

Multiple job holding by Māori - Scoping of issues, census data and research approach

by

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Multiple Job Holding in New Zealand

(FRST Research Project TBAX0204)

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Whakatauki - Proverb

Ā te wā anō kia kauawhi ao ō tamariki i tēnei ao haeata

The time shall return again so that you can embrace your children in this dawning world

1 Introduction

This working paper provides an overview of context and trends for multiple job holding (MJH) by Māori. The aim of the paper is to provide a Māori focus for the overall research programme and for the more detailed research to follow by forming a basis for discussions in the research team and by others interested in participating in the research as it develops. It will also be used by participants to help them to understand the research team perspective, the Māori labour market context and available data. The first section provides background on the research programme with regard to government directives and goals for Māori in research, and key issues relating to Māori in the research process. Later sections interpret relevant census data with regard to the background of labour market changes for Māori in the period researched, with specific emphasis upon Māori experience of multiple job holding, and describe the research design. Concluding reflections are given at the end of the paper.

1.1 Research objectives for the research programme

The purpose of the research programme¹ is to provide knowledge about the way individuals, families and communities in New Zealand are adapting to social and economic change through multiple job holding. The research uses 1981 to 2001 census data for its surveys and interviews so the operational definition of multiple job holding is a person working in two or more jobs in paid work, or in unpaid work in the family business or farm, over the previous week².

The programme complements and extends previous research into the characteristics of work in natural resource sectors to provide comprehensive information on multiple job holding across a range of sectors. It is anticipated that the research findings will be useful to a range of agencies and groups involved in social and economic policy, including the agriculture sector, and to communities as they respond to a range of social and economic changes.

The research programme, which began in 2001 and is contracted through to 2007, has two main objectives. The work in these objectives is focussed on:

- developing a profile of multiple job holding in New Zealand over recent years, using data from the 2001 Census, the Time Use Survey 1999, the NZ Household Labour Force Survey series, and a longitudinal analysis of census data on the workforce 1981-2001
- identifying factors that encourage or inhibit the adoption of multiple job holding as a change strategy, and determining the impacts of multiple job holding on individuals, families and communities, through interviews with 360 workers over six sectors: café and restaurant

¹ The research is funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST), contract TBAX0204.

² The authors accept this definition, while consistent with that derived from official statistics, is narrow in two important senses: a) it omits categorisations of multiple jobs based on longer time frames such as a month, season, or year b) it excludes activities such as marae or iwi work, which otherwise are categorised officially as voluntary work when there may in fact be economic benefits to the individual or whanau through benefits derived by a wider group from their work.

workers, farmers, health professionals, small accommodation providers, accountants and the creative sector.

Māori focused research and research capacity building- FRST key messages

When initially contracted in 2001 the research programme was designed to develop a focus for Māori and Māori research capacity building. Since 2001, the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST)³ has refined their directive to “a stewardship expectation placed on it by Government RS&T policy to design research portfolios that are responsive to the needs and diversity of Māori” and “as a government agency FRST is committed to supporting Māori Development research in keeping with the principle of partnership embodied in the Treaty of Waitangi”. The research programme supports these messages. The Foundation is looking to invest in research that:

- enables Māori to participate fully in advanced technology and other high-value and rapidly growing areas of the economy
- enables Māori involvement at all stages of research, science and technology from inception to the delivery of benefits (including mechanisms for the protection of cultural property and management of intellectual property)
- supports the achievement of better outcomes for Māori in the face of disparities in economic, social, justice and educational achievement
- supports enhanced Māori management of natural, cultural and historical resources and maintains mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge)
- develops Māori RS&T capability aligned to these directions - including means of enabling Māori to take leadership of research programmes.

The Foundation has also recognised and supported the need for building research capacity in the social sciences in general.

Government signals re evidence based, needs focussed policy

The Government has also provided clear signals on the need to formulate and implement social policy on a base of evidence provided by social research. There is a request for improved links between an increased capacity for social science research and the agencies that formulate social policy. As the Hon Steve Maharey indicates, “What we know is that the knowledge base surrounding social policy is inadequate and, that what little we do have, is often poorly used. The need, therefore, is to improve both the quantum and the quality of the social policy knowledge base, and improve the capacity of the

³ <http://www.frst.govt.nz/Maori/ResStrat.cfm> [accessed 16 July 2004. Note RS&T = research, science and technology]

social sector to use that knowledge”⁴. The goal, he suggests, is an “evidence-based policy and practice”, which “offers us a stone on which we can sharpen the instruments of effective government.”

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This research programme supports evidence based, needs focused policy by engaging end users in identifying possible issues to research. Identifying and developing an understanding of the issues from Māori organisations involved in policy assists those organisations to implement effective social policy outcomes.

Terminology can reflect worldview and the following points explain use of words relating to the Māori view relating to Treaty issues. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed between Māori and the British government of the time representing settlers to New Zealand. These parties had differing views about the nature of governance, power structures and their relationship, differences that are ongoing. For many Māori self-determination and governance is an entitlement, a situation not encouraged by current structures. In this document when referring to the signatories of the Treaty the term ‘Treaty Partners’ refers to the Crown, representing the power and authority of the New Zealand state, and Tauīwi, the descendents of the settlers of the late 18th and the 19th centuries. The term government refers to parliamentary power and its appointed ministers and agencies.

1.2 Relevant key issues for the research programme process

This section outlines key issues for the research programme process including research partnerships and capacity building, setting the scene for longitudinal analysis and commentary on changes in work for the Māori demographic. In this report the term Māori demographic refers to the section of the population who select their ethnicity as Māori in each census from 1981 to 2001. This research is relevant to that demographic, and the impact of Ministers of the Crown and government agencies upon it. The process is designed to consider how various parts contribute to a consistent and unified whole. Specifically, the development of research capacity is designed to gather and objectively evaluate evidence on multiple job holding against policies, principles and protocols of central and local government agencies. The research should develop research outcomes that provide opportunity for improved Māori socio-economic wellbeing in the communities Māori live in and the industries that Māori work in, and develop culturally safe processes for research participation through ongoing relationship and interaction with Māori respondents, protection of intellectual property, clear boundaries of inquiry, and information gathering methods consistent with Māori social structures. Such research will contribute to the rebuilding process of restoring the mana of the Māori Treaty partner in the first instance, by building mutually beneficial partnerships and social science capacity, and secondly allow the Crown to move towards meeting its Treaty obligations. Achievement of these goals will depend on movement forward on objectives for facilitation of research partnerships and implementation of research capacity building.

⁴ Speech of Hon Steve Maharey, 29 April 2003, Connecting policy, research and practice.

⁵ Speech of Hon Steve Maharey, 29 April 2003, Connecting policy, research and practice.

Issues to consider for Māori Researchers

Acknowledging grievances of the past between Māori and the Crown, and empowering Māori researchers, should assist those involved with this programme in a mutually supportive, solution-seeking environment. Effective engagement of Māori in the research process requires effective interfaces between Treaty partners that support capacity building among Māori researchers whilst at the same time minimize negative effects on those persons researched. Given that the Treaty partners are operating in a tensioned interface, it is critical to provide reconciliatory ways to shape the future of the relationship communities have with each other and the wider societal form that they are a part of. It is necessary to preclude Māori from being placed in a reactive stance in having to defend all that was and remains Māori. Also, a research approach should provide the time and the space for Māori to be in a proactive and forward-looking stance in their journey to fulfillment of aspiration.

New protocols for research partnerships and capacity building are a pre-requisite to developments in primary data collection, analysis and reporting as expressed by FRST's commitment to Māori development. Given tensions within and between communities it is miraculous that Māori still have much to offer research into forms of work, despite the past desecration of sites of significance, looting of family heirlooms, willful destruction of intangible estates, and exclusion of Māori from the legislature in the formative years of central and local governance. Unsurprisingly, the Māori contribution is from a position of relatively lower capacity, but one no less intellectual nor less passionate than provided by researchers from the dominant culture. Empowered Māori researchers, who focus their vision beyond grievances, are uniquely able to reflect the worldview of the participants and the end users of the research findings. Such skilled empowerment would acknowledge tension between the Crown and Māori but also enhance government and Māori relationships beyond these tensions.

Issues to consider for Māori participants

Researchers should negotiate entry to participant groups and remain involved in good faith based on a mutually valued relationship. Importantly, and in particular, research processes must avoid putting Māori participants into an unsafe position or into a marginalised role. This approach results in quality responses for analysis. The expression of Māori identity in iwi, hapu and whānau groupings as shown in section 1.3 is central to the fulfillment of responsiveness to Māori in this programme. Traditional values of whanaungatanga (the ethic of belonging), wairuatānga (spiritual connection), kotahitanga (solidarity and connection to tapu and mauri of all things) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship of creation) are implicit in maintaining valued relationships with the participants of the research.

Issues for analysing data

There are strong challenges to the substance of methodological and theoretical frameworks of research about Māori contexts. Dominant discourses around Treaty relationships have marginalised Māori intellect. Participants who feel marginalised are more likely either to overstate their case, or to understate their case in order to assimilate, so their worldview adapts to the dominant culture. Overall, the cumulative effect of participants feeling marginalised can compromise or confuse research especially if accelerated by amorphous definitions and mantra of aggregated concepts of assimilation, integration, bi-culturalism and multi-culturalism, and a the associated presentation of “welfare” stereotypes.

Analysis in the research programme should extend to investigate the views of both Treaty partners about themselves and each other in respect to forms of work and participation in the labour market. This breadth should increase understanding of the socially constructed concepts of work and multiple job holding, and therefore lead to greater understanding between Treaty partners about themselves and the data driving social policy.

Close examination of the assumptions made about the Māori demographic, set against longitudinal data on employment, is essential to recognising the limitations of past generalisations by both Treaty partners. Concepts of social stratification based around poor and misinformed use of data about work, and associated policy decisions, too easily draft people into particular groups without solid foundation. So longitudinal analysis of census data over a crucial period of economic change, as initiated in this working paper, is critical to scoping the nature and extent of Māori participation in work and in multiple job holding particularly. Deeper investigation into iwi, hapu and whānau dynamics and the nature and extent of their relationships with the work place will help to develop key concepts for a Māori perspective that is grounded to a particular area and specific value sets.

