

Dynamics and implications of multiple job holding by Māori for individuals, families and communities.

by

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Executive summary

This report focuses on the adoption of multiple job holding as an employment option for Māori to change social outcomes for individuals, families and communities. As part of the research two huihui (focus groups) were held, in Wellington and Hokitika. Dissemination of this report to its participants provides value-added feedback to all who participated in the focus group process.

Iwi organisations and government agencies responsible for policy design and programme delivery may refer to contents of this report to gain insights into the labour market dynamics of multiple job holding, alongside other reports from the research programme. These insights anticipate likely impacts of future social, economic, demographic and technological trends upon multiple job holding, and upon the range of intended and unintended social outcomes for multiple job holders.

This report introduces the topic of multiple job holding, explains the methods and research process and sets the scene with a cohort model of labour market change and a pipi model of spheres of interaction. The report describes patterns of work, impacts, issues and motivations for multiple job holding as identified in the huihui, along with more general issues for Māori relating to the labour market, and then discusses and concludes on these findings.

The huihui participants experienced many changes during their work histories, some as a result of government policy, some for family reasons or a desire to contribute to their society. Multiple job holding provided an income source, an opportunity to use knowledge and skills, as well as providing a sense of self respect and well being from doing the job. Impacts from multiple job holding included limited family time for some, or more opportunities to use time flexibly for others. Though some constraints were acknowledged from being Māori, the value of te reo, tikanga Māori and the Treaty of Waitangi were important to participants as individuals and for providing strong motivation to undertake their work. Suggestions for further research include issues of communication between the Crown and Māori people around employment policy, and the place of education and training in improving labour market participation.

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1 Introduction

This research provides analysis of narratives relating to individual experiences of Māori in the labour market, the impacts of social-economic changes on households and communities, and investigation of broader policy issues with respect to Māori and the labour market. This report complements and extends Working Paper 10 of the research programme: Multiple job holding by Māori-Scoping of issues, census data and research approach¹. The content provides a Māori perspective for those involved in research and policy in the Māori labour market as well as providing feedback to huihui participants. By these investigations we aimed to add to information available so as to strengthen the livelihoods of Māori people, and of the most vulnerable Māori in particular.

The purpose of the research programme is to provide knowledge about the way individuals, families and communities are adapting to social and economic change through multiple job holding. As part of this purpose the research has considered the nature and relationship of Māori within the workplace from 1981 to 2005, with a focus on multiple job holding.

The New Zealand Census (2001) questions lead to a definition of multiple job holding as working in two or more jobs in paid work, or unpaid work in the family business or farm, during the previous week. This tight definition used through the research programme, means in effect that two or more jobs are held contemporaneously. In reality, multiple job holding needs to be interpreted more broadly over a working life. Also, with a focus on work that has a direct monetary benefit to the individual, the definition does not include other forms of work including voluntary or community work. As shown in the research programme as a whole, and also for Māori in this report, these other forms of work are important in the lives of multiple job holders.

This report introduces the topic of multiple job holding, explains the methods and research process and sets the scene with a cohort model of labour market change and a pipi model of spheres of interaction. The report describes patterns of work, impacts, issues and motivations for multiple job holding as identified in the huihui, along with more general issues for Māori relating to the labour market, and then discusses and concludes on these findings.

¹ http://www.tba.co.nz/frst_projects/MJH_WP10_revised.pdf Although not quoted in this paper there are other writings on multiple job holding available on www.tba.co.nz and at the University of Canterbury an M.A. thesis completed by Huia Pere in 2007, *Whānau Coping Under the Circumstance of Multiple Job Holding*

2 Methodology

2.1 Planning of the huihui

To investigate the relationship of Māori with the workplace primary qualitative data was collected through two huihui (focus groups) and one key informant interview held in June and July 2006. The findings from these huihui were intended to sit alongside the substantial longitudinal base of census and other information about Māori employment and multiple job holding from 1981 to 2005².

The picture that has emerged describes the effects of changes on the relationship of Māori with the workplace, with particular reference to the low rate of Māori participation in the workplace, as well as the low rates of participation of Māori in multiple job holding. These huihui produced results that have the capacity to stand on their own mana, and are therefore provided in this stand alone but linked report. The huihui informed the research process by telling us about the range of experiences and views of Māori multiple job holders. These include, in particular, experience of the labour market, the impacts of multiple job holding, motivations to multiple job holding and broader issues with respect to Māori and the labour market.

The areas for the huihui, Wellington and Hokitika, were selected because of the different range of economic sectors they represented. Criteria for identifying participants for each huihui were based upon occupations that represented higher than average levels of multiple job holding. Participants in the huihui were also selected because they had worked since 1981 and were currently multiple job holders and they were willing and able to talk about their labour market experiences over time. In both huihui, participants represented both paid and unpaid work. All participants experienced the four periods of workforce and economic change represented in the cohort model as described in section three. Invitations remained open to include Runanga representatives to cover a range of tribal affiliations, and spouses living in the same household as the multiple job holders. For both huihui, Runanga representatives, although contacted and invited, did not attend for no clear reason other than competing priorities at the date of the huihui. One spouse attended the Wellington huihui, and one at Hokitika. Government agency representatives did not attend as they had to attend a tangi on the huihui day. The total number of attendees for each huihui was limited to eight or fewer participants to ensure flow of discussion and adequate time for all attendees to participate effectively.

The huihui in Wellington consisted of four pakeke kuia (older women) participants and one male participant. The four pakeke kuia were from local government, radio, and social service sectors, and the one tane (male) participant was from the information technology sector. Participants represented Tokomaru and Tainui waka, Rangitane, Te Ati Awa, and Ngati Toa. As noted some expected participants were unable to attend on the day. Huihui participants in Hokitika consisted of five whaea (mothers), one pakeke kuia (elder woman), and one tane (male). Participants represented the Takitimu waka, Kati Waewae Runanga, and Te Runanga o Makaawhio. The seven participants were from health and social services sectors, and one fisherman.

Recruitment for both huihui was organised by the senior Māori researcher. After successfully completing the recruitment process, matching timetables and organising a mutually convenient venue were not to be underestimated. Some of the attendees at the huihui in Wellington recruited from the creative sector did not attend due to meeting obligations at a local tangi. Additionally the Runanga contact person at Hokitika had attended a conference at Greymouth on the same day of the

² At the time of writing, results from the 2006 census were not available.

huihui in Hokitika. In the latter case the senior Māori Researcher made adjustments to the process and contacted the huihui participants directly.

