

MAHI AROHA

MĀORI PERSPECTIVES ON
VOLUNTEERING AND CULTURAL OBLIGATIONS





Published by
Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector
Tari mō te Rāngai ā-Hapori, ā-Tūao
PO Box 1556, Wellington
New Zealand
April 2007

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Disclaimer

Readers should note that the opinions contained in this report do not necessarily reflect the official policy and the views of the Ministry of Social Development.

ISBN 0-478-18336-4

The Māori design used in this report represents the four winds of Aotearoa (nga hau e wha) upon which the message of this report is sent. The centre of the design represents the spirit (wairua) of the individual sending the message of support (manaakitanga) to all throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand. The colours are of the sky and the earthy tones of Aotearoa.



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Mahi aroha is the term that most closely translates to the concept of voluntary work. Mahi aroha is the unpaid activity performed out of sympathy and caring for others in accordance with the principles of tikanga to maintain mana and rangatiratanga, rather than for financial or personal reward.

Mahi aroha is one aspect of tohu aroha – an expression that incorporates the spiritual and temporal aspects of volunteering. He tohu aroha is an expression or manifestation of love, sympathy or caring.





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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Tena koutou e nga Kai-rangahau na koutou i wānanga tenei kaupapa ka puta mai nga tikanga o tatou maatua tupuna mahi aroha.

Kia koutou hoki e nga rangatira, i tuku kōrero tautoko mai mo tenei ripota, nga mihi whānui kia koutou.

Ko te tumanako ma Mahi Aroha ka mohio te ao, ki a tatou tikanga e tuitui nei i o tatou Iwi, Hapū Whānau hoki.

The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector/Tari mō te Rāngai ā-Hapori, ā-Tūao (OCVS) would like to thank all the people who have been involved in the researching, writing up and editing of this report.

Pam Oliver and Associates were commissioned by the OCVS to carry out research on Māori perspectives on volunteering and cultural obligations for this report. The research team consisted of Laurie Porima (Ngāti Manawa, Tainui, Tuhoe, Ngapuhi), Tania Wolfgramm (Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Whakatohea, Ngaitai, Tonga) and Pam Oliver.

Dr Catherine Love (Te Atiawa, Taranaki, Ngāti Ruanui) was contracted by the OCVS to act as the Māori quality assurance reviewer. In addition, Dr Love's expertise in the area of Māoritanga and Māori health and wellbeing was drawn upon to give greater understanding of the impacts of mahi aroha on Māori.

This report has been reviewed by Pam Oliver, Dr Catherine Love and the Centre for Social Research and Evaluation within the Ministry of Social Development to ensure the contents of the report are presented in a manner that reflects the literature and the views of the Māori participants in the research.

This report would not have been possible without the information provided by the research participants. We would like to thank them all for their generosity in giving up their time and sharing their experiences, knowledge and wisdom so freely and frankly with the researchers.

Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector/Tari mō te Rāngai ā-Hapori, ā-Tūao staff involved in this project were:

- Brenda Ratcliff, OCVS Director
- Joyce-Anne Raihania, Senior Policy Analyst/Project Manager
- Ann Walker, Policy Analyst/Editor and Researcher





FOREWORD

MINISTER FOR THE COMMUNITY AND VOLUNTARY SECTOR



Volunteers make a huge contribution to Aotearoa/New Zealand society in almost every sphere of activity – from sport, recreation, arts, culture and heritage to emergency and social services, health, education, conservation and the environment. Volunteering is a fundamental act of citizenship and philanthropy in our society. By caring and contributing to change, volunteers improve the lives of other people and at the same time enhance their own lives. Volunteers come from all walks of life, representing all ages and demographics. They volunteer for many different reasons.

While literature is available on Māori philosophies that relate to unpaid labour and community participation, relatively little is available on the contemporary incidence of volunteering or helping (as opposed to paid work) amongst Māori or on the issues involved in helping. We know from Census data, however, that Māori were more likely than non-Māori to have been involved in unpaid activities outside the household. Results of the 2001 Census showed that nine out of 10 Māori participated in some kind of unpaid activity in the four weeks prior to the Census. In 2001, the International Year of Volunteers, there were calls for more attention to be paid to research pertaining to Māori voluntary work and the development of Māori communities. One of the reasons for commissioning this report was to address that knowledge gap.

“Volunteering” is a term that is not necessarily recognised by, or significant to, all cultures. Some Māori, for example, do not consider the unpaid activity they perform in the context of cultural obligation, duty, reciprocity and collective benefit as volunteering. Instead, the term “mahi aroha” was put forward by research participants in this study as the expression in te reo Māori considered most appropriate. While volunteering is often thought of as helping “others”, voluntary activity in a Māori context is more often about working within a group (iwi, hapū, whānau or other Māori organisation) for the mutual benefit of members of the group.

As set out in the 2002 *Government Policy on Volunteering*, the Government is committed to recognising the contribution that Māori make to their communities through fulfilment of cultural obligations and to supporting the contribution of mahi aroha performed by Māori for their whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori organisations. I hope that this report will lead to a better understanding of Māori concepts of volunteering, in their broadest sense, and the important role mahi aroha plays in Māori communities. I believe that this report will provide a valuable source of information for policy makers, employers and others alike.

Hon Luamanuvao Winnie Laban





1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To support the aims of the 2002 *Government Policy on Volunteering* (see appendix 1),¹ researchers Pam Oliver and Associates were contracted by the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector (OCVS) to gain a Māori perspective on cultural obligations and volunteering. This research report is based on information collected by the researchers in 2004 from interviews with a range of Māori, including experts in kaupapa Māori philosophies, values and concepts, and from a literature review. Dr Catherine Love also contributed to the literature review and provided additional information on Māoritanga and Māori health and wellbeing for the report.

The research findings from the study revealed that volunteering for Māori is based significantly upon the notion of whanaungatanga (kinship) and the benefits, both for individuals and the wider community, derived from contributing to the common good. Within a collectivist cultural tradition such as Māori culture, conceptions of self are intrinsically linked to aspects of nature, wairua, mauri, whānau and mana, and all are intertwined. Hence, personal wellbeing depends, both immediately and ultimately, on the wellbeing of the community as a whole. For many Māori interviewed for this research, the usual concept of “volunteering” did not accurately reflect their worldview or their own experiences of and motivations for carrying out unpaid work for whānau, hapū, iwi and other Māori organisations and individuals. The term “mahi aroha”² – work performed out of love, sympathy or caring and through a sense of duty – was considered more appropriate by research participants.

For many Māori, mahi aroha carried out for the benefit of whānau, hapū and iwi is often seen as an essential part of fulfilling their cultural obligations to the wider collective. It is also central to their own sense of identity and for maintaining their culture and traditions. Māori language and culture, incorporating principles of tikanga, mana, manaaki and whanaungatanga, provide a rich framework for understanding Māori perspectives on and motivations for undertaking mahi aroha. Tohu aroha – an expression or manifestation of love – provides the overarching spiritual and temporal dimension through which mahi aroha is undertaken.

Research participants identified a broad range of motives for the mahi aroha they undertook. The common concept underlying people’s motives was tikanga Māori – doing the right thing according to their customs and beliefs handed down through generations. For kaumātua, there was a clear link to mana – both personal and that of the whānau, hapū and iwi. Research participants talked about the satisfaction they gained through mahi aroha – as an expression of aroha and manaakitanga, and through the contribution they were able to make to the greater wellbeing of whānau. For many, being involved in mahi aroha activity contributed towards their self-image and sense of self-worth. Mahi aroha was seen as an important aspect of cultural identity and survival, which, in turn, contributed to people’s overall social and economic wellbeing.

Kaumātua were seen as the acknowledged repository of the kaupapa of mahi aroha. The absence of kaumātua, especially kuia, from the lives of many urban Māori (who in many cases were often also distanced physically and spiritually from their marae) was believed to be the primary reason for the erosion of the sense of duty and desire to undertake mahi aroha.

1. A copy of the *Government Policy on Volunteering* can also be downloaded from the OCVS web site: <http://www.ocvs.govt.nz/documents/policies/government-policy-on-volunteering.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2007).

2. The term “mahi aroha” is used throughout this report as a working term for the subject of this research. It has been defined as “voluntary or unpaid work or mahi you have undertaken, not including day-to-day household maintenance or care of immediate family sharing your home”. Mahi aroha was suggested by key informants early in the research interviews as a term that Māori would use to describe such contributions.





The range of mahi aroha activities undertaken by research participants was extremely diverse and drew on a wide range of skills. Much of the activity was whānau, hāpu and iwi related and was based around marae. Advisory work in relation to government-led consultations and policy processes, including work on Treaty of Waitangi matters such as Treaty claims, was also a significant part of mahi aroha activity. Several of the participants were also involved in the establishment, management or delivery of kaupapa Māori projects, programmes and services. Mahi aroha contributed by research participants ranged from five to 60 hours per week. While some of the participants were involved in volunteer work for mainstream organisations, mahi aroha related to participants' whānau was their first priority. This mahi aroha included work for household members and also assistance to whanaunga and others.

Many of the research participants talked about the significant personal costs of mahi aroha for themselves and their immediate whānau. They mentioned specifically the heavy workloads and the stress this could cause when they were unable to spend time with their children and partners. The demands on personal resources – time, money and energy – were often draining, with key people such as kuia and kaumātua often bearing the burden of much of the mahi aroha because of their particular skills and knowledge. All research participants, however, felt that the benefits and importance of mahi aroha activities outweighed the costs and disadvantages. Most simply considered it essential to Māori cultural survival.

The contemporary diversity of Māori experiences and views means that there is not a single framework of understanding that will fit with Māori perspectives of and participation in volunteering, helping or mahi aroha. While this report is based on the views of the research participants, it is acknowledged that these may not be shared by all Māori. Nevertheless, this report has sought to establish some boundaries and shared understanding to help distinguish Māori concepts of volunteering from mainstream³ perspectives. It is expected that this window into the world of Māori volunteering will assist policy makers and others to develop policy that creates stronger Māori, whānau and communities because it is better aligned with mahi aroha concepts.

3. The term "mainstream" is used in this report to refer to organisations, structures and systems that reflect the dominant systems and structures in Aotearoa/New Zealand.





2. GOVERNMENT POLICY ON VOLUNTEERING

In December 2002, Cabinet endorsed a *Government Policy on Volunteering* and agreed to a range of actions to reduce barriers to volunteering in government legislation, policy and practice. Set out in that document is the Government's central vision, which is for "a society with a high level of volunteering, where the many contributions people make through volunteering and fulfilment of cultural obligations are actively supported and valued."

To support this vision, the Government is committed to "recognising the contribution that tangata whenua, Pacific and ethnic peoples make to their communities through fulfilment of cultural obligations".

The OCVS is responsible for promoting the *Government Policy on Volunteering* and for maintaining an overview of the Government's volunteering work programme. The OCVS commissioned this research to identify motivators and cultural drivers for Māori to undertake unpaid work for their communities as part of its work programme on volunteering.

3. CURRENT RESEARCH ON VOLUNTEERING BY MĀORI

For the 2001 Census, people aged 15 years and over were asked if they had done any unpaid work in the four weeks prior to Census night (6 March 2001). Results showed that nine out of 10 Māori participated in some kind of unpaid activity in this period. Māori were more likely than non-Māori to have been involved in unpaid activities outside the household.⁴ For example, 23.5% of Māori looked after a child who did not live in their household compared with 11.83% of non-Māori. Māori also had higher participation rates in voluntary work⁵ with some 21.2% participating in this activity in the four weeks preceding Census night compared with 12.68% of non-Māori.

The 2001 Census data found that Māori women's and men's participation rates in unpaid activity were 93.4% and 85.9% respectively. The fact that Māori women undertake more unpaid work outside the home than Māori men has been attributed to particular gendered roles that are ascribed to women on the marae (Te Puni Kōkiri 2000b). For example, Māori women have special roles in preparing for a tangi and other significant cultural events at marae. Results from the 1998 Time Use Survey report showed that women also participated consistently more often in cultural activities, including cultural maintenance activities such as teaching te reo Māori, than men. The report indicates that Māori women have been and are the major driving force in cultural recovery within Māori communities (Statistics New Zealand 2001).

Work is under way to improve national data on volunteering. Statistics New Zealand is currently compiling a publication called the *Non-Profit Institutions Satellite Account*, which is due to be released in late August 2007. The report will provide information on the number and size of non-profit institutions (NPIs) in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their contribution to the wider economy. One distinguishing feature of many NPIs is their dependence on volunteers.

The report will contain a section on volunteer labour and will look at:

- the number of volunteers in Aotearoa/New Zealand
- volunteer demographics – age, sex, ethnicity, etc

4. The category "unpaid activities outside the household" includes childcare and caring for someone who is ill or has a disability.

5. The category "voluntary work" covers unpaid activities for or through any organisation, group or marae.





- total hours worked by volunteers per year
- the economic value of volunteer hours worked
- types of organisations volunteered for.

The volunteer labour section will draw on data sources such as the 2001 and 2006 Censuses and the 1998/1999 Time Use Survey. Later iterations of the Satellite Account will be able to incorporate and compare results from the next Time Use Survey in 2008/2009. The design of these data sources means that voluntary work by Māori and for Māori organisations can be analysed separately and will form part of the section on volunteer labour.

4. PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

In response to perceived barriers to volunteering associated with government legislation, policy and practice, the OCVS commissioned research into the nature of cultural obligations and, in particular, the relationship between the fulfilment of cultural obligations and volunteering for Māori.

The key objectives of this proposed research were to obtain a comprehensive understanding of volunteering by Māori in terms of the:

- nature of the activities undertaken
- Māori terms or concepts that best describe the nature of those activities
- factors that motivate Māori to participate in such activities
- meanings and value that Māori attach to those activities and their participation in such activities.

It is expected that the report's findings will contribute to:

- classifications and definitions of volunteering that take into account cultural differences, particularly Māori concepts and understandings
- better understanding of the implications of mahi aroha for government policy, legislation and practice
- improved decision making for the appropriate targeting of government funding for volunteering by Māori
- clarification of the relevance and importance of volunteering and fulfilment of cultural obligations among Māori.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Research philosophy and approach

As this research was exploratory and the information sought was specifically descriptive – about the nature of mahi aroha and people's motivations for such work – face-to-face interviews and consultations were considered to be the most appropriate data collection methods for this study. A research outcome for this project was that all people participating in the research would gain something from the experience, and it is considered that this outcome has been achieved. A short report summary, specifically tailored to the audience, was disseminated to all research participants at the completion of the study.

Interviews with participants took place in their preferred venues and environments. As the research was aimed specifically at Māori, significant interaction between the researchers and participants took place in tikanga Māori settings. Consequently, the researchers followed tikanga Māori in their contacts with participants, paying particular attention to the tikanga of specific iwi/hapū who were involved in the research.





All researchers were experienced in interviewing and facilitating hui with Māori, and interviews with key informants were held in te reo where that was preferred by participants. A member of the research team and other associates were available to undertake the function of kaikōrero at hui.

5.2 Research design and sample

Fieldwork for this project was carried out in 2004, over a period of three months. Data collection followed a three-stage approach. There were:

- key informant interviews with experts in kaupapa Māori philosophies, values and concepts
- a series of interviews and hui with members of marae, members of Māori organisations and other Māori
- repeat interviews with key informants to ratify research findings and interpretations.

Set out below are the three research stages, and the research participants involved at each stage.

Stage 1 • Key informant interviews (3) – exploration

- kaumātua
- tohunga
- academic

Stage 2 • Community participants (68) – exploration

- Māori Women's Welfare League (2)
- young professionals (6)
- kaupapa Māori service providers (4)
- pantribal marae
 - kaumātua rōpū (34)
 - manager/kaimahi (4)
- kaiwhakairo (4)
- kōhanga reo (3)
 - manager, kaiako, parent
- an urban, taura here sports club (5)
- iwi-based marae (6)
 - trustees and kaimahi

Stage 3 • Key informant interviews (3) – ratification, hypothesis testing

- kaumātua
- tohunga
- academic

Individual or group interviews were carried out with people who undertook a range of unpaid work within or for their marae or organisation and/or for other organisations and individuals. Organisations were selected as representing known areas of prolific mahi aroha among Māori communities. The reasons for working with the Māori organisations to recruit participants were that:

- marae are a primary hub of unpaid work, drawing on large numbers of people to assist with a wide range of activities
- urban marae represent populations of Māori living in large urban centres, including people who are not closely affiliated with their own iwi or marae, and would typically include people of several iwi and hapū groups
- rural marae represent populations living in more remote areas, usually with intergenerational whānau, hapū and iwi affiliations to the marae
- kōhanga reo require whānau to be directly involved in the caregiving and education of tamariki through the kōhanga
- taura here sports organisations generally attract individuals who contribute large amounts of time in unpaid work





- Māori Women's Welfare League members were able to provide information on gender roles and differences in cultural obligations and volunteering.

