand incorporates attention to inclusion and diversity through the Government's overarching strategic frameworks: the *Growth and Innovation Framework*, the Government's macroeconomic policy, which emphasizes the importance of inclusion for growth, by investing in human capital and supporting labour market participation; *Opportunities for All New Zealanders*, the social policy strategy that aims to improve the welfare of disadvantaged individuals and groups, and invest in the capacity of the population as a whole; and the *Sustainable Development for New Zealand* framework, that aims to increase economic growth, reduce inequality, and improve the standard of living of all New Zealanders in a manner that is environmentally, socially, culturally and economically sustainable.[9]

Specific attention to Māori is incorporated in the goals of individual departments Statements of Intent, as well as within broader government policy.[10] In November

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[7] For example, see the World Bank's website on community-driven development:
http://lnweb18.worldbank.org/ESSD/sdvext.nsf/09ByDocName/CommunityDrivenDevelopment
[8] This is also due to changes in the census questionnaire which allow respondents to declare multiple ethnicities. See Annex 2.
[9] See the Ministry of Social Development's *Opportunity for All New Zealanders* report for more on these frameworks: http://www.msd.govt.nz/work-areas/cross-sectoral-work/opportunity-for-all.html.
[10] As part of the annual budget cycle, government departments in New Zealand prepare Statements of Intent which specify the outcomes for which they will be held accountable.

2004 the cabinet approved a new strategic framework for Māori development, the Māori Potential Framework, as a new macro-policy approach for shaping Māori policy across sectors.

An on-going debate regarding Māori development policy – resonant for other countries – has been the extent to which the government should invest in separate policies and programmes, specific to Māori, and to what extent policies should be incorporated into mainstream efforts by making services, such as education and health care, more responsive or appropriate for Māori.

This debate has a number of dimensions, among them: the need to define and understand how Māori outcomes and needs intersect with and differ from universal outcomes of all New Zealanders; an understanding of what types of policy approaches work for Māori, and how they succeed and fail; the costs – fiscal, social, political, and cultural – of different approaches; and discussions of how diversity, ethnicity, and indigeneity influence outcomes and can be incorporated into public policy.

A number of developments have raised the visibility of these issues leading up to and during my stay in New Zealand. The debate surrounding whether policies should be targeted to Māori intensified in the political arena in 2004 with a speech by National Party leader Dr. Donald Brash at the Orewa Rotary Club in which he argued against race-based policies for Māori, and specifically the Treaty of Waitangi (discussed further below) as a rationale for policy.

The second major development was the introduction of the Foreshore and Seabed legislation in early 2004, which defined the legal status of coastal areas. The legislation ignited a public debate which continues in the lead up to the 2005 election campaign. The legislation was opposed by many who viewed it as a threat to customary Māori land rights. The debate culminated in a hīkoi (protest march) of an estimated 15-20,000 Māori to Wellington.[11] In response to the legislation, cabinet Minister and Member of Parliament, Hon Tariana Turia, withdrew from the Labour Party in protest and eventually set up a new political party, the Māori Party, which is preparing to run in its first general election in 2005.

These political developments accelerated discussions about the role of ethnicity, and specifically Māori, in public policy in New Zealand. Most concretely, in March 2004, Coordinating Minister for Race Relations, Hon Trevor Mallard, announced the establishment of a small Ministerial Review Unit (MRU) within the State Services Commission, charged with reviewing targeted policies and programmes to provide the government assurances that they "are targeted on the basis of need, not on the basis of race" (Mallard 2004). The MRU undertook two waves of review of programmes and policies across government departments and made recommendations to the Cabinet on policy changes. The MRU completed its work in June 2005.

In addition to the political debate and specific role of the MRU, questions of how policies can be best designed to meet the needs of Māori and an increasingly diverse population are very much on the front burner in New Zealand. This is evident in the

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[11] Dominion Post, "A Mighty Message to MPs," 5 May 2004; NZ Herald, "Long March Just Opening Salvo," 6 May 2004.

2005 Statements of Intent of government departments, the work of the Reducing Inequalities team within the Ministry of Social Development and its cross-departmental officials group, and the on-going work of Te Puni Kōkiri and particularly the development of the Māori Potential Framework. In April 2005, the Treasury and the Ministry of Women's Affairs jointly hosted an interagency workshop: "Ensuring delivery of effective policy outcomes to diverse groups." The workshop was held in response to a request by the Chief Executives' Steering Group that officials from relevant agencies share experiences and practices of the impact of policies on specific groups within a target population.

Māori in Public Policy

Māori participate in and have influenced public policy in New Zealand in a number of ways: through the framework of the Treaty of Waitangi, through participation in elected politics, through iwi and Māori organisations, and in the public service.

The Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 by Māori tribal (Iwi) chiefs and representatives of the British Crown, sets a unique backdrop for policy in New Zealand. While debates about the actual meaning and intent of the Treaty continue to this day, the Treaty has provided an important framework for recognition of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand and influenced relations between Māori and the Crown.[12] To a greater extent than indigenous and minority policy approaches in other countries, policies in New Zealand have taken into account the history and interests of Māori.

The Treaty, a short document of three articles, provided the framework for further settlement of New Zealand by Britain, through recognition of the respective rights and responsibilities of the Crown and Māori. Discrepancies between the English and Māori language versions of the Treaty have created ambiguities. As an example, under the English version, the Crown assumed 'sovereignty' over the territory of New Zealand. In the Māori version, the word 'rangatiratanga', often translated as chieftainship or authority, was used. There are also differences in interpretation regarding the extent to which the Crown assumed responsibility for government and protection of Māori assets and resources.

Principles of the Treaty have been incorporated into legislation as mechanisms for recognizing indigenous rights.[13] The Treaty framework has also been important for addressing the injustices of the colonial period. In 1975 the Government established the Waitangi Tribunal. The main functions of the Tribunal were to: (i) hear claims by Māori against the Crown concerning breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi; (ii) determine the validity of such claims; and, (iii) make non-binding recommendations to the Crown on redress for valid claims (Office of Treaty Settlements, 1999).

In 1985, the Tribunal's jurisdiction was extended back to cover claims from the signing of the Treaty in 1840. In addition to going through the Tribunal process

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[12] See for example, Orange, 1987; King, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2001; and
http://www.treatyofwaitangi.govt.nz/.
[13] Refer to Te Puni Kōkiri 2001 for a review of legislation with reference to the Treaty.

Māori are able to negotiate directly with the Crown through the Office of Treaty Settlements. The Tribunal hears claims brought by Māori individuals and groups. As of 2000, 870 claims had been registered with the Tribunal, covering issues such as land confiscation, and claims that Government policy, action, or inaction was in breach of Treaty principles.[14]

The Tribunal reports on the hearings to the Crown, which then can negotiate a settlement with Māori claimants through the Office of Treaty Settlements. Settlements involve a formal apology by the Crown, as well as redress through recognition of the claimants rights, financial settlement, and/or return of assets.[15] The financial settlements are not intended to compensate fully for losses, but rather to build the asset base of the claimant group. The settlement process has had an important role in providing a forum for recognizing, airing, and acknowledging historical breaches of the Treaty.

Māori Political Representation

Māori influence policy through participation in government as elected officials and voters. Māori involvement in New Zealand's government began in 1852 with the participation of two Māori representatives in the Legislative Council (Upper House), a body established under the New Zealand Constitution Act. While Māori were eligible to vote, a requirement for individual property ownership meant that most did not in practice. Māori gained representation in the House of Representatives (Lower House) through the Māori Representation Act which set aside four Māori seats. Based on their population size Māori should have had 14-15 seats at the time (Durie, 1998b).

The Māori seats still remain today although there is an on-going debate about their future. The number of seats is now determined every five years following the population census through the Māori Electoral Option. This Option was introduced following a Waitangi Tribunal finding in 1994 that determined that the Crown was not doing enough to promote and support Māori political representation in Parliament. Māori are given the option to register on the Māori electoral roll and vote for the Māori seats. The number of registered Māori then determines the number of Māori seats. In the most recent round in 2001, there were approximately 340,418 identified Māori voters and approximately 55 percent registered on the Māori electoral roll.

In 1996 New Zealand held its first election under the mixed-member proportional system (MMP). The new system increased the size of Parliament and gave voters two votes – one for their local member of Parliament (MP), and another for the party. The share of parties in Parliament was determined by the percentage of party votes won by each party. In order to win seats a party had to elect at least one member to a local seat, or to reach five percent of the party vote (King, 2003). With the shift to MMP, the number of Māori in Parliament increased to 16 percent. Māori were elected as MPs across the spectrum of political parties. The combination of the Māori electoral roll and MMP, increased the number of Māori electorates to seven, and 19 Māori MPs. Over time, there have been specific Māori parties, most recently the Māori Party, established in 2004.

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[14] See http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/ for more on the work of the Waitangi Tribunal.
[15] Details of the settlements are on the website of the Office of Treaty Settlements: www.ots.govt.nz.

Māori also participate in local government although in smaller numbers. Since 1992 the share of Māori elected in local governments has ranged between 2.5 and 5.5 percent, significantly less than their share in the total population. Low rates of participation are attributed, among other factors, to voter apathy, lack of information about the importance of local government, and limited knowledge of candidates (Rangiheuea, 2005).

Iwi and Māori Organizations
Traditional Māori society is tribal, organized into iwi (tribes), hapū (subtribes), and whānau (extended families). There are many different types of Māori organisations, including those based on iwi and hapū structures and membership, as well as urban Māori organisations which are not based on a single iwi, and other types of pan-Māori organisations. These bodies play an important role as intermediaries between the government and Māori communities. As discussed later in this report, there has been significant devolution of responsibility for service delivery to iwi and Māori organisations. They deliver services, and contract with government departments. Iwi and Māori organisations have also represented Māori as claimants in Waitangi Tribunal cases and settlement negotiations.

Māori in the Public Service
Māori also influence and participate in policy development and service delivery by working in the public service. Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, is the Government's principal advisor on relationships with Māori. The Ministry is responsible for leading Māori public policy, monitoring and building relationships between government and Māori organisations, iwi, hapū and whānau. Te Puni Kōkiri maintains these relationships through its network of regional field offices. In addition to Te Puni Kōkiri, many government departments have focused units for Māori issues, as well as integrating work on Māori within the department. For example, within the Ministries of Education and Health, Māori units develop, implement and monitor policy related to Māori, in coordination with other departmental units.

Māori employment within the public service is growing. The 1988 State Sector Act included a specific requirement that chief executives of government departments adopt personnel policies that address Māori employment needs, including greater representation of Māori, recognition of employment requirements of Māori, and recognition of cultural differences of ethnic and minority groups. A review of Equal Opportunities Policy by the State Services Commission found that between 1988 and 2002 the share of Māori working in the public service grew from 10 to 18 percent, driven mainly by an increase in the employment of Māori women. There was also slow and steady growth in the representation of Māori in managerial and professional jobs, as well as in senior management positions. There is still a wage gap, Māori in the public service earn on average 91 percent of non-Māori salaries.

Approach and Scope

This report distils findings from six months of learning about policy-making and Māori development in New Zealand. It is not comprehensive, and instead focuses on the areas and programmes which I was able to visit during my stay. Conclusions are based on a review of literature including published and unpublished sources, and are enriched by numerous conversations and discussions I had with people across the spectrum in New Zealand.

In addition to time spent in Wellington I was fortunate to have the chance to spend time with Te Puni Kōkiri's regional offices, and the Ministry of Social Development's regional office in Auckland, and to visit with service providers and their clients. Full lists of references and individuals consulted are included. The views in this report, along with any errors, are mine alone, and should not be attributed to the World Bank, Te Puni Kōkiri, or anyone else.

A word about the audience. This report, like all Axford reports, faces the daunting challenge of being interesting, relevant, and resonant on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. It is intended to be informative both for readers in New Zealand and colleagues back home at the World Bank. Some material may also be interesting and useful for counterparts with whom I have worked in Central and Eastern Europe and other countries. Given these audiences some sections may be more enlightening for some readers than others.

The report focuses on policy-making related to Māori in New Zealand. It is important to acknowledge upfront that this emphasis omits a valuable body of experience of policy and project implementation in New Zealand related to other ethnic groups, in particular Pacific peoples, who face similar issues of access to opportunities and quality services. During my stay in New Zealand I benefited from learning about some of the specific policy experience and initiatives by and for Pacific peoples, including a visit to the Pacific Wave employment programme in the Auckland Region. However, in the interest of staying focused within an already very broad topic, this report concentrates on Māori.

The next chapter provides a snapshot of the state of Māori development in health, education, and the labour market. It looks at what has been driving outcomes for Māori and challenges that remain. Chapter 3 provides the context of past and future policy approaches to Māori development, including the Government's new Māori Potential Framework. Chapter 4 looks at the question of targeting and reviews how policies in New Zealand have been both targeted and tailored to ethnicity. Chapter 5 looks specifically at experiences within the education and health sectors. Chapter 6 pulls together findings and outlines conclusions and lessons for New Zealand and other countries. Appendix A reflects on the specific lessons for the Roma minority in Central and Eastern Europe, an issue which has been a particular focus of my work at the World Bank.

ANNEX 1: INDIGENOUS PEOPLES IN COMPARISON

How do Māori compare with indigenous peoples in other OECD countries? Issues of data availability and comparability prevent a full comparison. All countries face the challenge of how to define ethnicity and include indigenous peoples in censuses and surveys. A selection of indicators provide a snapshot of indigenous peoples in New Zealand, Canada, Australia, and the United States (Table 1.1).

Perhaps most notably, Māori comprise a much larger share of the total population of New Zealand, at 15 percent, than indigenous peoples in the other countries, where the share ranges from 2 to 4 percent. This underscores the importance of Māori in the public policy framework.

Gaps in life expectancy with non-indigenous peoples are substantial across countries. Australian Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders, in particular, live an average of 17-18 years less than the rest of the population.

Māori labour market status stands out as being more favourable than that of the other countries. A larger share of Māori are in employment and fewer unemployed than the other indigenous groups.

Table 1.1: Comparison of Indigenous Peoples, selected indicators (latest possible year)				
	Māori (NZ)	**First Nations Peoples (Canada)**	**Aboriginal/Torres Strait Islanders (Australia)**	**American Indian/Alaskan Natives (US)[1]**
Total population	**620,000**	1,319,890	458,500	4,400,000
% of population	**15**	4.4	2.4	1.5
Life expectancy				
males	**69**	69	59	67
females	**73**	77	65	68
Life expectancy gap[2] (years)				
males	**9**	7	18	7
females	**8**	5	17	12
Infant mortality (per 1,000 live births)	**7**	8	10	9
Employment rate (%)	**59**	43	42	53
Unemployment rate (%)	**8**	19	20	12

Sources: Health Canada, 2005; Goldberg, et al., 2005; Center for Disease Control and Prevention, 2004; Nauenberg, 2005; Department of Labour, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2005; Ministry of Health.
Notes: (1) 2000 census data includes those who reported more than one race; (2) difference from non-indigenous population

2   WELFARE AND DIVERSITY, HOW ARE MĀORI DOING?

The State of Māori Development

Māori achievements over the past decades have been notable. More Māori participate and achieve in education, own businesses, and work across all sectors of the economy than ever before. There has also been a cultural renaissance. Recent research suggests that more Māori have Māori language skills and use them on a regular basis, than did in the 1970s. There is a national Māori TV station, numerous local Māori radio stations, and a wide range of Māori organisations and service providers. Māori excel across sectors.[16]

This chapter provides background and context for the discussion of policy design in subsequent chapters by summarizing recent trends on the socioeconomic status of Māori. It looks at the economic backdrop and highlights key issues in the labour market, education and health. A main conclusion drawn is that there is increasing socioeconomic diversity within the Māori population which requires consideration in policy design.

A Māori economic development conference, the Hui Taumata, was held in Wellington in early March 2005.[17] The conference was a follow-up to the first landmark Hui Taumata held in 1984, and convened Māori leaders from across society – politics, business, academia, and the arts – to discuss the state of Māori economic development and to chart a course for future action. The conference celebrated the significant strides taken since 1984 in the economic and human development of Māori.

The Hui Taumata highlighted the assets that Māori have, including human capital, culture, land, and entrepreneurial success, as well as the ways in which Māori are integrated throughout the New Zealand economy. The Hui noted trends in Māori achievement in education, the labour market and culture.

More Māori participate in **education**, especially preschool and tertiary, than ever before (Ministry of Education 2005).

- Māori enrolments in early childhood education have been increasing steadily over the past decade. By 2003, 88 percent of Māori students entering primary school had attended some form of early childhood education or child care.[18]

- More Māori complete compulsory education (through age 16). In 1986 an estimated 47 percent of Māori 16 year-olds stayed in school, this increased to 63 percent by 2003 – influenced also by an increase in the school-leaving age from 15 to 16 in the early 1990s.

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[16] See, for example, the recent factsheet on Māori in contemporary music:
http://www.tpk.govt.nz/publications/docs/contemp_music.pdf.
[17] Background papers and proceedings of the Hui Taumata can be found at:
http://www.huitaumata.Māori.nz/
[18] Note that this figure includes all types of licensed and unlicensed services. In 2004, 84 percent of Māori early childhood enrollments were in licensed kindergartens, education and care services, and kōhanga reo. For a full breakdown, see Ministry of Education, 2005c, Table 5, p. 117.

- Fewer Māori leave school without formal qualifications. In 2003 the share of Māori leaving school without qualifications fell to 30 percent, from 38 percent in 1990.[19]

- Tertiary education participation of Māori has expanded exponentially from 7 percent in 1998 to 20 percent in 2003, exceeding the national participation rate of 13 percent.

Māori **employment** has rebounded from the recession of the early 1990s. More Māori are participating in the labour force and unemployment has reached a record low (Department of Labour 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

- Māori labour market participation reached 67 percent in 2005, after falling to 45 percent in 1996.

- Māori employment rates recovered from 45 to 61 percent between 1996 and 2005.

- Māori unemployment reached a 20-year low at 8 percent in March 2005.

- Increasing labour market participation has lifted income levels for many Māori. Between 1997/98 and 2003/04 the share of Māori with no, or low, incomes declined, while the share of Māori with incomes above a peak level of $550[20] per week increased (Dixon and Maré 2004).[21]

Recent decades have marked a revitalization of Māori **culture**. This has included increased support for Māori language and increased support to iwi for cultural development.

- Today nearly 42 percent of Māori adults have some level of competency in te reo, the Māori language (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2002). Revitalization of Māori language has been recognized as an international success story (Fishman, 2000; Browne, 1996).

- Participation in Māori immersion schools and bilingual programmes has escalated. By 2003 there were 526 kōhanga reo (preschools) and 61 kura kaupapa (primary schools).[22]

- The number of international visitors to New Zealand participating in Māori cultural activities (including cultural performances, marae visits, etc.) increased by 11 percent between 1998 and 2003. Approximately 20 percent of international tourists participate in these activities.

A Dynamic and Young Population

Māori comprise a larger share of the total population than indigenous peoples in other countries in the world. According to Statistics New Zealand's 2004 estimates, 620,000 individuals identify as Māori, or 15 percent of New Zealand's population of

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[19] From 1990-2001 'qualifications' refers to those students who received at least a school certificate; from 2002 it refers to those students receiving at least 14 NCEA credits.
[20] Unless otherwise specified '$' refers to New Zealand dollars throughout the report.
[21] Low incomes are defined as $150-200 per week (Dixon and Maré 2004).
[22] Kohanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori enrollments have declined in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Trends are discussed further in chapter 5.

4.1 million. Māori make up an increasing share of New Zealand's population. Projections suggest that Māori will become 17 percent of the total population by 2021 (Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

The Māori population is young compared with the rest of New Zealand. The Māori population is also growing more rapidly. Growth is driven by higher than average fertility, intermarriage, and a younger age structure. While Māori fertility has been declining and converging with non-Māori since the 1960s, it remains higher at 2.7 births per woman, in comparison with 1.9 for non-Māori.

High rates of intermarriage underscore the increasingly diverse ethnic composition of the population. Nearly one-quarter of Māori children were born to non-Māori mothers in 2003, and 57 percent of Māori children have a parent who identifies with European ethnicity.[23] The Māori population is also significantly younger than the national average. In 2001, 25 percent of children in New Zealand were Māori. The median age of Māori is 22 compared with 37 for non-Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

Estimates of the size of the Māori population are influenced by how Māori ethnicity is defined in the census. Challenges of collecting ethnic-related data are common across countries.[24] Ethnicity is a dynamic concept which is not conducive to the types of rigid classifications required by quantitative surveys. The national statistical office, Statistics New Zealand, has wrestled with questions of how best to define Māori in the census and other data sources. The definition has changed over time from a biological definition based solely on descent, to include self-identification. Since 1991, the census has included questions on both descent and ethnicity. In the 2001 census almost 78,000 more people identified as having Māori descent than identified as being of Māori ethnicity. It has also been possible for census respondents to identify with more than one ethnic group.

Changes to the definition of Māori influence the comparability of data over time. There are also issues of comparability across datasets which use different definitions of ethnicity.[25] Statistics New Zealand has attempted to resolve these inconsistencies by conducting a review of ethnic data with an aim to reaching consensus on definitions and approaches (Statistics New Zealand, 2004a). New Zealand's approach to defining ethnicity in the census provides a useful example for other countries. Further discussion is included in Annex 2 following this chapter.

Economic Recovery and Māori

Recovery since the recession of the early 1990s has made a difference in the living standards and welfare of all New Zealanders, including Māori. Because Māori are integrated across sectors of the economy, their welfare is connected to overall

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[23] Note that in the 2001 census respondents were able to identify with multiple ethnic groups.
[24] Refer to Hall and Patrinos, 2005 for a discussion of data on indigenous peoples in Latin America; Ringold, et al., on measuring the Roma minority in Central and Eastern Europe; and papers from the IAOS satellite meeting on "Measuring Small and Indigenous Populations," at http://www.stats.govt.nz/about-us/events/satellite-meeting/
[25] For example researchers identified a significant bias in Māori mortality rates resulting from differing data collection methodologies in mortality and census records which make up the numerator and denominator of mortality rates. See Ajwani, et al., 2003.

economic dynamics. A salient theme of the 2005 Hui Taumata was the interdependence of Māori with the New Zealand economy as a whole.

Māori make a significant contribution to the wider economy as workers, owners, investors and consumers (Whitehead and Annesley, 2005). This close relationship is illustrated in Figure 2.1, which shows trends in Māori employment and GDP growth. Māori employment plummeted during the restructuring of the 1980s, and fell again following the oil shocks of the mid 1990s and the 1997 Asian crisis.