Venues were selected on the basis of cost, comfort, and convenience of location. In Wellington the huihui was held at the City Council Chambers, and in Hokitika at the offices of Te Rata Awhina above the Jade Showroom. In both cases there was no ambient noise, and each had tea and coffee making facilities. Huihui were based upon a structured set of open questions about the experiences of participants. A discussion schedule of open questions was prepared to cover each area of inquiry and to enable each huihui to be completed within one and a half to two hours. The open questions concentrated on the impacts of multiple job holding, changes in the labour market, work-life balance and local initiatives from community and iwi based service providers, if any. Questions were structured upon the nature of work undertaken by Māori, reasons for their involvement in full and part-time paid work and multiple job holding, and ways Māori meet social, cultural and economic needs through paid work. At the outset it was made clear to participants that they were not be asked to make any binding decisions, although opportunity would be provided for them to make recommendations that might be passed on anonymously, through the research, to policy makers should the participants request. Both huihui were opened with karakia and mihihi at the introduction phase of the huihui process. The main discussions however were conducted in English. Recording of these discussions was by audio tape to ensure a clear and complete record was made. These recordings were also complemented by notes taken during each huihui by the note-taker. Both huihui were conducted by the senior Māori researcher as moderator/facilitator, and a note-taker/recorder.

2.2 Data processing and analysis

Fitzgerald Applied Sociology processed the data and prepared a preliminary analysis of transcripts. The transcribed content of each focus group was assembled and coded by focus group topic and subtopic/theme using the AskSam software, with an overview generated using a mind-mapping programme. These software tools enabled consolidation of group discussions by topic, subtopic, and identified themes.

The themes were mind mapped then organised into the report sections. A draft report formed the feedback to participants, and was taken to them by the senior Māori researcher for their discussion and comment. The report was then finalised.

3 Context and conceptual framework – the cohort and pipi models

These models provide a framework by which to view the responses recorded in the huihui.

3.1 The cohort model of the Māori labour market

The cohort model used in the research was derived by reviewing statistical trends from the census data and literature review as well as policy analysis as previously reported in the Multiple Job Holding Research project (Karaitiana et al., 2007, see footnote 1). Socio-economic themes were evident in each of the five-yearly census periods from 1981 to 2001. These themes are not mutually exclusive and reflect the economic context and the relationship of Māori with the labour market over time.

1981-1985 Ngati Whakamarumarū He Wa Pounamu.

Māori labour market at this time could be termed as Ngati Whakamarū He Wa Pounamu or a serene period for workers in a sheltered domestic economy. But focus was moving from a sheltered domestic economy to an open competitive economy in agriculture, fishing and forestry sectors, and service activities in social services, health, and education. The first phase of government economic restructuring, such as the removal of agricultural subsidies began in 1984. Casualisation of the workforce and multiple job holding were not evident.

1986-1990 Ngati Tama Mate He Wa Whakaita.

Māori labour market at this time could be termed Ngati Tama Mate He Wa Whakaita or a period when recession and large-scale redundancies resulted in many idle workers and no positive change. Low economic growth and inadequate job creation combined with uncertainty from changing prices of primary sector commodities for agriculture, fishing and forestry. This was the beginning of the recession and the height of government restructuring in social services, health, and education. Māori unemployment increased from 14.9% in March 1986 to 24.2% in March 1991. There was a gradual rise in part-time work.

1991-1995 Ngati Tama Tu He Wa Whakamohou.

Māori labour market by the end of this time could be termed Ngati Tama He Wa Whakamohou or those in a time of quiet renewal and renaissance seeing limited initiatives by iwi organisations to overcome serious job losses of the 1980s in agricultural, fishing and forestry industries, and other sectors like social services, professional services and health. It saw the development of Māori newspapers, movies and music in an era of otherwise inadequate job creation. There were barriers of entry into the rapidly emerging information technology industry, with Māori workers struggling to keep pace with change. There was an increase in social and health services for Māori. As well there was a rise in Māori holding multiple jobs.

1996-2000 Ngati Tākūhu He Wa Tākūhu.

Māori labour market of this time could be termed Ngati Takūhu He Wa Takūhu or those working in a time where workers were more autonomous and there was rising self employment. In 1996 the widespread attempt for Māori to move away from the whims of government funding, heightened by the effects of Treaty Settlements, saw the rise of tertiary education and health providers and the decline of agriculture, fishing, forestry and manufacturing reflected in employment policies. It was an era of creativity, as confidence in being Māori rose. Treaty Settlements gave portable wealth and flexibility in investment decision-making. Minister of Māori Affairs called *Te Ohanga* (the *Māori Economic Development Summit*) to recommend the capitalisation of the resource base, improved management practices, dramatic improvements in education, innovative use of joint ventures for commercial success, and the growth of self employment.

2001- 2005 Ngati Ūmanga He Wa Aka Ūmanga.

Māori labour market of this time could be termed Ngati Umanga He Wa Aka Umanga or those in an environment where Māori business and networks developed. Focus on entrepreneurial spirit in tourism, knowledge, media and leisure industries provided the most recent focus for Māori economic activity. However, in all sectors of economic activity Māori remained proportionately less active due to barriers and impediments and the lack of job creation compared to all New Zealanders. Those who identify as solely Māori had lower incomes than those who identify as Māori and one other nationality.

3.2 The pipi model of Māori interaction spheres

Multiple job holding and labour market changes affect people’s livelihoods and impact at various levels from the micro (individual person) to the macro (region and iwi). These levels have been represented below in what we have termed the pipi model. The pipi model provides a way to order and understand the impacts of activities in each sphere upon another, and gives a way of describing the spheres of relationships. Later sections provide discussion about individual’s working lives, their households, and the broader community.

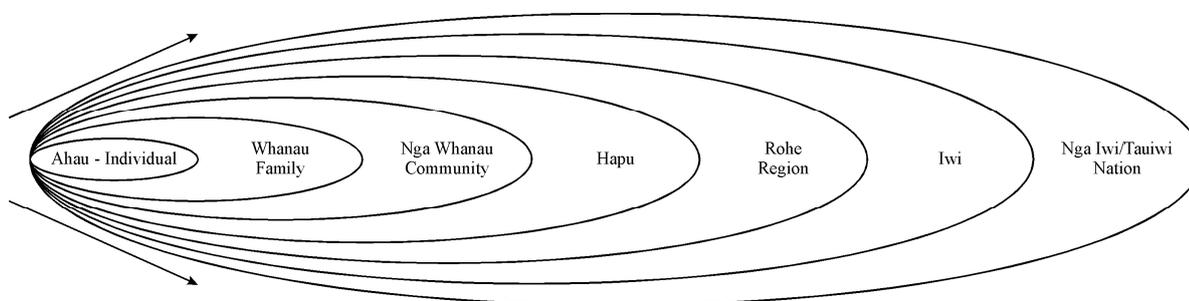


Figure 1: The Pipi Model

3.3 Setting the context in relation to the cohort and pipi models

An individual’s links to or isolation from the labour market forms the fabric of families, communities, hapu, rohe, or iwi. Little investigation has been given by iwi and hapu organisations towards affiliated families and individuals and their linkages to or isolation from the labour market. Often simplistic one-liners abound in literature and media statements about Māori issues, with heavier weighting often placed on the ‘Māori’ rather than the ‘issues’ part of the message, including negative comments about working lives, Māori households, and ‘place’ in the broader community. Unjustifiably, individuals can then become subsumed into a collective homogenous group, based on identity as Māori or iwi. The feedback from the huihui in Wellington and Hokitika provided individual experiences with the labour market which give insight into Māori experience through layers as described in the pipi model and over time as described in the cohort stages.