Due to budgetary constraints, organisations were selected from within the North Island only. To ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of research participants, the specific geographic regions of the research participants have not been identified in this report.

The sample of research participants included both men and women and drew on views from all adult age groups, a wide range of educational experience, iwi-based and pantribal marae organisations and diverse socioeconomic groups. Respondents represented common roles within the organisations selected, and they were often accompanied by whānau or other people who worked on an unpaid basis with them in these or other contexts. They were asked to speak about their mahi aroha activity, not only within the organisation through which they were recruited for the research, but in all spheres of their lives. The major objectives of the interviews and hui were to provide:

- detailed accounts of the experiences of key Māori informants engaging in unpaid activities for whānau, hapū, iwi and other organisations, both Māori and mainstream
- a better understanding of the cultural drivers, motivations and meanings associated with cultural obligations and volunteering
- information on obstacles, compromises and issues in participation
- impacts of participation.

5.3 Participant recruitment and interviews

Research participants were recruited through the organisations described in this section and through the researchers' networks (eg young professionals).

Each participant was given a research information sheet in the form of a letter from the OCVS, which set out the purposes and intended uses of the research and advised participants of their rights in relation to the research (appendix 2). Informed consent was obtained from research participants either verbally, and then recorded, or by signing a consent form (appendix 3).

Key informant interviews were held with individuals, while the other stakeholder interviews were held with people in groups ranging from two to 37 participants. Interviews with participants were based on semi-structured topic guides (appendix 4) together with a short questionnaire consisting largely of open-ended questions (appendix 5). The purpose of the questionnaire was to focus participants on the kinds and range of work they undertook and on the approximate number of hours they spent on mahi aroha.

Input into relevant interview topics was obtained from key stakeholders as part of the iterative process of the research. The interview topics were expanded over the period that the interviews were undertaken as key themes emerged. Interviews ranged from one to two and a half hours in length, depending on the number of people present. Comprehensive interview notes were made during interviews, and interviews were tape recorded where appropriate, with the permission of participants.

Koha in appreciation of participants' time and information was given to marae or individual participants as appropriate.

5.4 Confidentiality for research participants

All information supplied by research participants was treated as confidential by the researchers. Appropriate steps were taken to ensure participant confidentiality and anonymity throughout the research process unless participants specifically asked for their kōrero to be acknowledged personally and their names and pepeha associated with their contributions included.





The raw data collected by the researchers through interviews and surveys was confidential to the researchers and has not been made available to any other researchers or organisations. This data will be stored for five years by the researchers and then destroyed.

5.5 Ethics compliance

The researchers complied with the ethical code of the Australian Evaluation Society and Te Tiriti o Waitangi at all times during this research project.

5.6 Literature review

In addition to the fieldwork, the researchers carried out a literature review of both Aotearoa/New Zealand and overseas material relevant to the research topic. The literature review was undertaken to:

- provide a description of how the terms “cultural obligation” and “volunteering” were defined internationally
- consider and compare the terms “unpaid work”, “civic engagement” and “community participation”
- investigate tangata whenua and other indigenous peoples’⁶ perspectives of cultural obligations and volunteering, and the philosophies and concepts underlying such obligations
- clarify the nature of unpaid work that is undertaken to fulfill cultural obligations and the relationship of this to volunteering.

Findings of the literature review have been woven throughout this report.

5.7 Data analysis

Analysis of qualitative data was combined with content and discourse analysis approaches to synthesise information from a variety of sources into a coherent and integrated whole. This approach involved detailed individual reporting by research team members and integration of the data through team data analysis workshops. The iterative interviews with key informants and use of discourse analysis with interviews were also essential aspects of the data analysis.

5.8 Quality assurance

The quality of the research process and reporting was assured by taking the following steps:

- using an iterative process to ensure that the researchers’ interpretation of information was checked back with respondents during the data collection process
- involving more than one researcher in each type of data collection (literature review, interviews/hui, document review)
- triangulating all data collection
- involving all members of the research team in the data analysis and reporting
- involving the Centre for Social Research and Evaluation within the Ministry of Social Development in reviewing and editing the report
- engaging an external academic with expertise in Māoritanga to review both the research methodology and the initial reports of the research findings
- seeking feedback and comment from a number of government agencies on draft versions of this report.

6. In general, indigenous people are defined as indigenous communities, peoples and nations that consider themselves distinct from other sectors of society. Indigenous people have a historical connection with a specific territory – usually pre-dating colonisation and invasion by other societies. They usually form non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic and cultural identity (Cobo 1986). Among many indigenous peoples are the Indians of the Americas (for example, the Mayas of Guatemala or the Aymaras of Bolivia), the Inuit and Aleutians of the circumpolar region, the Saami of northern Europe, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia, and Māori of New Zealand.





6. RESEARCH CONSTRAINTS AND MĀORI DIVERSITY

This report has attempted to capture aspects of mahi aroha that are relevant for Māori. However, many of the motivations for volunteering, the problems experienced by volunteers, and the positive effects of volunteering on individuals, their families and communities can be common across cultures. For example, many people from Western⁷ and Asian cultures feel a strong sense of responsibility to do unpaid work for the communities they feel connected with. Māori also share with many indigenous groups the struggle to protect their cultural identity through their cultural traditions and practices and assert their rights as indigenous people.⁸

While the research participants in this study represent a range of backgrounds and ages and performed various roles (paid and unpaid) for their communities, it was not feasible for this research to ensure that the research findings were representative of the views of all Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The methodology used for this research is essentially qualitative, and it aimed to examine the experiences, issues and motivations of specific groups. A quantitative approach to the study, which focused on population incidence and prevalence data of mahi aroha, was beyond the scope and budget available for this research project.

For budgetary reasons this research excluded Māori who, for whatever reason, decide not to undertake mahi aroha, so the voice of this group of people is missing in the report. Similarly, Māori who do not have connections with their local iwi or marae were not surveyed. As referred to later, some research participants shared their views on why some Māori are not involved in mahi aroha and talked about times when they themselves were not able to participate in mahi aroha. However, to say with any certainty why some Māori do not undertake mahi aroha would necessitate surveying those individuals directly. This could be an area for further research.

6.1 Māori cultural uniqueness

Prior to the arrival of Europeans to Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori identity was based on the concept of whakapapa, which connected the individual to ancestors via whānau, hapū and iwi (Broughton 1993). This declaration of identity not only consolidated one's whakapapa connections but also served to differentiate Māori people tribally and sub-tribally from one another, although such identities were neither singular nor fixed. Both early and contemporary views of Māori emphasise the permanence of Māori identity and the importance of such things as kin, community solidarity, public ceremony and ritual symbolism, te reo Māori and profound spirituality as integral aspects of sense of self within the collective (Kukutai 2003: 21).

It is the view of Te Puni Kōkiri (2004: 7) that there continues to be a “distinct Māori world, te ao Māori, that is important to Māori, in which Māori want to participate using te reo Māori (Māori language), tikanga Māori (Māori culture), Māori social groupings and Māori resources”. For Māori development to be most effective, therefore, it needs to be closely aligned with Māori world-views and Māori aspirations. Similarly, Durie et al. (2002: 12–13) consider that addressing Māori progress in areas such as economic resources, health and education cannot be accomplished without “taking cognisance of Māori values and the realities of modern Māori experience”. They go on to say that there is a subsequent need for “a sound understanding of Māori philosophy and an equally sound appreciation of contemporary Māori aspirations” (Durie et al. 2002: 12–13).

There has been much debate in Aotearoa/New Zealand about what it means to be “Māori” today and what makes Māori distinct as an ethnic and cultural group. At the heart of the problem of defining Māori, or indeed membership

7. The term “Western” is used in this report to refer to the English-speaking nations that were colonised by the British – ie New Zealand, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

8. See the web site of the Cultural Survival Organisation <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/win/index.cfm> (accessed 14 March 2007) for more information on indigenous people and their struggles.





of any ethnic group, is the lack of definitive criteria. While biological criteria were commonly used in the early part of the 20th century (including the use of blood quantum) to delineate ethnic or racial groups (Kukutai 2004), such criteria are considered inappropriate and even discriminatory today. Contemporary views, on the other hand, tend to emphasise self-identification, fluidity and the diverse realities of Māori people (Durie 1995). The New Zealand Census, for example, uses one criterion for determining ethnicity – self-identification with one, or more, ethnic group.

Another approach to assessing ethnicity is a socio-cultural approach, which typically focuses on measures of cultural identity or ethnic group attachment. Durie et al. (2002: 29) consider that the indicators used by the Te Hoe Nuku Roa research team are closest to quantifying Māori uniqueness and cultural identity. These cultural markers include:

- knowledge of whakapapa (ancestry)
- involvement in marae activities
- competence in Māori language
- links with whenua tipu (ancestral lands)
- participation with Māori social institutions such as kapa haka and sporting clubs
- associations with whānau
- self-identification as Māori.

These culture markers can be indicative of the degree of access an individual has to te ao Māori. Durie et al. (2002: 30) go on to discuss how combining these cultural markers into a single measure of cultural identity enables an individual's participation in te ao Māori to be assessed along a continuum of categories including “secure”, “positive”, “notional” and “compromised”.⁹

As will be discussed later, for many Māori, undertaking mahi aroha is a way of affirming their sense of cultural identity and uniqueness while also reinforcing their whānau, hapū and iwi relationships. Involvement in Māori social institutions and mahi aroha on marae are also important for these reasons.

6.2 Diversity in contemporary Māori society

Although traditional Māori cultural values and tikanga are seen by many as highly relevant in society today, it is also clear that there is considerable diversity amongst contemporary Māori. As Durie states:

Far from being members of a homogenous group, Māori individuals have a variety of cultural characteristics and live in a number of cultural and socio-economic realities. The relevance of traditional values is not the same for all Māori, nor can it be assumed that all Māori will wish to define their ethnic identity according to classical constructs. At the same time, they will describe themselves as Māori and will reject any notion that they are “less Māori” than those who conform to a conventional image. (1995: 465)

This diversity among Māori can be seen in terms of security of cultural identity, cultural immersion or disenfranchisement, whānau composition and functioning, politics, health and socioeconomic status and educational achievement, rural and urban dwelling, and tribal and pantribal affiliations. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, there are over 50 iwi groups, each with whakapapa ties to specific geographical regions in Aotearoa/New Zealand. While tikanga is common to and shared by all Māori, it is the kawa and experience of this that may differ among iwi

9. A “secure identity” rating suggests an individual has good access to Māori language, Māori land, whānau and other elements of the Māori world. A “notional” cultural identity suggests that the person may describe themselves as Māori but not have any contact at all with te ao Māori. A “compromised” identity suggests that a person may not actually describe themselves as Māori although they may have quite good access to the Māori world (Durie et al. 2002: 3).

Results from an (undated) survey of some 700 Māori households in Auckland, Tairāwhiti, Manawatu–Whanganui and Wellington using the Te Hoe Nuku Roa indicators found that 35% were assessed as having a secure identity, 53% a positive identity, 6% a notional identity and 6% a compromised identity (Crothers 2002: 65).





groups. Moreover, while some Māori traditionalists such as Rangihau (1975; 1986) define their identity in hapū and iwi terms, up to 20% of Māori cannot or choose not to affiliate with any tribe (Durie 2003).

The Te Hoe Nuku Roa study (Durie 2003) has highlighted the lack of homogeneity amongst Māori as a cultural group. Levels of competence in te reo Māori, for example, are wide-ranging, with 40% of those aged over 60 being fluent speakers of te reo, while only 13% of those aged 40–60 years are fluent (Durie 2003: 83). This finding is particularly relevant as the Māori language is considered to be the cornerstone of Māori culture – providing a platform for Māori cultural development and a key aspect of their uniqueness as an ethnic group. For Māori, speaking and hearing the Māori language is a means of “asserting pride in Māori culture ... [and] is also a means of ensuring that traditional Māori art forms, kōrero tuku iho and tikanga are maintained with integrity” (Te Puni Kōkiri 2003: 4). In addition, the Te Hoe Nuku Roa study found that among the 40–60 years age group, 17% reported low levels of contact with whānau, and 30% had no contact at all with a marae. In contrast, over 91% of those aged over 60 had contact with a marae (Durie 2003: 83).

Māori society itself is in a state of flux (Durie 2003), with changing demographics likely to have an impact on the functioning of Māori systems and communities. Since World War II, the Māori population has undergone enormous demographic change. While still a comparatively youthful population, the proportion of Māori in the elderly population is projected to increase, the juvenile population will decrease as a proportion of the Māori population, and working-age Māori will significantly increase as a proportion of the Aotearoa/New Zealand working-age population. It is predicted that the proportion of the population in Aotearoa/New Zealand that identifies as Māori is likely to continue to increase over the next decade and beyond as ethnic diversity increases (Statistics New Zealand 1998). Census 2006 data shows that 565,329 Māori¹⁰ usually live in Aotearoa/New Zealand, an increase of 39,045 or 7.4% since the 2001 Census. One in seven people identified with the Māori ethnic group in the 2006 Census.

While diversity clearly exists, the disproportionate incidence of deprivation, socioeconomic disadvantage, educational underachievement, imprisonment, single parent families, mental and physical illness, substance abuse, unintentional injury, suicide, violence and family/whānau distress within Māori society is undeniable (Te Puni Kōkiri 1996; 2000a). Te Puni Kōkiri states in its 2000 report on social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori that:

... disparities exist for Māori of all ages and that the causes of disparities are the cumulative results of events that are experienced throughout a lifetime. Historical events experienced by the Māori population, such as asset loss, land alienation, and rapid urbanisation may have played some part in contributing to the disparities evident today. However, ongoing inter-generational interactions in outcomes make it somewhat difficult to separate out cause and effect. (2000a: 10)

The social and economic disadvantage and cultural alienation experienced by many Māori translates to high levels of need and a high probability of crises in everyday living. As mahi aroha is often associated with high levels of need, Māori disadvantage and underachievement can impact on levels of mahi aroha activity within Māori communities.

7. DEFINITIONS OF VOLUNTEERING

The term “volunteering” can mean different things to different people. There is a huge diversity of situations in which people do voluntary activities, and they may or may not define these actions as volunteering. While volunteering has been viewed historically as activity managed within voluntary agencies (often called formal volunteering), other volunteering occurs in an informal way, such as helping out a sick neighbour.

10. The Māori ethnic population includes those people who stated Māori as being either their sole ethnic group or one of several ethnic groups.





Generally, as discussed by Gaskin and Davis Smith (1997: 7), work or activity is defined as volunteering in Western cultures if it meets three criteria.

1. It is not undertaken for financial gain.
This does not exclude receiving reimbursement for expenses incurred while volunteering. However, there is a grey area when people receive honoraria and meeting fees for what could be classified as volunteer work. Honoraria and fees can range from payments that reflect market value hourly rates for their time spent to small token payments to cover expenses.
2. It brings benefits to a third party.
This allows for a broad interpretation of who or what may benefit – neighbours, the environment, society – but it is usually intended to exclude a volunteer’s immediate family.
3. It is undertaken of one’s own free will.
This distinguishes volunteering from situations of explicit external coercion, such as work experience carried out as part of a requirement for an academic programme or as part of a community-based sentence.

Recently, theorists internationally have been examining the implications of the existing definitions of voluntary work for an accurate understanding of unpaid labour undertaken by indigenous peoples. These examinations have led to challenges of the prevailing definitions from the perspective of indigenous and ethnic minority communities. For example, Martin (cited in Kerr et al. 2001) has highlighted the cultural underpinnings of definitions of volunteering. He suggests that for many indigenous cultures where large commitments of unpaid labour to the community are the norm for each individual and subject to a strong cultural expectation, the concept of free will or free choice is not relevant. His research found that there is no translation in the languages of these indigenous peoples for the term “volunteer”. Instead the term “helping” is more often used by both indigenous groups and people from non-English speaking backgrounds to refer to unpaid or voluntary work.