Balance of economic and social objectives in the research is critical to restoring the imbalance between kāwanatanga and rangatiratanga. The future of work can reflect this balance, redefining New Zealanders as Treaty partners thus creating a nation based upon negotiated acceptances of each other, yet joined in mutual aspiration for wealth and prosperity. What is it about work that requires change to provide for an outward expression of identity from a Māori perspective and to the satisfaction of both Treaty partners? Answers to this question, and understand causes of social conflict and exclusion could help restore Treaty relationships and plant seeds of hope.

Facilitation of research and end user partnerships for the research programme

The initial facilitation of partnerships is focused by the South Island location of the key researchers. These will provide the basis for broader, national partnerships over time by:

- establishing protocols with the Southern Māori Research Trust to define priority projects, develop mutually beneficial project briefs and training, and determine processes for dissemination of reports and seminars on research findings
- establishing protocols with Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu/He Oranga Pounamu and then where necessary papatipu rūnanga and urban based rūnanga to define the Southern Māori Research Agenda, to define priority projects, to develop mutually beneficial project briefs, and to determine dissemination processes for reports and seminars on research findings.

Through workshops/hui the team are discussing the implications of research findings for the Māori demographic, and the occupations and labour markets in which Māori are most commonly engaged. The team will continue to engage Crown agencies such as the Department of Labour, Te Puni Kokiri, the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Social Development, who have responsibilities for employment outcomes for Māori. The FRST funded part of the research, as reported in this and other papers from the multiple job holding research programme, is conceptual and fundamental in understanding the world of work and the ways in which Māori participants engage in multiple job holding. It is anticipated that the value of the research programme can be enhanced through collaboration with Crown agencies and co-funding of aspects of the research.

This research agenda can develop even further across the broad spectrum of social science disciplines, between private researchers, within the universities through mechanisms such as BRCSS (Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences), and research institutes including Crown Research Institutes. Overall, the aggregate components of the research agenda must satisfy the needs and aspirations of the Māori demographic, and be supported by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu/He Oranga Pounamu and the Southern Māori Research Trust.

Implementation of Māori research capacity building

Implementation of capacity building initiatives will increase the responsiveness of the universities in the first instance and the research institutes in the second. The research process is therefore working

with the Social Science Centre of the University of Canterbury as an initial step in capacity building, through research scholarships of a Māori masterate student and summer studentships. The research Centre is in turn linked into the BRCS network. Over time the research process will actively promote capacity building, to define priority projects and to develop mutually beneficial project briefs with collaborating organisations. The aim is to define research projects based upon Māori values in kaupapa Māori research and in mainstream research with focus upon Articles I (governance), Article II (resources and taonga), and Article III (equity of service delivery).

Facilitation of shared programmes with other Māori research organisations is essential to build aggregate capacity and to coordinate shared programmes. It is essential that Māori researchers are supported in the university environment in a manner that builds capacity and develops the Māori researchers in a mutually beneficial manner.

The team will hold seminars/hui with a view to maximizing effective participation across the research communities of the universities research institutes. It is also intended to provide website updates that advise current and future developments, and provide feedback to Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu/ He Oranga Pounamu, the Southern Māori Research Trust and research communities of the universities, research institutes and government agencies.

Linking research on multiple job holding to a range of Māori values

As outlined above, in a broad sense the research investigates views of both Treaty partners, about themselves and each other, to set the contemporary context for understanding multiple job holding by Māori and Tauīwi. The research process needs to engage all agencies that are responsible in some part for multiple job holders, and test the policy agencies of local and central government as to their level of responsiveness to different forms of work.

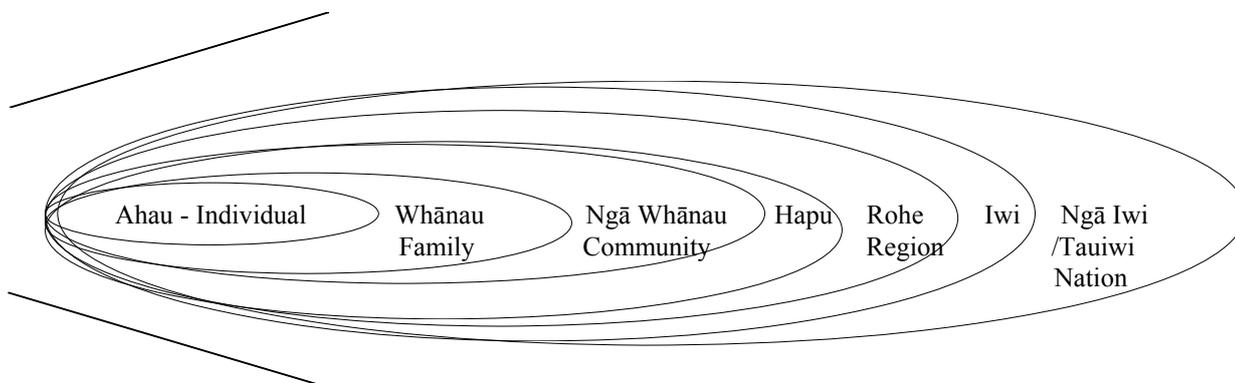
The research process thus helps to reduce tension and find reconciliatory ways to shape the future of national relationships and relationships in communities with high levels of multiple job holding. Stratification of samples and choice of research communities should be based on a solid foundation of knowledge about past decisions that shaped multiple job holding in communities, and the interactions between communities and industry. General assumptions about the population as a whole, and about the Māori demographic in particular, should be examined carefully to recognise any limitations they might hold.

1.3 General research strategy expressing a Māori worldview

In response to the research issues above, the general research strategy is to investigate the nature and extent of relationships around multiple job holding at the micro and macro levels. The key areas of activity for each level is proposed as follows:

Micro	Macro
Exploring the nature and extent of work and multiple job holding in particular by the collection of narratives that give an explanation of the experience by individuals, households and whānau.	Exploring the current socio-economic trends and knowledge about the kind of society we have or are constructing. Central to this investigation is the influences of society upon Māori as an entity, and on the patterns of work held by Māori.

The scope of investigation from the micro to the macro levels is limited by the social processes that configure the levels of social context of ahau (the individual), whānau (the family), ngā whānau (the community), hapu (the sub-tribe), rohe (the region), iwi (the tribe), and ngā iwi/tauiwi (the nation). This configuration has been diagrammatically represented below in what is provisionally named the “pipi model”.



The pipi model gives a way of describing the spheres of relationships in which oppressive practices and internal contradictions can be described in each context. It also provides a way to order the impacts of activities in each sphere upon another. Observed behaviours at each level can be interpreted in each context and development of a theoretical framework initiated.

2 Information from the census on multiple job holding by Māori

2.1 Overview of labour market changes for Māori 1981-2001

The following analysis characterises the challenges and adversities of economic restructuring over the time when successive governments moved New Zealand from a sheltered domestic economy to an open economy exposed to international forces. The base year for this analysis and trend-setting is 1981. Electronic census data⁶ was available for this period in a form that allowed for in-depth analysis. Impacts upon all New Zealanders and particularly upon Māori have been exhibited in the labour market participation rates, total employment rates and unemployment rates over this period. Impacts of employment change upon Māori were higher than for the total workforce and peaked for Māori males in 1991. However, by the end of the period, in 2001, unemployment was higher for Māori females than Māori males. Little progress was made reducing Māori unemployment from 1991 to 2001, whilst this was not true for all New Zealanders.

The total workforce demonstrated a narrower range of fluctuation and a quicker response to unemployment in particular post 1991. In either case the end result has been a higher percentage unemployment rate for all New Zealanders. The range of fluctuation in the labour force participation rate over the period was less for the total labour force than for Māori. In comparison, the range of fluctuations for Māori were greater, but these pertained to a lesser number of New Zealanders. Responses to economic changes by Māori workers in the ten years from 1986 to 1996 tended to be intense, with fewer resources to mitigate the threats and adversities posed by restructuring than for all New Zealanders.

⁶ Note all data are from a library of census data developed by team member Jamie Newell, and longitudinal analysis of the NZ Census 1981-2001. For full details of this methodology see Baines and Newell (2004). Because of the higher level of accuracy obtained, Census data are preferred to data from the Household Labour Force survey, as used to date in policy analysis (see Baines et al., 2005).

However, all New Zealanders and Māori present similar positions when viewed through a lens focused on non-standard and part-time work. The demographic drivers of a soaring Māori working age population, and a less than satisfactory total employment rate, have underpinned the rise of non-standard work. The rise of non-standard work has been a mediating response to the challenges and adversities of economic restructuring. However, it is noticeable Māori have demonstrated a much lower proportion and growth of self-employed workers over the period.

The disproportionate number of Māori youths entering the labour force, and the prolonged continuation of older people working longer, presents challenges to government, industries and communities to respond. It is no longer adequate to adopt a piecemeal approach to such a major demographic alteration. Collectively, as a society, we need to have the capacity, competency and commitment to pursue remedies. Such remedies would focus on equalising the labour force participation rate and employment rate for the total workforce including Māori. The status quo has led to under-employment or unemployment of Māori youth and women in particular, who fail to participate effectively or chose to withdraw from the labour market altogether.