Low economic growth and inadequate job creation in the 1980s to mid 1990s as shown in the cohort model above was a time of simplistic debates about national identity adding suffocation and tension to regions, communities and families. As well, deconstruction of the labour market ensued until 1996 in the sphere of the outer ring of the pipi model - iwi and tauiwi. In this context it is not unreasonable to expect that the work histories of huihui participants would indicate unexpected disruptions to their working lives, in a time when they felt a sense of nowhere to go, followed by a period of glimmering long term prospects with short term, sporadic employment in the same or

different industries. Work histories were also mediated by significant family events, some periods of re-education and some with strong characteristics of versatility and innovation creating new employment pathways in new service sectors.

From the mid 1990's to 2005 the cohort model would suggest that Māori identity formed the crucible of recovery. Existing industries were not growing at a sufficient rate to sustain the rise in number of the Māori population. It would not be unreasonable to expect huihui participants in this time to find other jobs in the same industry, move to another existing industry but at a lower wage rate or different location, or find work in an unpaid capacity. A return to whanau land resources, reconnection of Māori with iwi authorities, or move to a newly created industry in the creative sector or IT sector is reasonable to expect as well. Some of these moves possibly led to permanent work, improved management capability, education, and innovative use of joint ventures for commercial success. Younger family members, entrepreneurialism and on the job training across multiple employers over a shorter time period would also be expected. Also a renewed focus upon tertiary education, self-determination and multiple job holding too would be a reasonable expectation. Such a combination is also likely to lead to more involvement by Māori in political activities. Overall it would not be unreasonable to expect that participants would have a yearning to be linked to their whanau, communities, hapu, iwi and nation so that they have opportunity to breathe and grow peaceably driven by fulfilment of purpose through whanaungatanga (relationship building) and reconnection with the labour market locally, regionally or nationally.

Setting the context and expectations of work histories in relation to the pipi model, each ring of the pipi model represents an array of institutions: family businesses, community services and enterprises, Runanga, regional organisations, iwi organisations, national public and private businesses, and government agencies. Attempts to reverse the deconstructed labour market placed emphasis upon national, regional and local grouping of organisations to cluster together from this array of institutions. To be successful, this process required commitment and coordination at each level from leaders of these organisations. In some local and regional cases, leaders of institutions have looked to iwi organisations and runanga to take the lead to identify needs and opportunities that are relevant to each region for each regional cluster. The arrays of institutions that create and respond to labour demand from this point forward are therefore multiple, and ideally grouped together in one place around the same table. The path to a competitive open economy with a fully functioning labour market is also multi-dimensional. By implication then, the rise of multiple job holding is possibly simply a symptom of labour demand and supply in the pursuit of a competitive open economy, however, it is more likely a range of factors are operating.

The rate of job growth and industry growth, however has not matched the rate of Māori population growth. From this point forward, the reconstruction of the labour market with a greater focus upon growth requires matching labour supply and demand within each ring of the pipi model and where possible between rings, with a clear need for greater coordination. In the long term, the level to which labour supply is matched with labour demand will directly relate to the level of competitiveness of clusters of industries and growth objectives for each region.

4 Broad patterns of work

In this section we examine the findings of broad patterns of work identified by participants in the two huihui from their own life histories and experiences of particular industries and sectors. While the context for these explorations is set above for a dynamic 25 year time period, comments of participants go even further back, to the 1930s in some instances.

Wellington.

One participant experienced a volatile work history for ten years in the Information Technology sector from 1984-1994, having been made redundant five times over that 10 year period as businesses downsized. Previously, an employer had not increased prices, and was caught in the wage and price freeze policies of the Muldoon Government (1975-1984) resulting in a company downsize, and the only available position involved moving to Auckland so the participant chose to enter into self employment.

Another participant experienced a work history influenced by the Māori tradition of whangai (a child with multiple caregivers and also an adult caring for multiple children - in either case the nurturing process can be from or by people of the same hapu but possibly other hapu too). This participant had dropped out of school in 1961 or 1962. Her pattern of work was influenced by her mother, who found her first part time job at a maternity hospital where she cleaned the birthing room after the birth had been completed, and then by her aunty for her first full time job, working on tolls at the NZ Post Office (now Telecom) based in Wellington for a little over a year.

She experienced two turning points in her work history. The first was marriage in 1965 when she met her partner and father of three children. The second was the death of her husband in 1995. Following the death of her husband she found difficulty in getting full time work but she worked as a panel member at Child Youth & Family, and at the same time voluntarily for the Wellington City Council Development programme - since 1994. She applied her skills in coordinating Waitangi Day in the park for the Council. In 2000 she became an employee of the Council in the Treaty Relations Team, and has continued there. At the same time she worked at Child Youth and Family and worked two hours per week on the Care and Protection Resource Panel advising social workers on cases. This work prior to working at the Council was *“to make ends meet”*. In addition to panel work, bolt-on activities such as supervision of access for children with their parents provided another way to earn extra money to top up the amount earned from panel work at that time. *“We would take them for supervised access with their father or mother and once they had that access we would take them back. That was another way of earning money”*.

Another participant completed three and a half years of secondary education. She too travelled to Wellington to look for work and experienced a diverse work history. The first job commenced in 1957 for one year at a government department and then from 1958 working on the Wellington tram service until 1963. The second period followed a seven year stay at home until 1970 when she commenced work at Telecom until redundancy 18 years later in 1988. In 1989 she entered the mental health sector and operated a service for mental health patients out of a 19 bedroom house. This service received no funding for the first three years of operation, however it was funded from 1992 and was still operational and funded in 2006.

Another participant completed three years of secondary education in Auckland, 1947-1950. This participant experienced a changeable work history with ten turning points as she adapted throughout it from the caring sector to the parliamentary sector. As well she divorced at a young age and had children to bring up. From the outset she held two jobs. The first was as a Salvation Army Nurse

and the other for Internal Affairs. She then moved to become matron at a nurses' home responsible for 700 people. As a result of *"being fed up with the lifestyle as the whole health board was changing"* she moved to welfare, which at that time was responsible for children at risk prior to the Children & Young Persons Service. Since then she has worked at the district courts *"I like law, anything to do with law, I was in there. Parliamentary House used to start at 9 o'clock and I'd be inside the courts at 9 o'clock or 8 when it opened. I do criminal law. At that top level, they don't want to let us in. The people I actually talk to are there, lawyers, and judges. Those are the kind of people I talk to. I work with people at the top level"*. Today she works as a parliamentary officer in the chambers on a casual basis as a result of her daughter-in-law being related to an MP. Like previous participants she wove together unrelated combinations of circumstance and opportunity to design a source of sustenance and now at 70 years of age still has the situation that she created herself. *"I hope that when you young ones get as old as us you think ahead. Don't just look at the square box and say, this is where I'm going to be in 2026. From 1936 until now, it's changed, 6, 7, 8 or 10 times over. I've had to adjust to it. The problem is how long it takes you to adjust... It took me 10 years and 5 redundancies, but I adjusted"*.