The above three criteria for defining volunteering are discussed in the next section in relation to Māori concepts that most closely reflect the term “volunteering” – “tohu aroha” and “mahi aroha”.

8. MĀORI CONCEPTS OF VOLUNTEERING

8.1 Māori conceptions of self and wellbeing

To understand contemporary Māori work, paid or unpaid, it is essential to have an understanding of Māori conceptions of self and the cultural values and systems related to these. The Royal Commission on Social Policy (1988), Rangihau (1986) and Jackson (1988) have provided extensive accounts of a culture with traditions firmly grounded in collective conceptions of self. These come from explanations of pepeha¹¹ in relation to identity, through to marae protocols, conventions and traditional systems and institutions of justice, law and spirituality, and Māori cultural traditions.

In a commentary on the characteristics of a mentally healthy Māori person, Durie (1989) effectively described points of variation between an ensembled Māori self and a self-contained Western self. In particular, he noted that motivation for others is viewed by Māori as more healthy than motivation for one’s self. In addition, interdependence was valued by Māori over independence; humility and respect for and service to others was valued more than the self-assertion, independence or autonomy valued in Western environments. Durie (1989) saw a group-based

11. The term “pepeha” refers to a proverb through which tangata whenua may introduce themselves and with which they identify. Typically these refer to land, mountains, rivers and ancestors that form the identifiers for the collective identity. In some tangata whenua circles, it is considered impolite or arrogant to introduce oneself by personal name and as an individual.





identity, with self indivisible from whānau, hapū and iwi, as strongly promoted in Māori contexts.

The Māori philosophy towards health is based on a wellness or holistic health model. For many Māori, the major deficiency in modern health services is taha wairua (the spiritual dimension). Two popular models of Māori health that incorporate taha wairua are the Whare Tapa Wha and Te Wheke models.

1. Whare Tapa Wha model – developed by Professor Mason Durie

With its strong foundations and equal sides, the symbol of the wharenuī (house), the Whare Tapa Wha model illustrates the four cornerstones (or sides) of Māori health and dimensions of wellbeing. These are:

- whānau (family health)
- tinana (physical health)
- hinengaro (mental health)
- wairua (spiritual health).

Should one of the four dimensions be missing or damaged, a person or a collective may become unbalanced or subsequently unwell (Durie 1994: 69–72).

In a traditional Māori approach to health, the inclusion of the wairua, the role of the whānau, and the balance of the hinengaro and tinana are as important as the physical manifestations of illness.

2. Te Wheke model – developed by Dr Rangimarie Turuki Rose Pere

Another model of Māori health is based on Te Wheke, the octopus, and the eight tentacles that collectively contribute to waiora or total wellbeing. The components are:

- wairuatanga (spirituality)
- hinengaro (mental health)
- tinana (physical health)
- whanaungatanga (extended family across the universe)
- mana ake (the uniqueness of the individual and extended family)
- mauri (the life-sustaining principle in people and objects)
- hā a koro mā a kui mā (cultural heritage)
- whatumanawa (relating to emotions and senses).

The body and head of the octopus represent the whole family unit, and the eyes are referred to as “waiora” or total wellbeing of the individual and the family (Pere 1991).¹²

8.2 Meanings and understandings of “tohu aroha” and “mahi aroha”

Rev. Maurice Manawaroa Gray (2002) notes that there was no direct equivalent in the traditional Māori environment to contemporary notions of volunteering. He says for many Māori, voluntary activity (that is, acts of service to the people of the whānau, hapū and iwi) was seen as “an expression of the Māori philosophical cornerstones of collective consciousness, of collective wellbeing, and of collective responsibility, as espoused in the overarching philosophies of the people” (2002: 41).

None of the people interviewed for this research knew of a particular word or term in te reo Māori that described the concept of voluntary work of this kind in isolation or as a separate activity from tikanga. However, the term “mahi aroha” was proposed by research participants as the closest to the concept of voluntary work. A number of academics have suggested that the tohu aroha paradigm gives an overriding framework for understanding the mahi aroha activity undertaken by Māori.

12. For more information on the Whare Tapa Wha and Te Wheke models of Māori health and wellbeing see the Ministry of Health “Māori Health” web site: www.maorihealth.govt.nz/moh.nsf/pagesma/196 (accessed 14 March 2007).





These two terms are defined as:

Tohu Aroha Tohu is an expression that incorporates spiritual and temporal aspects.

He tohu aroha is a sign or manifestation of love, sympathy or caring.

Tohu aroha may include giving of time, labour, physical resources and anything else that constitutes a sign or manifestation of aroha.

Mahi Aroha Mahi aroha is work performed out of love, sympathy or caring, rather than for financial or personal reward.

Mahi aroha emphasises that work or action of some sort has taken place, is taking place or will take place. It is a term that most closely translates to the concept of “voluntary work”.

The working definition used for mahi aroha for this research was “voluntary or unpaid work or mahi you have undertaken, not including day-to-day household maintenance or care of immediate family sharing your home”. However, the interviewees made it clear that they were willing to be challenged on this definition. For the purposes of simplification, however, the term “mahि aroha” will be used throughout this report to refer to voluntary work carried out by Māori for their whānau, hapū, iwi and/or local communities.

Participants saw mahi aroha as so much a part of their everyday lives that they did not even classify it as work or as anything separate from everyday life. Most participants either saw the term “voluntary work” as relating to work for mainstream organisations or as irrelevant to them. When asked about the concept of “cultural obligations” in relation to such work, the term “obligation” was seen by some as “a Pākehā concept”, with manaakitanga and tohu aroha being more fitting descriptors for Māori.

Aroha refers to the capacity for love, sympathy, compassion, charity and forgiveness (Ryan 1997: 36). Aroha may be seen as a vital component of relationships within and between groups. However, there are deeper meanings that speak directly to the role of aroha in relation to helping, voluntary work, mahi aroha and tohu aroha. It is the oil that keeps the whānau system functioning, being vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of shared values (Pere 1994). According to Gray, the term “aroha” is derived from the concept of:

“Aroaro o te ha o te Atua”, meaning “to be in the presence of the breath of the Creator”, in other words, being at one with the Creator source ... This myth expresses a link between humanity and the Divine, and it is from this context that we are able to discern aroha as an intrinsic value of the culture. (2002: 41–42)

Gray (2002) goes on to affirm that aroha is as much about doing as feeling and is closely linked with other foundational values within tikanga Māori, which is a culturally bound concept that cannot be simply translated into English. Nevertheless, he goes on to describe some of the key concepts from tikanga Māori that underlie mahi aroha as:

- hau (life essence)
- aroha (love, sympathy, empathy)
- mana (dignity, integrity, authority)
- whanaungatanga (family connectedness)
- manaakitanga (care, caring for)
- ahi kā (duty to one’s tūrangawaewae)
- kaitiakitanga (guardianship).





These concepts are interwoven in what has been referred to by Henare (1995) as an “economy of affection” – a philosophy common to village-based societies. Simply put, each person has a duty of care to whānau, hapū and iwi as one’s community and to contribute in whatever way is necessary to maintain the strength and wellness of that community. As the effort that each person puts into community wellbeing sustains others, so the mahi aroha of others sustains each individual. That is, ties of affection through family (which is one’s community) are the socioeconomic and sociocultural basis for a healthy community. This reciprocal care and giving through contribution are the principles through which communities remain healthy and strong. Thus it is through one’s contributions to the whānau/community that the mana of each individual, as well as that of the community, is nurtured.¹³

There were four key differences that some participants identified between mahi aroha and the Western concept of volunteering. These were that mahi aroha:

- may be undertaken through a sense of duty or participation that is intrinsic to tikanga Māori and Māori identity
- relates to awareness of one’s self and others as part of, and representative of, wider networks of whānau, hapū and iwi, with roles to play in respect of past and future mana and wellbeing of these systems
- typically involves work for whānau, hapū or iwi, at some level, simply because these are the structures through which most of the mahi aroha is engendered
- reflects a response by Māori to a perceived threat to the retention and survival of Māori cultural identity.

8.3 Mahi aroha and koha

As mentioned in section 8.2, a common theme amongst participants in this research was the lack of distinction they made between paid and unpaid work. In addition, research participants did not usually tally hours worked outside those they were paid for.

It is common, however, for mahi aroha to be acknowledged through some form of koha. Koha can be defined as a “donation, gift, parting message” (Ryan 1997: 112), or “respect, regard, present, gift” (Williams 1957: 123). Mead (2003: 187) notes, however, that the term “koha” has wider implications and connotations than the mere presentation of a physical gift. Koha may be described as “he tohu aroha” or a “sign of love, compassion, care and connection” and may represent part of a system of exchange, or begin a new exchange relationship (Mead 2003: 181). While there may not be any expectation that koha will be immediately reciprocated, or reciprocated in kind, there is often a belief that koha (whether the giving of material goods and resources or of time, work, knowledge, words, waiata or entertainment) will “go round”. Therefore, acts of giving will eventually return to the group in some form. This may be many years later and may not even be within the lifetime of individuals providing koha (Mead 2003: 181).

Firth (1959: 423) interpreted gifting or koha in Māori society as being based on obligations arising from cultural and historical contexts. However, acts of giving from the heart, out of aroha, are important also for the social standing and maintenance of mana for the group, and for the establishment and maintenance of relationships (Mead 2003: 183). Koha or contributions provided by those who have gone may be remembered, and surviving descendants, whānau, hapū or iwi may benefit from the previous contributions of their members. Thus the operation of the system of koha continues over time and refers to groups as well as individuals.

Koha is usually given on visits to marae or at formal Māori functions. It may also be given in recognition of a person’s contribution at a hui. Traditionally koha has often taken the form of food, although taonga (treasured possessions) are also sometimes offered as koha, although these days koha more commonly takes the form of money. When koha

13. Well-known Māori models of wellbeing, such as Te Wheke and Whare Tapa Wha, are consistent with this description (see section 8.1 of this report for a brief overview of these models).

14. See Inland Revenue’s booklet on tax and GST issues for koha – *Payments and Gifts in the Māori Community*: <http://www.ird.govt.nz/resources/file/eb9fb0479a67252/ir278.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2007).





is given for an event, it is usually given to a collective such as a marae or to an individual on behalf of a collective. A cash koha may not be receipted as doing so would turn it into a payment, denigrating the koha and insulting the giver. The recording of koha, however, has implications for tax and GST purposes.¹⁴

8.4 Mahi aroha for the benefit of whānau, community and third parties

In contrast to mainstream definitions of volunteering as being “for community benefit” but “not for one’s own family”, it was impossible for many research participants to distinguish between whānau and community benefit. Whānau were often also community and vice versa.

For us, your whānau is your community – there’s no difference. (Kaumātua)

You can’t compare “family” with “whānau”. Whānau takes in your whole whānui, all your whanaunga, your hapū, all the people who’ve been pōwhiri’d onto your marae. It’s everyone. You can’t pull out a few of them and say that’s your “family”. (Kaumātua)

Several participants pointed out that Māori understanding of whānau extends well beyond blood links and that whānau links are even more important when Māori are distant from their tūrangawaewae. For example, links amongst taura here groups become vital in providing support to people who have moved to urban areas.

The rugby club is its own hapū. We look after one another’s kids and eat out of one another’s fridges. We’re not even all Ngāti Porou, even though that was the reason for starting it up, so that we could keep our contacts with our whenua ... It’s not about Ngāti Porou – it’s being taura here that makes us whānau. (Tāne, 30s)

Moreover, some people pointed out that helping immediate whānau members often involved participating in mahi aroha to assist people or organisations beyond your own community.

It’s just how we operate. If someone in my whānau needs help, then I do it. It could be going to a tangi of someone I never knew or getting hold of information for someone or helping out in the kitchen or whatever. (Wahine, 60s)

Doing things at the marae is like picking your kids up from school or all the other things you do in a week – it’s just part of your life. I think it’s different from the kinds of voluntary work that you might do for Meals on Wheels or whatever, because it’s all tied up with your whānau, so I don’t really see it as work. (Wahine, 40s)

8.5 Free choice versus cultural obligation and duty

The consensus of most participants who learnt their tikanga from kaumātua and through lifelong involvement in te ao Māori was that mahi aroha, especially work done for Māori, was rarely, if ever, a choice in the sense that the word is usually understood. Rather, it was undertaken out of a strongly felt sense of duty to whānau and other collectives. This duty was entrenched in tikanga and experienced as a moral imperative as part of being Māori. Some participants spoke about being aware that they were the “face” or representative of their whānau. Therefore, it was important to act according to tikanga and perform duties to maintain the mana of the collective. People commented that when asked to do something by an elder of any kind it was understood that there was little or no choice involved.

In effect, the implications of breaching tikanga through, for example, putting one’s own needs before those of the whānau or group, provided a strong disincentive to assert individual will over the wishes of kaumātua. Implications might include the effects on one’s mana and that of whānau, and the knowledge that you are placing additional burdens on whānau and community by failing to contribute to the wellbeing of the whole.





A majority of the research participants identified cultural survival as a core motive for their mahi aroha in the contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand context, and, in this sense, their mahi aroha often reflected what they saw as their most important duty or obligation.

9. TYPES OF MAHI AROHA UNDERTAKEN

All participants in this research were involved in a range of different mahi aroha, and many indicated that this had been the case at most times in their lives. While many people were or had been involved in mainstream volunteering of various kinds, especially older people and those with strong church affiliations, the large majority of mahi aroha undertaken was for Māori individuals or organisations. Assistance to Māori was seen as having priority, either because of whanaungatanga connections or because of a sense of duty to cultural recovery. While a number of people involved in volunteering for mainstream organisations were very committed to that work, this was not their main priority. They made it clear that if they became ill or otherwise unable to contribute to the same extent, this would be the work sacrificed rather than assistance to their whānau or for Māori.

The range of mahi aroha undertaken by participants in this research was extremely diverse and involved the use of a very wide range of skills. Activities were difficult to categorise but fell roughly into eight broad (and overlapping) categories:

- whānau related
- hapū/iwi related
- marae mahi aroha
- advisory work for whānau
- advisory work in relation to Treaty matters
- mahi aroha for kaupapa Māori services
- Māori small business
- mainstream volunteering.

Mahi aroha related to participants' whānau was the first priority. This mahi aroha included both work associated with the day-to-day lives of household members, and assistance to whanaunga and others. Assistance to whanaunga tended to focus on their enterprises, projects, problems and crises.

Mahi aroha for hapū and iwi largely focused on committee roles and tasks or work to do with iwi and hapū enterprises or kaupapa. Most of the participants had a strong marae connection, and some were actively involved in as many as three or four marae, including pantribal marae. Most marae work revolved around marae events (wānanga, hui, tangihanga, celebrations), marae maintenance (clean-ups, ground and building maintenance) and marae committee work and tasks flowing on from that.

The provision of information and advice to whānau and friends was common to all participants and was extremely time-consuming. Most of this work contributed to whānau or hapū development, or other Māori development. Treaty advisory work tended to be undertaken by people with particular skills or in particular kinds of jobs, especially people with a strong knowledge of tikanga, te reo and toi Māori or experience in economic, social or environmental development, planning, policy, government work, conservation, tourism, or social, health or educational services.

Several of the participants had been and/or were currently involved in the establishment, management or delivery of kaupapa Māori projects, programmes and services. Kōhanga reo, kura, other educational programmes, programmes in toi Māori, and health and welfare services were mentioned most often as areas where people gave large amounts of time. Some participants had established small kaupapa Māori ventures or businesses that operated largely on the





basis of unpaid work, both their own and that of others. The distinguishing aspect of these ventures was that the goals were related to cultural recovery or survival (eg to do with *toi Māori*, *te reo*, maintenance of *tikanga*).

While the majority of *mahi aroha* undertaken was for Māori, either individuals or organisations, many participants had also been involved in undertaking voluntary work for mainstream organisations. These included organisations and services such as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA), American Field Service, hospices and hospitals, Age Concern, Women's Auxiliary, rest homes and Meals on Wheels. In addition, the majority of those interviewed had also made major contributions to their *mokopuna* and children's schools, kindergartens, sports teams and other clubs and recreational organisations as well as to local community projects.

9.1 Incidence and level of contribution

When asked to reflect on this, participants in this research were typically surprised at how many different activities they were involved in and how much time they spent in that *mahi aroha*. Estimates of hours contributed ranged from five to 60 or more hours per week.