Figure 2.1: Economic Growth and Māori Employment
(annual average % change)
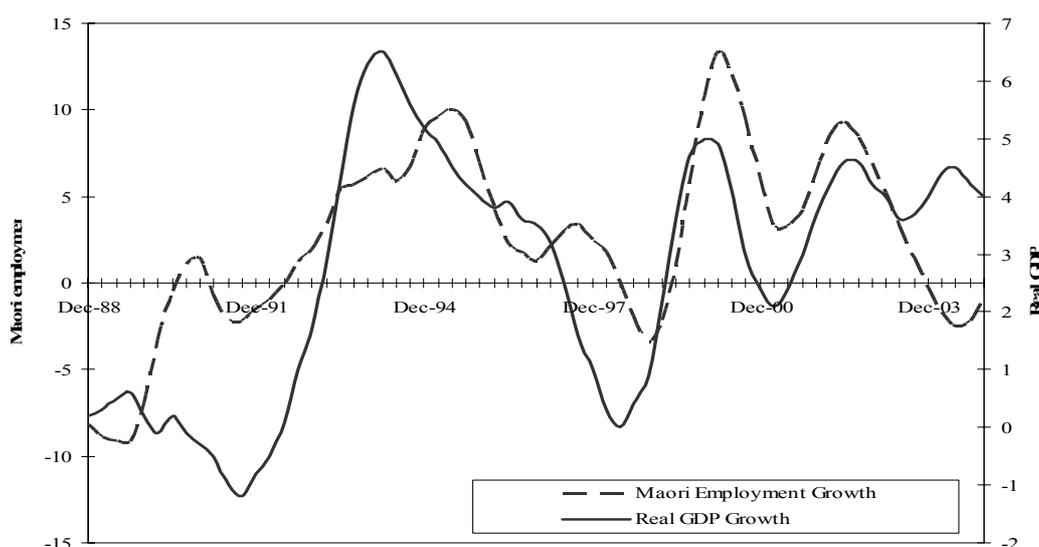
Source: Statistics New Zealand.

The recovery of the labour market since the economic downturn of the early 1990s has been a key factor driving improved economic performance. While New Zealand's unemployment rate was 11 percent in 1992, by mid-2005 it had reached 3.9, the lowest rate in the OECD.[26] Labour market expansion has been especially critical for Māori who were most adversely affected by the economic reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s. Māori unemployment peaked at 27 percent in March 1992, nearly 18 percentage points higher than non-Māori unemployment of 9.5 percent.

During the 1950s through early 1970s many Māori migrated out of rural areas to take up low-skilled jobs in the expanding manufacturing sector. By the 1980s Māori were disproportionately represented in sectors affected by restructuring, including manufacturing and freezing works. Skill differentials were low and Māori earned comparatively well despite their comparatively low levels of education. For example, according to the 1961 census average annual incomes of Māori men were 90 percent of non-Māori. Consequently there were low incentives for Māori to improve their skill sets. Sectoral changes started to erode manufacturing jobs. In particular many Māori were employed in freezing works, processing subsidised sheep.

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[26] March 2005 quarterly data from the Household Labour Force Survey quoted at http://www.stats.govt.nz/.

Growing automation and amalgamation in freezing works in conjunction with the removal of farm subsidies in the 1980s eroded this form of employment. Further structural economic reforms during the 1980s including tariff reductions, disproportionately impacted on Māori. At the same time disinflation from near 20 percent inflation in the mid 1980s to low single digits in the early 1990s, associated with considerable real exchange rate appreciation, squeezed the farming, forestry and manufacturing sectors in which many Māori were employed. Being the less skilled people in more vulnerable sectors, Māori suffered disproportionately (Chapple, 1999).[27]

Māori employment levels have rebounded since the mid-1990s. Between 1995 and 2004 average Māori employment grew at 3.6 percent per annum, exceeding the non-Māori rate of 2 percent. Initially, Māori employment growth was driven by an increase in part-time employment. However, since December 2000, full-time employment growth has become the main source of employment. Employment rates of Māori women have outpaced those of Māori men over the past decade – at 4.6 percent and 2.8 percent annual growth respectively. This trend held for non-Māori women as well.

Rising employment has improved living standards for all New Zealanders and for Māori in particular. Average incomes of employed Māori increased 8 percent in real terms between 1997/98 and 2002/03, and 16 percent for all working-age Māori (Dixon and Maré, 2005). Māori household incomes increased from 64 percent of the national average in 1992 to 72 percent in 1998 (Podder and Chaterjee, 2005). Increased labour market participation has driven improved outcomes across sectors through its contribution to welfare. Employment increases the ability of families to afford housing, and access education and health services.

Diversity and Disparities

The snapshot presented so far masks considerable diversity and heterogeneity within the Māori population. Understanding this diversity is essential for policy-making. Policies may have different effects on Māori living in different circumstances. Similarly, services need to take into account different types of variation within the Māori population.

Differences within the Māori population emerge along various lines. Traditional Māori society is organized tribally, and is by definition diverse. Māori belong to *iwi* and *hapū* (tribes and subtribes), and *whānau* (families), each with their own distinctive history, traditions and cultural attributes. These tribal distinctions remain, although the extent to which Māori identify with their iwi and hapū varies, especially given intermarriage and increasingly ethnically diverse families. In the 2001 census some 75 percent of Māori identified as being affiliated with one or more of 106 iwi. While some Māori identify strongly with their iwi, hapū, and whānau, others have less active connections. According to the census 19 percent of Māori did not know their iwi.

Māori outcomes diverge based on the type of ethnic identification. A number of datasets allow for the calculation of Māori ethnicity based on different

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[27] Thanks to Simon Chapple for his input on this section.

categorizations. Māori can be categorized as 'sole Māori' or those who identify only as Māori, as well as 'mixed Māori' who identify with more than one ethnic group. Analysis of the labour force survey found significant gaps in outcomes between sole and mixed Māori. Mixed Māori were more likely to have outcomes similar to non-Māori, while sole Māori had lower employment chances (Chapple, 1999).

Similarly, a study of incomes of Māori women found that women who identified as Māori and European, but more strongly as Māori had significantly lower incomes than women who identified mainly as European (Kukutai, 2004). While the reasons behind these findings are not well understood, they highlight increasing diversity within the Māori population because of the changing ethnic and demographic profile.

Diversity is also geographic and regional, based on access to opportunities, services and outcomes. Many of these factors are interrelated. For example, Māori living in rural areas lack access to employment or education opportunities accessible to Māori living in cities (Maani, 2002). A deprivation index constructed based on census data illustrates considerable socioeconomic diversity across regions.[28] The 1996 deprivation index illustrated that a disproportionate share of the population was living in deprived areas in the Auckland, Northland, and Waikato regions. For example, while 30 percent of New Zealand's population lived in the Auckland region in 1996, 37 of the deprived population, according to the index, was in that region. Māori and Pacific peoples were found to be overrepresented in the most deprived areas.[29]

There is evidence of deepening inequalities of outcomes along gender lines. Māori men and boys are increasingly falling behind in critical areas. Girls are more likely to stay in school at age 16 and 17 than boys, and at the tertiary level nearly two-thirds of Māori students were women (64 percent), (Ministry of Education, 2005b; 2005d). Māori men are also overrepresented among the prison population – 51 percent of which is estimated to be Māori. In other ways Māori women lag behind. Although the labour market status of Māori women has been improving, unemployment is slightly (3 percentage points) higher and their wages are below those of Māori men and non-Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri 2005c; Statistics New Zealand, 2004b).

Poverty and inequality

Analysis of recent income data also finds that not all Māori have benefited from the upward trends. Some Māori families still live in poverty, are unemployed, and are disadvantaged in terms of education and health status. There is a growing divergence within the Māori population between highly successful, well-educated Māori employed in high skilled jobs, and Māori who leave school without qualifications, face unemployment, or are employed in low-skilled jobs.

In New Zealand, as in other OECD countries, poverty is measured in relative terms. While New Zealand does not have an official poverty line, the Ministry of Social Development uses a threshold of 60 percent of equivalised income, net-of-housing costs, to denote low income. According to newly released 2004 data from the New Zealand Household Economic Survey (HES), 24 percent of family units with a Māori

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[28] The New Zealand Deprivation index is a composite index of variables including access to communications, income, employment, transportation, educational attainment, home ownership and other factors (Salmond, and Crampton, 2001).
[29] Analysis was based on 'meshblocks' the smallest geographic unit of analysis in the census.

adult were living below the low income threshold, compared with 19 percent of the total population.[30] This marked a significant decrease of 33 percent from 2001, a greater decline than for households with other ethnic groups (Perry, 2005). Rates of low income were higher for households with Pacific adults, and adults of 'Other' ethnicity (Figure 2.2). Of those family units under the 60 percent threshold in 2004, 16 percent had Māori adults.

There are significant caveats that need to be considered when interpreting these data. Firstly, there is overlap between categories – family units which contain a Māori adult may also have a Pākehā adult, and hence are included in both categories. Secondly, a significant number of Māori children – estimated at 20,000 in 2001, based on census data – are brought up in sole parent households with a non-Māori adult. While it is possible to calculate individual poverty rates from the HES data, it is only possible to include adults over age 15. Because of the younger demographic profile of Māori, this likely underestimates poverty among Māori.

Figure 2.2: Share of Low Income Family Units by Ethnicity, 1987-2004
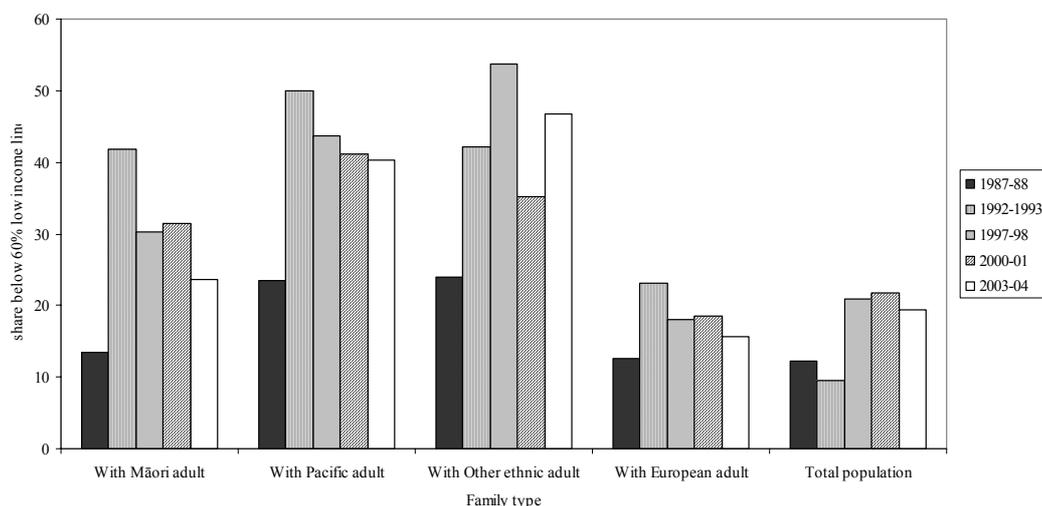
Source: Perry, 2005.

Increased employment levels have driven increases in real incomes for Māori. Between 1997 and 2003 the share of working-age Māori with zero income declined from 10 to 8 percent and the share reporting benefit income declined from 38 to 35 percent (Dixon and Maré, 2004). Overall income inequality during the period fell slightly as a result of the decline in the share of Māori with no, or low, incomes. Income inequality for working Māori showed little change. Figure 2.3 compares the income distributions of Māori and Pākehā in 2002/03 using a cumulative density function. The chart shows the share of the population group with weekly incomes below each amount on the horizontal axis. While the distributions of Māori and Pākehā are similar, a greater share of Māori have lower incomes than Pākehā.

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[30] Economic family units are benefit eligibility units. There are four types: a couple with or without dependent child(ren), a sole parent with dependent child(ren), and unattached individuals. A household may contain more than one economic family unit (from Perry, 2005).

Figure 2.3: Income Distribution of Māori and Pākehā (2002/03)
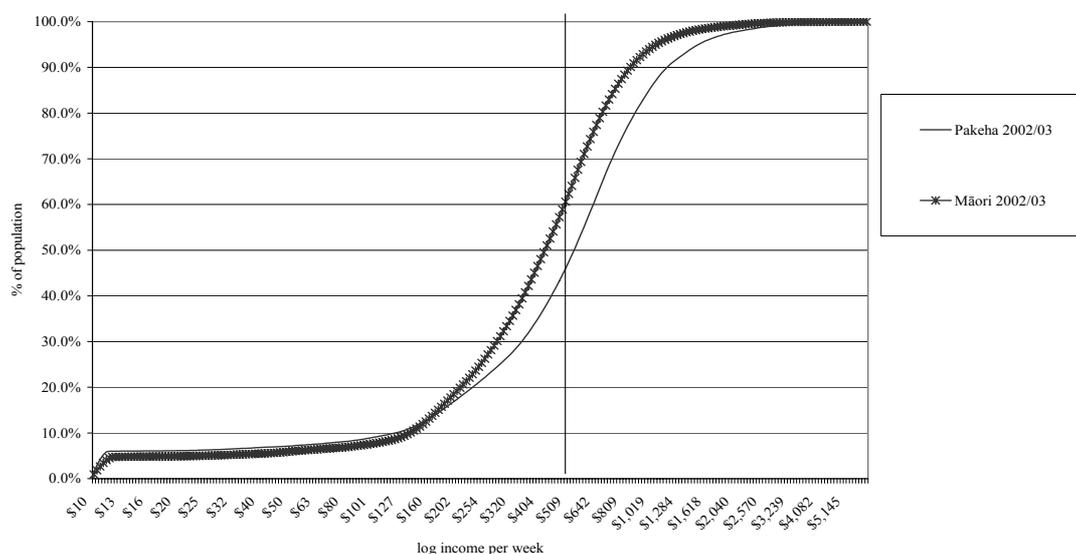
Source: D. Maré, 2005.

Analysis from the recent 2004 HES shows a slight increase in overall income inequality in New Zealand, driven mainly by growth in incomes of the top quintile of the population (Perry, 2005).[31] While a breakdown by ethnicity is not available, disparities in labour market outcomes and educational attainment, discussed further below, suggest that these patterns may hold for Māori, although further analysis is needed to assess these inequality trends by ethnicity.

Knowledge and Skills

Within the Māori population, there is growing divergence between well-educated, skilled Māori, and those who lag behind in qualifications and remain out of work, or in lower skilled jobs that are most vulnerable to labour market changes. Trends in skill development and labour force participation have led to divergent outcomes among Māori. While the share of Māori who leave secondary school without formal qualifications declined to a record low of 30 percent in 2003, this is still 18 percentage points higher than that for non-Māori. In 2003 over 2,900 Māori finished school without qualifications (Ministry of Education 2005).

There is evidence of inequality in Māori student achievement. Results of the 2000 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) found that Māori achievement in reading, mathematical and scientific literacy was on average below Pākehā (non-Māori/European) and Asian students, and below the mean of OECD countries. However, achievement levels vary widely within the Māori student population. In reading 26 percent of Māori students achieved high proficiency. Results ranged from the 5th to the 95th percentiles, a range wider than the difference in average literacy between Māori and non-Māori. This suggests that disparities in

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[31] As measured by the P80/20 ratio of incomes of households in the 80th percentile to households in the 20th percentile. The ratio increased from 2/73 to 2/81 between 2001 and 2004.

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achievement are greater within than between Māori and non-Māori (Ministry of Education, 2004b).[32]

Increased Māori tertiary education over the past decade has been a major achievement. Māori participate in tertiary education in record numbers – at rates higher than non-Māori. The total number of Māori tertiary graduates increased by 9,955 between 1997 and 2003, an increase of 153 percent. While the share of Māori with degree qualifications is increasing – to 6 percent in 2003, Māori are still more likely to participate in certificate and diploma programmes, rather than in degree-level courses. Māori remain significantly less likely to receive degree-level qualifications than non-Māori (Figure 2.4).

The escalation in Māori tertiary participation has been due in large part to the success of wānanga, which were established in 1993. Wānanga are public tertiary institutions that provide programmes with an emphasis on the application of knowledge regarding *ahuatanga Māori* (Māori tradition) according to *tikanga Māori* (Māori custom).[33] By 2003, 58 percent of Māori tertiary graduates were from wānanga. This increase in tertiary participation has brought many Māori adults back into the education system to upgrade their qualifications and knowledge. In 2003 58 percent of Māori tertiary graduates were over thirty years of age, in contrast with 38 percent of non-Māori.

**Figure 2.4: Share of Māori and non-Māori populations aged 25-64
by highest qualification 1997-2004**
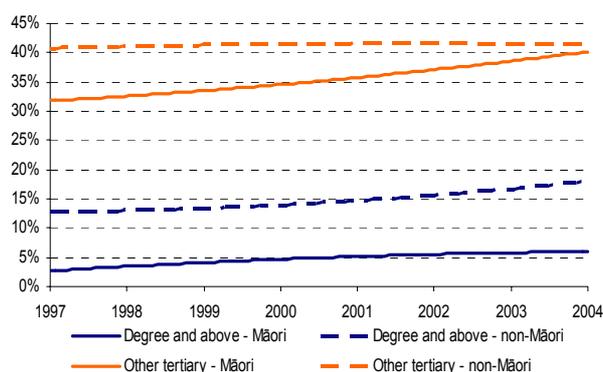
Sources: Ministry of Education, 2005e, data from Statistics NZ, Household Labour Force Survey (June quarters).
Note: Series have been smoothed using trend lines.

Participation in tertiary education pays off in the labour market. Those with qualifications are more likely to have a job and higher incomes than those without. In 2003, 93 percent of Māori with tertiary qualifications were employed. The type of tertiary education matters. For both Māori and non-Māori average incomes for graduates with bachelor's degrees are higher than those with other types of tertiary qualifications (Ministry of Education, 2005d).

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[32] Māori students also participated in the 2003 PISA assessment. This will provide useful data for assessing trends in Māori achievement, however the data have not yet been analyzed.
[33] Definition from the Ministry of Education glossary of education terms at www.minedu.govt.nz

There are some indications that returns to education are higher for Māori than non-Māori (Department of Labour 2005). Work by Maani on income and educational attainment of Māori between 1986 and 1996 found that returns to education were higher for Māori at all levels of education, implying that the cost of not attending school was greater for Māori than for non-Māori (Maani, 2002). More recent work by the Ministry of Education found that the value of completed qualifications is greater for Māori than for non-Māori. While Māori who have completed qualifications have similar incomes to non-Māori with the same level of education, Māori who have not completed qualifications have significantly lower earnings than their non-Māori counterparts (Ministry of Education, 2005d).

Increasing education levels raised the share of Māori in skilled jobs from 16 to 19 percent between 1991 and 2003. However, Māori continue to be overrepresented in low-skilled employment. The majority of Māori (65 percent) work in semi-skilled and elementary level occupations (Department of Labour, 2005). There are signs that Māori employment is adjusting to the changing needs of a knowledge-based economy. Since 1998 Māori employment has shifted significantly away from the manufacturing and construction sectors. Māori employment is growing in the service sectors, including business and financial services, and health and community services, however, the share of Māori employed in these areas remains lower than non-Māori (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Employment by Sector, Distribution and % Change				
	Māori		**Non-Māori**	
	% of total employment (2004)	% change (1998-2004)	% of total employment (2004)	% change (1998-2004)
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	8.9	19.9	7.8	-8.0
Manufacturing	17.9	-16.7	14.0	-13.4
Construction	7.6	-12.0	7.4	12.9
Wholesale and Retail Trade	19.4	1.4	23.2	2.2
Transport, Storage and Communication	7.1	-12.6	5.8	-0.5
Business and Financial Services	7.3	4.1	13.8	-2.3
Education	9.1	10.3	7.8	3.6
Health and Community Services	7.8	13.1	9.2	22.3
Other services	13.7	3.0	10.2	-5.8

Source: Household Labour Force Survey.

Trends in long-term unemployment of Māori underscore another way in which the benefits of labour market recovery have been disproportionately distributed within the Māori population. Between 1995 and 1999 Māori long-term unemployment increased faster than that of non-Māori. It began to decrease between 2000 and 2004 however at a slower rate than for non-Māori. This suggests that some Māori remain left out of the benefits of the economic recovery (Statistics New Zealand, 2005).

These developments in the labour market and tertiary education highlight policy issues. First, although Māori unemployment is at a record low, it remains over double

that of non-Māori. Reducing Māori unemployment, and particularly long-term unemployment remains a priority. Second, the type and quality of employment matters. Speakers at the Hui Taumata emphasized the need to prioritize up-skilling and diversification of Māori workers. New Zealand as a whole faces the challenge of ensuring that its labour force is equipped to meet the challenges of a globalised market economy.

Surveys of employers point to a notable skills gap which constrains overall growth and competitiveness. In a quarterly survey from September 2004, 54 percent of firms reported difficulties in finding skilled staff. While education trends indicate that the skill levels of the population are improving, adult literacy levels are below the OECD median, pointing to the need for overall efforts to improve the skills of existing workers. (Ministry of Economic Development and the Treasury, 2005).

These issues are particularly relevant for Māori who are overrepresented in unemployment and in low and semi-skilled jobs. There is an opportunity for investment in training of workers to allow them to move into more skilled and relevant employment. Without these type of interventions, Māori would again be the most vulnerable in the event of an economic downturn. The convenor of the Hui Taumata, Sir Paul Reeves, noted that in the recession of the 1980s Māori had been "last on and first off", but in the future should position themselves to be the "first on and last off".

Health Status

While there have been gains in health status over the past decades, there are stark ethnic disparities. Māori health status remains poorer than that of non-Māori. Higher rates of mortality and morbidity are associated with socioeconomic status, risk factors (particularly higher smoking and alcoholism rates) as well as access and effectiveness of health services.[34] Life expectancy for Māori remains below non-Māori – 8.7 years for Māori males, and 8.2 years for Māori females (Figure 2.5). These gaps in life expectancy widened between 1985-1987, and 1995-1997, but declined between 2000-2002, as Māori life expectancy increased at a greater pace than non-Māori.

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[34] For in-depth analysis of Māori health status and its determinants refer to Durie 1998; and Ajawani, et al., 2003.

Figure 2.5: Trends in Life Expectancy, 1951-2001
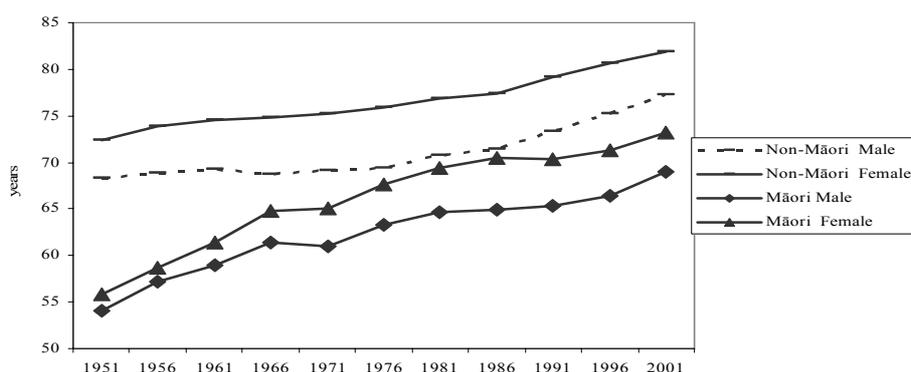
Source: Ministry of Health.