Other reflections on young people and work ethic suggests family commitment and support for work may encourage children to do well so their work history would be more stable or have more choices. Participants noted the success of children in academic, trades, business, technical and government service positions. One participant noted a strong work ethic and discipline towards study for her children. *"My children worked most of their lives - from about six onwards. They worked during the school holidays, did paper runs. They're still working hard today and they've got their own homes. From all that hard work and from the fact that we wanted them educated, so they didn't have the same past as me"*.

Hokitika.

The patterns of work for participants in Hokitika were orientated around the health and community sector but showed considerable diversity of past work in a range of sectors. None of the participants had experienced a particularly volatile work history, however, racism was experienced in the hospital workplace from 1981 to 1995. From 1996 Treaty Settlements reduced the level of expressed racism in the workplace as relationships were rebalanced, and the resurgence of learning te reo Māori in the workplace increased the level of confidence in Māori identity of Māori workers. In the community their work involved programmes that ranged from immunization, to education and social work. Te Waipounamu Māori Womens Welfare League, a long standing and respected national organisation for the well being of Māori women, provided continuity, and a sense of stability to deal with day-to-day challenges. Participants were equally involved in the voluntary sector as in paid work with a trust. Multiple job holding within the community health sector resulted from strategies to become actively involved in paid and unpaid roles at the grassroots level through to the ministerial level with programme development for youth through to retirees. Intensity and turbulence persisted, however, within the community health sector in which the trust had positioned itself.

Overall participants adopted multiple job holding as a lifetime strategy to provide for wellbeing and interacting with their community. It was not seen to be a recent phenomenon. For those able to, multiple job holding would involve working more than one full time job: *"For four years, I was the area rep for Te Wai Pounamu Māori Womens Welfare League, as well as holding this full-time position here. I really had 2 full time jobs. The area rep position is really a voluntary position, because you get an honorarium, but there's is just no money to pay the position"*.

One participant was a mother of four children over 16 years on her own, and worked in two paid jobs and also worked voluntarily. These two jobs provided income to support her grandchildren.

Her prior work history consisted of several jobs that did not require qualifications, e.g. roller driver for construction sites, sphagnum moss cleaner/processor, textiles work, Laundromat, take-away bars, and public bar manager.

Another participant was a mother of three children, grandmother of two children, working full time at a trust, a paid member of a Public Health Organisation (PHO) committee, and on a whitebait committee too. She had waited for and sought work at the trust.

A third participant had moved to the West Coast in 1979 with her parents and siblings. Now as a mother of two, grandmother of one she lived alone. She worked completing hotel payroll administration at the same hotel she had done prior bar work at in the evenings and managed a family business. She worked part time for Plunket NZ until the position was restructured to Nelson when she was offered redeployment or redundancy. As she had raised two children she had worked voluntarily with two or more clubs at any one time and was also a kaumatua for a trust. Her prior work history consisted of part time public bar work in the evenings from 1980 to 1986 for six years followed by work with her husband in their motorcycle sales and service business. From 1986 she stopped working the bar at nights and started administering the payroll for the same hotel during the day. She entered the workforce when her best friend encouraged her to leave school although she enjoyed school. She said *“Dad I want to leave school.”* Her father then took the next day off work and found a job. *“Jobs were so easy to get. Of course I wanted a job in an office. The first place we stopped off at was Woolworths. I was horrified”*. She began work at Woolworths and now relates this story as an example of young people’s unrealistic expectations of work and the need for support with education to find a career or vocation. Another comment on education related to her parents’ view on education *“My parents didn’t have a trade. The whole plan for me was just to go out and earn money, and it didn’t matter where it was. As it turned out I absolutely loved that job because there was a lot of diversity, it was heaps of fun... They cared about us and loved us, but the approach was very different”*. She has since placed a high value upon education for her own children so that they can aspire to get somewhere in life and achieve their goals, have any job satisfaction, and not feel that they *“had missed out somehow”*.

Therefore, like the Wellington participants, a focus and discipline towards education by children were noted as preparation for full timework as an employee or self employed in the public and private sectors.

Another participant was a mother of four adult children, 13 grandchildren, and 1 great-grandchild. She was the Tumuaki (Chairperson) for a trust filling management, mentoring, networking and kaumatua roles on a full time basis. In addition to this full time job she coordinated the Immunization Programme for Te Waipounamu Māori Womens Welfare League, sat on ministerial committees, some of which were paid, sat on the District Health Board committee on a paid basis and was an advisor to the Minister of Health, and was also involved in voluntary work too. But she said *“The most important thing in my life is my whanau. All the other things in my life come next”*.

She noted that *“1981 was a time when you had a job and were Māori, so there was nothing about your Māoriness that enabled you to develop anything in relation to being Māori. So you were just a person in a job. You had to put up with criticism and racism. Trying to work to another set of values ... In those mainstream jobs over those years, they didn’t allow Māori to enhance their well being. There was no cultural sensitivity”*. From 1996 Treaty Settlements reduced the level of expressed racism in the workplace, and the resurgence of learning te reo Māori in the workplace increased the level of confidence in Māori identity of Māori workers. *“I worked in a mainstream hospital environment. You just had to do what everyone else did, irrespective of whether you agreed with it or not, because ... to be one of them you had to go with the flow. That was a difficult*

time because you weren't able to be who you were. For me - I had worked 27 years in the hospital before moving out into the community. When I got this position in the community, I became a Māori in the eyes of the people at the hospital - they would ring me regarding Māori matters. I was the same person, but overnight I was seen as the Māori. Prior to that I was just somebody else that worked on the team".

Another participant worked on a contract basis for Sport & Recreation Canterbury (SPARC), sat on the Children Young Persons' Care and Protection Panel in a paid capacity, and was the Honorary Secretary for Te Waipounamu Māori Womens Welfare League and paid an honorarium.

Another participant was a mother of one child working 30 hours per week at a trust, completing general duties for the last three months on the *Māori Job Plus Subsidy Scheme*. Her work history started in 1986, after having left school at 15 years of age without any qualifications, and she had worked in chemists, delicatessens, kitchens, bars, and hairdressing. Eight years later, and from 1994, she became a mother and domestic purposes beneficiary, and had been so since for twelve years. She structured her times of work around the hours of school that her child attended so that she was less dependent upon other family members to assist with childcare, and that she was more confident in her ability to look after her child and to work too. *"If I didn't have my family I probably wouldn't be able to hold down a job really"*. She supplemented her income from part time café work. She volunteered with the trust and undertook education to get an appropriate qualification to be able to have her current job. She is repaying her student loan.

The last participant, as a young teen, came from a rural background to Christchurch in the late 1970s and found himself amongst a group of urban Māori that *"were staunch and had this cool pattern on their backs"*. After leaving school at the 15 years he then worked as a fisherman on the Chatham Islands for 13 years. In 1998, living in Hawkes Bay, he grasped the opportunity offered by a friend that was not gang related to come to Hokitika to work teaching te reo Māori to youth. *"He gave me another perspective. So even though I started my fishing career, in the back of my mind one day I wanted to do the same for somebody else"*. He worked two jobs for the first ten weeks in Hokitika, at which time his partner decided to return to fishing and he became responsible for looking after their babies.