All of the *mahi aroha* undertaken for Māori organisations was based on need, and much of it was reactive in the sense that people had been asked to help in particular areas. However, significant amounts of *mahi aroha* were undertaken on a proactive basis. In particular, many people had been involved in setting up new organisations, projects or services with *kaupapa Māori* goals. Many of these endeavours were generated in the context of *whānau*, *hapū* or *iwi* needs. Several participants commented that the support workload is especially high for people whose relatives and friends are living in poverty, since poverty results in very high levels of need on a range of parameters. The high representation of Māori at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale inevitably results in Māori doing a large amount of such work.

Several factors affected the level of *mahi aroha* contributed, as follows:

- political context
- emergent situations
- level of community wellbeing or poverty
- seasonal variation (eg summer *marae* maintenance, work for funding submissions)
- individual variance, depending on factors such as illness, urgent priorities and personal skills.

There was a general consensus that a disproportionate share of the workload was undertaken by women. Reasons suggested by respondents for this included that much of the *mahi aroha* contributed involves work that has traditionally been seen as “women's work” and a “natural” extension of women's roles of nurturing and care – for example, *whāngai* care, looking after the sick and elderly, work in *marae* kitchens, cleaning and administrative tasks. In addition, it was the view of respondents that women do accept greater responsibility for children and *whānau*. Managing the workload, however, was problematic for most participants.¹⁵

10. MOTIVATIONS FOR VOLUNTEERING

Dolnicar and Randle's (2004) studies in Australia found people consistently acknowledged the personal benefits from being involved in voluntary work, such as enjoying the work, having the opportunity to socialise and meet new people and feeling good about themselves. In addition, for many volunteers there are the intangible social rewards of volunteering such as group solidarity and the personal recognition and respect from others. Similarly, recent research carried out for Sport and Recreation New Zealand identified the core drivers of sport volunteering as generosity, love of sport, social connection and appreciation (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd 2006). These

15. See section 14 of this report for more information on the personal costs of *mahi aroha*, including the impact of heavy workloads.





findings support Chinman and Wandersman's (1999) suggestion that motivations are, in fact, multifaceted.

Clary, Snyder and Ridge (1992) argue that every individual's motives for volunteering are different. Nevertheless, Clary, Snyder and Stukas (1996) and Clary et al. (1998) set out six primary functions that volunteering serves.

1. Values function – volunteering is an expression of concern for the welfare of others and a contribution to society. This function has been likened to altruism.
2. Understanding function – volunteering gives individuals an opportunity to learn, understand, practice and apply skills and abilities, and to develop new skills.
3. Career function – volunteering may serve to increase one's job prospects and enhance one's career.
4. Social function – individuals volunteer due to strong normative or social pressures.
5. Protective function – volunteering enables people to reduce feelings of guilt about being more fortunate than others or to escape from their own problems.
6. Esteem or enhancement function – volunteering serves to enhance one's self-esteem, self-confidence and self-improvement.

A point to emphasise here is that at any one time for any individual, volunteering may serve one or more of the above functions simultaneously. For example, the same person may engage in volunteering due to both altruistic and personal considerations. Some motivating factors may, however, be more important than others. For example, based on a national survey conducted in the USA in 1992, Clary and colleagues found that individuals rated altruism as the most important function of voluntary activity, ranking ahead of such self-oriented motivations as personal development (Clary, Snyder and Stukas 1996: 487). In another example, a study comparing Americans and Canadians motivations for volunteering found that while both groups stressed similar sets of reasons, Americans were likely to place more emphasis than Canadians on altruistic motivations rather than personal reasons (Hwang, Grabb and Curtis 2005).¹⁶

A considerable amount of formal volunteering is carried out for and on behalf of faith-based non-profit organisations (Lukka and Locke 2000). The relationship between religiosity and volunteering can be categorised within the "values function" listed above. In Wolfe's (1998) view, moral inclinations towards altruism may rest on principles that a state of faith can inspire in people. Where a person has religious faith, it may shape their life and may underlie their motivation for volunteering. Harris (1996) interprets the relationship between volunteering and religiosity more directly, pointing out that volunteering can sometimes be interpreted as an extension of beliefs. Values may also be important at the collective level in determining levels of volunteering in a society (Dekker and Halman 2003: 7). Values can be less important as predictors of whether somebody will volunteer, but they provide an aid to understanding what kinds of reasons and motivations are appealing.

In investigating motivations for volunteering, Dolnicar and Randle (2004) found some common themes emerged across a number of cultural groups. One such common theme was generic altruism, which included a desire to help others less fortunate than oneself or support a worthwhile cause. Altruistic ties of affection and duty that link family members and close friends are prevalent in many different cultures and, from a socio-biological or evolutionary perspective, have an intergenerational survival value (Rose-Ackerman 1996). Altruistic behaviour among unrelated individuals, however, has proven more difficult to explain. Gintis et al. (2003) suggest that such behaviour can best be understood in terms of strong reciprocity, which is a powerful evolutionary predisposition to co-operate with others and punish those who violate the norms of co-operation.

16. Data for the study was based on the World Values Surveys of 1991–1993 and a set of international surveys conducted by Ronald Inglehard and associates that involved more than 40 countries. This comparative study was based on a sample of 907 Americans and 739 Canadians (Hwang, Grabb and Curtis 2005).





10.1 Motivations for volunteering and helping among indigenous cultures

While people's motives for volunteering may appear similar across time and space, if we look more closely, they actually have different meanings for different cultures. Traditions of voluntary work and philanthropy in indigenous cultures differ in many respects from many Western societies. A literature review on indigenous cultures carried out by the researchers suggests these differences stem from deeply rooted differences in social values, expectations and fundamental conceptions of self and other within collectivist societies. This is in contrast to individualistic social systems and structures that are often found in Western societies. A recent report on volunteering among ethnic communities in Aotearoa/New Zealand noted that "for most ethnic people, the concept of volunteering is quite different from the New Zealand mainstream idea of volunteering ... [and is thought of as] the fulfilling of family and social obligations and responsibilities" (Community Development Group 2004: 7). People's contributions in these collectivist communities are holistic in nature and embedded in daily life, family and social systems, rather than motivated by "altruism" in the Western understanding of that concept. As such, these contributions are not viewed as readily quantified or measured and are not provided to an agency or community out of either a sense of generosity or free will (Lynn et al. cited in Kerr et al. 2001).

Eckstein (2001) has set out five principles that her research suggests are integral to helping among collectivist cultures. These distinguish their patterns and philosophies of giving and helping from those of more individualistic societies. The principles are as follows.

- Groups (as opposed to individuals) co-ordinate the activity for the collective.
- Groups legitimate, sanction, compel and reward the helping activity they promote.
- Helping involves group resources or group-mobilised resources.
- Giving or helping is bounded by group norms.
- Collectivist-grounded giving has group effects.

The central principle is that the activity is entirely generated and controlled by the group, as distinct from individual values, philosophies and behaviour.

Wells (1998) explored the meanings associated with giving and receiving, reciprocity and exchange, obligation and community across more than a dozen indigenous cultures native to North America. In his discussion of Native American understandings of giving, Wells emphasises the effects of a world-view that extends notions of kinship and relationships in the family and tribe to the natural environment and realm of the spirit. Eckstein's findings are largely consistent with those of Wells although the spiritual beliefs and motivations of cultures that Wells describes are not explicitly identified by Eckstein.

Eckstein (2001) notes that group rewards are not necessarily immediate for indigenous cultures. Giving is typically motivated by a desire to enhance the stature of the group or its leadership, and giving sets in motion or reinforces "intergroup chains of reciprocity and expectations of reciprocity, and foster[s] intragroup and community solidarity, commitment and respect" (2001: 829). Eckstein's research also suggests that this kind of collectivist philosophy and the patterns of activity associated with it are intensified when groups are under threat of any kind, but particularly when their culture is threatened. This is especially relevant for colonised people and new immigrants. This threat leads to efforts to ensure cultural survival – the maintenance, promotion and protection of cultural knowledge and traditions.

For many Māori, tikanga provides the "values" or beliefs framework for understanding tohu aroha and the activity of volunteering – mahi aroha. These concepts will be more fully described in the next section.





11. MOTIVATIONS FOR MAHI AROHA

Research participants in this study identified a broad range of motives for the mahi aroha they undertook. For many participants, being asked why they undertook the mahi was in itself curious as they did not see this mahi aroha as in any way separate from their everyday lives. Some people, in fact, thought the question itself odd and said so.

I don't know how to answer that question. You do it because it's part of your life. I don't ask myself why I'm doing it – it's part of who I am. (Tāne, 60s)

It's just part of my life. There's my job and my family and the marae and all the other things we're involved in. I don't separate out what I'm being paid for and what I'm not. (Tāne, 40s)

The common links across research participants' motives for mahi aroha are shown in figure 1 below:

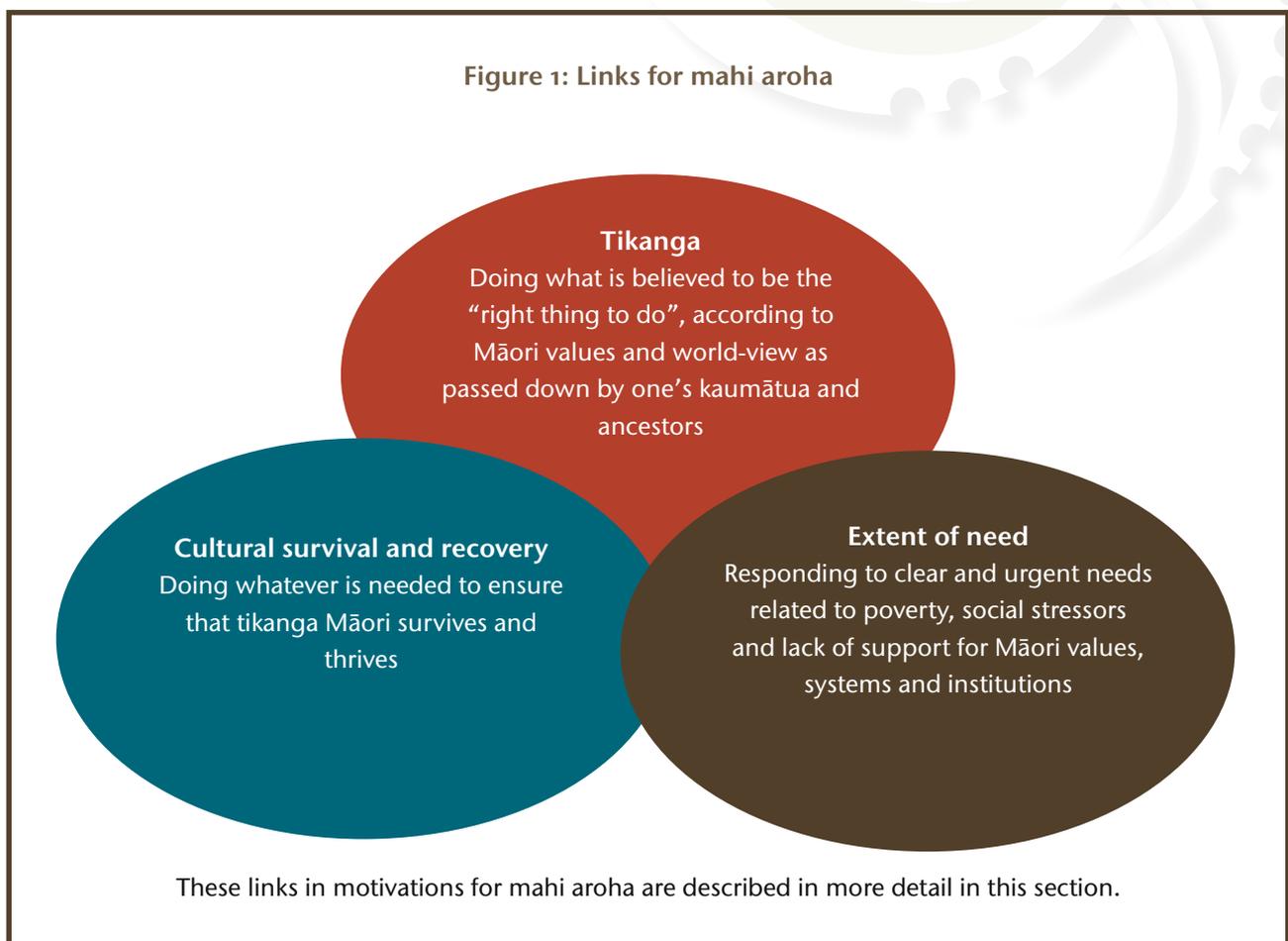
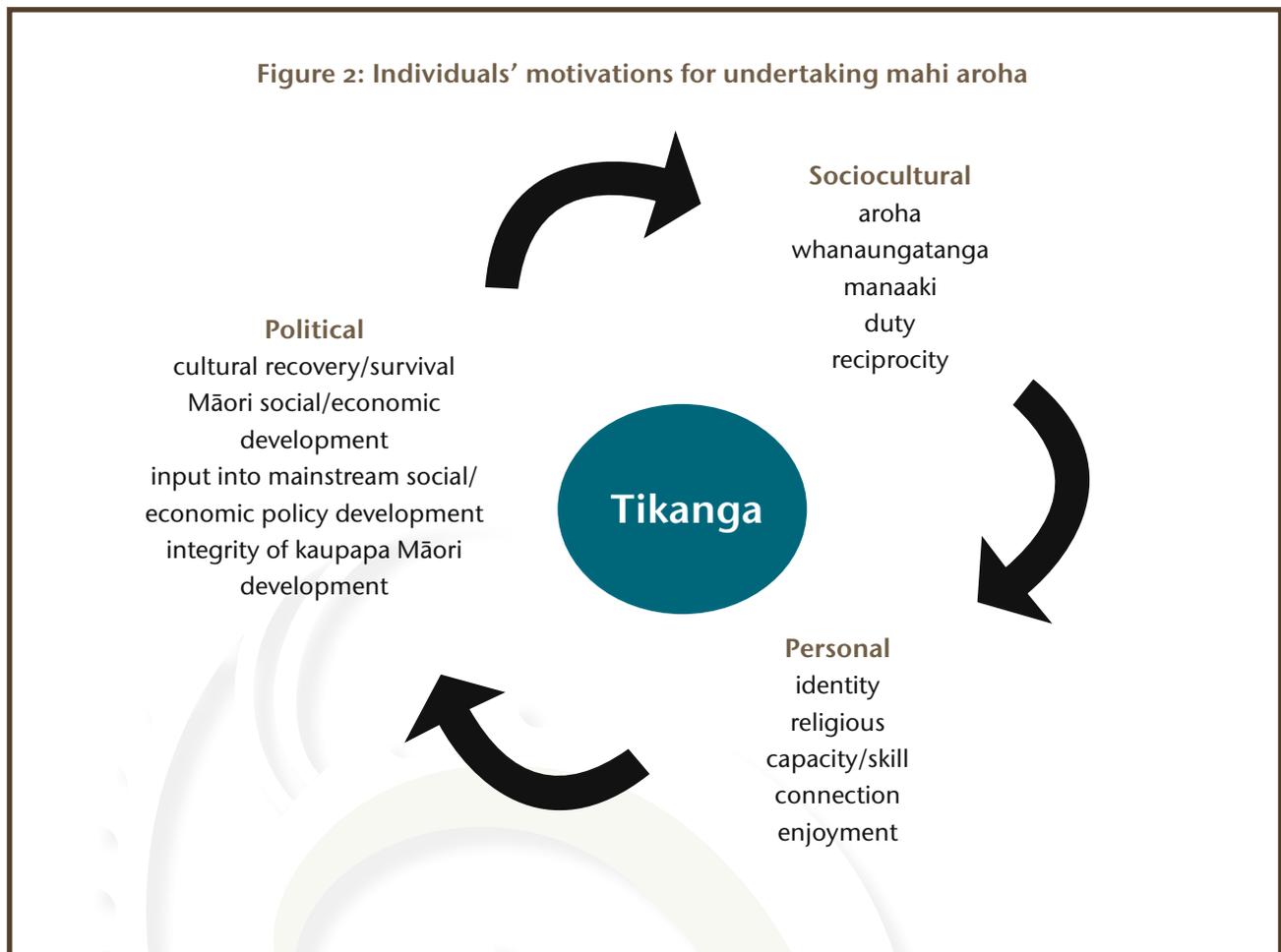




Figure 2 below illustrates the variety of motives that participants identified for undertaking mahi aroha activity.¹⁷ While these motives have been categorised separately for the purposes of this analysis, people typically experienced many of these motivations in combination, albeit at an unconscious level much of the time.