Māori health status is characterised by higher morbidity and mortality, particularly of cardiovascular diseases, asthma, cancer, diabetes, and unintentional injury (Ajwani, et al., 2003). Rates of mental illness are significantly higher for Māori. A recent survey of Māori patients of general practitioners (GPs), found that Māori, and particularly Māori women, were significantly more likely to have a diagnosable mental illness (MaGPIe, 2005). Suicide rates are also notably higher for Māori males.

Diabetes has become a particularly serious concern for Māori and is related to other health complications including heart, eye and kidney diseases, nerve problems and limb amputations. Diabetes prevalence among Māori has been increasing and is nearly twice that of non-Māori, at 8.2 percent compared with 3.7 (Figure 2.6).[35] Increasing obesity rates have been a driver of diabetes. Obesity rates of Māori and Pacific people are significantly higher than for the rest of the population.[36] In 1997, 28 percent of Māori women and 27 percent of Māori men were obese, compared with 17 percent of the total population. Rates for Pacific peoples were even higher at 47 and 26 percent respectively (Ministry of Social Development, 2004).

Figure 2.6: Diabetes Prevalence by sex and ethnicity, 2002/03
(% of population 15+)
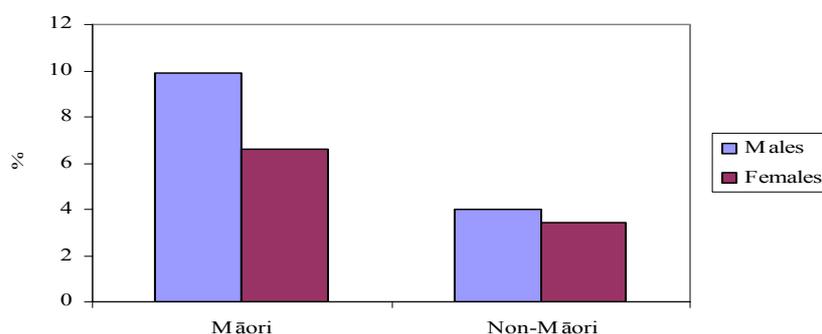
Source: New Zealand Health Survey, 2002/03

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[35] Based on self-reported diagnosed diabetes. This may underestimate prevalence, as up to half of diabetes may be undiagnosed (Ministry of Health, 2004c).

[36] Note that the Body Mass Index (BMI) cut-off for Māori and Pacific people was set slightly higher than the rest of the population. See discussion in the Ministry of Social Development's *Social Report 2004*, p. 159.

Ethnicity and Disparities

While the discussion above highlights correlations between ethnicity and disadvantage and social welfare, ethnicity in itself is not necessarily a cause of those outcomes. The available analysis suggests that the effect of ethnicity is much reduced when controlling for other factors. In other words when other characteristics such as education and skills are taken into account the difference between Māori ethnicity and poor outcomes, such as low income and unemployment, is reduced (Jacobsen, et al., 2002; Treasury, 2001). The remaining effect may be due to other factors associated with ethnicity, including discrimination, exclusion, or inappropriately designed services.

Summary

The past two decades have been a remarkable period of economic, social and cultural transformation for Māori. While the reforms and restructuring of the mid-1980s and early 1990s disproportionately affected Māori employment, economic recovery has brought unemployment down and the share of low income families with Māori adults has fallen. Participation in early childhood and tertiary education has escalated and the Māori cultural renaissance, marked by increased knowledge of te reo and participation in cultural activities, continues.

The period has also been characterized by increased diversification of Māori. Increasing opportunities for education and labour market opportunities have led to growing differentiation between educated Māori in high-skilled jobs and those who lack qualifications and skills and remain isolated from the labour market. Pockets of disadvantage exist among Māori which are correlated with lack of employment opportunities and regional disparities. Persistent gaps in health outcomes are of critical concern. These developments point to the need for policies which respond to the growing diversity of circumstances that Māori face.

There is a particular opportunity for on-going expansion of the skills-base and education levels of Māori to take advantage of the favourable labour market environment and the demand for higher level skills in the growing knowledge economy.

ANNEX 2: MEASUREMENT CHALLENGES: DEFINING ETHNICITY[37]

Measuring Ethnicity

A significant issue for policy-makers in countries with diverse populations is how best to measure ethnicity. Ethnic data are essential for designing and monitoring policies. Data are needed to assess the specific needs faced by different ethnic groups, and to determine whether specific policy interventions are required and are ultimately effective. A growing focus on outcomes within public policy and demand for evidence-based policy, has increased the interest in ethnic data in New Zealand. There has also been an increased concern with ensuring that data sources are comparable and consistent in their treatment of ethnicity. This annex summarizes some of the main outcomes of the review and the applications for other countries.

Ethnicity is a complex notion. So too is collecting information on people's ethnicity. People may identify with multiple ethnic groups, and may change their ethnic identification over time. As well as being time dependent, ethnicity may be context dependent. A person may be Māori in one setting, Tuhoe (an Iwi) in another, and a New Zealander in a third. Self-assessment may provide a different ethnic response to assessment by a family member which in turn may be different to assessment by an interviewer. Self-assessed responses may be different for different forms of ethnicity questions. The social meaning of ethnicity as opposed to responses to ethnicity questions, may shift over time. Being Māori in 2005 is different in meaning from being Māori in 1955 or 1905.

The process of asking ethnicity questions and the information thus provided can itself alter the meaning of ethnicity over time. Acquiring information on ethnicity may create as much as describe an ethnic group if there are policy responses which create financial and social incentives towards or away from the described ethnic group. In sample surveys, administrative data sets and censuses there is a need for simple questions with limited help notes which have low respondent burden. These constraints mean that capturing ethnic complexity and subtlety are difficult.

Increasingly in New Zealand, individuals record multiple affiliations, e.g. both 'New Zealand European' and 'Māori', this reflects high rates of intermarriage between ethnic groups and children of mixed backgrounds, e.g. from a Māori mother and a Pacific father (Figure 2.7).

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[37] I am grateful to Simon Chapple and Deborah Potter for their suggestions and contributions to this Annex.

Figure 2.7: Number of ethnicity responses, by ethnicity, for children under 10 years, Census 2001
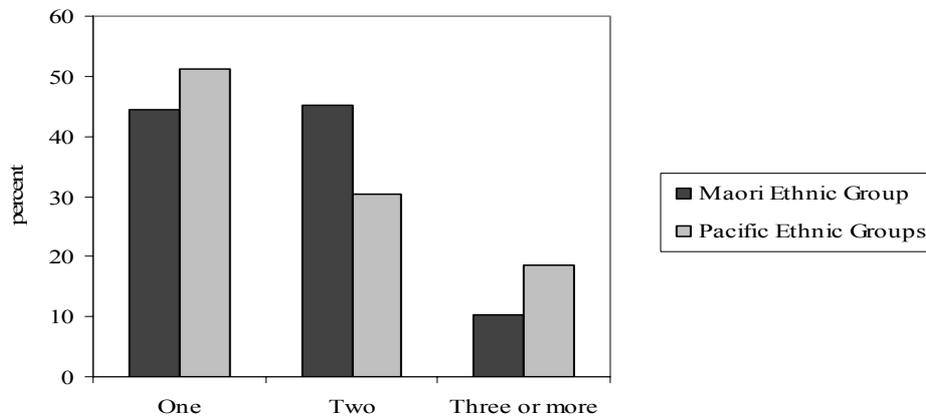
Source: Statistics New Zealand.

New Zealand has struggled with the question of how best to measure ethnicity in the census and other surveys (Potter, 2005; Statistics New Zealand, 2004a). These issues have been increasingly complex because of the growing diversity of the population. High rates of intermarriage, an increasing population of New Zealand-born immigrants and growing migration from an increasingly diverse set of countries have changed the demographic profile of the country. In addition, a growing number of people identified themselves as 'New Zealander' on the census, marking the emergence of a new category distinct from traditional ethnic groups.

Statistics New Zealand defines ethnicity as "the ethnic group or groups that people identify with or feel they belong to. Thus, ethnicity is self-perceived and people can belong to more than one ethnic group". Ethnic groups are defined as "a social group whose members have the following four characteristics:

- Share a sense of common origins;
- Claim a common and distinctive history and destiny;
- Possess one or more dimensions of collective cultural individuality; and
- Feel a sense of unique collective solidarity". (Statistics New Zealand, 2004a).

Between 2000 and 2004, Statistics New Zealand undertook a review of the measurement of ethnicity which included wide consultations with Māori and other ethnic communities. The review emphasized the need for collection of data on ethnicity and the demand for such data by Māori communities (Statistics New Zealand, 2004a). The review also underscored the dynamic nature of ethnicity and the need for a flexible definition which can be adapted over time.

Māori and the Census

Because of its comprehensiveness, the New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings provides a primary source of information on Māori demographic information and socioeconomic conditions. Official definitions of ethnicity, and

therefore Māori, have changed over time to reflect changes in the composition of the New Zealand population, and the views of communities themselves.

Early censuses focused on a 'race-based' definition of Māori, including a question on the percentage of Māori descent that the individual claimed. This was in place until the 1986 census, when the question on ethnicity was modified to ask respondents about their ethnic origin but did not indicate whether ethnic origin was based on ancestry or cultural affiliation.

In 1991 the census was supplemented to include both questions on ethnic affiliation, and Māori ancestry. This allowed for the calculation of three different categories of Māori: 'sole Māori' (including those who indicated both Māori ethnicity and descent), Māori ethnic group, and Māori descent. Modifications were made in the 1996 census, including wording which made it more explicit that respondents could report more than one ethnic group. This led to an increase in the number of people reporting multiple ethnicities, making data from 1996 an outlier. The most recent 2001 census incorporated small changes to the wording, but kept the overall direction of the 1991 and 1996 censuses.

Implications of the Review of Ethnicity

Statistics New Zealand's review of ethnicity confirmed the need to collect data on multiple ethnic affiliations and allow outputs to reflect increasing ethnic complexity. The review recommended that all official data sources should have the capacity to record up to six ethnicity responses per person and that all ethnic data should be collected at the most detailed, disaggregated level possible.

The review has led to an important shift in the way census and other survey results on ethnicity are tabulated. Past practice had been to 'prioritize' multiple ethnic responses to allow the data to add up to the total responses. For example an individual who selected more than one ethnicity would be categorized by the first ethnic group on the list, giving precedence to 'Māori', then 'Pacific Peoples', 'Asian', 'Other', and finally 'European'. This approach was discontinued because of the increasing number of multiple ethnic responses, and the potential bias on results. For example, an increase in Māori/Pacific identification would increase Māori numbers and decrease the total Pacific population counted.

The review recommended two alternate approaches. First, 'total response output' which totals all responses for each ethnic group. With this approach the total population based on ethnic affiliation will exceed the total number of persons – with ethnic shares exceeding 100 percent, because of multiple ethnicities. This approach can exaggerate the population shares of groups where people are more likely to identify with more than one ethnic group. The second, 'single/combination output' creates new mutually exclusive categories based on the responses. For example, a respondent who ticked both 'Māori' and 'Pacific' would be recorded as 'Māori/Pacific'. Statistics New Zealand plans to produce data results based on both methods. This will have ramifications across the public service on how data are collected and analyzed, and how data are used for policy-making. For example they have the potential to influence funding formulas for allocating expenditures (e.g. in health) which have been based on prioritised models.

The need for consistency across data sources was noted. The review emphasized the need for on-going collection of ethnic data, but recognized that there is much confusion about definitions of ethnicity and the interpretation of data. The review concluded the need for on-going research into measurement of ethnicity and for on-going education of respondents, users and producers of ethnicity data about the ethnicity concept. Statistics New Zealand have since produced several support papers for data collectors in response to this.

The review of ethnicity in New Zealand highlights a number of points with relevance for other countries.

- First, ethnicity is a *dynamic* concept. Individuals can identify with more than one ethnicity in different contexts. There is a tension between the dynamic notion of ethnicity and the need for consistent and comparable ethnic data for policy purposes. Countries need to continuously review methodologies to make sure that definitions and categorizations remain relevant (for respondents as well as analysts and data users).

- Second, *consultation* with ethnic groups can improve the quality of the data and acceptance of approaches and results. Outreach and on-going public education is similarly important.

- Third, increasing demographic diversity requires that surveys be equipped to capture *multiple ethnicities*. Multiple *output methods* are also needed to calculate ethnicity for different purposes, and to give a more complete picture of the ethnic population dynamic – as one standard view may no longer provide enough of a picture.

- Finally, *consistency* and *comparability* of data are critical. Attention is needed to ensure that ethnicity is collected consistently across data sources and over time.

3   POLICY APPROACHES TO MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

Policy Approaches

Policy approaches toward Māori development have varied over time – ranging from overt efforts to assimilate Māori into the mainstream, to support for separate services tailored to Māori.[38] Several key themes have characterized policy developments over the past two decades, including:

- A desire by Māori to take charge of their own development, and on-going Māori interest in greater self-determination, autonomy, and involvement in the policies and programmes that affect them.

- A recognition that policy approaches need to consider the unique history, culture and position of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand.

- A need to tackle socioeconomic disparities between Māori and non-Māori.

- An understanding that Māori welfare and success is closely linked to that of the broader New Zealand economy.

These themes have, in turn, led to tensions in policy approaches. In particular they have raised questions about whether Māori development objectives are distinct from development objectives of other New Zealanders. They also raise a basic question about separation versus integration – about the extent to which Māori development can be incorporated into mainstream policies, and the extent to which they should be addressed separately. Other formative policy questions have concerned how much of policies should be implemented locally by iwi organisations, how cultural considerations can be built into policy, and how to measure outcomes.

The government's current approach reflects a recognition that Māori development requires a multi-sectoral and multi-dimensional framework. The government's strategy for Reducing Inequalities, coordinated by the Ministry of Social Development, focuses on reducing socio-economic disparities including those of disadvantaged Māori. Complementing and building on this, the Māori Potential Framework currently under development by Te Puni Kōkiri, focuses on realizing Māori potential and expanding Māori success for those at all income levels.

This chapter traces a number of key episodes in Māori development policy and summarizes the current approaches through Reducing Inequalities and the Māori Potential Framework. It notes ways in which the Māori Potential Framework is unique and relevant for other countries.

The 1984 Hui Taumata

Following its election, the Fourth Labour Government convened a series of summits intended to launch its reform programme. The first event, an economic summit, launched widespread reforms to liberalize the economy and restructure the public sector. The second major summit was the Hui Taumata focusing on Māori economic

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[38] The 1960 Hunn Report on the Department of Maori Affairs is an example of the assimilationist approach.

development which was held in October 1984. The Hui, chaired by then Minister of Māori Affairs Hon Koro Wetere, was an unprecedented gathering of nearly 200 Māori leaders that aimed to reach an understanding of the economic challenges facing Māori and to "discuss key policy issues and seek endorsement of the policies, which will lead the Māori people to a truly equal status in the economic and social life of New Zealand" (Wetere, 1984).

Speakers at the Hui stressed the interdependence of Māori economic success within the overall New Zealand economy and the need to shift government resources from 'negative' spending on social benefits and assistance to 'positive' allocations to education and the future development of Māori.[39] A strong message emerged, backing devolution to iwi authorities and Māori taking charge of their own resources and assets. This was consistent both with the interests of Māori for greater self-determination and involvement, and the government's economic reform programme.

The Hui called for the government to support Māori development, not to direct it. In his opening remarks Prime Minister Hon David Lange noted that the government would have to "be responsive to the direction of the Māori people", and "must not allow itself to become an obstacle". The Prime Minister continued to announce expanded resources for Te Kōhanga Reo, preschool 'language nests' initiated and run by Māori.[40] The themes introduced at the 1984 Hui Taumata prepared the ground for influential policy directions, such as devolution and increased involvement of Māori in the delivery of services, and the revitalization of Māori language and culture (Durie, 2005).

In 1989 the Department of Māori Affairs was disbanded and replaced by the Iwi Transition Agency and the Ministry of Māori Affairs. The aim of the Iwi Transition Authority was to strengthen devolution and expand the role of iwi authorities as asset managers and service providers. The Ministry was established as a policy agency, consistent with the public sector reforms which split policy and operational functions.

Ka Awatea

The Iwi Transition Authority was disbanded by the new National government administration in 1991, although the devolution of responsibility for service delivery to iwi continued. New Zealand fell into a deep recession in the late 1980s and early 1990s. By the time the new government took office Māori unemployment had reached 19 percent (Ministry for Māori Affairs, 1991). In this context the Ministry for Māori Affairs appointed a Ministerial Planning Group in January 1991 to assess Māori poverty and welfare, formulate strategies, and to identify a future course for government action (Ministry for Māori Affairs, 1991).

The result of the Planning Group was a report, *Ka Awatea*, that laid out a new strategic orientation in Māori affairs. The report restated the government's objectives: "that Māori have a distinctive and unique place in New Zealand society that must be preserved and enhanced; and that Māori must be able to participate fully in the future development of the nation". *Ka Awatea* recognized that many factors fed into Māori poverty and disadvantage, that a similarly large range of efforts had to be coordinated

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[39] See closing remarks by Professor Ralph Love, pp. 3C.5-3E-2 in Wetere, 1984.
[40] Kohanga reo are discussed further in Chapter 5.

across government departments, and that Māori-specific issues had to be considered within the larger framework of national policies.

The new strategy argued that mainstream government departments needed to take more responsibility — and be held accountable — for achieving the government's objective for Māori:

> In order to meet their responsibilities to deliver services to all New Zealanders, government agencies must continue to be aware that a growing proportion of their clients are Māori. The disparities in every measure of Māori well-being deserve specific targeting and resourcing to achieve the highest standards of services possible.

Ka Awatea called simultaneously for greater attention to Māori by mainstream departments and for a reorientation of the Ministry of Māori Affairs from service delivery toward coordinating government efforts. Recommendations included the establishment of a specialist Māori agency within the Ministry to take charge of policy, operations, auditing/liaison, and strategic planning.

The cabinet later confirmed its intention to move toward 'mainstreaming' services, shifting responsibility for financing and delivering services for Māori from the Department of Māori Affairs to line ministries (e.g. Health, Education, Social Welfare). With mainstreaming the bulk of public spending on Māori was shifted to line ministries. Responsibility for reducing Māori socioeconomic disparities was incorporated into the work programmes of government departments. This was consistent with the new government's overall objective of establishing collective responsibility (Owen, 1998). Mainstream departments had to produce; the Ministry of Māori Development had only to monitor.

Many of the themes of the report, including the close inter-linkages between the economic success of Māori and the country as a whole, the need to support Māori culture, and the need to ensure that Māori lead the development approaches that affect them, remain resonant:

> Reversal of the disparities between Māori and non-Māori will not be easy and will not be solved by any single policy initiative. The solution lies both in improvement of the New Zealand economy and in special policy initiatives directed to ensuring Māori are able to participate positively and equitably in the social and economic life of New Zealand.

> The present situation will only be reversed by strategies which ensure a secure place for Māori in New Zealand, while at the same time preserving cultural integrity. Similarly, strategies that are imposed on, rather than proposed and supported by Māori have not succeeded in the past and are unlikely to do so in the future.

Closing the Gaps

In 1999 the incoming Labour Government made Māori development a central focus of its platform. Its 'Closing the Gaps' initiative was managed out of the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC). While government departments had

previously been supporting Māori-related programmes, the Closing the Gaps package increased their number and visibility. At the time Māori unemployment was high, although it was beginning to recover from the restructuring of the mid-1980s. There was increasing interest in services delivered 'by Māori, for Māori'. Demand for Māori immersion education was growing as the first generation of graduates from Māori immersion preschools (kōhanga reo) were starting secondary school. Māori health providers were just starting up.

The Closing the Gaps initiative took as its starting point the disparities between Māori and non-Māori in terms of poverty, employment, education, health, social welfare and justice. These disparities were highlighted by a report published by Te Puni Kōkiri in 1998, *Progress Toward Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and Non-Māori*, which documented the status of Māori across socioeconomic indicators and aimed to set a benchmark for measuring future progress. A follow-up report was released in 2000.

The Closing the Gaps approach sought to support a multisectoral and multi-pronged strategy for Māori development, including strengthening the monitoring and coordination role of Te Puni Kōkiri; enhancing mainstream departments' accountability for Māori outcomes; and building the capacity of Māori iwi, hapū, and whānau to manage and participate in policy making and service delivery. The Labour platform noted that "[r]esearch shows that results are best where indigenous people are able to determine their own way forward and set their own priorities" (Labour, 1999).

Starting in the 2000/01 budget year the Closing the Gaps programme provided $210 million in contingency funding for new initiatives across departments aimed at addressing ethnic disparities and poor outcomes in general. These included support for a wide range of projects ranging from promoting school libraries in low-income areas to crime prevention, Māori and Pacific adult-literacy programmes, iwi partnerships in education, targeted active labour-market programmes, and programmes aimed at reducing domestic violence.[41]

Closing the Gaps marked the first time that some departments had undertaken targeted programmes to address ethnic disparities and provided an opportunity to experiment with a wide range of new approaches. But coordination across initiatives was limited. The package also raised a number of issues, including the ability of some government departments and local institutions to implement and monitor targeted initiatives. Te Puni Kōkiri was responsible for effectiveness audits of the initiatives under Closing the Gaps, but this focused on achieving outputs rather than evaluating them.

Reducing Inequalities

In 2001, in response to media reports portraying Closing the Gaps as giving Māori preferential treatment, the initiative was renamed Reducing Inequalities. The mandate was also broadened to encompass the reduction of inequalities for Māori, Pacific peoples, the disabled, and other groups. In 2003 responsibility for the programme was shifted from the DPMC to the Ministry of Social Development, which also

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[41] Monitoring reports detailing the specific programmes can be found at: http:/www.msd.govt.nz/work-areas/cross-sectoral-work/reducing-inequalities.html.

coordinates an intergovernmental officials' group to oversee the policy.[42] In 2004 the Cabinet refined the goal of Reducing Inequalities as one which:

> reflects fundamental principles relating to social justice – a desire to reduce disadvantage and promote equality of opportunity in order to achieve a similar distribution of outcomes between groups, and a more equitable distribution of overall outcomes within society [CAB Min (04) 13/2].