5 Experiences of multiple job holding

5.1 Overview of multiple job holding in the two huihui contexts

Multiple job holding had been used by Wellington participants when little else had remained for them in the way of work opportunities. In these cases multiple job holding provided an intermediary pathway to self-employment and full employment. Three participants also had rebalanced work and life to include multiple job holding to a lesser extent, while making a contribution to the community particularly with regard to youth. Another on the other hand had used multiple job holding to the same extent over time to provide sustainable household earnings.

Multiple job holding by the Hokitika participants had been adopted for many years as a lifetime strategy to provide for family and community wellbeing. Work histories there had not demonstrated severe fluctuation in employment, however, work across natural resource and service sectors was not unusual. Multiple job holding was more a barometer of wellbeing and provided a channel for full time employees to serve their community. Underpinning belief in identity, confidence and an atmosphere of less racism have encouraged multiple job holding in community services to a greater extent, particularly with regard to responding to social cleavages and inequalities. All participants used multiple job holding to provide sustainable household earnings to raise their families. Long term multiple job holding has provided a position of strong defence against potential displacement by new iwi organisations competing or brokering government contracts for community services.

Clearly then, a review of multiple job holding and labour market changes in livelihoods, as well as their impacts at various levels from the micro (individual person) to the macro (region and iwi) as represented in the pipi model, are important. In this way, the characteristics of multiple job holding and the impacts of activities in each sphere upon another can be ordered, and examined to help enhance the quality of work and service delivery. The model also gives a way of describing the spheres of potential relationships that incorporate individuals' working lives, their households, and role in the broader community, notwithstanding any workplace displacement and changes in work over time. *"We're the poor boy. We're the ones that are out there doing the work, we're the face of the community, but we're not recognised as being iwi – we're pan tribal"* noted a Hokitika participant.

5.2 Motivations for multiple job holding

Wellington.

The greatest motivation for work by multiple job holding for participants at the Wellington huihui was *"passion"*, for kaupapa Māori, and satisfaction of purpose in their work which did not always attract government funding. Other motivations are seen to meet:

- Psycho-social needs (passion, security, self worth, a sense of balance, effects of loss from divorce)
- Physical needs (having children to bring up after divorce)
- Education needs (gain technical skills e.g. computer literacy)
- Socio-political needs (empower others especially my people, help those who on one else wanted to help, contribution to community, unique ability to operate in a central government-local government-community interface).

The following extracts provide examples of these motivations.

One participant stated and another agreed that security in employment mattered “...after the fifth time I didn’t want to go back and be made redundant again. It’s about my self worth”. For some, multiple job holding and volunteering gave an opportunity to find a suitable job or self employment.

Another reflected upon the time she was made redundant, “I was shattered. To become redundant is the lowest feeling people can ever feel. You feel worthless and helpless. I just carried on doing this voluntary work”. With the belief that “someone will recognise you and your worth and will grab you”.

She saw multiple job holding was more than a drive to make a living, almost to the point of being altruistic in doing it for her people. “Also, in order to empower your people you’ve got to have the respect of your people. It’s a 2 way thing. If you haven’t got the respect of your people (especially in advisory roles) they just don’t want to know you. That’s what makes my job so meaningful, the respect for all cultures. The ability to have meaningful discussions at your level... why you’re here”.

Hokitika.

The greatest motivation for multiple job holding for participants at the Hokitika huihui was “commitment to purpose”. This purpose or kaupapa applied in particular to the community health trust that aimed for advancement of kaupapa Māori. This work meets needs identified by government and achieves ongoing funding. Participants viewed commitment as the prime qualifier as to level of involvement towards any particular purpose. By implication low commitment equated to low involvement in work and hence low productivity, whilst high levels of commitment equated to high involvement, which resulted in high productivity. “It’s not always 40 hours, it’s over and above that. It’s never ending really”. Personal security, a sense of balance and empowerment were not strong motivations as these participants had secure jobs.

Vision as to what was possible was also a motivator. As was passion and its reward, satisfaction. No vision equated to no passion and therefore no involvement. “You get out of it what you put into it”. All the participants emphasised the reciprocal obligation to serve others. “It’s kind of like a commitment thing to those people who have really looked after me”. Participants distinguished that the prime motivation for working in a mainstream organisation would be “just to go and get paid”. Rather than the belief of “self worth” in itself as a motivator, the expression of “proof of worth” was more important. The effect of this belief is greater resilience. Unlike the Wellington participants’ view there was less emphasis on empowerment of communities or skill development but instead an expression of servicing need. For Hokitika skill development was primarily on the job training for the purpose of serving the needs of the local community.

Motivations are listed below. These can be grouped into:

- psycho-social needs (commitment to purpose, vision, passion, satisfaction of aspiration to get somewhere in life, personal well-being, self healing by healing others with the same affliction)
- community needs (using the capacity to meet needs, standing tall, as proof of competitive worth, being busy already, meeting health needs and reducing abuse in families, responding to reciprocal obligations to others who have assisted)
- family needs (look after the next generation, fit in with school hours of children)
- physical needs (immediate and short term reward for extra cash and social interaction, pay rent money, contribute to fundraising for children’s education, equipment needs).

The following extracts provide examples of these motivations.

One participant’s primary motivation for multiple job holding was “*I want to work in this area to make it better for my grandchildren*” her secondary motivation was based upon “*making a difference*” to community well-being, meeting health needs in the community and reduction of incidents of family violence.

From another’s point of view, he took on extra work because he wanted to work with youth because of perceived gaps in his own upbringing. “*Some of the stuff that I went through as a young fella. I was removed from my mother when I was two. I was shifted around different foster homes and then adopted into a European family. So I was never caught up with any Māori. I lived in a little village up in Hawkes Bay, where there was only one other Māori family. Then we shifted down to Christchurch where, hello, there’s all these Brown People. So I tried very hard to be what I thought a Māori was. I managed to get out of that sort of system [gangs] by going down to the church and starting my Christian career*”. Now he is motivated to help others and took an extra job for that purpose.

5.3 Factors that encourage or inhibit multiple job holding

Wellington.

Table 1 lists factors that encourage multiple job holding based on the experience of participants In Wellington. The list of encouragers could be broadly grouped into negative work events, fear of embarrassment or failure, intrinsic qualities and aspirations. The list of inhibitors could be broadly grouped into ineffective communication, intrinsic qualities and aspirations, psycho-social influences and socio-political influences.

Table 1: Factors Encouraging or Inhibiting Multiple Job Holding - Wellington

Encouragers	Inhibitors
Wish to have an extra job as protection from being made redundant often	Inability to sell belief, work ethic and skills to others
Income and the ability to meet individual, family and community needs	Frustration at perceived unfairness (by a volunteer) that others who are less competent have the job
Strong need for autonomy – running a business rather than working another job as an employee	Lack of endurance through the set-up phase
Self belief & strong work ethic	Lack of psychological resilience
Strong urge to serve others	Too embarrassed to apply for jobs
Need for a place in the adult world	Need to gain necessary skills
Hope to gain full time employment	The perception of being too old
Not accepting the perception of being too old to get other jobs	Prejudice
Creating jobs for others	
Partnerships with community, local authorities and central government	
Active prayer life – Karakia and placing priority on wairua for the job rather than the money earned.	