11.1 Mahi aroha – grounded in tikanga Māori

The common link across people's motives for undertaking mahi aroha was tikanga Māori – doing what is believed to be “the right thing to do” as passed down by one's kaumātua and ancestors. For kaumātua in particular, there was also a clear link to mana – one's own and, more importantly, the mana of one's whānau, hapū, iwi, marae and of te ao Māori itself. This link to tikanga was evident in the ways in which people described their reasons for their involvement and activities. According to Mead, tikanga is:

... the set of beliefs associated with practices and procedures to be followed in conducting the affairs of a group or an individual. These procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do ... Tikanga are tools of thought and understanding. They are packages of ideas which help to organise behaviour and provide some predictability in how certain activities are carried out. They provide templates and frameworks to guide our actions ... They help us to differentiate between right and wrong in everything we do and in all of the activities that we engage in. There is a right and proper way to conduct one's self. (2003: 12)

¹⁷ The researchers in this project acknowledge that the categorisations used in this report are not definitive but rather are used for the purposes of simplifying description.





Tikanga, therefore, provides a “guide” for living, organising and prioritising on a daily basis. It can be a primary determinant of behaviours and responses, including those pertaining to helping or voluntary work.

People of all ages who took part in this research supported the duties associated with tikanga, ie what is “tika” or morally right, correct, just and necessary. They understood that the principles of tikanga constituted a fundamental code of conduct that was designed for the benefit of all. This code was manifest in a range of rules, often tacit, about what was required.

It’s a different lore on the marae – you stay till it’s all done. (Wahine, 50s)

When I was younger, sporting fixtures were cancelled if there was a tangihanga. (Kuia)

11.2 Communicating the kaupapa of mahi aroha

Kaumātua were the acknowledged repository of the kaupapa of mahi aroha. People felt that the absence of kaumātua, especially aunties and nannies, from the lives of many urban Māori was a key reason for the apparent erosion of the sense of responsibility and desire amongst some Māori to support whānau, hapū and marae.

The marae was identified as a key context where children learned to give their time, skills and resources. People described their relationship with their marae as pivotal in their understanding of tikanga. Carrying out activities around the marae was the way in which they learned the importance of mahi aroha in supporting whānau and others and sustaining the integrity and mana of themselves and the whānau, hapū or iwi. A number of younger people, especially those who had had limited or no exposure to marae during childhood, had learned about the kaupapa of mahi aroha through more formal learning situations. These sources were often courses that had been undertaken in tertiary education institutions, both kaupapa Māori and mainstream organisations, or informally through marae and other kaupapa Māori organisations.

11.3 Sociocultural motives

As discussed in section 8, sociocultural motivations for undertaking mahi aroha centre on the values and principles of aroha, whanaungatanga, reciprocity and manaakitanga. The sense of duty, or cultural obligation to support and care for whānau, iwi and hapū members underpin these sociocultural motivations. These sociocultural motives, as expressed by research participants, are described below.

11.3.1 Aroha

Aroha was one of the most frequently mentioned reasons for contributing mahi. As described in section 8.2, aroha refers to the capacity for love and sympathy and is essential for whānau functioning. For research participants, the word “aroha” was used often in a pure sense to describe a spiritual aspect of one’s life that was at the base of one’s whole reason for being, where one acknowledges the presence (aro) of the breath of life within others (haa) and nurtures and cares for them, both individually and as a group.

It’s what it all comes back to ... (Tohunga)

It’s how we can show our aroha, not just for our whānau, but for whoever is in need. It’s what we’re here for. (Wahine, 40s)

11.3.2 Whanaungatanga

Many people described their reasons for helping as having to do with whanaungatanga. This was seen in terms of one’s duty as well as peace of mind because contributing to the greater wellbeing of whānau meant that you were reassured whānau needs were being addressed.





It's staying in touch, making sure we're all OK. That's what your family's for, to help you when you need something. (Tāne, 40s)

For many participants, mahi aroha was a primary way in which they sustained their sense of personal and whānau security. Putting time into helping whanaunga was a way to make sure that iwi, hapū and whānau connections were maintained. There was a sense of security in knowing that whānau wellness was being looked after.

That's how we keep our whānau strong, know they're always there ... (Wahine, 30s)

These views expressed by research participants clearly reflect Māori concepts of self and wellbeing and the Māori philosophy of health, which are described more fully in section 8.1 of this report.

11.3.3 Reciprocity

Though people rarely considered the reciprocal duty of others to help them in any conscious way, at a deeper level they were comforted to know that they were contributing to a complex system that would ultimately serve them and their whānau when needed. This sense of security was more often seen as relevant to the needs of people's whānau, especially their children, than to one's personal needs. However, it was important at a personal level in relation to one's wairua.

All those tangi ... I know it'll be done properly when it's my turn. (Kuia)

Ideas of reciprocity and koha in relation to mahi aroha are also explored in section 8.3.

11.3.4 Manaakitanga

Related to aroha, people had a strong sense of manaakitanga, also seen in terms of duty (see section 8.5 for more on cultural obligations and duty). This motive was used often in describing mahi aroha undertaken to make sure that kaumātua and tamariki were well looked after. It was also an important reason for being involved in any mahi aroha where the mana of one's whānau, hapū or marae was concerned.

It's basic to our tikanga – whānau, manuhiri. It's our whole kaupapa. (Tāne, 40s)

Kaumātua in particular saw the importance of manaakitanga as the basis of strong Māori identities and strong communities. In their perception, tikanga and mana must be upheld at all costs. One's personal contribution was never tallied, and it was everyone's duty to contribute, according to their ability. Many older people simply saw this philosophy as their reason for being.

It's my life. It's what I'm here for. (Kaumātua)

From the kōrero of participants, it was possible to extract some key principles relating to the duty of manaakitanga.

- The duty is relevant to all Māori, by virtue of whakapapa, whether or not people are aware of it or acknowledge it. While it was accepted that some Māori will be unaware of some aspects of duty due to disconnection from their tikanga, the duties, nonetheless, are inherited through whakapapa.
- Once the duty is understood and accepted, it cannot be ignored, reneged or declined – the sense of duty becomes permanent.
- If help is requested, especially by whānau, hapū or iwi, it is not possible to refuse.
- Some duties are never a matter of choice but simply must be complied with. These include:
 - help for whānau, hapū and iwi
 - tangihanga





- traditional whānau roles within hapū, iwi or at marae
- cultural recovery and survival.

The single most commonly mentioned reason for contributing was that it was simply a part of people's lives. Underlying this was an apparent sense of duty to help people whenever you could. Underlying this, in turn, was a principle that it would be a breach of one's duty to help, particularly one's whānau or anyone in obvious need, if one refused.

Why wouldn't I? It's natural, isn't it. If you've got the time and it's no big deal, then you should. (Wahine, 40s)

The concept of a duty to care for family is a universal one, shared across many cultures and entrenched in legal systems internationally. For many Māori, the sense of cultural obligation or duty meant that where people needed help or care (whether the context was home, whānau, marae, hui, project or another person requesting help) they would respond, whenever possible. In the words of some of the participants:

It's how we were brought up. There's jobs to be done and you're all responsible. You just do it. (Wahine, 30s)

You couldn't say it's voluntary – that's a misnomer. These things have to be done, by our tikanga. You can't just leave the paepae because you're not feeling that bright. (Kuia)

I have noticed a difference with Pākehā. They are quite strange, but then I suppose that is their way. For us [Māori] we just do it, no questions. If there's whānau or one of us in need, we do what we can. Money, material things, our own needs ... they are all second to the whānau in need. (Wahine, 40s)

Moreover, people commented that there were clear, albeit tacit, implications in relation to this duty. When asked to do something by an elder of any kind – tuakana, parent, kaumātua – it was understood that there was no real choice involved, if one was to maintain integrity of tikanga.

When your mum and dad kick you in the arse¹⁸ and say do it, it's not a choice ... (Tāne, 30s)

You'd never say no to your nannies – never. (Tāne, 50s)

For many others, it was not so much a matter of choice or personal wishes, it was more about being part of a whole and being a functioning cog in a much larger system.

Well, it isn't a question of choice really, it isn't even a thought or a decision ... you just do it. Do the best you can ... because really, it's not about you or me. It's oranga whānau, for all of us. (Wahine, 40s)

It doesn't really apply to the things I do – they're more stuff that has to be done, it's not voluntary in that way. (Wahine, 50s)

11.4 Political motives

Political motives for mahi aroha related particularly to advisory and committee work as well as overtly political activity, such as involvement in the 2004 hīkoi protesting against the Government's proposed seabed and foreshore legislation. These activities and motives were related very explicitly to the survival of Māori as a distinct culture and

¹⁸. This phrase is used in a metaphorical sense, similar to a "wake-up call".





to Māori cultural rights. As some participants put it, they saw their involvement as essential to “... making up all that lost ground” and “... keeping our Māoritanga alive and unique”.

These political motives also underlie many of the personal and sociocultural drivers of mahi aroha.

11.4.1 Cultural survival

A recurring theme throughout the interviews carried out for this research project was that of the relationship between mahi aroha and cultural recovery and cultural survival. People spoke of the pervasive loss of te reo and knowledge of whakapapa and tikanga, together with disconnection from whānau, marae and te ao Māori that had resulted in alienation and loss of identity for a significant proportion of Māori. Many of the participants, including people of all ages, felt that the work needed for cultural survival and recovery was so massive that their obligation would continue for at least their lifetimes.

It [obligation] won't stop until we no longer have a Ministry of Māori Development as such. Until then, we're all committed. (Tohunga, 70s)

Once you're committed, there's no dropping out. Your own mana depends on it, but so does everyone else's. (Tāne, 40s)

The issue at stake is a distinct Māori identity and culture. Many participants spoke of the need for constant effort on a daily basis, in a range of spheres from personal to political, to keep Māori culture and identity alive.

We all know that we're struggling to keep our culture alive, not just the reo but the tikanga. If we don't look after our marae, we're not Māori any more; we're something else. (Kuia)

Every person's mana derives from their social commitment to others. (Kaumātua/academic)

Whānau, iwi, it's the nature of participation. Whānau call on whānau for help, childcare, advice, direction. And it goes around. Whānau who are not occupied elsewhere, if people can do it, they should. (Kuia)

Some of the younger people interviewed for this research who identified as both Māori and Pākehā had made a conscious decision to accept the duty to contribute to cultural survival. They saw this as a choice in the sense that, if they wished, they could have ignored their whakapapa obligations and lived a Pākehā lifestyle. These young people had been raised largely in the Pākehā world and had known relatively little of te ao Māori until they took university courses in Māori Studies, which provided them with an insight into “what I'd been missing”. In each case, they had made a conscious personal/political decision to become involved in kaupapa Māori activities of various kinds. Their sense was that this had been a decision rather than a choice. However, it was a decision with grave consequences: to decide not to be involved would be akin to rejecting one's Māori identity and the roles and relationships that it necessarily involves.

It's my choice to be involved. I could ignore it, but I'd only be half a person if I did – I'd be missing my Māori half. (Tāne, late 20s)

11.4.2 Integrity of kaupapa Māori development

A number of participants spoke about implementing delivery of kaupapa Māori services on an unpaid basis so that these services could be undertaken without compromising the kaupapa. The common experience of these people had been that funding for such services was contingent on conditions in relation to certain policies and regulations, or required programme structures or delivery mechanisms, which they considered inappropriate to kaupapa Māori service delivery.





It's the only way we can do things according to the kaupapa. We did get some funding at one stage so that we could actually pay our kaimahi, but what they [funders] wanted us to do was completely inappropriate to how we relate to our [client] whānau. It'd be great to be paid for the work, but not if it means we can't do it properly. (Kaupapa Māori Service Provider)

11.4.3 Māori social/economic development

Several participants had contributed huge numbers of hours in advisory work and/or the establishment or delivery of kaupapa Māori services, projects or initiatives. In the main, people put the hours in because they considered the services were essential to Māori, were not otherwise being provided and there was no funding available for them. In many cases this was because the services provided adopted a model or were focused on a population for which no government funding had been allocated. It was the perception of more than one participant that:

All Māori social development rides on the back of unpaid labour because no government will fund it properly. (Tāne, 50s)

It's about our tino rangatiratanga. Until we get funding to do things our way, we'll be doing it for aroha. (Tāne, 50s)

11.4.4 Input into mainstream social/economic development

Several people had also been involved in advisory work within mainstream government agencies at local, regional and central government levels. While fees were paid for most of this work, these payments were typically for the hours spent at meetings only and did not take into account the many additional hours spent consulting with Māori communities and undertaking background research. Nonetheless, this work was seen as essential to ensure that Māori had input into policy decision-making.

It's about keeping your hand in the baking – making sure that the decisions take our kaupapa into account ... (Tāne, 50s)

We can't afford not to be involved in the District Council meetings, because it's our whenua. (Wahine, 40s)

11.5 Personal motives

Another set of reasons for undertaking mahi aroha had to do with very personal philosophies of one's reason for being. This includes identity and self-worth, religious motives and the desire to use one's skills and capacity for the benefit of others. These personal motives are described in more detail below.

11.5.1 Identity and self-worth

For many people, giving their time and effort was an important aspect of their self-image and self-worth. In particular, people who had been raised around marae and/or in whānau where mahi aroha was considered a usual part of the whānau's life saw mahi aroha as an essential part of who they were.

It's how I was brought up, what my nannies taught me, and it's what I believe in, basically. (Wahine, 40s)

Yes, it's a lot of hard work sometimes, but the marae is my home – it's where I belong. (Kuia)

Some people also noted that mahi aroha is so fundamental to tikanga Māori that it is an essential aspect of one's identity as Māori. They pointed out that building this attribute of Māori identity through socialisation across generations was the way in which Māori identity remained strong and the kaupapa continued to be transmitted.





It's about identity – knowing who you are, what our ways are. We pass these principles on to our children and our moko, and that's how we teach them that giving in this way is what it is to be Māori. (Kuia)

That's what hutia te rito means – bringing up our whānau to know how to look after one another. (Kuia)

These views and perspectives are entirely consistent with the sociocentric conceptions of self and other (termed ensembled individualism)¹⁹ that characterise most indigenous collectivist cultures. It is apparent that these conceptions of self and other remain strong, at least amongst participants in this study.

11.5.2 Religious motives

Research participants with strong religious convictions saw their mahi aroha as a key part of their Christian commitment and an integral aspect of their lives. Many of these people, including those belonging to mainstream churches as well as those belonging to Māori faiths (eg Ratana, Ringatu), saw their religious and tikanga beliefs as integrally connected.

It's our mission on this earth, to act in Christ-like ways. (Kuia)

The purest love of Christ is in service to others ... (Koroua, 70s)

11.5.3 Utilising skills and capacity

A significant motive for mahi aroha for many people was their ability to contribute. People who had skills, knowledge and a firm commitment to kaupapa Māori were keen to contribute these in whatever way they could, particularly in the cause of cultural recovery.

Why do I do it? – because I can. It's a privilege. (Tāne, 30s)

For many of these people, contributing was also a way to repay those who had invested time, effort and aroha in them.

11.5.4 Enjoyment

Virtually all participants commented that a reason for continuing to contribute their time to projects and organisations was the intrinsic rewards of “knowing that I'm doing something to help”. In addition, people had experienced other rewards from such participation, which had added value to their own lives.

It's just immensely rewarding. Over the years we've met people we wouldn't have met otherwise and had amazing experiences because of our involvement with [performing arts promotions organisation]. That's more than made up for all the hard yakka.²⁰(Kaumātua)

People also pointed out that their involvement was often with whānau and was enjoyable for that reason alone, especially if the whānau members were living in geographically diverse places and did not see one another regularly.

It's a way to make sure I spend time with my whānau, and it's always fun. (Wahine, 40s)

19. In his article “The Debate on Individualism”, Sampson (1988: 16) distinguishes between “self-contained individualism” and “ensemble individualism” as indigenous psychologies of the self. A self-contained individual maintains a “firm self–other boundary,” an internal or “personal” locus of control, and an “exclusionary conception of the other”. An individual, according to Sampson, whose indigenous psychology understands the self as an ensembled individualism, characteristically maintains a “fluid self–other boundary” where control is dispersed, located within the social “field”, and is based on a more inclusive conception of the person or self (Sampson 1988: 16).