2.2 Analysis of labour market changes for Māori 1981-2001

Figures 1a & 1b

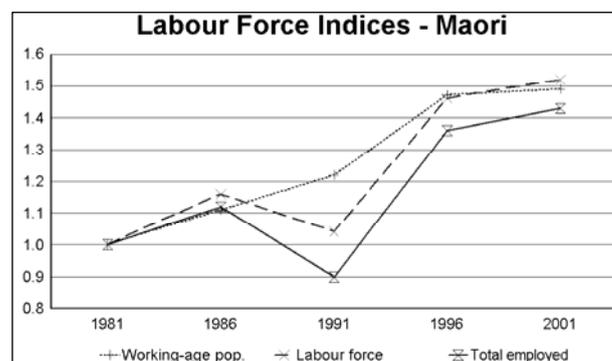
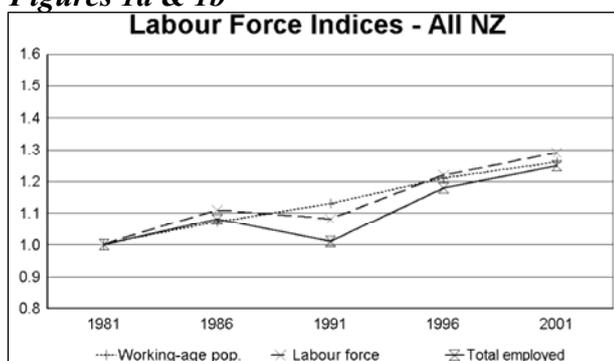


Figure 1a depicts the uniform rise of the working age population relative to 1981 (the base year) through to 2001 for all New Zealanders. By contrast, Figure 1b depicts the higher than uniform rise of the Māori working age population for the same period. Of particular importance is the steep rise in the Māori working age population from 1991 to 1996 when this demographic increased dramatically. However, part of this rise was due to census coding changes relating to categorising ethnicity, which occurred between the 1991 and 1996 census (see Appendix 1). From 1996 to 2001, the rate of change more closely mirrored the rate for all New Zealanders. The labour force participation rate for all New Zealanders and Māori fluctuated for the 1981 to 2001 period, however, the range of fluctuation for the Māori demographic was spread over a wider range at the upper bound, particularly from 1991. The relative endpoints for all New Zealanders and Māori at the 2001 juncture were similar with the labour force participation rate edging above the working age rate. Dissimilarly, though, the endpoint for the proportion of Māori workforce employed by 2001 is much lower than for all New Zealanders.

The distance between the labour force index and the total employment index defines those who were in the labour force and not in paid employment. This group included those who were unemployed. It does not include those who were marginally attached to the labour market.

Figures 2a & 2b

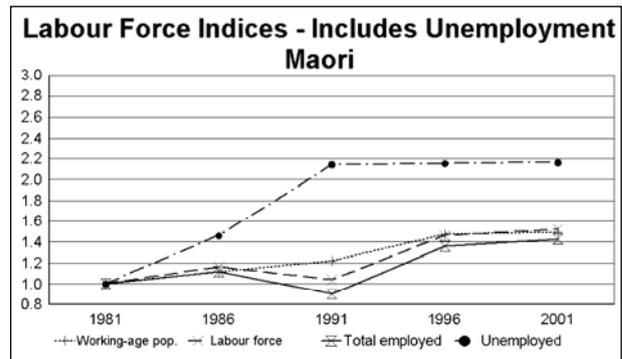
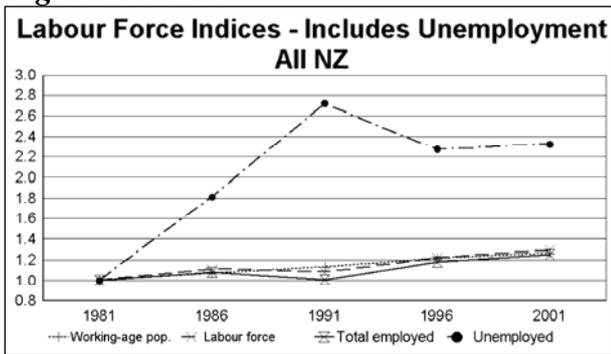
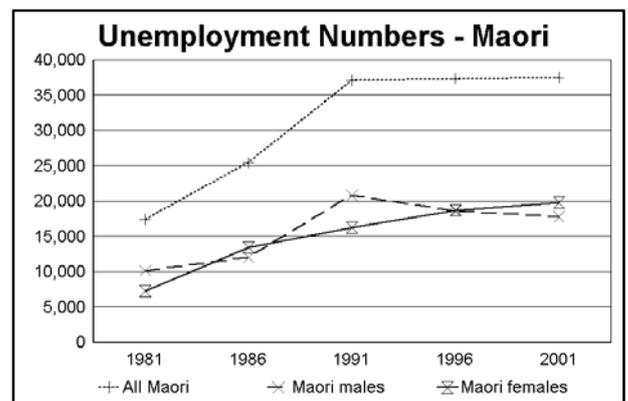
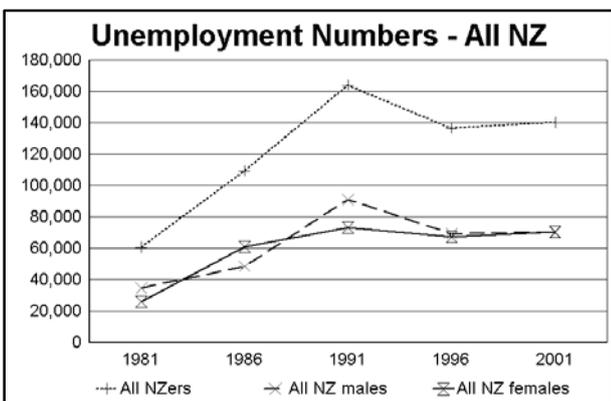


Figure 2a depicts the spiking of unemployment in 1991 for all New Zealanders, nearly 2.8 times the level of 1981. This was followed by a decline in unemployment by 1996. Unemployment dropped for all New Zealanders from 1991 to 1996, but remained considerably higher than in 1981. Figure 2b similarly depicts the spiking of unemployment in 1991 for Māori. Unlike for all New Zealanders, however, this was not followed by a decline in unemployment by 1996, but remained at a consistently and constantly high level through to 2001. An increase in total employment was offset by expansion in the total Māori labour force 1991-1996 and contributed to the persistency in unemployment levels from 1991 to 1996 for Māori. This can be attributed to the disproportionately high number of Māori youth entering the labour force, and those at the other end of the working age population spectrum who had not retired. These shifts were reflected in the government policies of the late 1980's in the raising of the age of eligibility for welfare payments from 20 to 25 years, and in 1991 raising of the age of eligibility for national superannuation from 60 to 65 years.

Figures 3a and 3b depict the unemployment numbers by gender for all New Zealanders and Māori. Highlights include males surpassing females for total numbers unemployed in 1991 but whereas overall New Zealand males and females converge to the same endpoint in 2001, Māori females had surpassed Māori males by then.

Figures 3a & 3b



Notably the unemployment spike of 1991 mirrors the fall in labour force participation rates and total employment rates. Unsurprisingly and consistent with the unemployment rates, the reduction in the rate of unemployment for Māori males was lesser than for all New Zealanders. Māori males were unable to recover from the challenges and adversities of economic restructuring back towards 1981 levels.

Figures 4a & 4b

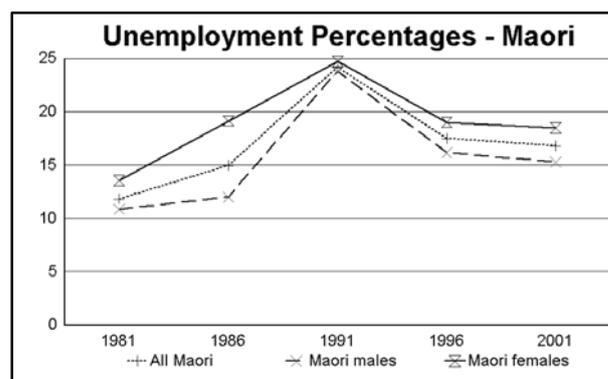
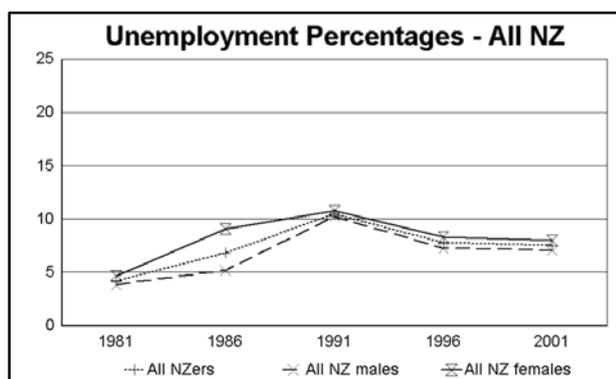
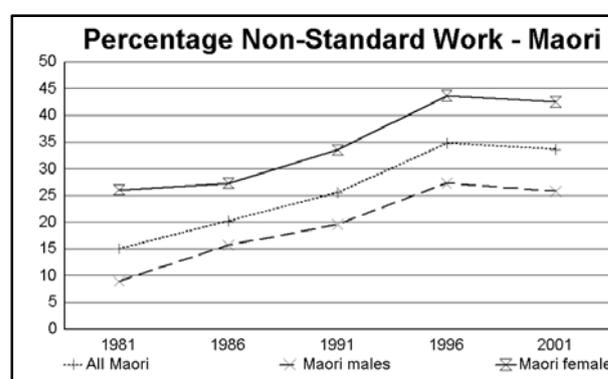
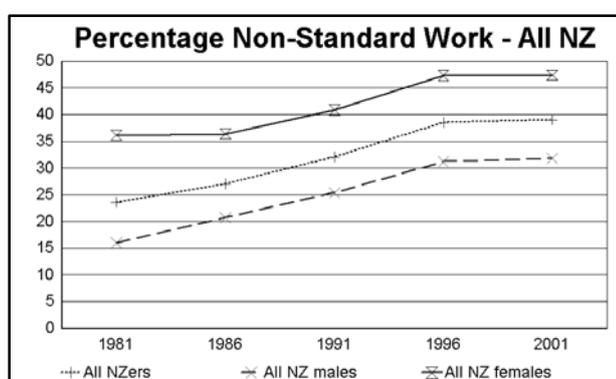


Figure 4a depicts unemployment as a percentage for all working-age New Zealanders from 1981 to 2001. Fluctuations move within a range of 6.3 percentage points with a lower bound of 4.2%, and an upper bound of 10.5%. Rates for males and females converged after restructuring in the 1980s, ultimately with a 3.3 percentage point rise from the 1981 rate of 4.2% to the 2001 rate of 7.5%. Figure 4b depicts the unemployment percentage for working-age Māori from 1981 to 2001. Fluctuations move within a range of 14.0 percentage points with a lower bound of approximately 11.0%, and an upper bound of 25.0%, more than twice the rate for all New Zealanders in 1991.