This approach aims to reduce two types of inequality, of outcomes and opportunities. Reducing the former focuses on reducing disadvantages, including tackling poverty and unemployment. The latter entails expanding access to the key determinants of wellbeing, including education, training, and health care.

From 2004 onward the focus of Reducing Inequalities has shifted from monitoring of the package of contingency-funded initiatives inherited from Closing the Gaps toward providing a strategic direction for reducing inequalities in overall agency activities, including analysis and monitoring of inequalities and further developing the government's strategy for reducing inequalities.[43] In 2004 the MSD undertook a summary review of evaluations of programmes addressing Māori and Pacific needs, including many of those funded through the Closing the Gaps/Reducing Inequalities contingency fund, and offered recommendations for further evaluative work. The summary found that very few evaluations were sufficiently rigorous to draw conclusions regarding outcomes.

Moving forward, the MSD continues to play a coordination role, managing the Reducing Inequalities policy across government departments, including support to departments for incorporating Reducing Inequalities into their planning, policy development, and service delivery. The MSD also supports and promotes cross-sectoral collaboration for reducing inequalities and providing feedback on results.

The Māori Potential Framework

In November 2004 Cabinet approved a new strategic approach to Māori development, the Māori Potential Framework (MPF). The framework is a macro-policy approach, intended to provide strategic direction both to Te Puni Kōkiri and the state sector as a whole. Te Puni Kōkiri is currently refining and testing the framework in order to implement it across the state sector by 2006. The following discussion is based on the current status of the strategy, which remains a work in progress.

The centrepiece of the MPF is support for the realization of Māori potential as a means to improving Māori welfare and well-being. This marks a conceptual shift – from a deficit and 'disparity-based' approach to a positive, 'strengths-based approach' that builds on existing successes. The MPF does not deny that socio-economic gaps persist and need to be addressed; rather it changes the emphasis, shifting to a broader multi-dimensional approach, encompassing social and cultural objectives alongside socio-economic ones.

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[42] The Reducing Inequalities Officials Committee (RIOC).
[43] Information on the Reducing Inequalities work programme can be found at:
http:/www.msd.govt.nz/work-areas/cross-sectoral-work/reducing-inequalities.html

The shift from a deficit orientation to a strengths orientation is driven by several factors. First, there is a recognition that a focus solely on closing socio-economic gaps could miss other objectives that Māori may have. Similarly, such a focus may constrict the range of policy instruments considered. Second, there is a desire to move from a negative approach that treats Māori as a dysfunctional problem to be solved to one that acknowledges Māori strengths and the positive contributions they can make. Finally, the approach recognizes that focusing on closing gaps may ultimately set Māori (or other groups) up to fail. Even if Māori make progress on certain indicators, if they do so at a different rate from the rest of the population, gaps may persist or widen over time.

Table 3.1: Key Features of the Māori Potential Framework	
More emphasis on…	**Less emphasis on…**
Multi-dimensional Māori potential, strengths, and opportunities	Single-dimension repair of deficit, disparity, and dysfunction
Investing in Māori as an integrated, but culturally distinct, indigenous community	Targeting Māori as a socio-economically disadvantaged ethnic minority
Investment in Māori people	Predominant focus on institutional responses

Source: Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005

Three main principles of the MPF as outlined in the Cabinet paper are:

- *Māori Potential*: The first principle reminds us that Māori are multi-dimensional, aspirational people, supported by a distinctive culture and values system. This principle seeks opportunities for Māori to change their life circumstances, to improve life choices, and thus achieve a better quality of life.

- *Culturally Distinct*: The second principle reflects the role of Māori and their indigenous culture within the wider society. This principle seeks respect for Māori as first people of Aoteaoroa/New Zealand and the cultural advantage with which Māori enrich their communities.

- *Māori Capability*: The third principle reflects the need to invest in Māori themselves as the catalyst for change. This principle seeks to build the capability of Māori people and their sense of having choices and power to act.

The MPF itself is based on Māori cultural concepts and values, as shown in Annex 2 to this chapter. The framework is depicted as a meeting house (wharenui), the centre of Māori cultural and spiritual activity. The four pillars (pou) of the meeting house represent dimensions that contribute to Māori success: rawa (resources); mātauranga (knowledge); mana (influence); and oranga (wellbeing). The four pou may be defined as follows:

- *Rawa/Resources*: Access to and use of cultural, intellectual, physical and financial resources.

- *Mātauranga/Knowledge*: Traditional and contemporary knowledge acquisition, protection, maintenance and transferral.

- *Whakamana/Influence*: The capacity to lead, empower, influence and advocate for individual and collective benefit.

- *Oranga/Wellbeing*: Physical, psychological, emotional and spiritual wellbeing.

The framework incorporates four levels of development of Māori potential (Te Poutama). Each of the success areas contains a hierarchy of the realization of individual and collective potential – from activation to development, and on through to full realization. The framework also recognizes the multiple actors and stakeholders that contribute to Māori development, including iwi, hapū, and whānau, the state and private sector, and other local, national and international organisations and communities.

Although its specific coordination mechanisms are yet to be defined the MPF provides a useful complement to the Reducing Inequalities framework. While Reducing Inequalities focuses on tackling disparities, poverty, and inequality horizontally across groups (including Māori), the MPF addresses Māori vertically through the income spectrum. Both approaches are needed.

The MPF can work within the Māori population, coordinating among whānau that may have both successful and less successful members. Similarly, some initiatives – for example, in the areas of language and leadership development –can work to the benefit of all Māori regardless of income level. On the other hand, Reducing Inequalities brings together work on poverty and inequality across groups and provides opportunities for coordination and learning. For example, Reducing Inequalities can help distil and transfer lessons from successful jobs initiatives for Pacific peoples to Māori and others.

The Role of Te Puni Kōkiri

The framework will ultimately be used to track progress of Māori across outcome areas, identify factors that contribute to the realization of Māori potential, and prioritize government interventions. Te Puni Kōkiri is preparing a baseline report that identifies where Māori are in each of the outcome areas. The baseline report will establish a benchmark for assessing progress in implementing the MPF and setting policy priorities.

Further work will be done to operationalize the framework for use within Te Puni Kōkiri and across the state sector, including guidelines on how to use the framework to prioritize investments and coordinate across sectors. Te Puni Kōkiri has lead responsibility for the roll-out and monitoring of the MPF. This re-orients Te Puni Kōkiri's role within the public service, shifting away from providing advice and toward leading and developing policy.

The relationships and coordinating mechanisms between the MPF and other government-wide initiatives will need to be worked out, including the MPF's relationship with Reducing Inequalities, Opportunities for All, Managing for Outcomes and other ongoing initiatives. Te Puni Kōkiri also aims to further emphasize evaluation and analysis as a basis for policy development.

Analytical Implications of the MPF

The MPF baseline report will describe where Māori are in relation to each of the pillars of the framework and levels of realization of potential. Work is underway to select and define the indicators that will be used in monitoring the framework. Indicators should incorporate Māori aspirations. For example, in the area of knowledge, in addition to more universal indicators of access and achievement in

education, measures would include familiarity and use of te reo and tikanga (customs). The area of well-being would include universal health measures, such as life expectancy and mortality, but also Māori concepts of wellness. Māori view health as a holistic concept that goes beyond physical condition to encompass spiritual, mental, physical and family wellbeing (Durie, 1998).

There is also an interest in identifying measures that reflect the diversity of Māori circumstances and go beyond averages. Traditional analysis, which compares the average of Māori to the average of non-Māori across indicators, is limiting since it masks intra-group differences. Addressing this could involve the development of new indicators based on whānau or other collective units, as well as more in-depth analysis such as distributional analysis of outcomes. A combination of qualitative and quantitative information can also provide a more complete picture.

In developing the indicators, Te Puni Kōkiri has a strong interest in ensuring that they can be easily used and understood across the state sector and by Māori and other stakeholders. Te Puni Kōkiri has adopted a number of criteria for selecting and adopting the indicators. Among other things the indicators should be clear, easy to understand, technically sound, amenable to measurement, available and easily collected, able to be disaggregated (e.g. by age, sex, region), and comparative – both with non-Māori and internationally. Finally, the indicators should be culturally relevant and have resonance with Māori concepts and values (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2005).

Relevance for Other Countries

Although in its early stages, the MPF encompasses exciting and innovative ideas and concepts that will be of interest to other countries, developing nations and OECD countries alike. The MPF seeks to cast a cultural lens over policy in an unprecedented way. This raises key questions about the definition of culture, how it can be incorporated into policy strategies, and the role of the state in investing in culture as both an outcome in itself, and a means to other types of outcomes (e.g. education and health). Other countries and international organisations could profitably follow the progress of the MPF to identify policy lessons for other contexts, especially as a tool for setting and monitoring policy. Several key aspects of the MPF have relevance outside of New Zealand.

Māori involvement, ownership, and participation
Māori are at the centre of the MPF. The framework was developed by Māori public servants in Te Puni Kōkiri and Māori will drive its implementation. The framework will be used for broader consultation with Māori stakeholders. The MPF is built on Māori cultural concepts and values and expressed through Māori language and symbols (e.g. the wharenui). This element of empowerment is critical. Numerous studies have noted that it is essential for a policy's beneficiaries to be involved in its design, implementation and monitoring (World Bank 2001; World Bank 2004).

However new thinking on culture and development points out that voice and involvement are not panaceas because of inherent social inequalities between groups (Rao and Walton, 2004). In other words, even if historically marginalized groups get a chance to express their 'voice', it will not necessarily influence outcomes. The authors note that "interventions need to be shaped in ways that recognize the relative disempowerment of weaker or subordinate groups in cultural, economic, and political

terms" (Rao and Walton, 2004). Still, the MPF is an important step because it provides a policy instrument for Māori to set objectives based on a cultural perspective within the wider policy setting.

Shift from 'deficit' to 'strengths' orientation
The central shift in emphasis from a negative, disparity-based approach to one based on strengths and the recognition of potential should be attractive for other countries, both because of its positive orientation and because of the broader range of policy options that it implies. The distinction goes beyond the mere use of positive rather than negative language. Moving away from the focus on socioeconomic disparity opens up a broader set of policy objectives and instruments. The European Union's focus on social inclusion has a similar orientation, aiming to shift away from addressing disparities with income transfers toward an active approach built around getting people into jobs.

In considering lessons for other countries the focus on gaps and disparities can be a useful one. Over the past two decades the work in New Zealand on improving data on Māori outcomes (particularly the evidence included in the *Closing the Gaps* reports) raised awareness of the serious socio-economic issues facing Māori and led to financing and development of a wide range of initiatives to accelerate progress in improving Māori welfare. The focus on gaps can be important for encouraging data collection for measuring and monitoring outcomes, and for raising awareness among the population as a whole of severe disparities.

As an example, in February 2005 eight governments of Central and Eastern Europe convened to launch a 'Decade of Roma Inclusion' to commit to making measurable improvements in the living conditions of Roma in their countries, with a particular focus on education, employment, housing, and health. The declaration signed by Prime Ministers and heads of state at the launch of the Decade stated: "we pledge that our governments will work toward eliminating discrimination and closing the unacceptable gaps between Roma men and women and others."[44] The Decade aims to increase understanding among non-Roma of the severe issues facing Roma and the implications for the wider economy and society, as well as to create demand for better data to shape and influence policy and monitor outcomes.

Dynamic focus on Māori potential
The concept of realizing Māori potential recognizes that Māori development is a dynamic process that moves at different paces for different subgroups and individuals. For example, while some Māori are participating in tertiary education and seeking labour market opportunities, others need additional skills. Realizing Māori potential requires support for mobility through investments that can increase access to opportunities and let them make the most of existing opportunities. This has direct policy implications, particularly the need to invest in knowledge and skills to position Māori to reap the benefits of current labour market conditions (as discussed in the previous chapters), as well as other opportunities to leverage the benefits of land and other assets.

Multisectoral approach

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[44] The Decade of Roma Inclusion is discussed further in the Appendix to this report.

The MPF is a multisectoral policy framework which incorporates economic, social and cultural objectives. It responds both to Māori cultural values and interests, and recognizes the multisectoral and interlinked determinants of welfare. As discussed in the previous chapter many issues that Māori face are multifaceted. Education is linked to labour market outcomes; health status affects the ability of people to work and send their children to school. This approach is consistent with Māori views and values, which define wellness and wellbeing as holistic, linked to spiritual, cultural and physical factors.

As the MPF is further developed its outcomes and objectives must be defined in a way that can be implemented across the public sector. In general, the government has increasingly recognized that outcomes require multisectoral approaches that cut across departments. This is the basis for the Opportunities for All New Zealanders framework of the Ministry of Social Development, Reducing Inequalities, as well as the Managing for Outcomes framework.[45] These types of 'whole of government' initiatives can challenge existing habits, such as working in 'silos'.

Recognition of individual and collective needs
The MPF recognizes that Māori are multidimensional. They are individuals as well as members of collectives, through their iwi, hapū, and whānau. Economics traditionally focuses on individuals as the economic unit for policy. Individuals, however, have preferences that shape their behaviour and interactions with the world. Development thinking has begun to recognize that individuals are also part of groups that shape their preferences, aspirations, and agency (Rao and Walton, 2005). This implies that it is not sufficient to invest in human and physical capital as contributors to development; rather, social and cultural capital are also essential for achieving equality of opportunity.

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[45] For Opportunities for All see: Ministry of Social Development, 2004b. For Managing for Outcomes see: http://www.ssc.govt.nz/display/document.asp?navid=208

ANNEX 3: THE MAORI POTENTIAL FRAMEWORK
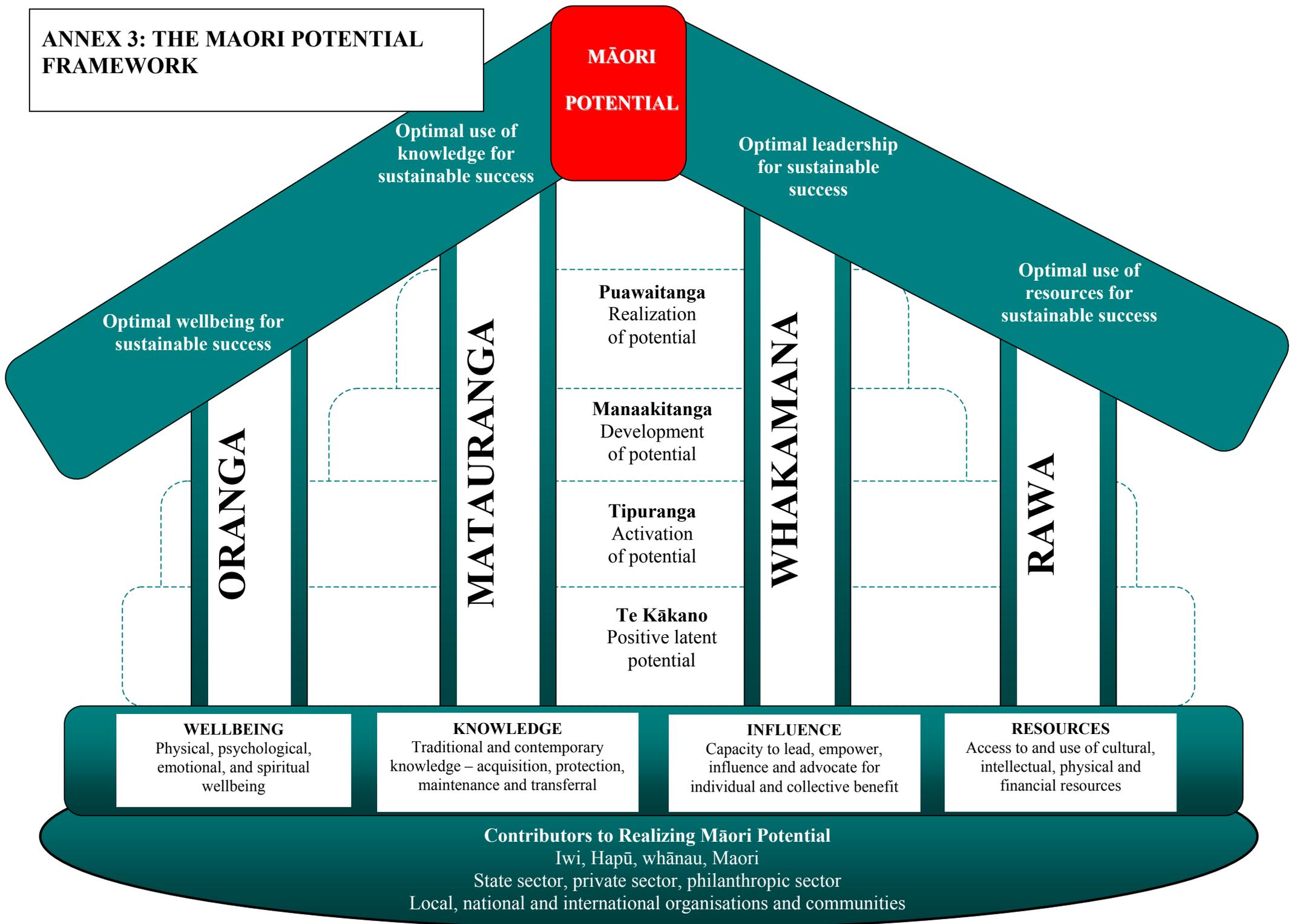
MĀORI POTENTIAL

Optimal use of knowledge for sustainable success

Optimal leadership for sustainable success

Optimal wellbeing for sustainable success

Optimal use of resources for sustainable success

ORANGA

MATAURANGA

WHAKAMANA

RAWA

Puawaitanga
Realization of potential

Manaakitanga
Development of potential

Tipuranga
Activation of potential

Te Kākano
Positive latent potential

WELLBEING
Physical, psychological, emotional, and spiritual wellbeing

KNOWLEDGE
Traditional and contemporary knowledge – acquisition, protection, maintenance and transferral

INFLUENCE
Capacity to lead, empower, influence and advocate for individual and collective benefit

RESOURCES
Access to and use of cultural, intellectual, physical and financial resources

Contributors to Realizing Māori Potential
Iwi, Hapū, whānau, Maori
State sector, private sector, philanthropic sector
Local, national and international organisations and communities

4   TARGETING AND TAILORING

Targeting

Public policies involve choices about how to allocate resources to achieve competing objectives. Governments make trade-offs in public spending for improving health and education outcomes, protecting natural resources, and investing in defence, among other priorities. Targeting is a mechanism for managing these choices. Resources can be targeted based on criteria such as income, age, geographic location, or ethnicity. With the exception of pure public goods, such as defence, nearly all government policies are targeted in some way. Pension benefits are targeted to the elderly based on age, while preschool and primary education programmes are investments in youth. Social benefits, such as New Zealand's domestic purposes benefit, are directed at low income households.

Targeting has potential benefits and costs.[46] If effective, targeting can ensure that scarce resources reach those who need them the most. This can further equity by transferring resources to the poor, and improve the overall cost-effectiveness of policies.   In the case of a social welfare programme, a well-designed targeting mechanism can ensure that resources reach low income households.   Similarly, targeted education and health benefits can increase the ability of poor families to send their children to school or receive medical care.

But targeting entails costs. The administrative burden of reaching beneficiaries can be high. Conducting income and asset tests to determine eligibility for a programme can be bureaucratically intensive and costly.   Other types of targeting – such as geographic targeting to a specific region or locality can reduce administrative costs, but run the risk of targeting errors if people receive benefits who should not be eligible (known as leakage, or errors of inclusion), or if people who should be receiving benefits do not (known as under-coverage, or errors of exclusion).

Targeting can also be divisive. It can be stigmatizing for beneficiaries and lead to resentment if some groups are viewed as being singled out for preferential treatment. This can especially be the case for ethnic targeting, as discussed further below. There can be political costs, if targeting discourages voters from supporting a programme. Finally, targeting can distort incentives for beneficiaries if the criteria used encourage people to adapt behaviour to receive benefits. For example, income targeting might encourage people to reduce their participation in the labour market if benefit levels exceed what they are able to earn. On balance, choices about how and whether to target a programme or policy need to weigh the effects of both costs and benefits.

Targeting and Ethnicity

Is ethnicity a useful indicator for targeting programmes and policies? In addition to the costs and benefits outlined above, a number of specific considerations arise around targeting and ethnicity. As with all types of targeting, the choice of whether, whom, and how to target depends on the objective of the policy or programme itself. In some

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[46] For a review of the experience of targeting of transfers in a developing country context see Coady, et. al, 2004. See also Treasury, 2004.

cases policy objectives might call for explicit targeting by ethnicity, for example, affirmative action programmes which aim to increase participation of an ethnic group in certain jobs or educational programmes (Box 4.1). Other programmes, such as in education, might have multiple objectives including strengthening of culture and language. In these cases there might be an interest in ensuring that members of an ethnic group are among the beneficiaries.

Box 4.1: Developmental and Preferential Affirmative Action Policies

Critics of affirmative action policies which grant preferences to groups based on ethnicity or gender, argue that affirmative action can reduce opportunities for others, if they are passed over in favour of those who benefit from the preferences. Professor Glenn Loury, a US economist, argues further that preferential affirmative action policies may backfire if they reinforce stereotypes that members of the disadvantaged group are less qualified than others.

Loury distinguishes between preferential and developmental affirmative action polices. Both approaches share the objective of increasing participation of an under-represented ethnic group, typically in education or employment. While preferential policies use different selection criteria based on race or ethnicity to expand access to opportunities, developmental affirmative action policies are designed to enhance the performance of the disadvantaged group.

For example, rather than give preference to black students enrolling in math and science courses, a developmental policy could support programmes to raise the achievement of black students through targeted summer courses, or financing of research assistantships. Such an approach could be targeted based on ethnic criteria, or tailored (as discussed in the next section), to encourage black student participation. Developmental affirmative action policies can be less contentious and politically difficult than preferential policies.

Source: Loury, 1999; World Bank, 2001.

Where there is a risk that certain ethnic groups might be bypassed by a policy, there can be a rationale for ethnic targeting. A community development project supported by the World Bank in post-conflict Kosovo in 2003 set aside 10 percent of its sub-project funding for Serb communities, 10 percent for Kosovar communities and another 10 percent for ethnically-mixed communities including Roma, Bosnians, Ashkaelia, and Egyptians. The project also included measures to encourage the ethnic groups to work collaboratively, such as on road construction, to build links between communities and support social cohesion (Gibbons, et al., 2004).

In the case of programmes which aim to address a socio-economic need, such as low income, poor school attendance, or health status, ethnicity may be a useful indicator for identifying the target beneficiaries. This does not necessarily imply that ethnicity is the cause of the need, rather ethnicity can be a marker which is correlated with need. The choice of whether or not to target by ethnicity would then depend on the reliability of ethnicity in predicting the need, relative to other information, and the availability and cost of collecting the ethnic data.