20. “Hard yakka” is a slang term commonly used in Aotearoa/New Zealand to refer to hard work, often associated with labouring.





12. MAHI AROHA AND CULTURAL SURVIVAL

As mentioned in section 11.4.1 of this report, a recurring theme throughout the interviews was that of the relationship between mahi aroha and cultural recovery and cultural survival. People spoke of the pervasive loss of te reo and knowledge of whakapapa and tikanga, together with disconnection from whānau, marae and te ao Māori that had resulted in alienation and loss of identity for a significant proportion of Māori. While these issues were now being addressed to some extent, the factors perpetuating them, including poverty and urbanisation, remained problematic. Many participants of all ages felt that the mahi aroha needed for cultural survival and recovery was critical and necessitated an ongoing commitment by present and future generations.

Cultural identity is widely recognised as an important component of individual and collective health and wellbeing (Bennett 2001; Durie 1999; Ihimaera and Tassell 2004; United Nations 1993/1994). In Māori terms, security of cultural identity means having access to Māori culture and world-views, and the confidence to participate as Māori (Durie 1999; Ihimaera and Tassell 2004).²¹

A strong cultural identity can contribute to people's overall social and economic wellbeing. It can also provide people with access to social networks, which provide support and shared values and aspirations – a phenomenon sometimes referred to as social capital. An established cultural identity has also been linked with positive outcomes in areas such as health and education (Durie et al. 2002; Durie 1999). Conversely, members of minority cultures can feel excluded from society if the majority of those in authority obstruct or are intolerant of their cultural practices, as happened to the Māori language and culture through much of Aotearoa/New Zealand's early European history.

13. THE VALUE OF MAHI AROHA

The practical and intrinsic value of mahi aroha for individuals and their communities came through clearly when research participants were asked about the motivating factors for mahi aroha. To summarise, participants' perceptions were that most mahi aroha, and virtually all of the mahi aroha that was not for mainstream organisations, was based on need. That is, this mahi aroha involved the provision of assistance, either directly or ultimately, towards physical, social, economic and cultural survival and recovery. Its value was in providing essential services or other benefits to Māori that would not otherwise have been available and that contributed to improving the wellbeing of Māori as a people, as well as individuals. People also commented that there was a significant value to themselves in knowing that they were doing something to further cultural survival and recovery, Māori development, mana and tino rangatiratanga. Some said that they were comforted by knowing that they were doing something that was valued and made a difference.

It is not just Māori that benefit from mahi aroha; Aotearoa/New Zealand, as a country, benefits both directly and indirectly. Māori culture is an important part of our national identity and part of our uniqueness as a country. What has been referred to as the "Māori cultural renaissance"²² (in te reo, tikanga and social structures) has been primarily achieved through people giving their time, energy and money (Bradford and Nowland-Foreman 1999: 11). The most visual aspects of Māori culture are Māori artefacts and performances, which play a central role within all aspects of Māori life. As noted by Mead:

Each generation has contributed to the heritage of artforms as they adapted to the new environment and explored new ideas. Their knowledge was passed to the next generation through karakia (prayer),

21. Although "traditional" Māori cultural values and tikanga are seen by many as highly relevant in society today, it is also clear that there is considerable diversity amongst contemporary Māori. See section 6.1 for information on Māori cultural uniqueness, and section 6.2 for information on Māori diversity.

22. <http://www.creativenz.govt.nz/resources/toi-maori.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2007).





waiata (song), karanga (a ritual call performed by women), moko (tattoo), whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving), haka (traditional dance) and kōrero (oratory, spoken word). (1999: 1)

These form the heart of Māori art, both traditional and contemporary. The haka, for example, has become a world-renowned symbol of Aotearoa/New Zealand identity. It has been immortalised by Aotearoa/New Zealand's All Blacks, who perform the haka before every rugby game. Kapa haka recognises the strength of diversity among Māori iwi, hapū and whānau, while equally encouraging all to come together and celebrate as one.²³ The korowai, the koru symbol and bone and greenstone carvings are also recognised locally and overseas as artistic expressions synonymous with Aotearoa/New Zealand and Māori culture. Marae provide facilities where both Māori and non-Māori can learn and participate in all aspects of Māori culture. Most of the work on marae is carried out by people on an unpaid and 'voluntary' basis. Marae can be very busy places that cater for the needs of the hundreds of people who visit them. At ceremonial and social events when visiting parties come to stay at the marae (either overnight or for several days), a lot of extra work is involved in feeding the guests. This is expected as the manaakitanga or responsibility of the hosts (Mead 2003: 101).

Marae are also places where tourists can come and can gain some understanding of aspects of Māoritanga. Indeed, Māori culture plays a very important role in the tourism industry in Aotearoa/New Zealand. A report prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri and the Office of Tourism and Sport (The Stafford Group 2001) states there is a growing demand for what is described as a "Māori tourism product". The report states that for the year to December 2000, Māori performances were one of the top 15 attractions visited by international visitors.²⁴

Western governments have long recognised that without the unpaid labour of volunteers the costs to governments of providing social, health and educational services would be prohibitive (Kerr et al. 2001). This is why in recent years Western governments have turned their attention to an analysis of the value of citizens' voluntary contributions to the wellbeing of societies and the ways in which these contributions can be actively supported by governments through policy and systems. New Zealanders contribute 260 million hours of formal unpaid work for non-profit organisations annually – conservatively valued (in 1999) at almost \$2.5 billion.²⁵ It is anticipated that the release of the *Non-Profit Institutions Satellite Account* in August 2007 will enable a better understanding and recognition of the contribution of mahi aroha to the economy.

The links between volunteering and social capital have been well established (Wilkinson and Bittman 2002). Social capital is usually defined in terms of activity and relationships amongst people that create a context for mutual benefit to occur through those relationships. As a theory, social capital has been applied recently by authors examining Māori helping (eg Henare, 1995, 2003; Williams and Robinson, 2002). Williams and Robinson believe that social capital in Māori contexts is best understood through the concept of manaaki, which is expressed through dimensions of awhi, tautoko, aroha and koha. Like Henare, Williams and Robinson point out that the essence of social capital amongst Māori is reciprocity – the philosophy that each party to an exchange of gifts (in whatever form, including labour) benefits in terms of mana from that exchange.

Putman (1993; 2000) has reported strong inverse relationships between levels of social capital and crime. Similarly, Fukuyama (1999) reported that property crime in the United States increased at the same time that social capital levels were falling. High levels of social capital have also been linked to improved health outcomes and higher levels of performance by students. Social capital has also been associated with high levels of economic growth.

23. For more information on the haka see the web site of Te Matatini: http://www.tematani.org.nz/what_is.html (accessed 14 March 2007).

24. For a copy of the report see the Ministry of Tourism's web site: <http://www.tourism.govt.nz/policy/pol-maori.html> (accessed 14 March 2007).

25. Statistics New Zealand's report is based on Aotearoa/New Zealand's first national Time Use Survey conducted in 1998/1999. (The dollar value was based on a conservative hourly rate, using the hourly rate for Housekeeping and Restaurant Service Workers NZIS OC 512). The next Time Use Survey is due in 2008.





14. THE PERSONAL COSTS OF MAHI AROHA

The personal costs of involvement in mahi aroha were often huge. In this research, participants identified time and energy as the main costs to them. Commonly identified negative impacts of undertaking mahi aroha were:

- heavy workloads
- the time and work commitment required for Māori advisory work
- depletion of personal resources
- poor self-care and ill health
- other responsibilities being compromised
- stressed family relationships
- missed opportunities (eg career, recreation)
- safety issues.

The above personal costs of mahi aroha are discussed in more detail below.

14.1 Heavy workloads

Managing the mahi aroha workload in addition to paid work and other everyday responsibilities was problematic for most participants. People commented that there was often little or no control over their workloads. Crises, political events, changes and events such as deaths and illness were all difficult to predict or plan for but, nonetheless, required a response and often involved a lot of work. For example, losing kaumātua, or anyone who undertakes a role requiring a scarce skill, inevitably resulted in a series of impacts, not only on individuals, but on whānau, hapū, iwi and others as that person's mahi was taken up by others and those people's previous mahi was assumed by others in turn.

People also commented that once they had committed themselves to a particular job or kaupapa, they had a duty to see it through, and often it was not possible to predict exactly how long that kaupapa might need support or how complex it might become. As a result, people often found themselves undertaking roles and tasks well beyond those anticipated when they first agreed to help. For instance, having agreed to attend a meeting or hui, an advisor or cultural consultant might become aware of the host's lack of knowledge or skills relating to tikanga Māori. They might then feel obliged to remain with the process to ensure that things are done correctly, according to tikanga and in a way that does not cause offence. In addition, once in an advisory or consultant role, it is important to ensure that one's name (and that of whānau, hapū and iwi) is not associated with a process that is less than credible in the eyes of Māori. This was particularly acute in the case of committee and advisory work and may explain why some Māori may be reluctant to agree to participate in what is supposed to initially involve attendance at one-off meetings.

Keeping the wairua healthy was also an issue for some participants. People who were involved in particularly difficult kinds of mahi aroha, such as working with at-risk populations (eg people with addictions, whānau violence, prison visiting and other prison programmes) were particularly at risk of the same kinds of burn-out that paid workers experience in these kinds of work. This risk was exacerbated by the lack of professional supervision for unpaid workers. Several participants pointed out that Māori bear a large volume of this kind of work, partly because it is not well funded and partly because Māori are disproportionately represented in these disadvantaged groups.

Participants perceived that there was an impact on wairua and emotional wellbeing for people involved in mahi aroha who were motivated by a desire for cultural survival and recovery. People experienced difficulty in feeling positive when faced with the pervasive loss of cultural identity in their communities and the major obstacles that needed to be overcome if alienation from Māoritanga was to be reversed. Some people commented that it was hard not to feel depressed at "the odds".





Many participants commented on their inability to decline any requests for help. Strategies to avoid accumulating a completely unmanageable workload were to delegate or ask whānau or friends to help, thus, in theory, spreading the load. In practice, however, the load was often moved around the same relatively small number of people.

14.1.1 Sharing the workload

A related issue identified by many participants was the widespread and increasing urbanisation of Māori over the past 50 years. As noted by Tennant et al. “Māori urbanisation proceeded rapidly after World War II, with some 75% of Māori residents in urban areas by the 1970s (compared to just over 11% in 1936)” (2005: 11). This move away from tribal lands has resulted in a loss of connection for large numbers of Māori with their whānau, marae and kaumātua, and therefore an erosion of the kaupapa of mahi aroha. Many iwi and hapū are attempting to address this disconnection by establishing taura here organisations to sustain those connections to tikanga Māori.

An outcome of urbanisation, along with other disincentives to the maintenance of tikanga Māori skills, has been a dramatic reduction in the number of people who possess traditional skills such as te reo, whaikōrero, karanga, toi Māori of various kinds and knowledge of tikanga, especially iwi- and hapū-specific tikanga. The lack of sufficient skilled people to undertake essential tasks was also identified as a major issue that has a number of impacts. Participants identified a generation gap in these skills. The consequences are that those people who do have these skills are called on constantly, not only to provide those skills in essential contexts and events, but also to teach those skills to others. The nature and complexity of tikanga Māori is such that this mahi, virtually all of which is undertaken for aroha, is hugely time-consuming. It was not unusual for kaumātua and tohunga to be working 60-hour weeks. Moreover, much of it is being undertaken by kaumātua – people in their late 60s, 70s and 80s – working in traditional and community settings that are often inadequately heated and furnished.

In addition, participants identified an increasing need for a greater range of people with specific professional skills (eg lawyers, IT experts, educators) to provide mahi aroha to assist with iwi and hapū work, including land claims and services to iwi and hapū members. The very limited number of Māori who have these professional qualifications results in these people, like kaumātua, being called on disproportionately – a drain that impacts on their whānau.

14.2 Impacts of Māori advisory work

A number of participants raised the issue of the requirement by government at various levels for Māori input into policy and development and the lack of appreciation of the amount of work required from a limited number of appropriately skilled individuals to provide sufficiently knowledgeable input. While people agreed that input into policy was not only desirable but essential, they pointed out that every time government bodies create a new initiative – policy, service, programme, project or organisation – there is an immediate impact on the workloads of Māori advisors. Moreover, that impact trickles down and the increase in workload affects all members of whānau as others step in to take over responsibilities that have to be delegated so that those people can take on advisory roles.

In addition, participants commented that the advisory workload is usually considerably greater than the immediately visible committee or consultative work for which payment is available. All advisory work requires not only that the advisor go through a process of obtaining a mandate from relevant Māori communities to undertake the advisory role – a process that can take days – but also that they continue to consult and feed back to those communities from which the mandate has been obtained.

It's the 'dial a kuia' attitude that upsets me – I'm happy to do it, but what people don't understand is the hours and the work that go into finding out about the organisation, the manuhiri, their whakapapa, making sure that we all know about that – it's not just doing the karanga ... (Kuia)

For every hour that you spend on a committee, you can spend another 10 on the phone or at hui making sure that you're being held accountable for the mahi. (Tāne, 40s)





14.3 Depletion of personal resources

The drain on personal income and resources for mahi aroha was significant. Participants gave constantly from their food supplies and their wallets. Major costs were in petrol and phone bills as people strove to keep whānau and marae connections. It was not unusual for people to drive several hundred kilometres more than once a month to attend rūnanga meetings or other hui or to take someone who needed transport. These trips were often in support of whānau, hapū, iwi or Māori events and served to support Māori cultural survival and recovery, as well as maintain whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga. People accepted this travel as normal and inevitable, but older people noted that it became harder with age to travel such distances. Inevitably, these trips involved additional expenses in food, and they contributed to major wear and tear on vehicles.

Participants also used their computers, homes and sundry belongings for the various kaupapa that they were involved in, ultimately bearing the costs of replacing all of these resources.

Māori have got to be the best fund-raisers in the universe, but the irony is that we're pulling it out of our own pockets all the time! (Tāne, 40s)

None of the participants at any point complained about the financial costs of mahi aroha. Rather, it was accepted by most that the costs to oneself were part of the kaupapa of giving.

If you're counting what it costs, stay at home. (Tāne, 40s)

Nonetheless, when asked specifically about the impacts, some people did note that tiredness could result in them sometimes feeling that the psychological and emotional costs were excessive.

It's all very well to say, if it's for our people, we should do it, but eventually that little bit of resentment can start to creep in ... (Kuia)

As mentioned earlier, there was some divergence in views on the issue of receiving payment for some mahi aroha. Kaumātua in particular saw this as having the potential to erode the kaupapa of mahi aroha, while some younger people felt that it was an important issue of principle that some work, particularly government advisory work, be paid in full value, rather than in what some saw as a token recognition of the real work involved.

I understand that things are different now. My daughters are busy people with families and important jobs and they study too, and still giving their time ... I think it's [fees] OK if it's for the government, but even then, personally, I feel like they begrudge me the fees, and I don't charge for anywhere near the hours I actually work for them. (Kuia)

It was not uncommon for people to take unpaid leave from work in order to attend important hui for iwi, hapū or other kaupapa in which they were involved. Again, no one felt that this was unfair, but they were highly appreciative of employers who were willing to allow them to work flexible hours to make up time taken off work, rather than losing income.

14.4 Poor self-care and ill health

Participants frequently described the negative consequences on their health of the mahi aroha that they undertook. Working long hours in addition to their paid work resulted in tiredness, often to the point of exhaustion, insufficient sleep and poor diet, which often contributed to stress-related illnesses of various kinds. Sometimes, mild illnesses deteriorated into much worse conditions as people struggled to maintain what they saw as essential participation in important kaupapa. Many participants believed that excessive contributions of mahi aroha had been a major contributing factor in the early deaths of people whose skills were in short supply.





The trouble is, it's really bad for your health – going straight from work to the marae or a meeting, pick up the kids on the way. You're always dealing with problems – one little crisis after another. And we don't eat properly, no regular meals, and especially the food we eat at the marae – lots of bread and buns and cakes, and then you pick up some chips on the way home because it's too late to cook something. And no exercise and everyone sucking in each other's smoke. No wonder we're all dying too young. (Wahine, 50s)

People commented that the impacts of working long hours were greater on older people and put them seriously at risk.