From 1981 to 1986 the rate of unemployment rose for Māori males and females at a similar rate for all New Zealand males and females. From 1986 to 1991, however the rate of unemployment for Māori males and females outstripped the rate for all New Zealand males and females. The rate soared to 24% and then lessened from 1991 to 1996 to approximately 17%. Unlike for all New Zealanders, the percentage unemployment rate for Māori after restructuring remained high. This was due in part to their above-average growth in working-age population and increased labour force participation during this period. Nevertheless, it was also a period when the numbers of Māori in jobs grew significantly, reversing the very significant loss of jobs in the previous inter-censal period. Unemployment for Māori females remained higher than Māori males for the 1981 to 2001 period. Importantly, however, whereas they converged in 1991, the difference in percentage unemployment for Māori females relative to Māori males widened again by 2001.

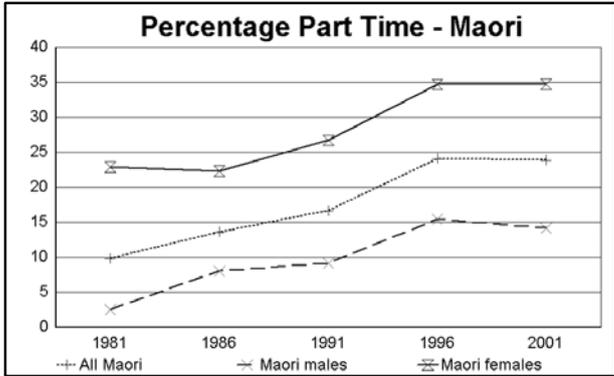
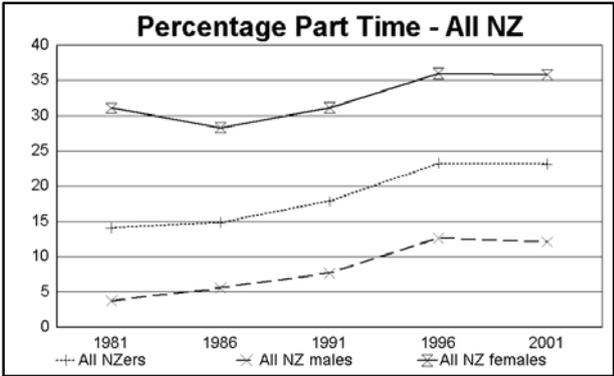
Figures 5a & 5b



Figures 5a and 5b depict the percentage of non-standard work for all New Zealanders and Māori. Both depict a rise in non-standard work from 1981 to 1996, followed by a leveling of the rate to 2001 (For the purposes of this analysis non-standard work is a combination of those in part-time work, self

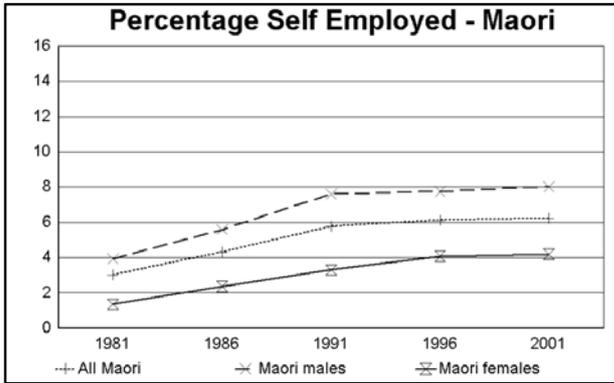
employment and multiple job holding). Notably, however, the percentage rate for Māori males and females and total lessened at a slightly greater rate than for all New Zealand males from 1996-2001 and Māori overall were a little below all New Zealand for their rate of non-standard work in 2001.

Figures 6a & 6b



Figures 6a and 6b depict the percentage part-time work for all New Zealanders and Māori. Both depict a rise in part-time work from 1986 to 1996, followed by a leveling off to 2001. Notably, however, while the rate of part-time work for Māori females was considerably less than for New Zealand females in 1981, there was a steeper increase for Māori women from 1981 to 1986 and again from 1991 to 1996, and by 2001 the rate of part-time work for Māori females was almost at the national average.

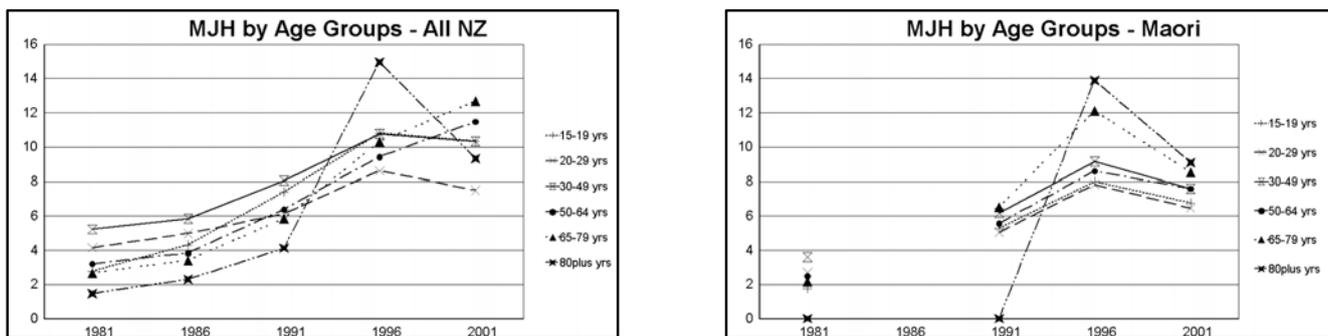
Figures 7a & 7b



Figures 7a and 7b depict the percentage self employment for all New Zealanders and for all Māori. Self employment peaked for Māori in 1991, and then remained pretty constant from 1991 to 2001. The rate for all New Zealanders, however, continued to rise from 1991 to 2001, but at a lesser rate than from 1981 to 1986. Notably, self employment for Māori females peaked in 1996, later than for Māori males, and then leveled off to 2001. Overall, Māori are markedly lower in their rate of self employment through to 2001, raising policy issues around their low involvement in areas such as farming and small business.

2.3 Māori multiple job holding

Figures 8a & 8b



Figures 8a and 8b depict the rate of multiple job holding by age group intervals for all New Zealanders and Māori. Putting aside the 80yrs+ group's disproportionately high rate peaking in 1996 the trend has been a continued rise in the multiple job holding rate to 2001 for all New Zealanders aged 50-64yrs and 65-79yrs. It could be suggested that these age groups have prolonged participation in the labour force through multiple job holding. The 20-29 years group falls off in multiple job holding 1996-2001.

The multiple job holding rate for Māori clearly peaked across age groups in 1996. Disproportionately high rates of multiple job holding for Māori aged 65-79yrs exhibited from 1991 to 2001 were significant in the context of the soaring youthful working age rate of Māori and the effects of economic restructuring. It would not be unreasonable to suggest as a result of the combined effects of these trends that the 65-79yrs age group carried a double burden in providing family income for themselves and for their adult children and dependent grandchildren.

In 2001, the rate of multiple job holding amongst all Māori workers was 7.2%, compared with the national average rate of 10.1%. For Māori female workers the average rate was 8.0%, while for Māori male workers the average rate was 6.6%. The range of fluctuation for Māori age groups, however, was generally narrower for the multiple job holding rate, as depicted in Figure 8b, than for the total workforce. Fluctuations of the multiple job holding rate for Māori aged 15-49yrs in particular were less than for all New Zealanders.

Tables 1a and 1b depict in 2001 the occupations in which high Māori male multiple job holding rates prevailed. These occupations all exhibited rates above the 7.2% average for Māori workers. The distribution of Māori male multiple job holders amongst the top ten occupations was relatively narrow, and only two occupation groups showed total numbers above 100 workers, with the highest rates having penetrated governmental occupations in being legislators, senior government administrators, and health professionals, excepting nursing. High rates were evident for Māori male workers also involved teaching, science and creative and sports professionals.

Repeating this analysis for those occupations which had at least 100 Māori male workers nationwide yields a slightly different picture - see Table 1b. Two occupations with the highest numbers from Table 1a (Tertiary teaching professionals and Writers, Artists, etc.) top this list, but the range of rates is somewhat lower (7.7% to 21.7%), although still above average. The range of occupations is broader, including categories of farmers, business managers, clerks and service workers, in addition to the occupations described above for Table 1a. The numbers of multiple job holders ranged between 120 and 543. Notably, the general managers, managing director, chief executive category featured as the third highest rate at 14.21% and comprised of 231 Māori males, whilst the market oriented animal

producers featured as the fourth highest rate at 12.33%, but comprised of 543 Māori males, and represented the largest group of Māori male multiple job holders.

At the tail end of Māori male multiple job holding spectrum as depicted in Tables 1a and 1b, occupations in administration, career advice, employment advice, special education, social science, specialized management, sales and finance prevailed as expected. However, the presence of Māori male multiple job holders in housekeeping, restaurant services, market farming and crop growing was not as expected. These findings reinforce the possibility that new occupational groups and forms of work are evident for Māori males as they move out of the era of state dependency.

Table 1a: High MJH rates from all occupations for Māori Males – 2001

All occupations regardless of # of MJHers	MJH rate Male 2001	MJH # Male 2001
001 Legislators	33.33	9
002 Senior Government Administrators	28.57	6
012 Health Professionals (Except Nursing)	22.22	42
014 Tertiary Teaching Professionals	21.74	120
004 Special-Interest Organisation Administrators	18.52	15
036 Careers and Employment Advisers	17.86	15
017 Special Education Teaching Professionals	17.39	12
022 Social and Related Science Professionals	17.32	66
037 Writers, Artists, Entertainment and Sports Associate Professionals	14.88	216
033 Administrative Associate Professionals	14.29	33

Table 1b: High MJH rates by occupational groups (>100) for Māori Males - 2001

Only occupations with >100 MJHers	MJH rate Male 2001	MJH # Male 2001
014 Tertiary Teaching Professionals	21.74	120
037 Writers, Artists, Entertainment and Sports Associate Professionals	14.88	216
005 General Managers Managing Director or Chief Executive	14.21	231
055 Market Oriented Animal Producers	12.33	543
019 Business Professionals	11.95	156
043 Library, Mail and Related Clerks	10.38	147
006 Specialised Managers	9.37	456
032 Finance and Sales Associate Professionals	9.28	150
047 Housekeeping and Restaurant Services Workers	7.96	195
054 Market Farmers and Crop Growers	7.74	225

Tables 2a and 2b depict at 2001 the range of occupations in which high Māori female multiple job holding rates prevailed, noting that numbers in the first seven groups were very small. The distribution of Māori female multiple job holders was broad amongst the top ten occupations in Table 2a with the highest rates for technical and fashion occupations, ship and aircraft technicians, electricians, street vendors, fashion designers, models and legislators. There was an absence of Māori female multiple job holders, unlike Māori males, amongst senior government administration and health professionals. The

multiple job holding rate for Māori females was less than for Māori male multiple job holders in the top five occupations (20.00% to 25.00%). The distribution of Māori female multiple job holders with the highest numbers of Māori female multiple job holders has penetrated some technical and specialized management occupations, but is strongest in market oriented animal producers (by far the largest group), creative and sporting occupations and tertiary training. In Table 2b, examining the multiple job holding rates for groups of female multiple job holders greater than 200 in size, the rates overall were less than for the occupations in Table 2a, ranging between 6.53% and 16.67%. At the top end of the Māori female multiple job holding spectrum, as depicted in Tables 2a and 2b, occupations range across a number of sectors including animal production, clerical work, management, teaching at different levels, personal care and creative work.