The following extracts provide examples.

For one participant her extra job was taken on because she had “*a massive urge to help other people*”. Whilst working for Children & Young Persons Service she applied her experience to advocating for youth including homeless people in the youth court, district court, family courts and

taking it all the way to the powers that be. On the death of her husband this participant worked voluntarily in two areas with the hope of gaining full time employment. She stated that *“I was a little bit to blame because I didn’t pursue payment for it. When I saw the wage they were going to pay me I nearly fell over. I’d never been paid that much before. It was a shock. It was just as big a shock as being made redundant. From there I got contracted for 2 years to do that. A position became vacant that they couldn’t fill in council. I was then working with the Treaty Relations Team. With hesitation I moved over to this side, because I love working with people. Because of this I was able to offer this space here free of charge. I like to look after people. I like to make sure they get the same rights and privileges as others do and get treated fairly and with utmost love and respect”*.

Hokitika.

Table 2 lists factors that encourage multiple job holding based on the experience of the Hokitika participants. The list of encouragers can be grouped into service supply/demand, intrinsic qualities and characteristics, past patterns and level of family support. The list of inhibitors can be grouped into time use, barriers to training and skill development, intrinsic qualities and aspirations and level of family support.

Table 2: Factors that Encourage & Inhibit Multiple Job Holding - Hokitika

Encouragers	Inhibitors
Commitment to purpose Strong urge to serve others Strong work ethic Creating jobs for others Psychological resilience Active prayer life – karakia Strong need for autonomy Partnerships with community, local authorities and central government Being an experienced multiple job holder Need to use required skills or ability to do the job. Not being able to refuse a request Active involvement in paid and unpaid roles from the grassroots level to the ministerial level Single parenting with one child	Hours of work Time away from family Unable to train others No value seen in other things other than money Lack for after-school and holiday programmes Single parenting with more than one child Cost of Childcare Lack of internal family support within a family

The following extracts provide examples.

“I’ve always done it [multiple job holding]”.

“There was nobody else to do the jobs that someone had to do”.

“I don’t know how to say no”.

5.4 Impacts of multiple job holding

Wellington.

The impacts of multiple job holding upon the households of the multiple job holders included ability to use time flexibly, re-sizing household jobs, and employing others to complete these

household jobs. Some participants also noted that multiple job holding may have shaped the work histories of their children by having an increased focus and discipline towards education.

The following extracts provide examples of these impacts.

One participant was responsible for the household cooking as his partner had not wanted to cook so he hired a woman to cook the meals for about six months.

On the downside one participant took homeless youth into her own place and her father would become annoyed. In her most recent working life, as a result of her commitment to community and hapu, she had become the personification of community. *“What I’m hearing is that you are the community. You’re leading the way in terms of developing things. So it seems there has been a period of making the initial connections, and now it’s about improving those relationships. I’m here for a reason, but I guess my reasons may be different to everyone else’s. I’m into my karakia and that side very much. I’ve made it quite clear to myself to make psychological changes for the better.”*

“We’ve got a passion for helping people on all levels. Sometimes we knocked back - our own people [and] are our worst enemy”. This participant ensured that Tuesday and Thursday were time to work with documents, as she is a Justice of the Peace. This time too is used to remain in contact with family members directly or indirectly by telephone.

Another participant placed a high value upon keeping in contact with children, no matter how far away they are. *“That way I keep my lifestyle, my working lifestyle. I’m not one of the ladies that like time off at the end of the week”.*

Hokitika.

The impacts of multiple job holding identified were directly upon the households of the multiple job holders. Unlike the responses from the participants based in Wellington, impacts included less flexibility in the use of time by those based in Hokitika as they were more accessible and more socially exposed in a smaller town. Urban size therefore appeared to influence whether multiple job holding provided more or less flexibility in use of time.

Participants in Hokitika identified negative impacts of multiple job holding including:

- Absentee parents and absentee spouses
- Socially unacceptable timetables
- Lack of self care
- Lack of quality whanau time, especially for younger ones
- Punitive secondary tax rates on reimbursements for travel costs
- Increased other community involvements
- Being targeted by other community organisations for assistance
- Not being able to say no for activities that participants were passionate towards.

The following extracts provide examples of these impacts.

“The second job you just about work for sh###! It’s just a nightmare, it’s an absolute nightmare”.

One participant recalled during the transition in jobs she would leave for work half an hour later than her husband arrived home. She reflected this was not good for the family from her past experience. *“When I left school, both my parents worked. Mum was never home, dad was never home and we grew up quickly”.*

Another noted after the birth of his first child “... *that really made me think about getting out of the fishing industry and following my other dream of working with youth. The time away from the family... current work/hours*”.

One noted the value of the organisation required the hold multiple jobs and had a very understanding and supportive spouse. She also thought that women were very good at managing and organising. “*They have very good business heads, because they have to work to budgets etc when they run a home. Ninety-nine percent of women would manage the home, so we learn and are equipped to move into the corporate world*”.

5.5 The influence of Māori values

Wellington.

The influence of Māori values was demonstrated by the influence of whangai (multiple parenting and care-giving), whanaungatanga (relationship building), manaakitanga (hospitality and care as an expression of mana) and aroha ki te tangata (to face the people with love and respect). The extent of these relationships was demonstrated in the way in which Wellington participants had accessed the labour market. Familial contacts of the most immediate generation, that is the aunts and natural parents, provided all participants with the initial point of contact with the labour market. In return the expectation underpinned by the principle aroha ki te tangata had led these participants to assist and empower other Māori, particularly youth, throughout their working life. The breadth of this assistance was of a community or hapu size, rather than solely one individual or one family.

At times the participants reported demonstrations of manaakitanga (hospitality and caring as an expression of mana) and te reo Māori (Māori language) in the public workplace. In the case of manaakitanga having a pot cooking with kai at work, and the fridge filled with artesian water ready to share is a prerequisite in the public workplace. The effect of the expression of manaakitanga in this way has assisted to build open and effective relationships with senior staff. Manaakitanga keeps all involved safe and integrity of personal and spiritual values intact. It also prevents the undesirable situation of confrontation and not having to enforce values onto colleagues. Too often prior negative experiences in learning te reo Māori have to be overcome in order to recommence. Manaakitanga creates a nurturing atmosphere and is one way of overcoming prior negative experiences.

Another participant applied her experience and background of having been born on a Marae in rural North Island, and a family background of verbal and physical abuse. She had a passion to protect other young people from that type of abuse by making sure the social workers were doing their work correctly.

Participants also noted the difference between just working for money and strong commitment and spirit to the job. One participant was not used to working in a bureaucracy, and found difficulty with its structure, particularly when staff ignored advice about Māori protocols, and when staff were employed into a position without the levels of competency required of the participant.

The following extracts provide examples.

The two highest public officials of Wellington are now learning te reo Māori. “... *She came in to see what we were laughing about, because when we do it we have fun and I’m only there for about 20 minutes. I asked her to come too...*”

“I used to see him hitting mum. That had a bit of a traumatic effect on my inner being. I didn’t want that to happen to my children and I had difficulty in letting go of the past. From an early age, I made sure my children weren’t treated the same”.