14.5 Other responsibilities compromised

Participants often felt that their mahi aroha was done at the expense of time with whānau in particular, but also with friends. Mahi aroha was typically done in evenings and on weekends, time that people usually spend with their family. In addition to feeling bad about not spending enough time with whānau, especially their children, participants also felt that they were often missing out on important aspects of their children's and partners' lives and the day-to-day contacts that form the basis of strong and close personal relationships. Participants also commented that they often had to make difficult choices that resulted in them feeling guilty no matter which option they chose.

14.6 Stressed family relationships

Stress on family relationships as a result of spending time on mahi aroha was a significant issue for most participants. People spoke of missing out on time with their children and partners and of depriving their children of opportunities because of giving time and resources to others, while feeling that they had no alternative. Some women spoke of marriages that were under stress or had broken up because one or both partners were giving so much time and energy to mahi aroha.

He will spend at least 25 hours a week doing it [mahī aroha] on top of his paid work. I don't see him for 90% of my waking hours, even in weekends. It's isolation for me ... I have to do home duties, carry the weight of looking after the young one, house, gardens ... (Kuia)

Others described relationships with children becoming stressed and resentful.

That was my priority – the marae. I spent whole days there every week for all the time my children were small. My husband complained, but he understood too. But it was my kids who really missed out. And now they're grown up, none of them will go there [marae] – they hate it, and they won't take their kids there either. I turned them against it, and I'll never forgive myself for that. (Kuia)

We knew that our kids were getting resentful at everyone else's kids coming first, but we decided it was a good lesson they needed to learn ... And I could see that the bros were getting pretty stretched – we all were. There's not much time for your own relationships when you've got meetings every night and running sports all weekend and dealing with drunk parents in your spare time. But when [eldest brother] cracked, we were all just totally blown away ... You just keep on going because you have to – there's no choice. (Provider of whānau-based whāngai programme for youth at risk)

14.7 Missed opportunities

A number of people commented on how they were unable to pursue further study or other career options, including career promotions or advancement, while their time and energy were needed for iwi, hapū or whānau work. While no one voiced any resentment at this, some were aware that opportunities were likely to reduce as they got older. Some people also commented that it was difficult to take holidays or join clubs with regular commitments in weekends because of their mahi aroha.





14.8 Safety issues

Participants identified a number of safety issues around mahi aroha.

- Working in marae buildings that do not comply with Occupational Safety and Health regulations, which can pose health risks.
- Fund-raising in situations that were sometimes unsafe for women (eg selling raffle tickets in public bars).
- Undertaking essential mahi aroha without training (eg working for a Māori women's refuge without appropriate training).

These factors not only put people at risk but also resulted in people feeling guilt or a sense of failure when they found themselves unable to carry out tasks they had agreed to do.

15. IMPACTS OF NOT CONTRIBUTING MAHI AROHA

15.1 Extent of duty

While research participants saw the commitment, especially to whānau and to cultural survival and recovery, as absolute, it was understood that there were always situations where people were genuinely unable to contribute. There was no shame in this but rather recognition that people's own vulnerabilities could make them recipients of help, rather than providers. This was, indeed, the function of reciprocity.

Some people are genuinely unable – sick, addiction issues, nothing to offer at the moment ... (Kuia)

Kaumātua also acknowledged that being raised without any connection to, or understanding of, te ao Māori was a bona fide reason for some Māori not being involved in kaupapa Māori activity. Their view was that these people needed to be provided with opportunities for involvement. However, some participants noted that people who were in a position to provide help would be expected to.

When people no longer need help – then it becomes their turn. (Wahine, 40s)

Some people also commented that the term “obligation” had negative connotations, suggesting a burden, when, in fact, involvement provided a sense of privilege and reward.

It stops being an obligation when you start seeing the results. Then it becomes a satisfaction. (Tāne, 50s)

15.2 Erosion of the sense of duty

Several participants, especially older people, noted that they had seen a lessening of the sense of duty over recent decades and amongst younger generations. As urbanisation of Māori increased and whānau members went to live in different parts of the country or overseas, fewer people were being brought up around marae or close to their nannies – the traditional sources of transmission of the kaupapa. Moreover, as Māori married and/or had children with non-Māori partners, fundamental aspects of Māori culture were being diluted, changed and lost as these families lived increasingly urban, mainstream lives. Disconnections from marae and lack of involvement in tikanga Māori events and activities had resulted in many young Māori not being taught even basic tikanga.

Many kaumātua who were interviewed for this research felt that important principles of mutual help were being lost as young people focused on their own immediate wants, rather than the greater needs of their whānau and communities. They also considered that exposure to highly individualistic and consumerist philosophies of life have led to significant proportions of young people adopting what are seen as “Pākehā” principles of relationship. For example, people commented that some Māori now support principles such as:





- if non-Māori get paid for a particular kind of activity, so should Māori
- it is necessary to put some boundaries on the duty, for personal/whānau wellbeing and to allow for personal development
- it is reasonable to undertake only “my fair share” of the mahi aroha.

While some participants saw these principles as based on equity and having validity in the Western world, there was a feeling that they reflected an erosion of the principles of manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga.

Lots of the younger ones see it differently – no nannies, no marae – it all wears away at the kaupapa. (Kuia)

It’s a new thing, really, getting reimbursed for petrol and so forth, and I’m not sure how I feel about it. We’ve certainly seen it abused by a few, and when the media get hold of that, they make us look like money-grubbers ... To me it doesn’t fit with the kaupapa. (Kaumātua)

15.3 Consequences for individuals and the wider collective of not contributing mahi aroha

All participants had experienced times when they were unable to contribute mahi aroha, due to factors such as illness, urgent priorities or being out of the country. Most people also knew other Māori who were not involved in mahi aroha, so participants were aware of the impacts of not contributing mahi aroha. When asked what those impacts were, people rarely voiced any disapproval of others for not contributing. Rather, they were concerned about those people who were, for whatever reason, unable to contribute. Typical responses were that:

- Fewer people available to help meant heavier workloads, greater stress on the remaining kaimahi and important jobs not being done, all of which would affect the wellbeing and mana of all.
- People who were not involved in mahi aroha were missing out on important whānau, hapū and iwi connections and were seen as at risk of losing their identity as Māori.
- People who became lost to the iwi or hapū were also at risk of no one recognising when they needed help.

Well, the big worry would be that we wouldn’t know who they were – the ones needing our help. I worry that that’s what’s happening to our young ones in the big cities, and we wouldn’t know if they never come back [to the marae]. (Kuia)

Several people commented that a perception that a member of one’s own whānau was being lazy or selfish would almost certainly result in that person being reminded of their responsibilities.

In relation to their own inability to contribute, however, participants typically voiced a sense of guilt and even failure, feeling that they were letting down others, particularly whānau, or the kaupapa to which they would have liked to contribute. The broader impact of not contributing was a weakening of Māoritanga, mana and the strength of whānau connection.

16. SUPPORTING MAHI AROHA

It was noted by participants that there was some support within their communities for individuals who were involved in mahi aroha. The kinds of support mentioned most commonly were help from whānau, koha of various kinds for mahi aroha contributed and acknowledgement by Māori communities at large of people’s contributions. While people were grateful for support from others, they were also aware that that support often came at a cost to those providing it.





The main sources of outside support for mahi aroha were as follows.

- Friends and work associates who were committed to supporting kaupapa Māori and tino rangatiratanga.
- Sympathetic employers who recognised kaupapa Māori in a variety of ways, especially in being flexible about employees taking time off, either on a paid or unpaid basis, for important tasks (eg advisory work, whānau support).
- Modern communications technologies, particularly email and telephone and video conferencing, which had reduced the need to travel very long distances for some mahi, such as rūnanga meetings and committee work.
- Supportive government/organisational policy. Specific mention was made of:
 - the Support for Volunteering Fund administered by the Department of Internal Affairs
 - Te Puni Kōkiri contracting guidelines, which are designed to take into account aspects of tikanga Māori (eg including food as a fundable item for meetings)
 - some koha and fees paid for advisory work.

As mentioned in this report, however, many research participants considered that there is often inadequate support available through the policies and practices of government agencies and employers to enable them to undertake mahi aroha activities without significant personal costs and a drain on resources.

17. POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF MAHI AROHA IDENTIFIED BY RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

A number of participants spoke spontaneously about issues raised in relation to existing and future mahi aroha, and several participants voiced requests that they wished to have communicated to government through this report. The common themes of these comments were requests to government to:

- continue to consult with Māori in good faith to ensure that kaupapa Māori is taken into account in government policy
- work to identify and remove those aspects of government policy, regulations and funding silos that act as barriers to kaupapa Māori service provision
- continue to support kaupapa Māori initiatives in any way possible, particularly through strong policy that supports kaupapa Māori
- provide essential support for the transmission of tikanga Māori so that it is not lost altogether.

18. RECOMMENDATIONS

It is the view of Te Puni Kōkiri that Treaty of Waitangi principles require the government to give the same level of support to the fulfilment of tangata whenua cultural obligations as is given to volunteering (Office of the Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector 2002: 5). An improved understanding of Māori volunteering could help government agencies in their work by:

1. enabling agencies to better recognise the contribution and value of mahi aroha to their own sector, as well as to Aotearoa/New Zealand as a whole, and building on the strengths of that mahi aroha to further national goals
2. providing improved and appropriate support for mahi aroha in both policy and practice, where possible
3. promoting and celebrating mahi aroha together with the promotion and celebration of volunteering generally.





Some specific issues that could be taken into account by policy makers and others to support, promote and recognise mahi aroha are set out below.

18.1 Fostering cultural identity

Mahi aroha is part of Māori identity. Understanding and supporting mahi aroha can lead to improved connections with cultural identity and strengthened intercultural relationships, thus contributing to the diversity of the work programme within the Government's current National Identity work.

18.2 Promoting and recognising mahi aroha

By encouraging more extensive media coverage of the outcomes of mahi aroha (eg from the Māori Queen, Dame Te Atairangikaahu's funeral),²⁶ the wider Aotearoa/New Zealand community can recognise and understand the contribution that Māori make to their own communities and to Aotearoa/New Zealand as a whole through mahi aroha.

Learning about the importance of participating in the community is an important aspect of citizenship education. Mahi aroha is a good example of such participation, and the values that underpin mahi aroha can be encouraged in schools and shared with the wider Aotearoa/New Zealand population.

Government can ensure that those undertaking mahi aroha are appropriately recognised for their contribution to the community through existing national and local award systems by increasing knowledge about nomination procedures amongst Māori and the relevance of mahi aroha to the scope of the awards.

By understanding mahi aroha and what it achieves, government agencies can better recognise indigenous knowledge in their own development efforts and build on the strengths created through mahi aroha in Māori communities.

In order to ensure that the Government does not promote volunteering at the expense of mahi aroha, mahi aroha could be recognised and promoted on International Volunteer Day, during Volunteer Awareness Week and alongside any wider campaigns around giving.

18.3 Increasing knowledge of mahi aroha

By understanding mahi aroha, the Government can ensure that the wording of questions in national surveys, such as the Census and Time Use Survey, capture Māori mahi aroha. This will ensure the extent of the contribution of mahi aroha is measured and recognised.

18.4 Supporting mahi aroha through government policies and practices

A better understanding of mahi aroha will ensure that the tangata whenua portion of the Support for Volunteering Fund administered by the Department of Internal Affairs is appropriately allocated to strengthen and support mahi aroha.

Where policy and legislation impact on volunteering, government agencies can ensure that there is clarity around how, and to what extent, that policy also impacts on Māori undertaking mahi aroha²⁷ and seek to minimise any policy barriers to mahi aroha. This could include for instance:

26. There was a week of mourning in Aotearoa/New Zealand to mark the death of the revered Dame Te Atairangikaahu on 15 August 2006. A five-day tangi was held at the marae at Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia, attended by about 300 whānau. The event received significant media coverage in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

27. For example see the fact sheet on health and safety for volunteers on a marae: <http://www.osh.govt.nz/order/catalogue/pdfs/volunteersmarae.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2007).





- recognising a distinction between reimbursement of volunteers' expenses and reward/income in policies eg some volunteer drivers carrying passengers may face additional licensing requirements if they receive payment towards their costs
- ensuring that those undertaking mahi aroha are reimbursed where appropriate and that such reimbursement is fair
- supporting beneficiaries undertaking mahi aroha.²⁸

Recognition of mahi aroha within the context of work–life balance is very important, as many Māori do not distinguish between their paid work and mahi aroha. This recognition can be promoted as part of Government's wider work–life balance programme led by the Department of Labour.

Responsibility for ensuring that employees are better able to achieve work–life balance lies as much with the individuals and their employers as it does with the Government to provide a policy framework and guidance. Staff of government agencies who undertake mahi aroha outside of paid work commitments can be supported through initiatives designed to overcome barriers to achieve work–life balance,²⁹ including flexible working arrangements.³⁰ When undertaking mahi aroha, some staff may find themselves in positions where actual and perceived conflicts of interest may exist (eg when providing information or advice to whānau and friends). By having a greater understanding of mahi aroha, managers will be in a better position to assist staff to manage these conflicts.

When in a working or contractual relationship with Māori organisations, government agencies need to recognise the mahi aroha that may underpin those organisations, the way that people undertaking this mahi aroha helps to achieve goals and the motivations of the people involved in those organisations.

Māori undertaking mahi aroha may do so in support of a government programme or as part of an advisory board. By understanding the motivations of Māori participants and the mahi aroha these participants undertake, government agencies should be better placed to adequately support Māori to undertake their roles.

19. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the research findings of this report that while there are similarities between the traditional concept of volunteering and mahi aroha, there are also distinct differences. We know that many people from all walks of life freely give up their time and commit personal resources to help others. What underpins the Māori concept of mahi aroha and makes it unique is *tohu aroha* – the spiritual, emotional and cultural dimension that provides the framework through which mahi aroha is undertaken. The sense of collective identity and responsibility that is so integral to the very being of Māori is a central motivation for mahi aroha, and it is one that is rarely questioned or challenged. At the heart of mahi aroha is the maintenance of *tikanga* and the role that it plays in ensuring Māori cultural identity is nurtured, treasured and kept alive.

Many of the research participants talked about the personal costs of mahi aroha – the heavy workloads, the negative effects on health and missed opportunities. A number of suggestions have arisen from the research findings about

28. For instance, such information may assist Ministry of Social Development Work and Income case managers to support beneficiaries in balancing their cultural obligations with active job seeking.

29. The Department of Labour has carried out research to identify work–life balance issues for Māori – see their 2006 publication *Work-Life Balance in New Zealand: A Snapshot of Employees and Employer Attitude and Experience*, pages 45–48: <http://www.dol.govt.nz/worklife/wlb-snapshot.pdf> (accessed 14 March 2007).

30. For example see *Work-Life Balance: A Resource for the State Services* on the State Services Commission's web site: http://www.ssc.govt.nz/downloadable_files/worklife_balance_main_content_.pdf (accessed 14 March 2007).





how government agencies, employers and others can support and encourage mahi aroha and address some of the barriers to undertaking mahi aroha. Māori themselves, of course, have an important role to play in encouraging others, particularly young people and future generations, to embrace tikanga Māori and manaakitanga and include these as part of their everyday lives. For Māori, the duty of care for others – manaatikanga – is inherited from birth through relationships of kinship and carries on throughout life and then passes on to mokopuna.

Urbanisation and loss of te reo and tikanga has taken its toll on Māori. Supporting Māori who undertake mahi aroha will contribute towards cultural survival, recovery and strengthening and supporting the bonds within iwi, hapū and whānau. On both an individual and collective level, being able to undertake mahi aroha is critical for the holistic dimensions of health and wellbeing – whānau, tinana, hinengaro and wairua. Much of the mahi aroha activity undertaken is also critical for the functioning of marae, kaupapa Māori development and social/economic services. It is in the best interests of both Māori and others that mahi aroha is supported, acknowledged and encouraged wherever and however possible.

The vision set out in the *Government Policy on Volunteering* is of “a society with a high level of volunteering, where the many contributions people make through volunteering and fulfilment of cultural obligations are actively supported and valued”. If we are to realise this, Māori and non-Māori must work together in partnership to achieve shared outcomes where respective world-views are respected and valued.