Table 2a: High MJH rates from all occupations for Māori females - 2001

All occupations regardless of # of MJHers	MJH rate Female 2001	MJH # Female 2001
027 Ship and Aircraft Controllers and Technicians	25.00	3
060 Electricians	22.22	6
052 Street Vendors	20.00	9
053 Fashion and Other Models	20.00	3
001 Legislators	16.67	3
036 Careers and Employment Advisers	16.67	15
085 Leather and Related Products Processors	16.67	3
055 Market Oriented Animal Producers	16.67	342
037 Writers, Artists, Entertainment and Sports Associate Professionals	15.96	180
014 Tertiary Teaching Professionals	15.02	105

Table 2b: High MJH rates by occupation groups (>200) for Māori females - 2001

Only occupations with >100 MJHers	MJH rate Female 2001	MJH # Female 2001
055 Market Oriented Animal Producers	16.67	342
041 Numerical Clerks	9.78	213
043 Library, Mail and Related Clerks	9.43	627
040 Secretaries and Keyboard Operating Clerks	9.23	252
006 Specialised Managers	9.16	474
016 Primary and Early Childhood Teaching Professionals	7.9	282
048 Personal Care Workers	7.83	396
047 Housekeeping and Restaurant Services Workers	7.34	474
051 Salespersons and Demonstrators	7.02	384
092 Building Caretakers and Cleaners	6.53	288

Table 3 depicts a comparison of Māori multiple job holding industry groups at the beginning and end of the period of economic change from 1981 to 2001. In the first part of the table the top industry sectors for multiple job holding are ranked and compared to 2001. In the second part the top sectors in 2001 are ranked and compared to 1981. The analysis shows that in 1981, the highest rates of Māori multiple job holding were in the service sectors in education, business, research, real estate, motion picture and

other entertainment services. By 2001, however, the highest rates were evident in the agriculture sector in particular, a pattern much closer to the national one.

Table 3: Top Māori MJH rates for industrial groups in 1981 and 2001

Top Industry (1981) - 2-digit level	MJHrate			Rankings		
	Māori		All NZ	Māori		All NZ
	1981	2001	1981	1981	2001	1981
46 Education Services	7.85	11.01	8.82	1	13	1
62 Miscellaneous Personal Services	5.92	7.31	3.83	2	33	34
41 Business Services	5.87	8.79	5.65	3	20	11
47 Research and Scientific Institutes	5.49	12.68	5.38	4	10	14
40 Real Estate	5.45	10.08	7.3	5	16	4
54 Motion Picture and Other Entertainment Services	5.19	15.32	7.01	6	6	5
03 Beef Farming	5.13	20.49	5.96	7	2	8
39 Insurance	5.11	7.44	5.39	8	32	13
07 Fruit Growing	4.92	8.44	6.34	9	22	6
45 Sanitary and Cleaning Services	4.84	6.38	5.24	10	39	15

Top Industry (2001) - 2-digit level	MJHrate			Rankings		
	Māori	Māori	All NZ	Māori	Māori	All NZ
	1981	2001	2001	1981	2001	2001
50 Veterinary Services	0	21.21	17.69	58	1	6
03 Beef Farming	5.13	20.49	27.48	7	2	1
01 Sheep Farming	3.96	17.13	23.93	15	3	2
04 Mixed and Other Livestock Farming	3.59	16.1	22.42	20	4	4
06 Cropping	2.73	16	23.49	34	5	3
54 Motion Picture and Other Entertainment Services	5.19	15.32	13.78	6	6	14
02 Dairy Farming	2.76	13.34	17.17	33	7	7
10 Noxious Animal Control	2.38	13.33	15.45	42	8	9
53 Social and Related Community Services n.e.c.	4.21	13.11	14.97	13	9	10
47 Research and Scientific Institutes	5.49	12.68	12.22	4	10	18

The sectors with the highest density of Māori multiple job holding over the period reflect industries in which there has been a longstanding involvement by Māori - in farming, film-making, music entertainment, and services. Most importantly, Māori multiple job holding had clearly penetrated the agriculture sector by 2001 parallel to the national trend towards high multiple job holding in agriculture and rural areas. The growth rates for these industries may be a driver to seasonal cyclic, part-time employment based upon commodity prices rather than multiple job holding per se. Overall, in the picture of total Māori employment, the sectors that showed an increase in numbers (all forms of work) from 1981 to 2001 were community services, wholesale and retail, and finance and property services, and those in decline were manufacturing (particularly in meat processing), primary industries and construction.

3 Policy and economic forces affecting the Māori labour market

This section describes government policy and changes to agencies concerned with Māori, and touches on the effects of globalization. Then the information on changes in the Māori labour market found in the census data discussed above is summarized and related to Māori labour force characteristics.

3.1 Policy changes affecting Māori workers 1981-2001

Numerous and comprehensive economic and social policy changes since government reforms in the 1980's have included the sale of state owned enterprises, comprehensive privatisation, changes to financial management across government entities and the decentralisation of operational decision making (see Appendix 3). These reforms, although introduced over a ten-year period, were all underpinned by neo-liberalism and designed to make the public sector operate more efficiently⁵. Social policy reforms included cuts in benefit levels and other forms of income support, greater targeting and new methods of targeting social assistance, and the radical redesign of state assistance such as education, housing and health care.

The tensioned Crown-Māori interface has swung in pendulum fashion between the respective mantra "we will govern you" and "we shall govern ourselves." Fundamental to Māori development was, and is, independence as a desirable end goal, and not dependence by the "smoothing of the pillow of a dying race". Independence means having the capacity, right and responsibility to make fundamental choices that affect the lives of Māori. Constant organisational change and dis-establishment of successors to the Department of Māori Affairs has challenged development of an institutional understanding of Māori labour market changes and what drives those changes. It has been difficult to attempt to make any worthwhile policy changes independently of or in conjunction with its successors.

By the 1970's, Māori workers were familiar with rehabilitation and trade training schemes to develop skills and find employment in the New Zealand economy. The enduring problem was that these programmes followed the standard government model for delivering social and economic services, with little recognition of demographic alteration, Māori social structures and desire for self determination. Establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal in 1975 was followed in the late 1970's by the Department of Māori Affairs recognising the time had come for Māori to be self reliant and self managing. The Hui Taumata in 1984 called for the use of structures of iwi, hapu and whānau as the basis for giving effect to the Government's and Māoridom's aspiration to achieve rangatiratanga (ability to determine a future, expression of authority)⁶. This meant major institutional changes that were believed to be better able to serve aspirations of iwi. These changes included the government's determination to restructure the relationships between Māori and Tauīwi by changing attitudes towards the Treaty of Waitangi and implanting an ethos of responsiveness to the needs of Māori.

Throughout New Zealand's history its institutions have been devised to create social order. The handling of Māori policy and economic development appears quite the opposite, particularly in regard to rectifying the damage caused by landlessness and the consequences of a settler society.

The Department of Māori Affairs provided services to the government and Māori under the Māori Affairs Act 1953. The Department was restructured in accordance with the 1988 *Te Urupare Rangapu* policy statement. The Ministry of Māori Affairs (*Te Manatu Māori*) was established in 1989 but disestablished on the 31st December 1991 and its functions were taken over by the Ministry of Māori Development (*Te Puni Kokiri*). The Department of Māori Affairs and the Board of Māori Affairs were also disestablished. This Ministry was established as a policy ministry to act as a principal advisor to

⁵ Boston et al (2000)

⁶ p 3, Butterworth & Young (1990)

the government about the Crown's relationship with iwi, hapu, and Māori with a particular focus on policies that affect Māori. A separate monitoring and evaluation unit was established within *Te Puni Kokiri* in 1992⁷.

By July 1995 restructuring within *Te Puni Kokiri* was completed. The major objectives of the restructuring included a sharpened focus on the core business of policy production, a greater depth and breadth of senior management, a clear development path for all staff, and clear interaction points for other departments and officials. In mid 1995 *Te Puni Kokiri* submitted a labour market strategy to the government. This strategy was submitted by the Employment Task Force and sought to provide a medium term strategy that spanned economic and social sectors and all policy fronts. The strategy sought to address the delivery of labour market assistance to Māori, impediments to community and economic development for Māori, co-ordination of service delivery and responsiveness to Māori, and the need to improve education outcomes for Māori.

The Ministry of Social Policy (*Te Manatu mo ngā Kaupapa Oranga Tangata*) was also established in 1991, integrating the Department of Social Welfare's corporate and social policy activities. In 2001 the Ministry of Social Development (*Te Manatu Whakahiato ora*) was established to provide income support and employment services to more than a quarter of New Zealand and to provide strategic social policy advice to the New Zealand government, and has become the premier social policy agency. The Ministry's income and employment services became administered under the trading name Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ).

The future therefore largely remains predicated on state dependency on the above agencies rather than innovative approaches to expanding livelihood opportunities, in which multiple job holding is possibly one option. Misunderstanding as to structural disadvantages in the Māori economy and labour markets has combined with concerns and preconceptions about Māori and tribal organizations and their ability to make significant in-roads into overcoming these disadvantages. Fisheries and tribal settlements have provided discourses of social and economic opportunity on one hand and false privilege on another.