“... When I see people get positions and they’re not fully competent - so I think they’re just going there for the money, not for the wairua of the job”.

Hokitika.

Participants saw that the prime influence of Māori values was that of learning and growth.

One participant had not experienced the nurturing effects of whangai (multiple parenting and care-giving), whanaungatanga (relationship building), manaakitanga (hospitality and care as an expression of mana) and aroha ki te tangata (to face the people with love and respect). Instead he experienced a lack of nurturing which resulted in his pathway arriving at a Māori World View to that of an urban Māori gang. He experienced multiple parents in foster homes and was later adopted by a European family. He also experienced fractured views of hapu and runanga and inhospitable atmospheres in social settings. He had, however, retained a deep and inner yearning to face people with love and respect. He searched for a path forward that restored a sense of balance to move away from the urban Māori gang view of the world and had found that pathway of rebalance via conversion to Christianity, love for his wife and children, and then vocationally in his work with youth at the trust. He returned the expectation underpinned by the principle aroha ki te tangata to assist and empower other Māori, particularly youth, throughout his working life.

Learning te reo Māori me ona tikanga as part of the working programme at the Trust had enhanced well-being for staff, and provided them with knowledge, inspiration and encouragement. *“Doing karakia every morning is good for my wellbeing and has given me that extra knowledge that I felt I missed out on growing up”.* As a result the workplace is distinctive for all employees. *“It’s given me knowledge of being Māori, because Māori was never in my family. My father’s father in those days pretended to be Pakeha, so we missed out on all that Māori upbringing. It has only been the last 4 years where I have got involved in that side of my life. It has been a great inspiration for me to look into where I come from and learn about my culture. I encourage others to do it also”.*

The influence of Māori values extended to the work practices where the trust activities deal with effects of the cleavages of inequality. Staff have willingly challenged to find innovative ways to deal with age old problems. The set of Māori values underpinning work practices are to provide a service based on need. Examples of how these values have been applied in the workplace are as follows:

- Working on the same level as the client. *“The mainstream people will go in and have this authority, so straight away it puts the person on the back foot and not moving forward”*
- Not controlled by a clock, *“In a mainstream system doctors work to 15min slots, and if you go over that 15 minutes you pay again. We go out and visit our whanau and I wouldn’t think that any of our staff watch the clock. We’re able to work in a way that our whanau need us to work”*
- Working in a way that is natural and right, and we need to work as Māori
- Staff are not demanded to fit to any prescribed character, attitude, behaviour template *“It helps you be your own person and grow. I’ve also worked in mainstream health which I had a passion for, but it was very regimented and stressful. Here, where we can work in a natural way it is very empowering, involves lots of growth and learning”*

- Emphasis is placed upon the powhiri (formal welcoming process) prior to the commencement of the induction process, *“Mainstream would call it time wasting, unnecessary steps”*
- Staff had been accepted as who they are so that they can be themselves *“Being a Pakeha on staff was not a challenge”*
- All embracing and inclusive.

The Hokitika participants saw that their obligations were to their immediate and extended families, excluding the wider context of hapu and iwi. Wide support was expressed towards the national network of the Māori Women’s Welfare League as it was all embracing, multiple, catalytic and not exclusively iwi. *“So our mother is the Māori Women’s Welfare League. Prior to us being born, the Māori Women’s Welfare League did a lot of voluntary work - the welfare, the whanau stuff was all done voluntarily”*.

The resistance to iwi was mutual. The assertions that iwi were late comers, only interested in money, and had not exemplified any commitment to the purpose of being devoted to people like the Māori Women’s Welfare League had done, were well evidenced. *“They did it with nothing. It was aroha (deep devotion to people) and passion. The need to nurture the whanau and tikanga. All of those things Māori was why they did what they did. And they’re still doing it today. The iwi was nowhere in sight. Then the dollar... you could apply and get funding. All of a sudden the iwi were born, and you could apply and get funding and they wanted a part of this. This is my opinion. So it seems like there are dollars today, the iwi are in and out go those who have been doing it for Mai rano (since the beginning of time) - you can go now, you’ve served your purpose, we’re in here because there is money”*.

Further resistance towards iwi was based upon the new political influence and broker relationships iwi have recently developed with funders. These new relationships have threatened displacement of service provider like their trust. *“We’re not an iwi driven organisation and our biggest enemy are our own in that area - the resistance”*.

6 Government policy issues influencing Māori participation in the labour market

During the huihui a number of broader issues were raised pertaining to Māori participation in the labour market, as outlined in this section. These were not necessarily direct comments about multiple job holding, being comments on the wider policy context and political setting in which labour market policy is formed. The comments provide context and also point to an agenda for further research.

Wellington.

Participants identified existing issues and potential areas for future research for possible improved Māori participation in the labour market:

- Bias toward hand picking people for jobs rather than those with the skills
- Lack of structure and organisation for urban Māori who are not manawhenua
- Lack of networks among Māori to participate as many job opportunities are networked by word of mouth
- The effects of depression and anxiety for people who do not get jobs in the community
- The role of apprenticeships
- Matching skills with jobs
- Not having adequate accommodation nor a homely atmosphere to live in
- The punitive nature of secondary tax upon any second and third jobs
- The complexities of employment law in favour of the employee
- The need for effective and meaningful communication between and by government departments or councils with service providers.

The following extracts provide some extra insight into these concerns:

“So it’s not just a MJH issue, like we were focusing on, it’s a much broader issue. Let’s look at the building blocks”. [Building blocks would include health, housing, education (including training and apprenticeships), and a computerised information system for Māori employment].

“We’ve got the skills here. So just have a think about that. A web based information system about the Māori economy and employment, as well as mainstream”.

“Those apprenticeships worked for that era... Most of the East Coast boys who came into town, they became farmers and painters and mechanics...”.

“You just need to look at the statistics of abuse today and you hear a call for the old way of working - the Māori welfare officers, but they’ve all gone away. It [the old way] worked!”.

“They’ve [Te Puni Kokiri] gone a long way from what their role was to monitor the government departments from a Māori perspective, because they’re not doing that”.

“From the mayor, the councillors - to make them listen.... they have great difficulty coming down to the level of the people who do the real work – the grassroots. If they did listen they would find that the answers would come naturally. They make strategic policy decisions at that level and we are struggling at the grass roots level”.

Hokitika.

Participants from Hokitika also noted issues and areas for further research. Using the pipi model, it is possible to identify themes that are nationally important, such as standard of living and trade training issues.

A number of other nationally important issues were identified:

- Overly adversarial representative systems do not enhance working relationships, communication and service delivery between the spheres of the model
- Communication and consultation by the Crown should engage with all spheres identified by the pipi model
- The place of the Treaty and its principles in legislation affirms the place of Māori in all spheres
- Support for Te Reo can help to build cultural strengths and identity.

The following extracts provide examples.

“We have this iwi driven into government. As an example, we have a committee here which is an advisory committee to the DHB, which is iwi driven and we have no representation on that committee. There is no-one on there that actually works in health. Here they are, the advisors to the DHB, and well-meaning whanau, but they don’t have a background in health. That’s just an example of the inequalities in our structure”.