Cultural messages shape our understandings of relationships. This report has shown one set of Māori perspectives on volunteering. These perspectives may be useful to government agencies developing policies that are likely to affect Māori communities. There is increasing emphasis in modern government on forming alliances with non-profit and Māori organisations to implement social policy. In such cases, voluntary action by the non-government partner may be central to policy delivery. When Māori are the most affected party, cultural expectations may be different. This report highlights the risk in government officials expecting Māori and non-Māori voluntary action to be perceived in and occur in the same way. What is common to one group may seem strange, counter-intuitive or simply wrong to another. It is through talking and listening that we can gain a better understanding of other perspectives.

The experiences reported by respondents in this research provide insights that could influence relationship building and management between Māori and government agencies in the design of policy delivery. In particular, where partnership arrangements with Māori are sought by government, new perspectives on the motivations of some Māori towards giving time and helping others may lead to better implementation and shared goals.

Hutia te rito o te harakeke
Kei hea te kōmako
He aha te mea nui i te ao
Māku e kī atu
He tangata
He tangata
He tangata e

If you pluck the heart of the harakeke (flax)
Where will the bellbird feed?
It was once asked of me, what is the
greatest treasure in this world?
It is people
It is people
It is people

This report is about Māori people and te ao Māori.

We hope that through reading this report you will have gained a greater understanding and recognition of the role of mahi aroha in Māori society and how, as a nation, we all reap the benefits of mahi aroha. Mahi aroha is not only the basis of a cultural identity but also our national identity.

For those readers who are involved in mahi aroha – Mihi atu ki a koutou.





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APPENDIX 1

Government policy on volunteering

December 2002

Given that volunteers make a vital contribution to social development, the economy and the environment, government endorses the following policy on volunteering.

Vision

A society with a high level of volunteering, where the many contributions people make to the common good through volunteering and fulfilment of cultural obligations are actively supported and valued.

Recognition

Government recognises that:

- volunteers are found in wide-ranging spheres of activity, including sports, arts, heritage, emergency services, social services, health, education, recreation, human rights, tourism, conservation and the environment
- volunteers offer their time and expertise of their own free will, out of commitment to their community and to fulfil cultural obligations
- the nature of volunteering varies widely depending on different cultural expectations and the nature of the task
- volunteers give their time unpaid and should have the opportunity to gain benefits in return, such as new skills and a sense of belonging and achievement
- volunteers should not replace paid workers
- volunteering is an essential element of civil society.

Commitments

To support this vision, government is committed to:

- valuing and celebrating the contributions of volunteers
- recognising the contribution that tangata whenua, Pacific and ethnic peoples make to their communities through fulfilment of cultural obligations
- ensuring that volunteers have appropriate protection under law
- ensuring good practice in volunteer programmes that government directly manages
- encouraging community and voluntary organisations to develop and maintain good practice in supporting and involving their volunteers
- reducing barriers associated with volunteering in legislation, policy and practice
- supporting initiatives to increase understanding of, and to disseminate information about, volunteering.

Implementation

Government expects all government agencies to:

- take into account the needs of volunteers and their organisations, and the costs associated with volunteering, when developing policies and delivering services
- consult volunteers and their organisations on policy and operational changes that impact on volunteering
- have policies in place that support the private volunteering activities of staff while ensuring that public servants continue to fulfil their professional obligations.

Further enquiries to the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector Ph. 04–918 9555





APPENDIX 2

Letter to participants

12 May 2004

[addressee]

Tēnā koe

Participation in Research

Tenei te mihi atu ki a koe e tautoko mai ana i a matou i roto i te ahuatanga o to matou mahi rangahau e pa ana ki nga mahi me ki mahi manaakitanga. No reira i roto i te ahuatanga o te mihi whakatau kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi rawa atu ki a koe.

This letter is to thank you for your willingness to participate in the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector's research into Māori "voluntary" work in the context of cultural obligations.

To better understand the importance of voluntary work carried out by Māori, Pam Oliver & Associates has been contracted to carry out this important piece of research. The research team consists of Laurie Porima (Ngāti Manawa, Tainui, Tuhoe, Ngapuhi), Tania Wolfgramm (Te Aupouri, Te Rarawa, Whakatohea, Ngaitai, Tonga) and Pam Oliver. The research is to clarify the relationship between the fulfillment of cultural obligations and volunteering for Māori.

The research will include the collection of information on the experiences and contributions of voluntary work from a broad range of Māori in all walks of life. It is expected that the research will identify meanings, practices, motivations and contexts relevant to Māori voluntary work, as well as its impacts on Māori, both as individuals and communities. This information can then be used to inform policy across the government sector.

To get this information, we are asking the research team to visit with individuals and rōpū across the country. The researchers have proposed a sample that includes a number of organisations where voluntary work is at a high level, as well as some community leaders who have an acknowledged expertise in this area.

The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector is very grateful for your assistance with this research and will ensure that you are provided with a summary overview of the research findings, which should be available before the end of August 2004.

Heoi ano, ma te atua i te runga rawa e manaaki e tiaki i a koe me o whānau katoa.

Naku noa, na

Joyce-Anne Raihania
Ngapuhi
Senior Analyst





APPENDIX 3

Participant consent form

Research into Māori cultural obligations and “voluntary” work
Interview consent form

I understand the interview I have agreed to is part of research into Māori cultural obligations and “voluntary” work, which is being conducted by Pam Oliver & Associates for the Ministry of Social Development. The purpose of the interview and the research has been explained to me, and I have had a chance to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction. I am undertaking this interview voluntarily and know that I can stop at any time and decline to answer any questions if I wish.

I understand that I will not be identified in any report of the review and that everything I say in the interview will be kept confidential by the interviewer. I have been informed about what will happen with the information I give and understand that it will only be used for the purposes explained to me.

My signature below indicates that I have read and understood this consent form and that I have agreed to be interviewed.

Name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____





APPENDIX 4

Interview guides

OCVS RESEARCH KEY INFORMANT TOPIC GUIDE

April 2004

Introduction

Mihimihi and appreciation

Explain purposes of the evaluation and the interview

Confidentiality

Intended uses of data

Interview recording process

The kaupapa of community contribution, “volunteering” and cultural obligation

- In your understanding, what are the key values or concepts underlying the obligation to contribute to one’s community as Māori?
- In what ways is the obligation communicated to people?
- How do you think people experience those obligations?

Motivations for participation

- What are the factors that motivate people to be involved in this kind of mahi?
- What kinds of factors do you think support Māori to participate in their cultural obligations?
- What are the implications of not participating or contributing?

Incidence and prevalence of community contribution and participation

- How common is participation of this kind amongst Māori today?
- Which kinds of people do you think do participate, and why?
- Rural/urban, gender, age and other differences in participation
- Which kinds of people do you think don’t participate, and why?

Kinds of community contribution and participation

- What areas or kinds of voluntary activity do you see as most common amongst Māori?
- Where is participation most required?
- Are there differences across hapū and iwi in terms of obligations?
- How common are unpaid contributions of time to private sector organisations and government agencies?
 - in what roles?

Obstacles, compromises and issues in participation

- What are the factors that prevent people from participating in these kinds of activities?
- What are some of the issues or problems that arise from participation (eg over-commitment, stress, other)?
- How do people manage those issues?
- What are the consequences and implications of non-participation?
 - for individuals, whānau, hapū/iwi, organisations
 - for Māori social development





Impacts of participation

- What do you see as being the positive impacts of participation?
 - for individuals, whānau, hapū/iwi, organisations across various aspects of people's lives (eg work, toi Māori, recreation, whanaungatanga, health and wellbeing [physical, social, spiritual])
 - for Māori social development
- What are the impacts of participation for recipients of community contributions (eg increased social networks, elder engagement and learning)?
- What do you think are the most important benefits to the community?
- What are the impacts for Māori social and economic development?
- Do you think there are any differences in impacts/experience of participation across age, sex, status, geography, iwi, etc?

Final comments

- Are there any other comments that you would like to make about this whole area?
 - What do you think it is most important for this research to focus on?
-

OCVS RESEARCH RŌPŪ PARTICIPANT TOPIC GUIDE

May 2004

CONFIDENTIAL

Introduction

Introductions and appreciation

Explain purposes of the evaluation and the interview

Confidentiality

Intended uses of data

Interview recording process

Complete the questionnaire

Please complete the table in the questionnaire, to the best of your memory, to record the “voluntary” or unpaid work/mahi you have undertaken in the last month (not including day-to-day household maintenance or care of immediate family sharing your home).

Have respondents complete the questionnaire, in approximately 5 minutes.

Ask the following questions in the context of the information in the responses.

Note that where questions refer to “work” or “mahi” from now on, we are referring to voluntary or unpaid work as defined above.

Kinds of work undertaken

- What is the range of work you undertake? Where do you do it? When? What do you do?
- What kinds of people or organisations do you help?





- What are the impacts of that range of mahi?
- To what extent do you take on voluntary work outside of mahi for Māori?
- Do you see this as being any different from the mahi you do for Māori?

Motivations for participation

- Tell me about some unpaid mahi that you've done recently that you see yourself as having done out of a sense of cultural obligation.
- What are your main reasons for doing voluntary mahi?
- Are your reasons always the same? Have they changed over time?
- Do you think everyone does this kind of mahi for the same reasons?

Meanings or understanding of voluntary work

- What do you see as being the kaupapa of voluntary work?
- Does it feel like an obligation to do this kind of work?
 - if so, in what contexts?
- When doesn't this work feel like an obligation?
- In what ways is the obligation to assist your own people communicated to you?

Incidence and prevalence of community contribution and participation

- Is the number of hours you've done this kind of work in the past month typical?
- What kinds of things affect how much work you take on?
- Is all of your voluntary mahi for Māori?
- How much of this kind of work do you see yourself doing in another 10 or 20 years?
- How evenly is the workload spread?
- What do you think distinguishes people who do contribute in this way and people who don't?

Obstacles, compromises and issues in participation

- What, if anything, do you find difficult about giving your time and labour?
- Tell me about a time when you weren't able to give your time to something you felt you should have. What happened? What were the impacts – for you? for others?
- Do you mind doing this sort of work?
- Is there a downside?
- Probe
 - stress
 - inability to participate
- What kinds of things prevent you from doing work you feel you ought to be doing or would like to be doing?

Impacts of participation

- Tell me about the work you've done this year that you think has been the most valuable.
 - What was it?
 - Who was it for?
 - Why did you get involved?
 - Why was it so valuable? (eg specific benefits)
 - What would have happened if you hadn't been involved?
 - What were the impacts for you? For the community?

Final comments

Is there anything else you'd like to tell me on this topic?





OCVS RESEARCH

Rōpū participant questionnaire

Voluntary mahi undertaken in the last month

Age _____
Sex F M

Kind of work	Person/s or organisation assisted	Number of hours	Reasons for helping	Value of the work	Cost to you	Personal resources used



APPENDIX 5

Participant questionnaire



GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

ahi kā	a literal translation is “keeping the fires alight”. It is an expression of duty to one’s tūrangawaewae and maintenance of tangata whenua status.	
Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand as a whole; more traditionally, the name given to the North Island of New Zealand (Te Waipounamu being the name of the South Island). A literal translation is “Land of the Long White Cloud”.	
aroha	affection, sympathy, charity, compassion, love	
awhi	to foster, embrace, help	
hā a koro mā a kui mā	heritage, including cultural heritage; passing down knowledge between generations	
haka	dance of challenge and welcome; chant accompanying a dance with actions	
hapū	clan, tribe, sub-tribe – section of a larger tribe	
hau	breath of life, life essence	
hīkoi	walk, march	
hinengaro	mind, thinking, cognition	
hui	gathering, meeting, assembly, seminar, conference	
hutia te rito	taken from the Māori proverb:	
	Hutia te rito o te harakeke	If you pluck the heart of the harakeke (flax)
	Kei hea te kōmako	Where will the bellbird feed?
	He aha te mea nui i te ao	It was once asked of me, what is the
	Māku e kī atu	greatest treasure in this world?
	He tangata	It is people
	He tangata	It is people
	He tangata e	It is people
iwi	tribe, nation, people	
kaiako	teacher (can also mean learner)	
kaikōrero	speaker, announcer, advocate, narrator	
kaimahi	worker(s)	
kaitiakitanga	guardianship	
kaiwhakairo	carver	
kapa haka	traditional Māori performance groups	
karakia	prayer	
karanga	the ceremonial call of welcome	
kaumātua	elder, elderly man, elderly woman (65 years and over)	
kaupapa	strategy, theme, philosophy	
kawa	customary practices and protocols as expressions of tikanga	
koha	gift, present, offering, donation, contribution	
kōhanga reo	Māori language nest, pre-school education facility	
kōrero	conversation, speech, narrative, story, news, account, discussion, discourse	
kōrero tuku iho	oral traditions	





korowai	tag cloak (chiefly), mantle. Traditionally, a korowai was made from the feathers of native New Zealand birds. It is worn as a mantle of prestige and honour. The cloak becomes empowered by the status and mana of its owner and the mana increases when it is worn. Korowai can be taonga.
koru	the koru is the Māori name given to the newborn, unfurling' fern frond and symbolises new life, growth, strength and peace. It is an integral symbol in Māori carving and tattoo.
kuia	elderly woman, grandmother, female elder (65 years and over)
kura	school
mahi	work, job, employment, trade, practice, occupation, activity, exercise, operation
mahi aroha	voluntary or unpaid work or mahi undertaken, not including day-to-day household maintenance or care of immediate family sharing a home
mana	dignity, integrity, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma. Mana is a spiritual force in a person, place or object. Mana gives a person the authority to lead, organise and regulate communal expeditions and activities and to make decisions regarding social and political matters. A person's or tribe's mana can increase from successful ventures or decrease through the lack of success.
mana ake	the uniqueness, for instance of the individual and extended family
manaakitanga	care, caring for
manuhiri	visitor, guest
Māori	English meanings are native, indigenous or aboriginal New Zealanders of Polynesian and Melanesian descent.
Māoritanga	Māori culture, practices and beliefs
marae	courtyard – the open area in front of the “wharenuī” where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often also used to include the complex of buildings around the marae
mauri	life-sustaining principle in people and objects; life force binding the spiritual and physical together
moko	(1) a term of address used by an older person for a grandchild or a young child; short for “mokopuna” (2) tattoo. Moko usually portray information pertaining to an individual wearer. This can include symbols or patterns that relate to a wearer's family, sub-tribal and tribal affiliations, and their placing within these social structures.
oranga	wellbeing and survival
paepae	orator's bench, threshold
Pākehā	New Zealander of European descent
pepeha	tribal saying, proverb (especially about a tribe), set form of words, formulaic expression, figure of speech
pōwhiri	invitation, rituals of encounter, welcome ceremony on a marae
raranga	weaving





reo	language
rūnanga	tribal council
taha wairua	spiritual dimension
tamariki	children
tāne	husband, male, man (30–64 years)
tangata whenua	indigenous people of the land
tangihanga/tangi	funeral rites for the dead
taonga	treasure, something prized or valued
taura here	groups of Māori living outside tribal areas
tautoko	to support, promote, reinforce, advocate
te ao Māori	Māori world, Māori world-view
te reo Māori	Māori language. Te reo Māori is the foundation language of Aotearoa/New Zealand, the ancestral language of the tangata whenua and one of the taonga guaranteed protection under the Treaty of Waitangi
tikanga	fundamental customs, principles and values guiding correct or acceptable behaviour
tinana	physical being, physical health
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, self governance and authority
tohu	an expression, indication, spiritual or physical sign
tohunga	skilled person, chosen expert, priest
toi Māori	Māori artistic and cultural expression
tuakana	elder brother (of a male), elder sister (of a female), cousin (of the same gender from a more senior branch of the family)
tūrangawaewae	original birthplace, ancestral home, place of connection
wahine	woman, female, wife (30–64 years)
waiata	song, chant, psalm
wairua	spirit, soul, spiritual dimension
wairuatanga	spirituality (this term is a modern usage and not approved by all)
whaikōrero	to make a formal speech – oratory, oration
whakairo	carving, engraving
whakapapa	genealogy, lineage, descent
whānau	extended family, family group, a familiar term of address to a number of people
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship, process of affirming and maintaining family or group relationships
whāngai	foster child, adopted child, accepting another as one's own
whānui	broad, wider whānau
wharenuī	ancestral meeting house
whatumanawa	seat of emotions and senses
whenua	ground, homeland