In most cases, ethnicity might be one of a number of factors which is correlated with need. For example, multivariate analysis might find that ethnicity, region, gender and number of children together provide the most accurate profile for predicting poverty. In this case, and assuming that the data are available and reliable, using ethnicity along with the other variables would be efficient for targeting. Targeting based on multiple indicators is known as proxy means-testing, and involves deriving a formula for eligibility based on statistical analysis.

Proxy means-testing can be effective where good data are available, or the additional costs of collecting information are low. For example, administrative data collected from unemployment beneficiaries could be used for targeting employment programmes. However there are also limitations, including the fact that the accuracy of the correlates in predicting need might change over time in response to exogenous factors, such as a regional economic shock (Coady, et al., 2004).

In some cases analysis might show ethnicity to be a cause, or determinant, of need, even when controlling for other factors. For example, in health certain ethnic groups may be genetically predisposed toward certain health conditions. In this case, ethnicity can be a useful piece of screening information for health interventions to prevent the disease. The fact that ethnicity is a causal factor should also be figured into how the policy is designed. However, this is a separate issue from the use of ethnicity in determining eligibility. Issues of policy design are discussed further below.

The political economy effects of ethnic targeting have the potential to be more divisive and contentious than targeting based on other indicators. The perception that certain groups are being singled out for special treatment may undermine social cohesion and fuel ethnic tensions. As a result governments may prefer to avoid explicit targeting by ethnicity and focus on other correlates instead.

As an example, in 2004 the Government of Slovakia set up a community development fund with the aim of supporting impoverished settlements on the outside of towns and villages. While the majority of the residents of the settlements are Roma, the government opted not to include ethnicity as a criteria for targeting projects. Instead the selection criteria were constructed based on other indicators such as long-term unemployment and access to utilities, so that the settlements would most likely be eligible. The criteria also encouraged Roma and non-Roma to work together on projects to bridge across divided communities. Outcome evaluation will be important to assess the effectiveness of this approach in reaching the most vulnerable communities.

Finally, identifying whom to target by ethnicity can be technically complex because of the difficulties of identifying ethnic groups in quantitative data. As discussed in chapter two, ethnicity is a dynamic concept which is not necessarily conducive to neat categorization on quantitative surveys. Individuals may have multiple ethnic affiliations, or be reluctant to declare their ethnicity in surveys. Continuing with the Slovakia example, the number of people identifying as Roma in the census has varied as much as 60 percent across years (Ringold, et al., 2005).

Targeting and Ethnicity in New Zealand

In New Zealand the increasing internal diversity of Māori means that, in many cases, ethnicity on its own may not be a useful indicator of need. Outcomes for Māori differ across areas – income, employment, education, and health. While a disproportionate number of Māori live in low income households, have poorer health status, and live in deprived areas, others are succeeding and would not be eligible for programmes based on measures of socioeconomic need. As a result targeting programmes aimed at addressing these issues based solely on ethnicity would be inefficient.

On the other hand, there may be cases in the New Zealand context where ethnicity in combination with other factors can be a useful predictor of need. The differences in outcomes between Māori with different types of ethnic identification also need to be taken into account. For example, the finding that 'sole' Māori are more likely to be unemployed than those of mixed ethnicity suggest that this information should be taken into account when determining eligibility for employment programmes.[47] However, singling out groups within groups may exacerbate the political economy concerns mentioned earlier.

In the case of health, ethnicity is factored into a formula used for distributing funding. The Population Based Funding Formula (PBFF) is used to allocate expenditures to District Health Boards for health services based on correlates of health need.[48] Population has the greatest weight in the formula. Other factors including ethnicity, age, sex and the deprivation index determine the remaining 2 to 17 percent of allocations. While other correlates of health status were considered in creating the formula – including smoking rates and mortality rates – they were ultimately not included due to data availability and quality (Ministry of Health, 2005).

Despite public perceptions to the contrary, very few policies in New Zealand are explicitly targeted based on ethnicity – such that being a member of an ethnic group would affect an individual's eligibility to participate in a programme or receive a benefit. Recent data on the share of government expenditures spent on targeted programmes are not available. However a review of budget data from 2000-2004, undertaken in 2000, found that less than one percent of total government expenditures was spent on programmes explicitly targeted to Māori (Table 4.1).[49] Another estimated 4-5 percent of government expenditures was allocated toward improving outcomes of all at-risk groups, but not solely Māori.

Of those expenditures that were explicitly targeted at Māori, the majority (35 percent) were in education, including financing for kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori schools, and wānanga. It is important to note that these services are not necessarily targeted

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[47] As discussed in chapter 2, 'sole' Māori are Māori who identify as being of both Māori ethnicity and descent on the census, 'mixed' Māori identify with multiple ethnic groups.

[48] In June 2005 the government decided, as part of the Review of Ethnically Targeted Policies coordinated by the Ministerial Review Unit, to request the Ministry of Health to remove ethnicity from the PBFF formula, and to develop an alternative based on morbidity and mortality rates. The Ministry of Health was asked to report on the new formula to the Cabinet Policy Committee by early 2006.

[49] These estimates are based on departmental budget data submitted to Te Puni Kōkiri. Significant caveats apply, including the difficulty of classifying expenditures across categories. Some departments, including health and police did not submit data, so estimates were included. See CBC (00) 19, "Government Spending on Māori: Process for 2000 Budget."

expenditures, as some schools include non-Māori students. Other sizeable targeted expenditures included those for radio and broadcasting services and land purchases under Treaty settlements.

Table 4.1: Estimated Government Expenditures on Māori (% of total budget)				
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
Category 1: Targeted solely at Māori	1.0	0.8	0.8	0.7
Category 2: Intended to improve outcomes for all at-risk groups	5.0	4.4	4.5	3.9
Category 3: Other expenditure on Māori not covered in 1 and 2	4.9	4.4	4.4	3.8
Total	10.9	9.6	9.7	8.5

Source: Te Puni Kōkiri estimates, author's calculations.
Notes: Based on incomplete budget data estimates.

Tailoring Services to Ethnicity

While few programmes in New Zealand are explicitly targeted, there has been much effort put into tailoring programmes and policies to make them more accessible and effective for ethnic groups. The distinction between services that are targeted through eligibility criteria, and those that are tailored to take into account the needs and preferences of beneficiaries is useful for considerations of policy design (Treasury 2004). Tailoring refers to how services are designed and delivered. Tailored programmes are generally self-targeted rather than exclusive. They are designed such that the intended beneficiaries are most likely to access the programme or service. For example, Māori language education is not restricted to Māori, however Māori are most likely to participate.

Services can be tailored in many ways through the location of delivery (e.g. within the community); the involvement of beneficiaries (e.g. as service providers); and the content (e.g. a school curriculum that incorporates local history and culture). Services in New Zealand have been tailored to ethnic groups, and to Māori in particular, through the devolution and decentralization of service delivery to communities; the participation of Māori in service delivery and governance; strengthened outreach and communication; and incorporation of Māori culture into services.

In New Zealand, tailoring has included the emergence of separate alternative Māori services such as Māori immersion education and Māori health providers. There have also been concerted efforts to tailor 'mainstream' services to Māori. In the context of service delivery, 'mainstream' is used to refer to services or systems which are intended for the population as a whole. Mainstream education refers to public schools that are not specific to a population group, as with health or other social services.[50] Tailoring of mainstream services is important, as an estimated 80-90 percent of Māori receive health and education from mainstream services.

Because of the high diversification of services, there is no neat division between targeted, tailored and mainstream policies. Targeted and tailored programmes can be delivered within mainstream services – for example bilingual classrooms within

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[50] For some, 'mainstream' has negative connotations as it is found to imply a value judgment – e.g. that anything outside of the 'mainstream' is abnormal. No such judgment is implied in here.

mainstream schools, or Māori health units in hospitals. An important distinction is between mainstream services (which may contain aspects of tailoring and targeting), and separate, or parallel services which exist alongside mainstream services. Examples are Māori immersion schools and Māori health providers. Tailoring has the potential to improve the quality of service delivery and outcomes through a number of channels, summarized below.

Increasing efficiency and responsiveness

Many services in New Zealand have been devolved, or decentralized, to iwi providers, community groups and other types of organisations.[51] Devolution has the potential to improve the efficiency of services, by making them more responsive and accessible to local needs and preferences (so called *allocative efficiency*). According to theory, local governments and organisations have more accurate information about the preferences of their constituents, and are therefore better able to respond and tailor services to those needs and preferences. However the efficiency argument for decentralisation based on local needs or preferences may be qualified by a loss of some economies of scale. Some local governments and organisations may simply be too small to deliver services efficiently. For example it may not make sense for every town to have its own secondary school.

Decentralization may also undermine equity, as the provision of public services becomes more dependent on local resources, and there is a risk of increased regional inequality in the level and quality of services provided. Another potential pitfall of decentralization is the risk that governance might substantially worsen at the local level due to either capture by local elites or insufficient capacity for local programme management and service delivery.

Strengthening accountability

Devolution and increased participation of beneficiaries in governance and service provision also has the potential to strengthen accountability of services, and eventual outcomes. Public involvement can increase the demand for quality services and strengthen incentives for providers. The World Bank's 2003/04 World Development Report, *Making Services Work for Poor People*, noted that accountability of services can be strengthened through greater responsiveness of politicians and policy-makers, who in turn can influence the policies of service providers – the 'long-route of accountability' (Figure 4.1). There is also scope for strategies to strengthen the 'short route of accountability', through which citizens can have a direct influence on service providers. The introduction of school and health boards in New Zealand, along with increased choice in service providers are examples of strengthening the short route of accountability.

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[51] Devolution is a type of decentralization defined as: "the transfer of real authority over the level and mix of local public services to freely elected and autonomous subnational governments, together with authority to levy the taxes and fees necessary to finance locally determined spending." (Wetzel and Dunn, 2000). In the case of New Zealand, devolution also includes the transfer to iwi organizations and other autonomous providers. For more on different types of decentralization refer to Litvack, et al., 1998.

Figure 4.1: Accountability Relationships
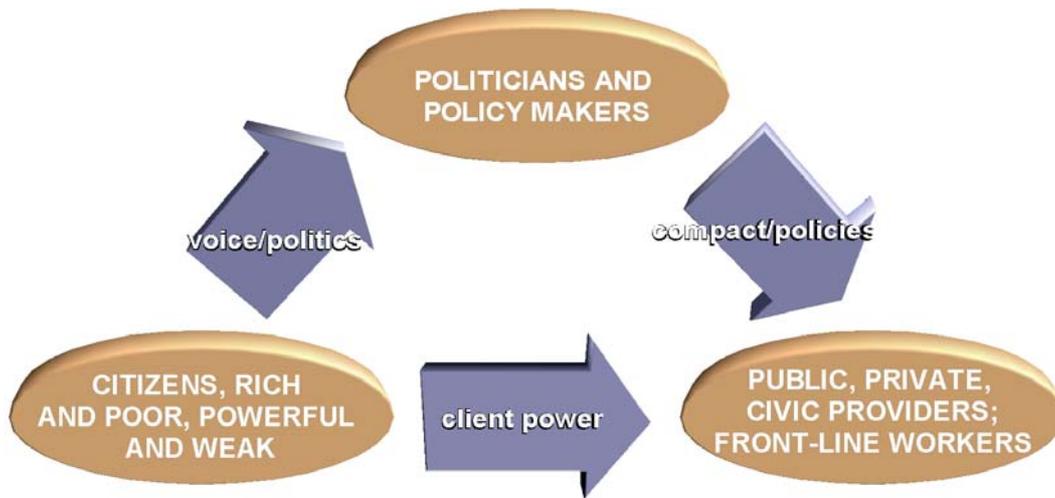
Sources: Hall and Patrinos, 2005; World Bank (2004).

Facilitating empowerment

Improving outcomes depends on well-functioning institutions that are responsive to the needs of the population. Equally essential are mechanisms to ensure that all population groups are able to articulate their interests and participate in decision-making. The World Bank's 2000/01 World Development Report, *Addressing Poverty*, identified empowerment as a central aspect of wellbeing alongside opportunity and security. Strategies for tackling poverty and exclusion need to involve poor people in the decisions that affect them. Particular efforts are needed to reach out to groups which may be excluded for reasons of gender, ethnicity and social status.

Strategies to promote empowerment include measures to make institutions more effective, as well as those to enable participation and strengthen the ability of individuals and communities to engage with institutions. Building human and social capital are important preconditions. Education can increase the ability of the poor to articulate and their interests and aspirations. Similarly, strong social networks and communities can increase opportunities for the poor to take charge of their own development. Policies for increasing empowerment can range from measures to increase involvement of the poor in governance and delivery of services, to investments in local organisations to increase their ability to engage in their own development.

Recognizing culture

Building cultural aspects such as language and traditions into policy and service design can be mechanisms for inclusion and empowerment of groups. There is growing evidence that programmes and policies that do not recognize the culture and perspectives of beneficiaries risk failure. In a new book on culture and development, the Nobel laureate economist Amartya Sen discusses the channels through which culture influences development, including through the behaviour and preferences of individuals and groups which in turn affect economic success; through value

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formation; and through social and community interactions. He notes that culture can be an end in itself, "[t]he freedom and opportunity for cultural activities are among the basic freedoms the enhancement of which can be seen to be constitutive of development" (Sen, 2004).

Culture can also affect the opportunities of different groups. The authors of the book introduce the concept of 'equality of agency', which recognizes that different groups have different levels of influence due to the different social and cultural contexts in which they live. Groups can differ in their influence for reasons of history, discrimination, and gender. As a result, equality of access to social and cultural capital can be important, in addition to human and physical capital, for overcoming inequality and poverty. This implies a need for policies that consider group, as well as individual agency, and for attention to different cultural perspectives (Rao and Walton, 2004).

Summary

For policy discussions it is useful to distinguish between targeting and tailoring of services. While targeting refers to how eligibility for services and benefits is determined, tailoring refers to how they are designed to respond to the needs of specific population groups. Tailoring can make policies and services more accessible, as well as more effective for ethnic groups, by involving them in delivery, increasing voice and empowerment, strengthening accountability, and incorporating culture, including language, values and traditions.

Few policies in New Zealand are actually targeted based on ethnicity, such that being Māori – or a member of another ethnic group – would affect an individual's eligibility to participate in the programme or access the service. Decisions of whether or not to target should be weighed based on the potential costs and benefits.

On the other hand there has been a wealth of experience of tailoring services based on ethnicity, and particularly to Māori communities. The following chapter looks at how education and health services have been tailored to Māori, by taking into account the specific interests and preferences of Māori communities.

5   MAKING SERVICES WORK FOR MĀORI, EDUCATION AND HEALTH

Tailoring Services to Māori

How have services in New Zealand been tailored to Māori? They have been designed to be responsive and effective for Māori in a number of ways, including:

- *Expanding Māori participation and ownership*. Growing Māori involvement in policy-making and service delivery has been a major development of the past two decades. Māori are involved in governance and ownership of services as members of school boards, representatives on District Health Boards and Primary Care Organizations, as well as numerous trusts and other community organisations. Māori own, manage and deliver education, health, and social services. More Māori work as providers across sectors, and there are many initiatives to involve communities and whānau.

- *Devolving services*. Devolution of responsibility for service delivery to Māori has been a strong theme of the past decades. Iwi, hapū and urban Māori organisations have developed services, and contract with various government departments.

- *Investing in Māori culture and values.* Aspects of Māori culture, values, and practice have been integrated into service delivery across sectors, ranging from education and health to corrections and social services. This has happened both within separate, alternative Māori services, as well as within mainstream services.

- *Strengthening outreach and communications.* Efforts have been made to improve the outreach of services and to tailor information to reach Māori communities. This has involved increased use of te reo and culture within public information campaigns, as well as embedding programmes within local communities, using local settings such as marae to deliver services, and involving community members in delivery.

- *Increasing choice for all population groups.* An outcome of the diversification of service delivery approaches and providers has been increased choice for Māori and non-Māori. Māori, along with the rest of the population, have greater options to send their children to Māori medium schools, and schools with varying levels of language immersion. They can seek health care through Māori health providers, or through mainstream services. A challenge of the increasing diversity of services is ensuring equity of access and quality. Not all services are available in all locations, those in urban centres areas naturally face greater options than those in rural areas.

These trends are evident across sectors. This section discusses aspects of tailoring in education and health. The discussion is not comprehensive, and rather focuses on key developments and themes. While the details of service delivery in the sectors differ, there have been similar strategic directions. Both have supported the growth of alternative Māori providers owned and managed by Māori, opportunities for Māori

participation in governance, integration of Māori culture in services, community involvement, and development of the Māori workforce as education and health professionals.

Education

Māori students make up over one-fifth of students in primary and secondary schools.[52] Raising Māori achievement in education has been a priority for policy-makers, Māori parents and students alike. This has included a combination of separate, Māori medium programmes, as well as concerted efforts to make mainstream education programmes work for Māori. Both are included the Ministry of Education's strategy to ensure that the education system is "far more effective in meeting the needs of all learners". The Ministry's mission as stated in its most recent Statement of Intent is to "raise achievement and reduce disparity" (Ministry of Education, 2005). While New Zealand's education system performs well by international standards, the gap between high and low achievers is the widest in the OECD (Ministry of Education, 2005a).

The Ministry of Education has developed its strategy for Māori education through a series of consultations with Māori communities.[53] The three core goals of the strategy are:

- Raising the quality of education in mainstream education.

- Supporting the growth of quality kaupapa matauranga Māori (Māori medium education).

- Supporting greater Māori involvement and authority in education.

How are outcomes in education defined for Māori? While educational outcomes are generally measured by achievement and assessment results, they also include cultural identity, language knowledge, and other dimensions of being Māori. At the outset of the consultation process in 2001, Professor Mason Durie defined three goals for Māori education as: (i) to live as Māori; (ii) to actively participate as citizens of the world; and (iii) to enjoy good health and a high standard of living. These goals underscore the importance of policy measures both to ensure overall quality within the education system, as well as those which respond to the specific need and interests of Māori communities and students.

There have been significant efforts within the education sector to make schools more accessible and responsive to Māori. Māori medium education has allowed for piloting of new approaches, some of which have been integrated into mainstream schools. This transfer of experience is of critical importance, as between 80-96 percent of Māori students study in mainstream schools.[54]

The boundary between Māori medium and mainstream education is no longer clear-cut. At the compulsory level, a growing number of mainstream schools have

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[52] Primary school refers to years 1-8, secondary is years 9-15. This section focuses on preschool through secondary education.
[53] On-going consultation meetings on Māori education have been held between the Ministry and Māori stakeholders across New Zealand. The Hui Taumata Matauranga process aims to maintain a collaborative relationship between the government and Māori, and to identify issues and priorities. Reports can be found at: www.minedu.govt.nz/
[54] Depending on the level of education and definition of Maori medium education. Four percent of Maori students in 2004 were studying in kura kaupapa Maori schools.

immersion and bilingual units. The Ministry of Education defines Māori immersion education, or kaupapa matauranga Māori, as education which is based on matuaranga (traditional knowledge), and tikanga Māori (customs). This includes kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori (primary and secondary schools), and bilingual immersion classes in mainstream schools (Ministry of Education, 2005a).

Māori Immersion Education

Since the first kōhanga reo was set up in 1982, many Māori families have chosen to enrol their children in Māori language immersion schools (Box 5.1). The size of the Māori immersion education sector has grown, and it is now possible for students in New Zealand to attend Māori language education from preschool, through primary and secondary schools. There are even some limited opportunities for study in the Māori language at the tertiary level. This section gives an overview of the Māori immersion sector and reviews efforts within mainstream schools to tailor education to Māori students. It focuses on preschool through secondary education.

Māori immersion education has multiple objectives. The kōhanga reo movement started with the goals of preserving the Māori language, teaching cultural traditions, transferring knowledge across generations, and providing education within a Māori cultural context. Māori schools and classes also aim to strengthen Māori ownership of education, and respond to Māori interest in self-determination, or tino rangatiratanga, as embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi.

There are also important pedagogical rationales. International research suggests that in certain contexts bilingual education, particularly at the early childhood level, can improve children's language and cognitive development, as well as strengthen their identity and self-confidence (Cooper, et al., 2004). Evidence from Latin America suggests that bilingual education for indigenous children can support school retention (Hall and Patrinos, 2005).

In 2004 there were 513 kōhanga reo centres, enrolling over 10,000 students, or 6 percent of children enrolled in early childhood education. Thirty percent of Māori preschoolers were in kōhanga reo in 2004. Enrolments have fallen during the 1990s and early 2000s. However the majority of Māori children (80 percent in 2003) in early childhood education are in centres with some form of Māori medium education (Ministry of Social Development, 2003). The kōhanga reo movement has catalyzed the establishment of 14 other early childhood centres which integrate te reo and tikanga to various extents. These services use te reo over 80 percent of the time. An additional 63 services use te reo more than 30 percent of the time (Ministry of Education, 2005a).

Table 5.1: Number of Students in Māori Medium Education by Type, 2000-2004										
	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	Total	Māori	Total	Māori	Total	Māori	Total	Māori	Total	Māori
Immersion school	4,860	4,850	5,038	5,028	5,828	5,797	6,358	6,346	6,832	6,808
Bilingual school	9,302	7,392	8,040	7,045	8,102	6,959	8,456	7,054	8,868	7,524
Immersion classes	4,478	4,379	4,285	4,217	3,669	3,612	3,940	3,892	3,837	3,768
Bilingual classes	10,731	9,736	10,502	9,290	10,267	9,286	10,328	9,384	10,042	9,027
Total Students	29,371	26,357	27,865	25,580	27,866	25,654	29,082	26,676	29,579	27,127

Source: Ministry of Education, 2005c.
Notes: Immersion school = all students taught in Māori medium for 20.25 to 25 hours per week.
Bilingual school = all students taught in Māori medium for 3-25 hours per week. School with immersion classes = some students in Māori education 20.25-25 hours per week. School with bilingual classes = some students involved in Māori education 3-20 hours per week.

The majority of children graduating from kōhanga reo continue on in mainstream schools. However there are a growing number of kura kaupapa Māori schools and bilingual and immersion classes. Enrolments have fluctuated, along with enrolments in Māori medium early childhood, as age cohorts move through the school system. Four percent of Māori students were enrolled in kura kaupapa Māori schools in 2004 (5,976 students), and approximately 14 percent of Māori students were enrolled in some form of Māori medium education at the compulsory level.[55] Forty-three percent of these students were in schools or classes teaching in te reo between 81-100 percent of the time, while the remainder were in classes using te reo for more than 31 percent of the time.