Economic liberalisation and globalisation brought competition, and removed local social and economic stability. Vulnerability and distress caused by successive government reorganisation, poor definition of the poverty line and basic needs, and misfortune and instability in traditional work places, left the lives of many Māori workers scarred through the 1981-2001 period. New risks and intensified competition for employment displaced workers from one sector to the next. Faced with these new risks, the research focus on multiple job holding is on what and how the Māori demographic has responded through different forms of work, and whether specific programmes or regulations can be developed to minimise the impacts of structural changes and risks in the labour market.

3.2 Labour market trends relating to inter-censal periods

This section is a summary of macro-economic and labour market trends for the Māori demographic from 1981. The focus of this section is to comment on the analysis in Section 2 by scoping the driving forces that have shaped the labour market for Māori since 1981, building on the overview of policy changes and timeline of reform in Section 3.1. Here we summarise key changes, first in relation to governmental reforms as relevant to changes in paid work and multiple job holding, and second in relation to ministerial changes relevant to Māori from 1981.

The section is divided into five census periods to provide a framework for further in-depth research with individuals, whānau and hapu particularly affected by each period, and to provide a context for further longitudinal analysis of census data.

⁷ See further discussion in Butterworth, 1989 and NZ Official Year Books.

1981- 1985 Ngāti Whakamarumarū He Wa Pounamu

Māori labour market at this time could be termed Ngāti Whakamarumarū 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.

During the 1981-85 inter-censal period, Māori were trapped in a sheltered domestic market with high participation in sectors such as in manufacturing working as machine and process workers, in the railways as drivers and workshop engineers, and in the forestry sector's plantation labour pools. By the end of 1985 the first phase of economic restructuring that began in 1984, such as the removal of agricultural subsidies, was taking effect. Notable information from the census includes:

- casualisation of the workforce and multiple job holding were not very evident during this period
- the level of Māori unemployment was 11.8% in 1981 and 14.9% by 1986
- self employment was just 3.2% in 1981 rising a little to 4.3% in 1986⁸.

1986-1990 Ngāti Tama Mate He Wa Whakaita

Māori labour market at this time could be termed Ngāti Tama Mate He Wa Whakaita or a period when recession and large-scale redundancies resulted in many idle workers and no positive change. There was low economic growth and inadequate job creation, with uncertainty in changing prices of primary sector commodities for agriculture, fishing and forestry, and the beginning of the recession at the height of government restructuring in social services, health, and education. This census period is typified by a volatile economy due to fluctuating commodity prices and changing markets for agricultural, fishing and forestry commodities and products. This volatility was matched by major restructuring in both the public and private sectors, with notable effects in rural and provincial areas and associated industries such as saw milling and meat processing. Downsizing of the manufacturing sector, and the up-sizing of wholesale and retail sectors forced workers to make a transition away from manufacturing. On the positive side, tourism grew substantially with a very small number of Māori operators evident. Notable information from the census includes:

- labour force participation by Māori fell from 68.8% in 1986 to 56.4% in 1991 during the pains of economic restructuring and in the face of the growing Māori working-age population
- the gradual rise of part-time work prevailed with Māori women (22.3% to 26.7%) at a higher rate than men (8.0% to 9.1%)
- unemployment rose, as reported above.

This inter-censal period included the recession from late 1987 and Māori unemployment grew substantially, as shown by various sources of statistical data. Love (2000, p.11) reported that the Māori unemployment rate nearly tripled from 7.4% in December 1987 to 23.4% in March 1992. The census time series data shows similar trends, but gives different estimates, based as it is on population-wide surveying. From census data:

- Māori unemployment rates increased from 14.9% in March 1986 to 24.2% in March 1991, with an estimated 37,050 unemployed Māori in March 1991
- unemployment at this time affected Māori men (23.8%) almost as much as it affected Māori women (24.7%).

1991-1995 Ngāti Tama Tu He Wa Whakamohou

Māori labour market by the end of this time could be termed Ngāti Tama Tu He Wa Whakamohou or those in a time of quiet renewal and renaissance. There were limited initiatives by iwi organizations to overcome serious job losses of the 1980's in agricultural, fishing and forestry industries, and other

⁸ See also Love (2000).

sectors like social services, professional services and health. Social services and health sectors developed for Māori for income maintenance, and there was a rise in multiple job holding to sustain livelihoods. Unpaid work formed part of multiple job holding. It saw the rise of Māori newspapers, movies and music in an era of otherwise inadequate job creation. There were barriers of entry into the emerging information technology industry.

In 1992 the Māori unemployment rate peaked over 25% and then reduced to around 15% by 1996⁹. The unemployment peak was driven by two factors. Firstly, the steep rise in the Māori working age population, and secondly by the spiking of unemployment for all New Zealanders in 1991 driven by the downsizing of the manufacturing sector. It was not until this period that a focus on increasing social services for and with Māori was made to respond to the pains of restructuring in the previous census period. The social hemorrhaging from higher unemployment rates, lower employment participation rates and low average incomes was given little weighting in an economically-driven policy environment. Notable information from the census includes:

- Māori unemployment rate 24.2% in 1991 down to 17.5% in 1996
- Māori male self employment rose to 7.6% in 1991, and remained almost constant through 1996 (7.7%) and 2001 (8.0%), a rate considerably higher than in the period from 1981 (4.1%) to 1986 (5.6%)
- Māori labour force participation rates during this period went from a high of 68.8% in 1986 to a low of 56.4% in 1991, followed by a strong recovery to 65.3% in 1996.

This period also saw an era of cultural revival and an increase in Māori confidence and identity with a burst of creativity in the development of newspapers, movies and music driven by younger Māori. In 1996 the median age of Māori was 21.6 years compared with the median population of 33 years¹⁰. Defending taonga proved to be a prime activity with a reconsideration of which aspects of Māori identity were for sale on the market and which were not.

The difficult challenge was for Māori to move outside the vagaries and whims of government funding. Social disparities were met with a strong growth in social service providers, although as noted above, there was considerable turmoil in government agencies serving Māori. For those still focusing on grievances, the emerging, globalised national orientation did little to lift the self imposed limits and burdens of the past.

As noted above, this period saw the labour force participation rate rise from a low rate of 56.4% in 1991 to 65.3% in 1996, taking Māori back 10 years to 1981 levels (66.1%). A side effect of this period was the export of skilled and wealth generating people overseas, reducing the domestic capacity to build the economy.

In the absence of Māori researchers, Dalziel (1990a) attributed the causes of relatively poor levels of economic attainment under five headings: population differences, education differences, different Labour Market (LM) expectations, different LM experiences, LM discrimination and structural disadvantage. Maré (1995) identified that further research was needed to investigate the determinants of differences in the above background factors and what remains to be explained by other factors such as labour market discrimination and structural disadvantage.

The Minister of Finance in October 1995 promoted that the over-riding objective of government was to deliver gains in income, living standards and quality of life that are substantially larger over time than

⁹ pg 22 NZIER (2003)

¹⁰ pg 12 Love (2000)

those of the previous 20 years¹². Economic restructuring along with responsible fiscal management had by then increased the economic growth rate and generated a fiscal surplus, however, everyone had not shared in the gains. Low and middle income earners and families were most at risk from job loss in the period and some had made little gain in real post tax income for many years. Their participation and commitment is important to sustainable growth in mainstream. The government had to sow the seeds for future success.

Work is important for improved incomes in a wage and salary economy, with dependence on the economy to create sufficient jobs. Low levels of economic growth had resulted in inadequate job creation, lost jobs and poor income growth from 1975-1990. However, after the trough in jobs in 1991, as shown by the labour force indices above, new jobs were created faster than the increasing working age population for the next five years. In these early stages of economic recovery, however, many new jobs were part time and in non-standard work.

1996 –2001 Ngāti Tākuhu He Wa Tākuhu

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

From census data this period was characterized by two factors:

- the leveling off of the growing Māori working age population
- a decline in unemployment, although it still remained over two times above 1981 levels. Unlike for all New Zealanders, however, the 1991 spike in unemployment (24.2%) did not fall for Māori by 2001 (16.8%), instead remaining close to the 1996 level of 17.5%.

For Māori, this period was marked by the effect of Treaty of Waitangi settlements strengthening tribal businesses, particularly in tourism, fishing and education. These settlements gave tribal businesses capital with flexibility to make investment decisions, and to afford the best professional advice in business matters. For the first time in recent history the concept of Māori exports was articulated and calculated at being \$650 million, which represented 2.5% of total exports being in the order of \$26 billion¹³. Outside of the treaty settlement process, the rise of tertiary education providers such as Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, and Te Whare Wānanga of Awanuiarangi emerged. This was met with an increase in participation of Māori at all levels of education with a 40% increase in early childhood education and a 115% increase in tertiary study¹⁴.

Job creation over this period was slow for Māori and weighted in the Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Wellington regions, and then Auckland and Canterbury. Occupationally, new jobs were in health and education, and therefore driven by government spending. Māori job growth in the primary sectors declined as a result of lower farm incomes, and in the manufacturing sector job growth declined as a result of policy changes to tariffs. The overall slowing of participation rates was attributed to economic factors of tighter monetary policy, two major droughts and an economic crisis in Asia. The anomaly for

12 pg 2 Birch Rt Hon (1995)

13 NZIER (2003) ibid pp 15-16

14 p 11, Love (2000)

this period was that the level of Māori employment in the knowledge based industries such as science, research and computer services was low despite the higher rate of up-skilling of Māori throughout this census period and the last¹⁵. Post 1996 Māori entered the tourism sector, and maintained a presence in the farming, entertainment and teaching professions.

Government policy lagged in targeted youth employment, and the rise in the number of people of pension age working. The most important event in this period was the Minister of Māori Affairs calling Te Ohanga A Māori Economic Development Summit. The recommendations of the hui were forward looking in the capitalisation of the resource base, improved and sophisticated management practices, freer legislation, dramatic improvements in education levels for the knowledge economy, innovative use of joint ventures to allow commercial success, and the likely growth of self-employment¹⁶, where the longitudinal analysis above shows Māori continued to lag behind the rest of New Zealand.