“At least we’ve got something if we’ve got the Treaty. Since we’ve moved into Māori health providers and the Treaty is being honoured, they can have a stand, and have a say. I think if they take the Treaty away we’ll be back to where we were”.

“There would be bigger gaps. The inequalities would be far greater without the Treaty. Take away the Treaty and there would be huge gaps”.

“Our wellbeing, our strengths, our energy comes from our whakapapa, our tipuna and the paths they have aspired towards us. I think that says it all really”.

“They’ve taken emotion out of language, and they’ve put it there so it becomes a commodity therefore it doesn’t have the values with it, it doesn’t have any of that traditional stuff which is how people used to take their view and position in society and the ability to survive. I think the whole system is absolutely knackered”.

Standard of living issues were also identified:

- Concern at the reported Māori standard of living, which may not take into account those achieving, professional and educated Māori building better livelihoods
- The Māori population who are, however, failed by government policies
- Concern that geographical areas where it is not possible to get a benefit may be places where there are family or support networks for beneficiaries.

The following extracts provide examples.

“The standard of living report - when you see that reported on the news, they say we’re better off, which is selective nonsense. Everything else seems to be going up except wages, which are stagnant. Housing has gone up, food has gone up, everyday living has gone up, but it’s not been adjusted to pay and the rest of the economy”.

“One quarter of the country are in severe hardship. And you know who is at the bottom of that pool, it’s Māori and Pacific Islanders”.

“So there’s a lot more single people on low incomes who are benefit dependent who can’t move because they don’t have the incentive there to do it. If they’re going to walk into a job that’s going to give them \$260 a week and they’re getting a benefit which is \$270”.

“If people aren’t working or they don’t know what their future holds, then mental illness starts setting in”.

“Also along the coast there are black areas that the government have identified. If you live in those areas, or move into those areas, they penalise you by not giving you a benefit. They say - you live here, you choose to live here, there are no jobs available and we’re wanting you to move from here. It might be where your family are originally from. We want you to move from here to somewhere you can get a job, otherwise we’ll take this benefit off you. It is a dictatorship, basically”.

There were also a number of trade training issues:

- Solutions to shortages of trade training facilitated by Māori and the Crown
- The Apprenticeship Schemes and Trade Training Schemes, and Kura Kaupapa were models that operated successfully in the past
- The transitions between education, training and work could be improved.

The following extracts provide examples.

“My children had the opportunity to do a trade, which stood them well for the future and gave them a job and opportunities. Apprenticeships aren’t there today”.

“A lot of those kids have been friends for life. I think that is a big thing that is missing - trade training school. Now you pay to get your qualifications - get in debt for the rest of your life through student loans”.

“Back then you at least had a chance to work (for minimal pay obviously), but it was something you could work towards. Apprenticeships are hard to come by now. Twenty people applying for one position. Guys who came out of trade training are now in business partnerships together”.

“... My oldest girl is one out of the box. When she decided she was going to work, she went round a few places and offered her work for free to see how they liked her. But yes, pretty hard. A lot different”.

“People are now going out and doing all this extra training, going out and getting the jobs that the rangatahi once upon a time could go get. You’ve got that middle aged sector of people in work now. So there’s not enough jobs for everybody”.

7 Discussion and conclusions

As expected participants experienced changes to their working lives over the 25 year period of focus. These changes were the result of a variety of factors including redundancy from restructuring, changed family circumstances and involvement in voluntary work. Many experienced long periods of voluntary work and short-term sporadic employment in the same or different sectors. The solution to sub optimal employment and income for Māori has involved development of service provision and enterprises.

Constraints of the workplace with respect to being Māori were noted but also a significant improvement and more comfortable stance is emerging, and Māori values and language are integrated in the participants' workplaces. Māori identity formed or developed in the period of economic and cultural recovery in the *Ngati Tama Tu He Wa Whakamohou* period.

Participants at the huihui valued their links to their whanau, communities, hapu, iwi and nation and appreciated when interaction between these spheres was effective. Many had undertaken multiple job holding over a long period of time. Most had done so to gain income and as a way to use their strong drive for the advancement of kaupapa Māori.

Most participants were content with their work history. They saw the value of a flexible approach to an expected career and the value of education to help find a vocation, as well as hard work to achieve goals. Participants appeared to be versatile, innovative in creating new career pathways and service opportunities, and many were economically upwardly mobile. On the job training, not re-education, was a common part of work histories and included computing skills, te reo and tikanga Māori.

Suggestions for further research included ways for the Crown to interact directly with all layers in the pipi model, support for te reo and the Treaty, and the standard of living and training of Māori workers.

Both Wellington and Hokitika participants saw their passion and commitment to work as important but they undertook their work in different circumstances. Helping others in reciprocation for help received at some time past, doing a job because someone had to do it or not being able to refuse a request, being a hard worker, knowing how to organise to work two jobs, being strong in appreciating the wairua of a job and using karakia for strength, providing job security for the future, and needing the money a job gave, all played their part in motivation for work and multiple job holding.

While Wellington participants valued the flexibility multiple jobs gave them, those in the smaller town, Hokitika, found they were sometimes too available to requests for their work. Practical restrictions such as childcare, time away from family, long hours of work and secondary tax rates were seen as punitive inhibitors or negative impacts of multiple job holding.

Many Māori multiple job holders have carved out a working life pathway with servicing people as their focus. They look for effective and meaningful connections between themselves and the spheres of activity represented by the wider rings in the pipi model.

Huihui participants have provided insights about the process by which Māori enter the labour market. Kin based networks within existing sectors were primary entry points in the pre 1981 period. By 2006, these networks were overlaid by iwi and runanga networks. However, there are concerns about how effective these various networks have been in producing meaningful results in

terms of access to work for Māori workers. In the city of Wellington, the response to this issue was for individuals “*to go it alone*”, whereas in the town of Hokitoka it was to “*join a pan-Māori organisation*”.

Multiple job holding following volunteering has been a socio-economic response to the lack of durable income pathways, links to the labour market and sustainable livelihoods. Decisions about work by Māori multiple job holders were often based on identity and other values and did not always reflect the demands of the labour market. The rate of wage progression once employed has not featured as a strong motivator, whereas the purpose and desire to serve other Māori has. Therefore Māori will work at lower wage rates or in a voluntary capacity if the task at hand has an outcome for Māori that is not of direct advantage to the individual. Often this workforce characteristic is seen to be used by Runanga and government organisations to their advantage.

Labour market participation of Māori can be improved by lifting the level of knowledge of the social and economic structures that constrain workers. Only then will people be able to make informed decisions about when and where they can best participate in the labour market to enhance their earnings and quality of employment. The renaissance of the Māori workforce must, from a labour market policy perspective, move well beyond limited initiatives by iwi organisations to overcome inadequate job creation for Māori since the serious job losses of the 1980s. The rise of the social services sectors for Māori for income maintenance, and the rise of multiple job holding in diverse sectors to sustain a livelihood, should not be underestimated in policy formation.