A 2002 ERO summary of evaluations of 52 kura kaupapa Māori found that some kura were highly effective at combining a focus on kaupapa Māori, effective teaching, governance, leadership, and whānau involvement. On the other hand, many kura still faced challenges in these areas. Most are relatively small, with an average of 84 students, in comparison with 267 students for all New Zealand schools. As a result they faced issues common to other small schools, including isolation and limited capacity to leverage economies of scale. The reviews identified particular weaknesses in administration and governance; teaching practices, especially addressing individual learning needs; staffing and personnel. Many of the schools lacked skilled and experienced staff. While kura are excluded from the requirement of employing only registered teachers, the demands on teachers in these schools can be greater than those on teachers in mainstream schools (Education Review Office, 2002).

The Ministry has been involved in a number of programmes to support Māori immersion schools and classes and to enhance quality of education. Many of these initiatives are undertaken in partnership with iwi organisations and other Māori stakeholders. Initiatives include networking of schools, curriculum development, the creation of assessment tools relevant for bilingual and immersion education, and professional development for teachers.

A significant issue for the growth of Māori education across types of schools, has been the need for teachers with sufficient language skills. The booming labour market has made this a challenge, as skilled te reo speakers are in demand across sectors. The Ministry has intensified its efforts to recruit teachers through scholarships and study awards. In 2003, 205 scholarships were awarded for Māori immersion students and 535 applications were received.

Who attends Māori immersion education? There is limited information on the socio-economic backgrounds of students. A 2004 study of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori schools found that about 50 percent of children participating were from low income households. Nineteen percent of students were in homes where neither parent was employed. The majority of parents who were employed were in professional jobs, a higher share than the total Māori population. The profile of families appeared to include a majority of lower income families, as well as professional families on the upper tail of the income distribution (Cooper, et al., 2004).

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[55] The majority are at the primary school level.

Because of the newness of the sector there is limited information and research on outcomes of graduates of Māori immersion education in comparison with graduates from mainstream schools. There is evidence that a high share of year 11 and 12 students in immersion schools achieved qualifications above the expected level (Ministry of Education, 2005c). Such analysis is needed to determine whether these trends hold controlling factors such as the students' and parents' backgrounds. There is also a need for evaluation of the further education and labour market outcomes of immersion and mainstream school graduates.

Box 5.1: Kōhanga Reo

The Kōhanga Reo, or 'language nest' movement paved the way for Māori language education in New Zealand, and has been cited internationally for its contributions to language revitalization, early childhood education, and Māori development more broadly. The movement's example of a 'by Māori, for Māori' service catalyzed Māori-led initiatives in other areas, including health and social services. In 1987, the then Minister for Māori Affairs, Koro Wetere, cited the importance of the movement for Māori development as a whole:

"The ultimate objective of Te Kōhanga Reo is nothing less than the rebirth of the Māori nation as an equal but separate element contributing to the common good of New Zealand society."

The first kōhanga was piloted at Wainuiomata outside of Wellington in 1981. While the primary objective of kōhanga reo was to support the retention of te reo by ensuring that children were immersed in the language from an early age, the approach was designed to be comprehensive, involving cultural, social, economic and educational aspects, and supporting the development and involvement of whānau, through their involvement in the programme. The programme had an important employment impact by creating opportunities, in particular for Māori women who were particularly disadvantaged on the labour market at the time. The approach also had an aim of preserving and transferring traditional Māori knowledge across generations, by having community elders teach children.

The design and philosophy of kōhanga is embedded in Māori culture and organisation. Decision-making and administration are modelled on whānau structures. Teachers (kaiko) are assisted by older women (kuia) and parents. The focus on parental involvement has had the effect of bringing many adult Māori back in contact with the language and with education. Many kōhanga were set up by iwi and hapū organisations at marae, and were linked with other activities involving the wider whānau.

The kōhanga reo movement spread rapidly. The government provided seed funding of $45,000 for five pilot centres. Within 12 months 107 centres had been set up with additional funding of $535,000 from the Department of Māori Affairs and the Māori Education Foundation. Seven years later over 600 kōhanga were in operation. In 2004 there were 513 kōhanga reo centres, enrolling 10,319 students. The decline in the numbers of kōhanga has been due to consolidation of centres, as well as the growth of other types of Māori early childhood programmes.

Each centre is set up as an autonomous body, but is accountable to the Kōhanga Reo National Trust which sets and manages policy for the organisation.

The kōhanga movement has influenced mainstream education through its model of introducing language and culture into curriculum and pedagogy, and its strong emphasis on family and community. Aspects of the kōhanga reo curriculum have been picked up by other schools. Since its founding, kōhanga reo has inspired the establishment of other models of Māori language preschools responsive to community needs. Many non-Māori have also sent their children to kōhanga reo and other Māori-language early childhood programmes.

A challenge for kōhanga reo has been managing its relationship with government departments. Because of its multi-sectoral approach, kōhanga reo does not fit neatly under the auspices of a single department, and over time has received funding from various departments including Education, Māori Affairs, Social Welfare and Labour. Multiple contracts with multiple departments have meant high administrative costs of audits and other monitoring efforts. The Trust has worked closely with the Department of Education and the Educational Review Office to develop an appropriate method for evaluation of the centres. The participatory approach which was developed has influenced the design of evaluations across the education sector.

Sources: Tawhiwhirangi, et. al, 1988; Tangaere, 1997; Ministry of Education, 2005c.

Education in Mainstream Schools

Over 80 percent of Māori students study in mainstream schools. In recent years, growing effort has gone into raising the performance of Māori in schools by stakeholders at all levels, including the Ministry of Education, individual schools, iwi, and other partners. A 2004 annual review by the Educational Review Office (ERO) found that schools have been increasing their efforts to improve outcomes for Māori students over time (Educational Review Office, 2004).[56]

This has not always been the case. Focused initiatives to raise the performance of Māori in mainstream schools have accelerated in response to evidence that educational outcomes for Māori students were lagging behind. Māori achievement rates are on average lower than non-Māori children. Māori are also less likely to leave school with completed qualifications, and more likely to be stood-down or suspended than their non-Māori peers (Ministry of Education, 2005b; 2005c).[57] Research evidence pointed to the low expectations of teachers of Māori achievement as a primary factor contributing to poor performance of mainstream schools. A 1995 ERO report found that schools commonly faulted students and parents as barriers to learning (Alton-Lee, 2003).

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[56] The Educational Review Office is a government agency responsible for reviewing and reporting regularly on the performance of New Zealand schools and early childhood centres.
[57] A stand-down is the formal removal of a student from a school for a specified period. A suspension is the formal removal of a student from school until the board of trustees decides the outcome at a suspension meeting. Definitions from Ministry of Education glossary of educational terms: www.minedu.govt.nz.

In its first review of Māori in mainstream schools in 2001, ERO found that only a minority of schools collected data to assess the achievement of Māori students, or had plans in place for making improvements. By 2004, most schools were collecting and analysing achievement information of Māori and had some form of tailored initiatives focused on Māori students.

The review found that 79 percent of primary schools and 93 percent of secondary schools reported having such programmes, which ranged from incorporation of te reo, tikanga, and local Māori history into the classroom, to efforts to involve whānau in the school. Examples of the latter included training parent and grandparent volunteers as tutors, setting up a homework club, and engaging kaumātua (Māori elders) and other local Māori as role models. In discussions with stakeholders some expressed concerns that while some of these tailored initiatives are considered successful, others are less effective and can amount to tokenism, or window-dressing. Evaluations and on-going dialogue with communities are important to review programmes and to ensure that they contribute to quality education.

The review found that the large majority of schools (86 percent) were collecting information about Māori student achievement, however fewer schools (70 percent) were making use of the information to inform their decision-making (Education Review Office, 2005). The same review found that while most schools (69 percent of primary and 90 percent of secondary) had put in place evaluations of initiatives to improve educational outcomes of Māori, only a few of these evaluations linked the initiatives to student assessment and achievement.

The Ministry has supported a number of initiatives to improve outcomes for Māori within mainstream schools. These programmes have focused on improving the quality of teaching through professional development. Strengthening community and family participation in schools has been another area of emphasis, through initiatives at the school level to involve parents; as well as growing Māori involvement in school governance, and formal partnerships with iwi organisations.

Professional Development

Evaluations and research evidence point to teachers as central for improving educational outcomes of all students. High quality teaching can raise student achievement, regardless of their socio-economic background or ethnicity. According to international and New Zealand research, up to 59 percent of variance in student performance can be attributed to differences between teachers and classes (Alton-Lee, 2003). All stakeholders identified teachers' expectations as critical for raising achievement levels. Teachers who believe that students can excel regardless of their background are more effective in the classroom.

The Ministry of Education has been focusing on raising the capacity of teachers to work effectively with diverse populations, and Māori in particular, through professional development initiatives.[58] As an example, the Te Kahua programme aimed to improve teachers' performance by raising expectations; building relationships among teachers and within the school community; increasing Māori

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[58] Some of the Ministry's programmes to improve teaching of Māori students include: Te Kahua, Te Kotahitanga, Te Hiringa i te Mahara. See Ministry of Education 2005c and www.minedu.govt.nz for more information.

participation in schools; experimenting with new teaching practices; and bringing Māori content into classrooms (Tuuta, et al., 2004).

There is on-going debate about the extent to which Māori students have different learning styles from other students.[59] During the field visits a number of people commented that Māori students are more active and visual learners, and hence need to be treated differently in the classroom. However, New Zealand and international evidence suggests that learning styles approaches to teaching that assume that students are predisposed to visual, tactile, or other types of learning have the potential to do more harm that good (Alton-Lee, 2003). Learning styles approaches can make inaccurate assumptions about students' learning processes based on inappropriate stereotypes. A New Zealand study noted that "teachers may presume that students of certain backgrounds can only learn one way, thus depriving them of a broad repertoire of learning mechanisms".[60]

Rather than adopting specific teaching approaches for Māori students, research evidence suggests that high-quality teaching is flexible and can be adapted to the needs of diverse learners. High expectations of teachers are critical, but not necessarily sufficient for improving outcomes and need to be accompanied by quality teaching techniques.

In addition to tailored professional development programmes, the Ministry has also aimed to raise the numbers of Māori teachers. Data from 1998 found that Māori are underrepresented in teaching, making up 9 percent of primary teachers and 7 percent of secondary school teachers. The pipeline of Māori in teacher training is increasing. In 2003, 20 percent of teacher trainees were Māori (Ministry of Education, 2002).

Māori Participation in Governance

New Zealand's education reform of 1989 decentralized education through the introduction of school boards (Robinson, et al., 2003). Through the reform the Ministry of Education devolved school management, including responsibilities for financing, personnel, and curriculum, to school boards. The number of Māori trustees has grown steadily. In 2004 Māori members made up 16 percent of all school trustees, and 18 percent of elected representatives. Board members can be elected or co-opted (appointed). The share of elected Māori board members grew slightly from 17 to 18 percent between 2001 and 2004.

Participation on school boards is a mechanism for communities to have a direct impact on decisions affecting education. However the effectiveness of boards as a mechanism depends on their ability to function and carry out responsibilities. ERO reports have noted the limitations of some boards in carrying out their responsibilities, because of inexperience and lack of clarity about roles and responsibilities. In a number of cases the Ministry of Education stepped in with school improvement initiatives to address underperforming schools and governance failures (Robinson, et al., 2003).

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[59] This is a debate which I have heard in other contexts, for example for the Roma minority.
[60] Dilworth and Brown (2001) cited in Alton-Lee (2003). Refer to Alton-Lee for a comprehensive summary of the New Zealand and international literature on this question.

School Improvement Initiatives

In response to ERO reports of underperforming schools the Ministry, together with school boards, iwi and other community partners, have implemented programmes to improve school performance through focused work across clusters of schools. There are now 22 such school improvement projects underway across New Zealand.

Clustered activities can help small schools to work collaboratively to overcome isolation, and leverage economies of scale through professional development of teachers, coordinated activities for students, and support to boards of trustees and principals. The programmes have also included intensive analysis and work with student achievement data to develop strategies for raising school performance in literacy and numeracy. The school improvement initiatives vary in their objectives and interventions according to the needs of the schools.

In South Auckland the Ministry initiated the Strengthening Education in Mangere and Otara (SEMO) project in 1996, following the release of an ERO report which noted inadequate school performance, and particular concerns in governance and management practices, in 42 percent of the 45 schools in the two districts. Both Mangere and Otara have high shares of Māori and Pacific students The Ministry entered into partnership with the schools and communities to improve performance.

SEMO provided an umbrella framework for initiatives which focused mainly on building capacity of school boards through training and networking of board members and trustees, and greater use of data to drive decision-making. The project provided an additional $8.3 million to the schools in resources, or approximately 2.7 percent of the total operating budget. Through the involvement of Auckland University and ERO, individual school achievement data was collected and used by teachers, principals, and school boards for improving school performance. The project also involved partnership with Tainui, an Iwi organisation, to strengthen te reo teaching.

By 2002 school performance in Mangere and Otara had stabilised, and the share of inadequately performing schools had declined from 42 percent to 10 percent. Schools that were still underperforming received on-going support. Year 1 students in the schools made significant gains in literacy achievement. The programme also sharpened the focus of schools on effective practices to raise student achievement, and improved use of data and analysis to monitor and sustain achievement (Ministry of Education, 2002b). The experience of the SEMO project has influenced the design of subsequent schooling improvement projects, including one in the neighbouring South Auckland district of Manurewa.

On the East Coast, Ngāti Porou, an Iwi organisation, engaged in partnership with the Ministry of Education on the Whaia te iti Kahurangi (Strive for the Ultimate) programme. The East Coast region has one of the highest concentrations of Māori in New Zealand.[61] The project involved initiatives aimed to improve student achievement, increase student engagement in learning, and incorporate Ngāti Porou kaupapa and language in to the curriculum.

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[61] The East Coast includes the Bay of Plenty and Gisborne. The share of Māori students in these regions in 2004 was 40 and 60 percent, respectively.

The programme was initiated in response to a 1997 ERO report which found that 65 percent of East Coast Schools (14 schools) were not performing adequately. The issues identified by the report included isolation and remoteness of schools, limited coordination among schools to take advantage of economies of scale, lack of trained teachers willing to work in isolated areas, inadequate training of teachers and principals, and low capacity of boards of trustees (Wylie and Kemp, 2004; Gardiner and Parata, 1998).

The programme was developed in close consultation with Ngāti Porou and East Coast communities and began in 1999 with a main focus on improving governance and management frameworks and systems. Professional development initiatives began in 2000 and introduction of information technology equipment and training in 2001. The programme emphasized incorporation of Ngāti Porou content and te reo into the curriculum and teaching practices, and development of educational materials.

A review of the programme undertaken in 2004 found progress across schools in governance, teaching capacity, and student achievement (Wylie and Kemp, 2004). The review also identified on-going areas for attention including the need for qualified teachers with knowledge of te reo, investments in early childhood education, and further development of educational materials with Ngāti Porou content. A 2004 ERO report review found that all schools were meeting compliances. A follow-up programme, E Tipu E Rea (The Way Forward) has been launched by the Ministry and Ngāti Porou to build on the progress, with a focus on developing Ngāti Porou curriculum guidelines (Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2004).

Iwi Partnerships

The establishment of iwi partnerships, such as the one described above with Ngāti Porou, has been part of the Ministry of Education's efforts to support greater direct involvement and autonomy of Māori in education. Iwi partnerships provide a formal channel for Māori organisations to influence education at the local level, as well as have an input into the strategic direction of the Ministry. There are currently nine formal partnerships with iwi, and 13 others in development. The Ministry has also signed partnerships with Māori organisations such as the Te Kōhanga Reo Trust.

The objectives of the partnerships are to improve Māori education outcomes through greater community involvement and ownership. Howard Fancy, the Chief Executive of the Ministry of Education noted that the Ministry views the partnerships "as much about iwi investing to build the Ministry's capabilities as they are about…helping to strengthen iwi and community capabilities".[62]

Each of the partnerships are different, based on the priorities of the iwi, and involve development of an approach and plan for improving education outcomes. Partnerships have included support for initiatives to increase community involvement in schools, efforts to improve the quality of teaching in schools, development of curriculum based on iwi and local content, and support for improved governance and leadership of schools.

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[62] Presentation by Howard Fancy to the Public Sector Senior Manager's Conference, October 2004.

As an example, Ngāi Tahu, the largest iwi on the South Island, developed a reference guide, Te Kete o Aoraki, for the 700 schools in its rohe (area), with information on how schools can effectively work with communities. The resource guide was a catalyst for a dialogue between schools, whānau and Māori organisations on how to improve education outcomes.

Whānau and Community Involvement

In addition to increasing participation of Māori in education through formal governance arrangements, and increasing numbers of Māori teachers in schools, there have also been concerted efforts to increase whānau and community involvement in schools. These efforts have been important components of the schooling improvement projects and iwi partnerships outlined above.

Iwi are increasingly involved in working with parents, whānau, and communities to raise demand for quality education. Some of the iwi partnerships (e.g. through the Ministry's community-based language initiatives programme) have focused specifically on building the capacity of parents to make more informed decisions, to support their children's educational opportunities, and to build their own language capacity so that they can engage with their children who are enrolled in Māori immersion education.

The Ministry's efforts in this area concentrate on: (i) engaging parents and whānau in their children's learning in the home; (ii) engaging parents and whānau in learning in the school; and (iii) improving information to whānau to support their engagement in learning and their expectations of what their children can achieve (Ministry of Education, 2005c). Tailored programmes include Parents as First Teachers, which provides support to parents of children age 0-3, and Family Start, for low-income, at-risk families.

Summary

Education in New Zealand has been tailored to Māori students through Māori immersion education, and efforts to improve the quality of education for Māori in mainstream schools. There has been increasing ownership and involvement of Māori in schools, through board membership, iwi partnerships and whānau involvement. There has also been a concerted effort to incorporate language and culture into education. Many Māori whānau face increasing choice in schooling options for their children.

The Māori immersion sector has influenced the way mainstream schools approach Māori education, by demonstrating that bilingual education can be effective for Māori students, and that Māori values and priorities can be incorporated into school management and teaching practices. However, persistent gaps in educational achievement and attainment of Māori students point to the need for further efforts to reach Māori students and whānau, and to ensure quality of education.

Achievement data that show a wider gap in results within the Māori student population than between Māori and non-Māori underscore the increasingly diverse nature of the Māori student body. There is need for on-going attention to make schools effective for high and low achieving students. Outcome evaluations of the educational and labour market status of Māori students – in both immersion and

mainstream schools – are needed for further understanding of what works and what quality improvements can be made.

There is growing demand by Māori stakeholders and policy-makers alike for improvements in quality across the sector. Many of the initiatives discussed above have included measures to improve the quality of the education system as a whole – including increasing capacity of school boards, improving teaching quality, involving whānau and communities in education, and other efforts to make the system more effective for an increasingly diverse student population.

Health Services

Significant and persistent gaps in Māori health status have intensified efforts to improve access and quality of health services for Māori. Similar to education, the health sector has been characterized by increasing choice and diversification in provider arrangements. A Māori health provider sector has emerged, and there has been greater emphasis on improving Māori health outcomes within mainstream providers – particularly within primary care services, through tailored public health promotion activities, and development of the Māori health workforce.

Improving health outcomes for Māori is a government priority (Ministry of Health, 2005). New Zealand's Public Health and Disability Act from 2000 was one of the first laws in New Zealand to include details of the responsibilities of the sector according to the Treaty of Waitangi.[63] In 2002 the Ministry launched its Māori Health Strategy: He Korowai Oranga. The overall objective of the strategy is whānau ora, defined as Māori families supported to achieve their maximum health and wellbeing. The strategy includes four main priority pathways (Ministry of Health, 2002):

- *Development of whānau, hapū, iwi, and Māori communities*: to support collaboration to identify what is needed to encourage health, as well as prevent or treat disease;

- *Māori participation in the health and disability sector*: to strengthen active participation of Māori in decision-making, planning, development and delivery of health services;

- *Effective health and disability services:* to ensure that whānau receive timely, high-quality, effective and culturally appropriate health and disability services to improve whānau ora and reduce inequalities; and

- *Working across sectors:* to direct the health and disability sectors to take leadership across the whole of government and its agencies to achieve the aim of whānau ora by addressing the broad determinants of health.

The strategy recognizes that health outcomes are determined by a range of factors beyond simply health services, including socio-economic conditions, environment, social and community influences, diet, risk factors (e.g. smoking), gender, and culture. In response, efforts to improve Māori health and overcome gaps in outcomes include building the quality and effectiveness of health services, as well as addressing the other determinants of health. This section outlines a number of ways in which health services have been tailored to Māori. The discussion focuses on primary care and public health, and is not comprehensive.

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[63] The Act is available at:
http://www.moh.govt.nz/moh.nsf/0/e65f72c8749e91e74c2569620000b7ce?OpenDocument

Māori Health Providers

Similar to education, health services in New Zealand have been tailored to Māori through the growth of alternative Māori providers, as well as efforts to improve health services for Māori within mainstream services. Māori health providers are defined as "[p]roviders that are contracted to deliver health and disability services that target Māori clients or communities; are led by a Māori governance and management structure and express Māori kaupapa; and consider the wider issues of Māori development and how it might apply to their own organisation".[64]

Māori providers are variously arranged, set up by iwi and Māori organisations. There are currently around 250 providers, up from 20 in the mid-1990s. Māori health providers constitute a relatively small share of total health services. In 2004 an estimated 3 percent of the total health budget was spent on Māori health providers (Ministry of Health, 2004).

Māori health providers aim to provide services that are appropriate and responsive to Māori health needs. This includes a focus on Māori values and concepts of health and wellness within a kaupapa Māori (philosophy). Service delivery incorporates aspects of Māori customs, including use of te reo in consultation and for health promotion materials. Māori health providers tend to be smaller than other providers and have a strong community-based and not-for-profit philosophy.

Table 5.2: Characteristics of Māori Health Providers	
Mission and values	Focus on Māori values (whānau ora); incorporate tikanga; holistic and intersectoral services
Services	Preventative; clinical; health promotion; disability support; mental health
Staffing	Higher share of Māori health professionals; younger; more female staff
Governance	Diverse arrangements; mostly incorporated societies and community trusts
Coverage	Majority Māori clients; high share from high decile areas
Location	Multiple clinic sites; mobile health units; greater coverage of rural areas
Co-payments	None, or lower than other providers

Sources: Crengle, Crampton, and Woodward., 2004.

Māori providers focus on primary services and public health promotion, as well as mental health and disability. There are no Māori providers in secondary and tertiary care. Providers vary notably in their size and the services that they provide, which include: clinical services; community health programmes, public health campaigns, vaccinations, disability support programmes, mental health services, including

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[64] Definition from the 2005/2006 application form for the Ministry of Health's Māori Provider Development Scheme.

residential care, community support, and traditional Māori healing services. Māori health providers also provide services in multiple geographic sites, and in some cases mobile health units (Crengle, et al., 1999). Most are small in size and scope, but some have broader regional coverage, such as Ngāti Porou Hauora on the East Coast.