2001-present day Ngāti Ūmanga He Wa Aka Ūmanga

Māori labour market of this time could be termed Ngāti Ūmanga He Wa Aka Ūmanga or those working in an environment where Māori business and networks developed. Focus is on entrepreneurial spirit in tourism, knowledge, media and leisure industries, which provided the most recent focus for Māori economic activity.

This period is characterized by the continuing shift of Māori workers into wholesale and retail sectors, and social services, and out of primary industry. The main economic development theme for Māori since 2001 has been a focus on entrepreneurial activity in the tourism, knowledge, fashion, media and leisure (including professional sport) sectors. Activities in these sectors were against a backdrop of a rising exchange rate and increased incomes from tourism¹⁷.

Conflicting information about Māori unemployment rates from Te Puni Kokiri and the Dept of Labour has been unhelpful in articulation of the extent of Māori unemployment since the 2001 census. For March 2002 the rate was calculated to be 23.4%¹⁸ and for the same period the NZIER reported that Māori unemployment peaked over 25%. According to the NZIER in 2003 the current Māori unemployment rate stood at 12% with comparisons to the NZ unemployment rate of 5.4% and the OECD rate of 6.7%¹⁹. TPK also claimed that lower incomes of Māori were reflected in their low capital base. This statement has not taken into account the higher savings rate of Māori incorporations, and the higher levels of productivity of these organisations. Additionally, TPK claimed Māori were unfamiliar with information technology, limiting market growth of businesses, despite upskilling by Māori in the knowledge industries. In any case it is reasonable to suggest that Māori are now looking towards the private sector for work opportunities. Officially, those doing worse than the population mean are now targeted through the concept of an Inclusive Economy²⁰.

TPK and the Office of Tourism and Sport commissioned a study on the barriers, impediments and opportunities of the Māori Tourism Sector. Interestingly, Māori tourism operators employed proportionally less people than non-Māori operators. Financially these operators experienced low turnover (\$50K to \$350K), and had low debt/equity ratios²¹.

15 NZIER (2003)
16 pp 5-6 Bradley (1999)
17 pg 1 Conway & McLoughlin (2002)
18 pg 11 Love (2000)
19 pg 23 NZIER (2003)
20 pg 1 Crawford (2003)
21 ibid pg 21

The current census period is characterized by a high level of awareness of interdependence in the national labour market, where problems in one area can limit the ability to take advantage of improvements in other areas. There is also awareness of a complex set of inter-relationships within a global economy.

Economic growth in Canterbury, for example, rose from 4.2% in March 2002 to 4.9% for March 2003 and is expected to fall to 4.0% in 2004²². The prime issue for this census period is that employment growth is underpinned by economic growth in the face of international flows in goods and services (trade), money (finance/capital) and people (migration). Shifts to service occupations have led to a trend to self employment and part-time employment now prevalent, along with contracting out. Non-standard work means workers are now more versatile, with autonomy limited by a new interdependence with other workers and teams. The concept of qualification or skill is moving to the concept of competence as routine activities have been automated. Value added activities become more important and require a different skill set with a focus on cognitive skills and values.

3.3 Challenges ahead for the emergent Māori economy

Important relationships between self employment, small business development and international trade emerge as being critical for Māori. The necessity of information technology coupled with sophisticated management is essential for these opportunities to be realized. The challenge for Māori is reversing the mismatch between capacity and opportunity from past changes in society and the economy. There is a need for clear government signals, information and incentives, adaptable regulation, and safety nets for those not able to adapt quickly. At this time preparations for Māori workforce change may be insufficient.

The Māori economy is still weighted in the primary and service sectors. There is a challenge, however, to make pastoral farming more innovative and productive. Importantly, Māori trusts are geared for growth with a high savings level and a low debt to equity ratio. Participation by Māori in the economy is predicted to increase over the next decade as Māori are now significant owners of natural resources. The commercial asset base is estimated at \$11b, with twice the proportion involved in exporting (60.1%) than the NZ economy as a whole (31.4%)²³. Major gains are still to be made in upskilling the Māori work force. Statistics NZ projects a rise from 15% to 20% by 2051 of NZ's population whom are Māori, with a low average age and insufficient educational attainment. Inequitable participation of Māori workers with higher levels of educational achievement is likely to adversely affect future ability to match capacity with opportunity²⁴.

In broad terms the challenge ahead is for the emergent Māori economy to develop at a rate that sustains higher participation in employment while absorbing the significant Māori birth rate and future workers into the labour force. This responsibility is for the economy as a whole to keep pace with the increased numbers of Māori workers while also absorbing increased national population levels and workers driven by immigration. Displacement of Māori males from the labour market, and the lack of full engagement of Māori females into the labour market, has presented challenges of economic realignment to fully overcome the adversities of past restructuring. No longer are national averages adequate to define social equity in the shadow of significant demographic alteration. Social equity and distribution of fairness in government policy should be based upon structured and targeted statistics to reflect the demography of the regions and the nation.

22 pg 4 Labour Market Policy Group (2003)

23 pg 18 Love (2000)

24 pg 19 Conway & McLoughlin (2002)

Only then can clear signals be transmitted to the regions and the nation as to what is required to restore social equity. Development of short term and long term forecasts²⁵ relative to benchmarks on participation, employment rates and unemployment rates could give rise to initiatives that maintain competitiveness whilst increasing social inclusion, increasing education and skill levels and participation in work, and adapting and moving with changes in resources and types of work.

4 Proposed research on multiple job holding by Māori

This section provides suggestions with regard to further research on Māori participation in the labour market and particularly multiple job holding as identified in Figure 1, the Pipi Model. Proposals for further research must be linked to longitudinal analysis of official statistics as initiated in this working paper, with consideration of micro issues - at the level of whānau through to individuals.

4.1 Key definitions for research on multiple job holding by Māori

The following definitions are a starting point to develop the conceptual framework, and assist in refinement of the research objectives:

- Māori Organisations - businesses or service providers led or operated by Māori participating in the Māori economy and serving Māori social structures
- Māori Economy - sectors in which Māori organisations have a high proportion of capital and labour employed, for example farming, fishing, forestry, tourism, film-making, music, and newspaper industries
- Māori Multiple Job Holding - Māori individuals who work two or more jobs at the same time for a period of time.

4.2 Key research propositions

The research is investigating ways in which Māori patterns of multiple job holding are different to the non-Māori population and will investigate particular associations with rates of growth or decline by sector or industry, such as farming, fishing, forestry, tourism, film-making, music, media, health and education, and other social service sectors. Results from analysis of the total workforce show multiple job holding varies with factors such as sex, age, education levels, involvement in study, income and where people live. These patterns may be different for Māori as shown by the data to date on Māori multiple job holding by gender and by sector. A number of key propositions will guide the next phase of the research on multiple job holding by Māori. These will be added to and modified over time:

- Māori multiple job holding is distinguished by the nature and extent of the social and economic objectives set by Māori organizations, which may or may not be linked to socio-economic status of Māori
- Māori multiple job holding is likely to increase for the high socio-economic status group as the Māori economy (and labour market) is reconstructed, however, there will be little change for lower Māori socio-economic groups unless targeted and effective entrepreneurial activity increases in the private and public sectors
- Māori multiple job holding at the high income end faces intense criticism from whānau, hapu and iwi members defending against social dislocation
- Māori multiple job holding below the “glass ceiling” is a socio-economic response to the lack of durable income pathways, links to the labour market and sustainable livelihoods
- multiple job holding will be just one dimension of the livelihood response by lower Māori socio-economic groups

25 Claus E & Claus I (2002)

- decisions about work by Māori multiple job holders are likely to be values driven and based on identity and other values not reflected in the labour market mechanism.

Given these propositions further research must:

- distill similarities and differences through demographic disaggregation
- explore why Māori multiple job holding is distributed across the demographic in different ways to the workforce in general
- determine socio-economic and cultural impacts of multiple job holding on Māori
- identify growth/decline trends in particular sectors and sensitivity to recession and development initiatives.

4.3 Approach to field research

To help build momentum and capacity amongst government agencies towards a coherent and meaningful response to issues around the future of work, the research approach is to obtain commitment to the process of defining the macro and micro contexts in the Pipi Model. This approach centres upon formation of a Christchurch based intergovernmental reference group led by the Department of Labour. Additional persons from Ngāi Tahu, He Oranga Pounamu, Ngā Mataa Waka, WINZ, Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Commerce are invited to join the group. The establishment of this reference group will help to give the research team gives clear boundaries of enquiry, and establishes an information gathering process consistent with Māori social structures and identified needs. The structuring of the field research in this manner provides:

- a local hub and reference point for activities
- the necessary national and iwi networks into a sample of Māori organisations as identified below
- access to reports and records of central government.

The proposed research focus is based upon:

- the development of long-term partnerships and quality control on the basis of successful and harmonious relationships by the iwi affiliated members of the research team
- the safe utilisation of knowledge now and into the future
- the development of a compatible and representative mix of iwi and sector activity with the critical mass to expand or dig deeper
- overcoming any perception that the sample size is too small.

The involvement of agencies such as the Māori Perspectives Unit of the Department of Labour listed above links participants for mutual benefit in finding solutions to the challenges identified by the research. For example, they can be expected to have a working knowledge and interest in the following issues:

- the implications of the Māori labour market being dominated by wage and salary earners
- a sense of changes for Māori workers over time as described above in section 3.2
- the size and shape of the labour market as dependant on the ratio of wealth generators to wealth users in the Māori demographic
- low and middle income earners being short changed by highly variable economic growth over the past 20 years
- the process by which Māori enter the labour market and their rate of wage progression once employed
- policies which confuse capacities and opportunities of the labour market with actual participation rates
- education that does not always mean jobs at the end of it
- an increased rate of Māori resigned to incubation and not participating in the private or public sectors

- growth in the Māori demographic and its effect on equality and marginalisation
- the replacement of old colonial attitudes by entrepreneurial activity of the Māori demographic
- the increased level of competence and sophistication of Māori to participate in the labour market as the rate of flow of goods, services, people and money increases in the Māori economy.

4.4 Sampling issues

The sample frame is for a purposive sample of respondents identified and accessed according to agreed protocols that they assist in determining over several sectors. The sample is then interviewed and/or invited to take part in focus groups as appropriate. For this micro work the categories of respondents in the sample is to represent a combination of paid and unpaid workers including part-time workers, self-employed, casual workers, home based workers, tele-workers, and women workers in the following sectors. The age of workers should cover people with experiences of all four periods of workforce change 1981-2001. Total numbers taking part will depend on the resources available for the research:

Resource Sectors

agriculture
forestry
fishing
tourism/hospitality
energy
mining

Service Sectors

health
education
sport

Other Sectors

media/communications
finance
arts and culture (movies)

Variations amongst iwi have been categorised by sector and iwi as detailed in Appendix 3. Variations will include impacts of urbanization, inter tribal complexities and the influence of iwi, hapu and whānau systems of support, and provide insights into the macro socio-economic influences of disconnection, dislocation and geographic isolation. The challenge is to funnel information at the macro level to derive specific findings with an increased focus on narrowing the data collection process. On the other hand, investigation at the micro level needs to start with specific questions from which specific data is collected to then arrive at a universal explanation of underlying relationships. The micro analysis has to investigate how Māori multiple job holding might be different to that of the population as a whole. This then leads to the investigation of any systematic association between Māori multiple job holding rates and rates of growth or decline in each sector or industry and by iwi area.

4.5 Research on Māori multiple job holder's output expectations

The research should investigate opportunities for increased social mobility and improved socio-economic status of the Māori demographic in the occupations and industries in which Māori typically work, and in new sectors in which Māori have not worked until now or could work in future. At the macro level research outputs will help the Māori demographic to:

- balance social and economic objectives
- restore the imbalance of rangatiratanga (governance) and kāwanatanga (management)
- develop long-term views of labour market relationships and business cycles and compile these into scenarios for economic development,

and at the micro level to:

- reconcile short-term deficiencies in economic, workforce and social policy
- identify barriers and impediments to employment and economic development for Māori
- identify strategies whānau employ in relation to paid and unpaid work in achieving their aspirations
- report the influence of values upon family, community and industry participation.

The research aims to build an evidence base for policy formation and to identify and develop capacity building initiatives for social research. The evidence can then be used by an organisation or a range of organisations to develop initiatives that result in more durable pathways and sustainable livelihoods.

5 Conclusion

Empowered social research for the Māori demographic needs to acknowledge tensions relating to Treaty of Waitangi issues between the Crown, government agencies and Māori, and take into account the effects of these tensions such as participants feeling marginalised when planning and undertaking research. The Pipi Model provides a description of spheres for ordering the impacts of activities in each sphere upon another, and to trace the effects of oppressive practices. Data from the New Zealand Census provides longitudinal information on the Māori demographic for selected labour market criteria compared to the national workforce. The findings show both similarities and differences exist between the Māori demographic and the general population. Changes for Māori in the labour market from 1981 to 2001 provide the starting point for a broader analysis of social-economic trends over this period, with five characteristic periods identified. The level of competence and sophistication of Māori to participate in the labour market increases through these periods as the rate of flow of goods, services, people and money increases in the Māori economy. Growth and decline has not been mutually exclusive to sectors or sub groups. In particular, the long and large tail of the lower Māori socio-economic demands greater performance of other Māori socio-economic groups to lift national averages. Indeed, wealth generation for Māori cannot be done in isolation of any other group in the private or public sectors.

The research background in this paper is used to develop a plan for qualitative research into Māori multiple job holding. Results from this research will contribute to the status of the Māori demographic, as Māori researchers and the Treaty Partner create knowledge that inspires commitment, unity, stability and strength, and draws upon the full range of social and economic resources available.

Final reflection

Empowerment of people with knowledge and information about the labour market is the beginning of Māori entering a greater range of occupational structures on an individual, whānau, local (hapu) and regional (iwi) basis. Increased participation in the labour market should make some headway to reverse marginalisation and relative disadvantage. Effective reversal of marginalisation and disadvantage will occur when Crown and Māori operate as Treaty Partners that each do their parts to form a cohesive whole. The Māori demographic can do its part in implementing effective policy outcomes if or when the Crown does its part at the same time. Responsiveness to social disadvantage through evidence-based research will challenge and test policy agencies of local and central government as they rise to meet their responsibilities.

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Appendix 1: Note on Census classification of ethnic origin

While it was possible to respond in all five censi (1981-2001) to the question on ethnicity with multiple responses (i.e. nominating more than one ethnicity), the form of the question changed in the 1996 census.

Prior to this, the basic question was worded as: What is your ethnic origin? (1986) and Which ethnic group do you belong to? (1991). In each case, a follow-up instruction in smaller italicised type was worded as follows: *Tick the box or boxes which apply to you.* In 1996, the wording of the principal instruction changed to 'Tick as many circles as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to.' However, the 2001 census reverted to the earlier format. The differences in the manner in which people responded to the 1996 ethnic origin question represents the most significant problem.

Estimates based on comparisons of ethnic classification by a sample of individuals suggest that "inter-ethnic drift" was of the order of 15% between non-Māori and Māori between the 1991 and 1996 census.

Appendix 2: Possible combinations of waka (region), iwi and sectors for selecting potential research areas

Research areas	Waka	Iwi Representation	Sectors
Northland	Ngatokimatawhaoroa, Kurahaupo, Mahuhu, Mamari	Ngā Puhi Confed, Te Rarawa, Aupouri, Ngāti Kahu	Forestry Tourism Agriculture
Bay of Plenty	Mataatua, Tainui, Arawa	Te Whānau Apanui, Te Whakatohea, Te Arawa, Ngāti Awa, Ngāi Tai	Tourism Horticulture Gold mining
Taranaki	Tokomaru, Aotea Kurahaupo	Ngāti Tama,	Energy Tourism Dairy processing
Wellington	Tokomaru, Tainui	Rangitane, Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Toa	Health Education Creative
Nelson	Tokomaru, Kurahaupo, Takitimu	Ngāti Koata, Ngāi Rauru, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Rarua, Ngāti Kuia, Te Ati Awa	Fishing Tourism Creative
Christchurch	Takitimu, Ara-i-te-Uru, Uruao	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Tuahuriri Rūnanga, Te Rūnanga ki Otautahi,	Creative Media Tourism Health Education Sport
Hokitika	Takitimu	Kati Waewae Rūnanga, Te Rūnanga o Makaawhio	Energy Fishing Tourism
Waitaki Basin	Uruao, Takitimu	Te Rūnanga o Arowhenua, Te Rūnanga o Waihao, Te Rūnanga o Moeraki, Hawea, Waitaha	Energy Tourism
Otakou	Takitimu	Kati Huirapa Runaka ki Puketeraki, Te Rūnanga o Otakou, Hokonui Rūnanga	Health Education
Southland	Takitimu, Tairea	Oraka Aparima Runaka Awarua Rūnanga, Waihopai Rūnanga,	Forestry Fishing Tourism Shearing
Chatham Is	Takitimu	Moriōri	Fishing Farming

Appendix 3: Timeline of Governmental reforms relevant to analysis of multiple job holding by Māori

1984	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The beginning of the 4th labour Government economic reforms – Hui Taumata
1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Surcharges introduced on National Superannuation and low income families were provided with more support
1987	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The New Zealand Business Roundtable and the Treasury began to argue for a substantial policy shift away from a rights based approach towards a more targeted social policy agenda
1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Student allowance for 18 and 19 year olds became means tested – Substantially flattened tax rate scale with three major implications: it reduced the productivity of the taxation system, put in place a top marginal tax rate of 33 cents in the dollar, and the new tax regime made it easier politically to defend a greater degree of targeting – Ministry of Māori Affairs (<i>Te Manatū Māori</i>) established along with the Iwi Transition Agency (<i>Te Tira Ahu Iwi</i>)
1990	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Steep cuts made to welfare programmes, increasing the degree of targeting in education, health care and income maintenance – The Reserve Bank’s medium to long-term inflation rate was modified to 0-2 per cent inflation – National indicated that the informal wage accord (or ‘Growth Agreement’) reached with the council of trade unions would stand – National significantly tightened fiscal policy and made major cuts to welfare expenditure – Economic and social initiatives announced by new senior ministers saw major cuts to the nominal value of most social welfare benefits, stricter eligibility for all benefits, the abolishment of the universal family benefit and new rules governing stand down periods. In addition, the National Government increased the age of youth rates from 20 to 25
1991	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – A round of expenditure cuts were announced at the 1991 budget – Changes to the Employment Contracts Act. Labour market regulations, the nature of wage bargaining and the institutions governing the conduct of industrial relations were all affected by the changes to the employment contracts act. Government legalised this change claiming that it would enhance productivity and wage flexibility in turn promoting economic growth – Cuts to welfare benefits were operational from April – Both the funding and provision of health care was radically overhauled. These changes included the abolishment of health boards, separation of funding and provisions, the introduction of part charges for hospitals from 1 Feb 1992 and a tightening target of health care services. – Major changes to the Guaranteed Retirement Income (GRI) announced in the 1991 budget. A surtax was retained and the eligibility age for superannuation rose from 60 to 64 by 2001. In addition, the ‘free zone’ of earning before the surplus tax was substantially reduced and the value of the GRI was cut in real terms without any inflation adjustments being made – Proposed changes to housing by introducing a targeted cash subsidy to be known as an Accommodation Supplement which was introduced in July 1993 – The Privacy of Information Bill was established to provide a framework for controlling the exchange of information. The government recognised that more targeted forms of social assistance would increase temptation for individuals to misrepresent their incomes. In line with this, a greater degree of information sharing was promoted among government agencies such as the Department of Inland Revenue and Social Welfare - The Ministry of Social Policy (<i>Te Manatū mō ngā Kaupapa Oranga Tangata</i>) was established integrating the Department of Social Welfare’s Corporate Office and the Social Policy Agenda.
1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – On 1 January the Ministry of Māori Development (<i>Te Puni Kōkiri</i>) was instituted replacing the Ministry of Māori Affairs (<i>Manatū Māori</i>) and the Iwi Transition Agency (<i>Te Tira Ahu Iwi</i>) – Tertiary student allowances become more tightly monitored. Those between the ages of 16 and 25 had to be means tested based on parental income. In addition, income-contingent loan schemes were introduced for students
1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Under National with Jim Bolger as leader the momentum of the policy reforms abruptly halted.