A greater share of Māori health professionals work in Māori providers than in mainstream services. While about 3 percent of doctors in New Zealand are Māori, nearly 10 percent of doctors in the Māori providers included in the NatMedCa survey were Māori.[65] Doctors working in Māori health services tend to be younger than their peers in private practice; a greater share are women; and more undertook their medical education overseas than physicians in mainstream primary care services (Crengle, Crampton, and Woodward, 2004).

Because of their limited number and size, Māori health providers only cover a small share of the total population. Geographically they are concentrated in the North Island, where the majority of Māori live. The majority of patients of Māori providers are Māori, however non-Māori also access the services. Nearly 60 percent of patients of the Māori providers included in the NatMedCa survey were Māori themselves, while 22 percent were New Zealand European, and the remainder Pacific (Crengle, et al., 2004).

Māori providers appear to do well in reaching populations with poorer health status and high need. According to the NatMedCa survey the majority of patients were from areas of high socio-economic deprivation (Crampton, et al., 2004).[66] Crengle, et al., found that 77 percent of patients come from poorer areas, where nationally 56 percent of Māori live. Patients were also more likely to have a Community Services Card, a means-tested card which is an indicator of low income. Māori providers charge lower co-payments than other providers.

Because of their greater emphasis on holistic and whānau-based approaches, Māori providers are more likely to provide services which are multi-sectoral and go beyond basic health services, such as physiotherapy and social services. Māori health providers are more likely to involve community health workers, and to provide complementary and alternative services (Crengle et al., 2004).

Most Māori health providers began operations in the mid-1990s. As such, the past decade has focused on organisational capacity building to strengthen the institutions, including workforce development (Box 5.2). In field visits Māori health providers described challenges they faced in developing ways of working with the health sector as a whole – including the Ministry, District Health Boards and Primary Health Organizations. These issues may also be common to other community-based health providers.

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[65] The National Primary Medical Care Survey (NatMedCa) 2001/02 is a nationally representative survey of private GPs. The sample included 14 Māori providers but is not nationally representative of Māori providers, so results should be treated with caution. Results of the survey for the Māori providers are analyzed in Crengle, et al., 2004b.
[66] The deprivation index (NZDep2001) is a small-area measure based on the 2001 census. High deprivation refers to the top two quintiles.

Box 5.2: Building Capacity of Māori Providers

The Ministry of Health has supported the growth of Māori providers since 1997 through its Māori Provider Development Scheme (MPDS). The programme allocates approximately $10 million annually in additional resources for capacity and capability building of Māori providers and the Māori health workforce as a whole. As such, the programme is intended to support both the Māori provider sector, as well as mainstream services by increasing the number of Māori health professionals and their level of training. The areas of support include:

- *Infrastructure support*: including IT and systems (e.g. accounting and patient management), office and clinical equipment, occupational safety and health assessments;
- *Workforce development*: training of clinical and non-clinical staff in Māori providers; Māori-specific training, such as for Māori health community workers; training for health professionals working with Māori or Māori providers;
- *Integration of services*: support for coordination and integration of service administration and delivery, including improving communication with service providers, integration of services with other Māori providers and PHOs, integration with social services and other sectors;
- *Accreditation and best practice*: support for providers to work towards accreditation; establishment and development of quality processes for review and audit of operations and service delivery; and
- *Māori health scholarships*: scholarship support to increase the number of Māori participating in the health sector. The programme supported 85 scholarships in 1997/98, increasing annually to 527 in 2003/04, or approximately $1 million per annum.

Within the programme, the largest share of resources have been allocated to infrastructure support and workforce development, which each received approximately one-third of the total MPDS budget in 2003/04.

Coordination across departments

Because Māori Health Providers provide multisectoral services, they tend to manage contracts across government departments, for example, with the Ministries of Health and Social Development, Child Youth and Family, and Te Puni Kōkiri. As a result, relatively small organisations can become quickly overburdened by the compliance and administrative costs associated with managing contracts with multiple agencies. A finance manager at a Māori health provider asked: "How can I explain to the auditor that the doctor is spending ten minutes of a consultation on diabetes prevention, fifteen minutes on a smoking cessation programme, and another fifteen on nutrition?"

Integration within PHOs

Another issue mentioned by health providers was the transition to Primary Health Organizations (PHOs). The health sector is currently undergoing a reform which introduces PHOs as the main centres of primary care. The reform provides incentives for smaller providers to enter into partnerships as a PHO. Some Māori providers have

registered as independent PHOs, while others have partnered with non-Māori providers, and others have opted to remain outside of PHOs for the time being. In my discussions with Māori providers some noted tensions in the new PHO partnerships, particularly with mainstream services over the level of co-payments, as Māori providers serve mainly low-income clients and set co-payments lower than other services.

Evaluation

Because of the newness of the sector and its diversity, there has been limited evaluation of Māori health providers and their impact on health outcomes. Individual providers maintain their own data, and some have invested in strengthening information management systems, as well as conducting and/or commissioning research.

Mainstream Services

The majority of Māori receive care through mainstream providers. The 2004 New Zealand Health Survey found that 14 percent of Māori had sought care from a Māori provider in the year proceeding the survey (Ministry of Health 2004b). As a result a major focus of the Māori Health Strategy has been efforts to improve the effectiveness of mainstream services for Māori (Ministry of Health 2002). This encompasses a wide range of activities at all levels of the system, and involving institutions including PHOs, DHBs, Māori providers, iwi organisations, hospitals and other health service organisations.

In particular, the Māori Health Strategy mentions the need for close partnerships between DHBs, iwi, and Māori communities; effective working relationships with Māori providers; and improved collection of ethnicity data. Key areas of focus are workforce development to increase the participation of Māori health professionals across the sector, and public health campaigns tailored to Māori communities.

Table 5.3: Active Medical Practitioners (%) by ethnicity, 1996-2002							
Ethnicity	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
European/Pākehā	67.2	83.2	81.3	77.5	76.5	76.5	74.6
Māori	1.6	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.7
Pacific Island	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.1	1.1	1.1	1
Chinese	3.9	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.8	5.1
Indian	3.1	3.9	4.4	4.6	4.5	4.8	4.8
Other	6.5	4.3	5.5	8.4	7.6	8.7	10
Refused to answer/not reported	17.0	1.0	1.0	1.8	3.4	1.6	1.8

Source: Medical Council of New Zealand cited in Ministry of Health 2004a.

Workforce Development

A policy priority for the Ministry of Health relevant for both Māori and mainstream providers is to increase the share of Māori working in the health sector. There is growing international evidence that having physicians and patients of the same ethnicity can improve quality of health services (Box 5.3). While the share of Māori health professionals has increased since the mid 1990s, Māori are still under-represented in the sector relative to their share in the population. In 2002 less than 3 percent of active practitioners were Māori (Table 5.3). The situation is similar for nurses. Less than 8 percent of nurses were Māori in 2003. The majority of Māori in

health are employed in support roles and most work in mainstream services (Ministry of Health, 2005).

Efforts to increase the number of Māori health professionals include targeted scholarships, such as those delivered through the MPDS described above. The Ministry of Health also aims to work closely with the Ministry of Education, Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, and other departments to increase Māori participation in health care. Additional efforts are being made to expand the skill base of existing Māori health professionals through expanding training opportunities.

Box 5.3: Does the Doctor's Race or Ethnicity Matter in Health Care?

In the United States, Hispanics, African Americans, and Native Americans make up more than 25 percent of the population, however they comprise fewer than 6 percent of doctors and 9 percent of nurses. How much does this matter for quality of care for minority patients?

A review of the literature supported by the Commonwealth Fund found that there is evidence that racial or ethnic concordance between patients and physicians (e.g. both patient and doctor are of the same race or ethnicity) is associated with higher patient satisfaction, better communication between patients and physicians, and longer visits. However, there is less evidence of the relationship between race concordance and health outcomes. Few studies to date have looked at the impact on health service utilization, health outcomes, or quality of care.

The authors conclude that increasing racial and ethnic diversity among physicians will increase choices for minority patients and encourage better participation in care. They recommend further efforts in the US to:

(i) *Increase workforce diversity* through funding for recruitment and retention of students and medical faculty from under-represented minorities, and to encourage minority physicians to practice in underserved areas.

(ii) *Support education of health professionals*, to improve the cultural competency of all physicians, including communication and language skills, and increase awareness of biases and stereotypes.

(iii) *Organise clinical practice and service delivery* to improve communications and continuity with minority patients, including incentives for improving quality, provision of adequate time and appropriate scheduling of follow-up visits for patients.

(iv) *Further research* is needed on the impact of race/ethnic concordance on outcomes, and of the relationships between ethnic minority patients with health care providers and staff.

Source: Cooper and Powe, 2004.

Māori Participation in Health Care

In addition to involvement as health professionals, Māori have become directly involved in the governance of health services through representation on boards of

PHOs, DHBs, and health services. The 2000 Public Health and Disability Act requires DHBs to include at least two Māori representatives on each board, as well as Māori participation on committees. Under the new system, PHOs are expected to involve Māori in governance. In practice, nearly all of the new PHO boards have Māori representation (King, 2001). Other channels for involvement have included partnerships between iwi organisations and DHBs.

Health Promotion

Mainstream public health programmes have been found to be less successful for Māori. For example, coverage of the national screening programmes for breast and cervical cancer was found to be lower for Māori women than non-Māori. There are early indications that coverage rates of the current meningococcal b vaccine programme are lower for Māori than for other ethnic groups.[67] Because of the high level of morbidity among Māori that is associated with risk factors, including diet and smoking, tailored health promotion initiatives which reach Māori individuals and whānau have been an important focus.

An anti-smoking campaign provides a useful example of how public health programmes can be tailored to reach and work effectively for Māori. As discussed in Chapter 2, Māori smoking rates are substantially higher than the rest of the population. Māori women, in particular, are more likely to smoke than their non-Māori peers. Even worse, smoking rates for pregnant Māori women are 59 percent – higher than for the total population, at 25 percent. As a result mortality and morbidity associated with tobacco use, such as cancers and cardiovascular disease are more prevalent among Māori. The Ministry of Health estimates that 31 percent of Māori deaths are attributable to tobacco use.

Given this backdrop a programme called Aukati Kai Paipa was developed in 2000 to test the viability of a tobacco cessation programme for Māori. This was the first effort of its kind. While international evidence had demonstrated the effectiveness of a combination of counselling and Nicotine Replacement Therapy in reducing smoking, such a programme had not been delivered specifically by Māori for Māori. The objective of the programme was to test whether such a programme could be effective, focusing on Māori women and their whānau 18 and over.

The programme was evaluated and was found to be effective in reducing the prevalence of smoking among Māori women and their whānau. The quit rate for women participating in the programme was 23 percent at 6 months, in comparison with a 12.5 percent quit rate for non-participants. Tobacco consumption was found to be reduced for women or family members who did not quit. Based on the demonstrated results of the Aukati Kai Paipa programme, it was extended.

Aukati Kai Paipa was tailored to reach Māori women through its delivery mechanisms and design. The programme was delivered by Māori to Māori and operated in a Māori setting. The programme was designed to take into consideration the diversity of local Māori communities by allowing local providers to deliver the programme according to local needs and preferences. For example, they decided whether to provide individual and/or group sessions and the location of delivery (e.g. marae, education

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[67] See G. Meylan, 5 June, 2005 "Maori lagging in vaccine campaign," accessed from
http://www.stuff.co.nz/.

centre, workplace). The programme took a holistic and multi-sectoral approach, and expected that participants would seek advice and support on multiple issues, beyond just quitting smoking. This broader approach included partnerships with other service providers and Māori organisations.

Finally, the programme maintained close ties to the local communities and participants. This included contracting the programme through local organisations, and hiring quit coaches who had strong ties with Māori communities. This allowed the programme to establish strong links with whānau and referral networks. Quit coaches were also encouraged to provide longer-term support of clients to work towards a high quit rate.

Summary

As with education, Māori health services have become increasingly diversified over the past two decades. While the size of the Māori health provider sector remains small, it has provided an opportunity for experimentation of different approaches to care for Māori, as well as non-Māori. Further efforts are needed to evaluate results to determine lessons for Māori health providers and mainstream services more broadly.

Aspects of Māori health providers, including holistic, multisectoral approaches, community-based orientation, integration of Māori values and culture, and accessibility to low-income populations, have the potential to provide useful lessons for mainstream services. The PHO reform and the new partnerships being formed between Māori and mainstream providers, create a new set of opportunities for such transfer of experience. Tailored health promotion programmes have also demonstrated that they can be more effective at reaching Māori.

6   FINDINGS FOR NEW ZEALAND AND ABROAD

Building on Successes

The Minister of Māori Affairs, Parekura Horomia, has said that Māori have a window of opportunity over the next five years to build on the achievements of the past two decades. Positive trends in Māori development have been driven by the labour market recovery of the 1990s, and economic growth, as well as increased participation and ownership of Māori in their own development. Investments in Māori education, starting with early childhood, have paid dividends. Future efforts need to concentrate on making these gains sustainable, and ensuring that policies are inclusive and reach all Māori. The experience of Māori development provides valuable experience and lessons for other countries (Box 6.1; Appendix A).

There have been considerable gains in the welfare of Māori over the past two decades, particularly in increased education and employment. Māori participation in tertiary education exceeds that of non-Māori, and unemployment is at a record low. Poverty among Māori appears to be reducing, and health status improving. The two decades have also marked a period of cultural renaissance, including revitalization of the language.

However, there are still areas of concern for policy attention. Close to one-third of Māori students leave school without a formal qualification, leaving them ill-prepared and disadvantaged on the labour market. A disproportionate share of Māori live in low income households and have difficulty affording housing. Other social issues, including domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and criminal offending and victimisation are more prevalent. Māori health status remains worse than that of non-Māori. Life expectancy for Māori lags 8-9 years below non-Māori, and Māori suffer disproportionate rates of cardiovascular and respiratory diseases, diabetes, and suicide.

There is growing divergence within the Māori population between educated and skilled Māori in high-skilled professional employment, and those who are poorly educated and trained, and who are unemployed or in low and unskilled jobs. In educational attainment there is some evidence that there is more difference within the Māori population, than between Māori and non-Māori students. Overall, the picture that emerges is of increasing diversity, characterised by inequalities in outcomes and opportunities. Demographic diversity is growing, driven by high rates of intermarriage and an increasing number of Māori with multiple ethnic affiliations.

A clear priority is further investments in Māori human capital to raise education and skill levels, so that Māori can continue to seize opportunities in New Zealand's growing, globalized, knowledge-based economy. Māori are fully integrated within the New Zealand economy, and their success depends on overall economic conditions. There is a need to ensure that Māori are well-positioned to take advantage of opportunities provided by existing labour and skills gaps, and are in sustainable jobs.

A number of the main messages of the 2005 Hui Taumata are resonant with these themes (Hui Taumata, 2005a):

- Create a new dedication to long-term planning for future development in a global framework.

- Emphasize the vital importance of urgently increasing Māori human capital to raise Māori average incomes and to drive economic growth.

- Create an intensive focus on growing enterprise and entrepreneurial skills – including those that are also life skills – amongst Māori.

Box 6.1: Policy Priorities for Indigenous Peoples in Latin America

New Zealand's extensive experience of policy approaches and innovations to support Māori development is relevant for indigenous peoples in other countries. A forthcoming study on poverty and human development among indigenous peoples in Latin America analyzes trends over 1994-2004, the period of the United Nation's International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples.

The report came to the sobering conclusion that in four of the five countries (Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Peru) there was no decline in poverty among indigenous peoples. Poverty in Guatemala did decline for indigenous peoples during the period, but at a slower rate than for the non-indigenous population.

The report charts an agenda for further action in the region, consisting of four priorities, which will sound familiar to many New Zealanders who have been involved in Māori policy development:

(i) *More and better education*, decreasing the gap in years of schooling and improving the quality of education through such programmes as bilingual/bicultural education for indigenous peoples;

(ii) *Promoting equal opportunities for indigenous peoples*, through maternal and child health interventions;

(iii) *Improving accountability* in the delivery of social services for indigenous peoples; and

(iv) *Increasing data collection efforts* related to identifying indigenous populations.

Parallels with indigenous issues in other countries – as well as for other non-indigenous populations, such as Roma and others – underscore the benefits to be gained from sharing experience of Māori policy development across countries.

Source: Hall and Patrinos, 2005, forthcoming

Targeting and Tailoring

What can be said about targeting and ethnicity in New Zealand, and targeting to Māori in particular? There has been limited targeting of policies where ethnicity restricts an individual's eligibility for participating in a programme, or receiving a benefit. But there has been significant effort in New Zealand to tailor policies to Māori, to make them more accessible, effective, and responsive. Tailoring refers to how policies and services are designed to take into consideration the needs and preferences of specific groups.

When should policies be targeted?

Decisions regarding when, how, and how much to target policies and services in any country need to weigh the potential costs and benefits – fiscal, social, and political. An important consideration is the extent to which ethnicity is a cause or correlate of the need or policy objective. There may be cases where ethnicity, either on its own, or together with other factors, will provide useful information on how to get a policy or programme to those who need it. Considerations in the New Zealand context include:

Multiple policy objectives

Decisions regarding whether to target a policy based on ethnicity needs to take into consideration the objectives of the policy or programme. In some cases, there may be a rationale for directing the programme to Māori as a group, for example, if the programme has cultural or linguistic objectives which are specific to Māori. The Māori Potential Framework recognizes that Māori have goals and aspirations as the indigenous people of New Zealand, and as culturally distinct individuals and collectives. In cases where government intervention and investment are justified for supporting these objectives, there may be a rationale for targeting.

Increasing diversity of Māori

The increasing socio-economic, demographic, and cultural diversity and heterogeneity of Māori will influence decisions around targeting. As discussed, in some areas there is more variation in outcomes within the Māori population, than there is between Māori and non-Māori. Policies which target Māori as a group may not be sufficient to meet objectives, given increasing divergence within the Māori population. There is a need for more nuanced approaches which can respond to this increasing diversity. Tailoring programmes through decentralization and a greater emphasis on community-based approaches may be one option. It may be useful to target certain groups within the Māori population – again, depending on the costs and benefits.

Data considerations

The availability and quality of data will also influence whether targeting is possible, or desirable. Data are needed to identify whom and how to target resources. In some cases there may be a demonstrated correlation, or causality, between ethnicity and the need or policy objective, but data may not be available. The costs of data collection also need to be factored in.

As an example, through the Ministerial Review of Ethnically Targeted Programmes and Policies, the government recently recommended that ethnicity be removed from the formula for allocating health expenditures to PHOs, and be replaced with data on health outcomes – specifically mortality and morbidity rates. Health researchers are concerned that local level data on mortality and morbidity are not necessarily available or reliable, while ethnicity is a useful proxy for needs in health, and the data are currently available. The costs and quality of data need to be factored into this decision.

What can be learned from tailoring?

An important factor behind increased Māori access and participation in education, health, and social services over the past two decades has been the wide range of efforts to tailor services to Māori needs and preferences. The distinction between targeted and tailored programmes which are designed to take into the specific needs of

Māori, and mainstream approaches is no longer clear-cut. Separate tailored services are available to Māori and non-Māori, and mainstream services incorporate aspects of tailoring – for example through inclusion of Māori content and approaches in mainstream schools.

Tailoring has included: (i) increased Māori participation in delivery and governance; (ii) devolution of delivery to iwi and Māori organisations; (iii) incorporation of language and culture into policy design; and (iv) strengthened outreach to Māori communities. This represents a valuable body of experience for thinking about how to design policies for New Zealand, as well as indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities in other countries.

There have been some notable successes. Increased involvement of Māori in education – through school boards; community-based initiatives; and partnerships with iwi and Māori organisations – has motivated demand for quality education among Māori and raised participation levels, particularly in early childhood and tertiary education. Māori leadership and ownership of schools, starting with kōhanga reo, is a catalyst for parents' interest in lifelong learning. Greater involvement of Māori in the health sector has also increased access and awareness of critical health risks.

Alternative Māori services have influenced mainstream delivery

The emergence of separate and alternative Māori services, such as Māori immersion education and Māori health providers, has been an important feature of Māori development since the 1984 Hui Taumata. While these services make up only a small share of the total sectors (e.g. 80-90 percent of Māori participate in mainstream education and health services), their impact on policy design has been far-reaching. They have given Māori an unprecedented opportunity to develop approaches based on their own priorities, culture, and traditions. Iwi and Māori organisations have had the space to experiment and pilot with service delivery models which incorporate kaupapa Māori in different ways.

These approaches have provided examples for mainstream services on ways to strengthen consideration of diversity and improve effectiveness for Māori and other population groups. They highlighted shortcomings of mainstream services, demonstrated alternative approaches, and built awareness of the need to do things differently. Māori immersion education and Māori health providers have also provided experience for mainstream services on how to integrate cultural values and traditions into management and delivery. Another important contribution of Māori services has been to build the capacity and capability of Māori organisations and service professionals.

It is important to recognize that these services still reach only a small share of Māori. They are also new, some still have limited capacity, and there has been very little evaluation of outcomes to assess impact and effectiveness. In this context, there is a risk that alternative Māori services will be relied on too heavily to produce results for Māori. In other words, policy needs to continue to emphasize results for Māori within mainstream services. As an example, one of the reasons cited for the low coverage rates of Māori in the current meningococcal b vaccine coverage is the unreasonable

expectation that Māori health providers will ensure full coverage of the Māori population – when in practice they reach at most 14 percent of Māori (Meylan, 2005).

Non-Māori benefit from tailoring

The diversification of service delivery has increased choice for the population as a whole. In education, the kōhanga reo movement opened the door for bilingual education, in which non-Māori also participate. In health, Māori health providers have led the way in community-based care, and have been innovative in provision of holistic care, integrating different types of services. Non-Māori have also benefited from the policy innovations that have been developed within tailored Māori services. There is on-going potential for more lessons from these approaches to be scaled up into mainstream services.

Quality is important

Tailoring can improve access by making services more appropriate for Māori and expanding participation. It also has the potential to raise effectiveness and quality. Across sectors there is a growing recognition that the priority for policy-makers, service providers, and Māori communities alike is shifting emphasis from access to quality. Access will remain a concern for some Māori, particularly those who are poor and excluded. However, the major concern is raising quality across services, which in turn can influence access by increasing demand. The 2005 Hui Taumata called for a shift in focus "from improving access to high achievement and quality of advancement". There is a recognition that despite gains there is still considerable progress to be made in improving outcomes of Māori.

Improving quality requires greater focus on evaluation to shape policy. There has been scarce outcome evaluation of the long-term impact of Māori immersion education on future education and labour market status of graduates. Similarly, in health, evaluation of outcomes of Māori providers is not readily available.

Diversity and equity require attention

Similar to the considerations of targeting discussed above, increasing internal diversity among Māori has implications for policy design. Involvement and participation of Māori in service provision and governance can help ensure that different Māori perspectives are considered. Similarly, devolution to iwi and Māori organisations can help services become more responsive to local preferences and needs. However, increasing diversity can also make ensuring representative participation of Māori more complex. Having a single Māori member on the board of a school or PHO may not be sufficient for reflecting the range of different Māori views in a community or locality. Governance arrangements need to be effective to allow for sufficient consultation and integration of varying view points.

Equity issues also require careful consideration in service delivery and policy design. While improved labour market and economic opportunities have increased Māori welfare, not all are benefiting. Some Māori remain left behind and lack access to opportunities. Services need to be designed to ensure that they are inclusive. The on-going work on Reducing Inequalities can support approaches to address poverty and exclusion. Similarly, while service delivery by iwi and Māori organisations has increased choice and opportunity for some Māori, these services are not evenly distributed and not all are benefiting.

Capacity building is needed to make institutions work

In some respects institutions have grown faster than people. Increased opportunities for Māori to participate on boards including schools, district health boards, trusts, and other entities have been important. However, the pool of Māori who have been able to take up these positions has been small and expectations that people would have the skills, background and knowledge to play important roles unrealistic (Durie, 2005a; Potiki, 2005). Capacity-building is essential for these governance and partnership arrangements to work, and to increase accountability and transparency. However building this capacity takes time.[68]

Investing in culture can improve outcomes

Culture can be an outcome in itself, for economic as well as social reasons. In New Zealand, efforts to invest in and ensure the success of the Māori language and Māori culture have an economic value – for example, through tourism – as well as the value Māori bring to New Zealand as the indigenous people. Culture can also be a means for improving other types of outcomes – for example bilingual education can improve educational attainment and achievement. There is a rich body of experience in New Zealand for further research into the interactions between culture and development outcomes.

Political economy issues need managing

Similar to other countries, issues of targeting and tailoring by ethnicity are politically sensitive in New Zealand. Even tailored policies, which are not exclusive to Māori, or other ethnic groups, can be perceived to be targeted and based on ethnic preferences. The debate sparked by Dr. Donald Brash's speech on race-based policies in 2004 has continued, and has become an issue in the lead up to the 2005 election. These political debates have the potential to distract from policy discussions regarding what works in improving socio-economic outcomes for Māori and all New Zealanders.

Better information about the actual level of targeted spending, eligibility criteria, and the rationale for targeting and tailoring could improve understanding across the population. There is also a need for greater appreciation of Māori success stories, and understanding of the particular issues of indigeneity and the role of the Treaty of Waitangi. The new public information campaign on the Treaty launched by the State Services Commission could make an important contribution in this regard.[69]

Improving Information and Evaluation

The New Zealand experience confirms that good data and can influence policy design. Although it has been a difficult process and significant hurdles remain, efforts to improve the collection of ethnic data have increased the availability and quality of information regarding Māori in New Zealand. As an example, the *Closing the Gaps* reports released by Te Puni Kōkiri in 1998 and 2000 played an important role in raising awareness of the issues faced by Māori across sectors, highlighting priority policy areas, and increasing the demand for ethnic data across government departments. There is now much greater emphasis on collecting data on Māori, and

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[68] Significant efforts have gone into capacity-building across government departments. See Te Puni Kōkiri's new governance model for Maori collectives (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2004).

[69] See: http://www.treatyofwaitangi.govt.nz/.

many departments routinely over-sample Māori in their data collection efforts to get more robust samples for analysis.

The *Closing the Gaps* reports elevated the serious poverty and socio-economic issues facing Māori on the government's agenda and led to financing of initiatives and unprecedented attention by government departments to Māori and Pacific issues. While the policy approach of Closing the Gaps and effectiveness of the programmes that were launched has been a topic of consideration and review, the analytical work that was done contributed to a more informed policy dialogue on the issues and the priorities for attention.[70]

In the area of administrative and survey data, a greater focus on quality and consistency across data sources is a priority. The review of ethnicity, conducted by Statistics New Zealand, made specific recommendations on how to count ethnic populations, considering that individuals may have multiple ethnic affiliations (Statistics New Zealand, 2004a). This approach needs to be incorporated across data sources to ensure consistency and comparability.

There are also data gaps to be addressed. In my review of the existing literature and datasets I found limited information two areas: (i) data on poverty and living standards; and (ii) data on expenditures on Māori policies and programmes.

Poverty and living standards data

Data on poverty and living standards of Māori in New Zealand are not readily available. New Zealand does not have an official national poverty line and there is no consensus, in or outside of the public sector, on how to measure poverty. This is not unique to New Zealand, as poverty measurement can be both politically sensitive and technically difficult.

Separate from the discussion of a specific poverty line, existing datasets in New Zealand are limited in their ability to capture the income distribution and welfare of Māori. Increasing diversity among the Māori population calls for data which are able to capture differences between Māori individuals and groups. This requires better household data for informing policy design and measuring policy outcomes. There is also growing interest in distributional analysis of Māori that looks beyond population averages.[71]

Finally, good household data are necessary for policy evaluation. As an example, data are not currently available for close analysis and forecasting the impact of the sizeable Working for Families package of welfare reform initiatives (estimated expenditures of $1.2 billion by 2007-08) on Māori households. A planned evaluation component, including longitudinal survey instruments, will monitor the effects of the programme on population groups, including Māori.

Current household datasets have limitations in questionnaire design and sample size. They are also limited in coverage and scope. Household welfare data on family units

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[70] Many of the Closing the Gaps initiatives have been recently reviewed through the Ministerial Review Process. See: http://www.beehive.govt.nz/ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=21856.
[71] The Māori Potential Framework aims to take a more nuanced view of Māori individuals and whānau in different circumstances.

from the HES, discussed in Chapter 2, do not allow for analysis of poverty and welfare among Māori children. Given the concern regarding child poverty in New Zealand, effective mechanisms for measuring and monitoring in this area are important.[72] The Reducing Inequalities initiative provides an opportunity for deepening analysis of poverty and welfare dynamics for different groups. Planned analysis could include a poverty report and efforts to improve data. This could be coordinated with background work on the Māori Potential Framework, which is working to develop indicators for measuring Māori outcomes through a cultural lens.

Expenditures on Māori

Data on spending on Māori programmes and policies by government departments are difficult to track down and are not collected on aggregate. This is a technically complex as well as politically sensitive area. Prior efforts to collect such data in 2000, quoted in Chapter 4, ran into difficulty in defining what constitutes expenditures on Māori policies. The line between targeted and tailored programmes can be difficult to draw, particularly for tailored programmes with Māori and non-Māori beneficiaries. This exercise is similarly complicated by the increasing diversity of Māori and the challenges of defining ethnicity. However, data are important for monitoring the effectiveness of programmes and policies intended to raise outcomes for Māori (or other population groups). They are needed for assessment of the effectiveness of programmes and for distributional analysis of public spending.[73]

Data on expenditures on Māori – including targeted and tailored programmes, as well as spending through mainstream policies – is also important for transparency, accountability, and for increasing public awareness. The absence of reliable information can reinforce misperceptions about the extent to which Māori receive preferential treatment in government spending, or are dependent on government resources. In turn, the lack of information risks fuelling tensions between ethnic groups. An attempt to collect such information in 2000 indicated that targeted expenditures constitute a very small share of total government spending. Further efforts are needed to improve monitoring in this area.

Evaluation of Outcomes

Evaluation of outcomes is a government priority in New Zealand. Through the Managing for Outcomes accountability framework government departments are responsible for defining and monitoring outcomes in their annual Statements of Intent.[74] Despite this emphasis, few programmes are rigorously evaluated. Policy-makers, researchers, service providers and other stakeholders all expressed an interest in greater use of evaluation to understand what works and why.[75]

The challenge of evaluation is not unique to New Zealand. Good quality outcome analysis is needed and demanded across countries for evidence-based policy. However, evaluations are technically difficult and can be expensive. Evaluation of

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[72] See UNICEF, 2005 and Ministry of Social Development 2004c on child poverty in New Zealand.
[73] For information on methodologies for analysis of public expenditures see:
http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/pe/index.cfm.
[74] For information on Managing for Outcomes see:
http://www.ssc.govt.nz/display/document.asp?NavID=208
[75] For example, the need for quality evaluation was a main recommendation of the workshop report, "Ensuring delivery of effective policy outcomes for diverse groups", to the Chief Executive's Steering Group, May 2005.

social policies can be particularly complex because of the multiple factors which can affect outcomes, the long time horizon needed to get results, and the ethical issues raised in setting up control groups.[76]

Evaluation of programmes for Māori can be additionally complex as they frequently have multi-sectoral objectives and outcomes, may involve large number of diverse groups (e.g. iwi, hapū and whānau) as well as other governmental and non-governmental stakeholders, and aim to have results for collectives as well as individuals. Māori programmes are also frequently under greater scrutiny from various interests including Māori, political parties, the media, among others (Duignan, 2002).

In 2004 the Ministry of Social Development commissioned a review of evaluations of programmes aimed at reducing inequalities (Woods, 2004). Many of the evaluations were of programmes which were initiated under the Closing the Gaps initiative. The overview pointed to limitations and variable quality in the existing body of evaluative work. Of the 31 evaluations reviewed, 11 used methodologies that gave high or medium confidence in the results. The review noted the difficulty of drawing conclusions about what works for reducing inequalities on aggregate from isolated reviews of relatively small interventions.

These challenges point to considerations which are also included in the conclusions of the MSD report and Treasury's guidance to government departments on evaluative activity.[77]

Firstly, there is a need to be strategic and selective about evaluation. For reasons of cost-effectiveness and time, it remains impossible to evaluate every small programme. Rather, it will be more valuable to select programmes for evaluation which have the richest potential for learning; group evaluations together; and invest in larger-scale evaluations that allow for comparisons.

Secondly, in cases where quantitative data is difficult to collect or unreliable, qualitative data can add useful supplementary information, such as providing greater insights into internal differences within the Māori population. Using process evaluations, that document what happens during the course of a programme, can help policy-makers understand how programmes actually work, and supplement lessons from outcome evaluations.

Summary

Māori development approaches provide a compelling record of experience and innovation for New Zealand and other countries with indigenous and ethnic minority populations. Among the most resonant themes are the desire of Māori to succeed on their own terms within an increasingly integrated and globalised world, the challenge of making policies inclusive, the importance of weaving diversity and culture into policy design, and the need to build on successes. We have much to gain from further study, analysis, and discussion of these experiences — Māori and non-Māori alike.

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[76] For example, if some groups would be deprived of a benefit or service for the purposes of evaluation.

[77] Treasury Circular 2003/13, "Using Evaluative Activity to Improve Decision Making." See: www.treasury.govt.nz.

APPENDIX A: ROMA AND MĀORI: REFLECTIONS ON THE DECADE OF ROMA INCLUSION AND THE HUI TAUMATA 2005[78]

In many ways my work at the World Bank over the past five years on the Roma, or gypsy, minority in Central and Eastern Europe, led me to New Zealand and my Axford Fellowship topic. Although they are two very different populations, with very different histories and cultures, there are parallels and many issues which I found to be resonant for both groups.[79]

Immediately prior to my arrival in New Zealand in February 2005, I attended the launch of the Decade of Roma Inclusion in Sofia, Bulgaria. At this unprecedented gathering heads of state from eight countries in Central and Eastern Europe convened, in the presence of Roma leaders and the international community, to commit to making measurable improvements in the living conditions of Roma in their countries and Europe, with a particular focus on education, employment, housing, and health.

Exactly one month (and 17,659 kilometres) later, I found myself in Wellington observing a landmark conference on Māori development – the Hui Taumata 2005 – listening to speakers from across Māori leadership, and the Prime Minister of New Zealand, discuss their aspirations and strategies for advancing Māori development and success in the coming years.

While in many ways the contexts of the countries and people involved in the Decade and the Hui Taumata lend more to contrast than to comparison, common themes struck me, including the desire of both Māori and Roma for autonomy and involvement in the initiatives that affect them, the challenge of considering diversity and inclusion in policy, and the need to learn from experience. The events left me with an overwhelming sense that there is much to be gained from sharing these experiences. This note summarizes some of my early impressions while both events were fresh in my mind.

Roma and Māori are two vastly different ethnic groups each with their own unique and rich histories and cultures. Māori are an indigenous minority of approximately 620,000 based largely in New Zealand – with small diaspora populations in Australia and other countries. Roma are an ethnic minority spread across the world, but concentrated in Europe where an estimated 9 to 12 million live.[80] Although Roma originally migrated into Europe from India, they do not have territorial claims there and are not considered indigenous.

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[78] The launch of the Decade of Roma Inclusion took place in Sofia, Bulgaria on February 2, and the Hui Taumata 2005, March 1-3 in Wellington, New Zealand. I participated in the Decade Launch as a World Bank staff member and one of the organizers of the event, and in the Hui as an observer during my stay as an Ian Axford fellow based at Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry for Māori Development.

[79] While Roma live in countries across Europe and outside, this discussion is based on the situation of Roma in Central and Eastern Europe, and in particular the eight countries participating in the Decade: Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, FYR Macedonia, Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Montenegro.

[80] Refer to Ringold, et al., 2005 for a fuller discussion.

There are, however, interesting similarities (Table 1). Both Roma and Māori societies are originally based on oral traditions, which made codifying language and creating a written historical record important for both. Both groups are striking for their internal diversity – Māori by tribal and subtribal (iwi and hapū) distinctions and characteristics, while Roma groups and subgroups have taken on features of the experiences of the countries in which they have lived, as well as by linguistic, religious, occupational, and clan differences.

The Decade launch and the Hui took place under dramatically different economic backdrops. Income levels contrast sharply. GDP per capita in New Zealand in 2003 was $21,635, while in the middle and low income countries of the Decade GDP levels ranged from $1,400 in Serbia and Montenegro, to $5,480 in the Czech Republic.[81] New Zealand has been experiencing a period of strong economic performance, with one of the lowest unemployment rates in the OECD. The upbeat mood at the Hui was no doubt in part due to the current rosy economic climate. Many speakers recalled the difficult conditions of the recession of the late 1980s and early 1990s when Māori had been disproportionately affected by restructuring.[82]

Table 1: Māori and Roma in Comparison		
	Māori	**Roma**
Population	Indigenous minority of 620,000 based mainly in NZ (6-7 thousand in Australia).	Global ethnic minority of 7-12 million, mainly in Europe.
Origins	From East Polynesia to NZ, 10th century	From northern India into Europe, 9th-14th centuries
Diversity	Iwi, hapū, whanāu	Historical, religious, occupational, tribal
Youth	50% under 23	40-55% under 20

On the other hand, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are at various stages. The new EU member states are aiming to meet the macroeconomic criteria for participation in the Euro currency zone; Bulgaria and Romania are concluding accession negotiations to join the EU by 2007; and other countries – Serbia and Montenegro and FYR Macedonia – are still in the midst of restructuring and looking toward EU candidacy. Budget constraints limit the extent to which countries can undertake new initiatives to meet their Decade goals, and will require more effective and efficient spending under existing programmes.

The Treaty of Waitangi sets a unique framework for relations between Māori, as the indigenous people of New Zealand, and the Government, and has influenced the status of Māori in New Zealand. The Treaty was signed in 1840 between representatives of the British government (the Crown), and chiefs of iwi from across

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[81] Data for New Zealand from Treasury, 2005. Data for Central and Eastern Europe from www.worldbank.org.
[82] Large-scale layoffs of Māori from low-skilled and unskilled jobs in manufacturing and freezing works are similar to the disproportionate layoffs faced by Roma in Central and Eastern Europe in the early transition period.

New Zealand as a framework for colonisation. While there has been on-going debate about the meaning of the Treaty, it has been an important basis for recognizing the rights of Māori in New Zealand. The principles and obligations of the Treaty have been incorporated into legislation, such as the 2000 Act on Public Health and Disability. In recent years, the Waitangi Tribunal has been hearing and deciding claims by Māori against the Crown of breaches of the Treaty. The Government has signed settlements with about 12 iwi, including formal apologies by the Crown and financial settlements.

Roma, in contrast, have lacked a comparable legitimizing historical framework. Throughout European history they have been perceived as outsiders and have been the objects of extreme xenophobia and prejudice – culminating in the murder of an estimated half a million Roma by the Nazis during World War II. The socialist legacy also had a further influence in undermining the status of Roma. Although policies varied in their stringency, most socialist governments made a concerted effort to assimilate Roma and minimize ethnic differences. Roma were not recognized as a distinct ethnic group and some countries banned the use of Roma language and any kind of civil society organisations.

The collapse of the socialist regimes in the early 1990s and subsequent economic, social and political transformations has led to new opportunities for confronting Roma exclusion. The enlargement of the European Union (EU) provided a new window of opportunity for improving the living conditions of Roma. The Copenhagen Criteria for accession specifically mentioned attention to the welfare of Roma as part of the political criteria. In response the Central and East European countries have built institutions and passed legislation, including anti-discrimination legislation, to address Roma issues.

The EU also provided financial and technical support to candidate countries for meeting these criteria through the PHARE programme. Between 1993 and 1999, 20 million euros were allocated to Roma-linked projects across six candidate countries. Subsequent support is available to the countries which joined the EU in May 2004 through the Structural Funds which the EU makes available to new member states. However these resources are not specifically targeted at Roma.

Other common characteristics of Māori and Roma include their demographic profiles. Both groups are young in comparison with the majority populations. An estimated fifty percent of Māori are under 23 years of age. Similarly 40-55 percent of Roma are estimated to be under 20.

There are also significant contrasts. The most dramatic is the desperate poverty which grips many Roma in Central and Eastern Europe. Roma poverty is up to ten times that of non-Roma populations. Roma also face significant gaps in educational attainment: 40-90 percent of Roma in the eight countries do not complete compulsory education. Formal unemployment reaches up to 100 percent in some Roma settlements. Another difference is in language. While there are different Māori dialects, there is one Māori language, and all Māori can understand each other. In contrast there are a number of different Roma languages from different language groups (e.g. with Slavic or Romance linguistic roots).

Many of the speakers at the Hui reflected on the situation of Māori in 2005 in contrast with the1984 Hui. The trends highlight measurable progress and indicate what can be achieved in 21 years. As the Central and Southeast European countries embark on the Decade of Roma Inclusion it is useful to look at what has been possible in New Zealand:

- There has been a Māori *cultural renaissance*, involving revitalization of the Māori language, strengthening of traditional iwi organisations, growth of Māori immersion education, health and other service providers, investments in Māori culture, and development of Māori broadcasting in television and radio.

- There has been progress in *addressing the past* through treaty settlements. The work of the Waitangi Tribunal and direct negotiations between the Crown and Māori, have provided a process and forum for recognition and redress of the injustices of colonialism.

- There have been marked *gains in educational attainment*, particularly at the early childhood and tertiary levels. There has been growth in adult learning, with parent involvement in their children's education as a catalyst, as well as the accessibility of wānanga.

- *Māori unemployment* is at a record low, driven by economic growth and labour market recovery, and increased educational attainment of Māori. Māori employment is also diversifying and there is growing Māori participation across sectors.

- Overall, *Māori assets* in the New Zealand economy are estimated at $9 billion, including labour market participation, entrepreneurship, and resources including land and fisheries.

- *Māori involvement and participation* in their own development has been a major development. Māori leaders work across sectors. Māori own, manage, and deliver services. Māori entrepreneurship is on the rise. Iwi and Māori organisations have become important players in service delivery and asset management. Māori are represented across the public sector, in Te Puni Kōkiri, the Ministry of Māori Development, Māori units within ministries, as well as within mainstream departments.

- Notable progress has been made on increasing the availability and quality of *data on Māori*, and ethnicity in general in New Zealand. There has been considerable effort to make the census better able to capture trends, and data on Māori are regularly collected across government departments. There is on-going effort to make data sources compatible and consistent.

Māori and Roma in Central and Eastern Europe are clearly at different points in their development, not least because of the different economic circumstances of the countries in which they live. As groups which have both been historically excluded from opportunities – Māori by colonisation, and Roma by centuries of discrimination and prejudice – and which face significant disparities in socioeconomic outcomes, there are common issues. Some of the shared messages and themes of the Decade and the Hui Taumata included:

- An emphasis on *economic development* and *empowerment*, rethinking the role and expectations of government. Both Roma and Māori expressed desires for greater economic independence and a shift from dependency on government benefits and services.

- A strong message that *education* is critical, especially lifelong learning, ensuring flexibility and resilience of the labour force to meet the new challenges of globalization, the shift to a knowledge economy, and – in the case of Roma – European enlargement.

- A focus on supporting *young people,* and especially young leaders, as an investment in the future, particularly given the younger demographic profiles.

- A stress on the importance of *evaluation of outcomes*, learning from experience. Both events called for greater assessment of 'what works', and learning from pilot approaches to scale up successes. There was also a demand for quality as well as access. Roma and Māori at both events cautioned against research and data collection for its own sake – information needs to be collected for a reason and used well to inform policy and project development.

- In both events there was a clear sense of *urgency and impatience* and a desire to take advantage of windows of opportunity. In Central and Eastern Europe, the attention of the EU enlargement provided momentum for the launch of the Decade, which in turn provides an opportunity to maintain the focus of governments and the international community on improving Roma welfare. In New Zealand, the favourable economic climate provides an opportunity for Māori to ramp up successes in entrepreneurship, leverage off of assets, and continue investments in human capital to seize opportunities. A message of the Hui was that the potential for Māori to contribute has never been greater.

- Both the Decade and Hui recognized that the welfare of Māori and Roma are inextricably linked to the overall economies of the countries in which they live. *Countries cannot afford to leave Roma and Māori behind*. The competitiveness and success of economies requires that all are able to participate to their greatest potential

APPENDIX B: GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Aotearoa	The land of the long white cloud, the traditional Māori name for New Zealand
Hapū	Subtribe
Hīkoi	Protest march
Hui	Meeting
Iwi	Tribe
Kaiako	Teacher
Kaumātua	Male Māori elder
Kaupapa	Philosophy, purpose
Kuia	Female Māori elder
Kōhanga Reo	Māori language nest, early childhood education
Marae	Community meeting area and its buildings and courtyard
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European, Caucasian
Pou	Upright post
Tāngata whenua	People of the land
Tikanga	Customs and practices
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Te Puni Kōkiri	The Ministry of Māori Development
Wānanga	Place of learning; university
Whānau	Family including extended family
Wharenui	Traditional Māori meeting house

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