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How Māori precariat whānau navigate social services.

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Abstract

Rates of poverty and hardship are a persistent social concern in Aotearoa with far too many people, particularly Māori, vulnerable to insecurities in work, income, housing, food, and other essentials. In order to ‘make ends meet’, many people seek support from the welfare system, which has become less responsive to their needs. This has resulted in the need for advocates to support whānau to navigate services and access their entitlements for support. To understand such issues, it is useful to consider the concept of the ‘precariat’ or emerging social class of people who often find themselves rotating between insecure employment, unemployment and reliance on charity to survive. The purpose of this study was to investigate experiences of two precariat whānau in navigating welfare and social services in the context of the global rise of the precariat. I also explore the experiences of two service advocates who help precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system. The design and conduct of this study was guided by Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) and Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR) and utilized qualitative methods, including repeat semi-structured interviews. My approach enabled participants to share their experiences of how the present welfare system operates, their strategies for accessing resources, and the broader implications for precarity within everyday lives. Findings confirm the punitive nature of contemporary welfare provisions for whānau who find the system degrading and unresponsive. Despite the obstacles my participants face, they demonstrate considerable agency in navigating services themselves and in assisting others to access resources. In doing so, they demonstrate the enactment of core cultural values such as whanaungatanga and manaakitanga. The advocates in particular undertake their work in culturally-oriented ways as they support, teach, speak for, and protect whānau in navigating the welfare system. Such Kaupapa Māori-oriented support raises the possibilities of anti-oppressive welfare.

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Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----|
| Abstract..... | i |
| Acknowledgements..... | ii |
| Table of Contents..... | iii |
| Table of Figures..... | iv |
| CHAPTER ONE..... | 1 |
| Introduction..... | 1 |
| Māori and socio-economic precarity..... | 3 |
| Economic success and Māori entrepreneurs..... | 4 |
| Economic disruption and the Māori precariat..... | 6 |
| The global precariat class..... | 13 |
| Standing's precariat..... | 15 |
| Neoliberalism and the rise of the contemporary global precariat..... | 20 |
| The rise of penal welfare..... | 24 |
| The present study..... | 30 |
| Structure of my thesis..... | 31 |
| CHAPTER TWO..... | 33 |
| Method..... | 33 |
| Kaupapa Māori theory and research..... | 33 |
| Research Design..... | 36 |
| Preparation, recruitment and participants..... | 36 |
| A series of semi-structured interviews and associated drawing tasks..... | 39 |
| Analysis process..... | 42 |
| Principles and Ethics..... | 43 |
| CHAPTER THREE..... | 45 |
| Māori whānau navigating social services..... | 45 |
| Housing..... | 51 |
| Employment and education..... | 56 |
| Money matters..... | 58 |
| Connecting with whānau for leisure and respite..... | 60 |
| The service landscape whānau face..... | 62 |
| Responsive services..... | 66 |
| Unresponsive and punitive services..... | 68 |
| Navigating the service landscape..... | 74 |
| Chapter summary..... | 87 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| CHAPTER FOUR..... | 89 |
| Māori women’s refuge workers supporting whānau to navigate the welfare system | 89 |
| Setting the context for staff advocacy work..... | 90 |
| The service landscape from the advocates perspective..... | 96 |
| Engaging with services | 100 |
| Supporting whānau to navigate services..... | 104 |
| Chapter summary | 114 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 117 |
| Discussion..... | 117 |
| Key findings..... | 118 |
| The idea of the poor as capable..... | 119 |
| Māori precariat playing the game to address issues of power and control | 122 |
| Kaupapa Māori advocacy, conscientization and the need for anti-oppressive welfare..... | 124 |
| Concluding statement..... | 127 |
| References..... | 129 |
| APPENDICES | 141 |
| Appendix 1 - Information sheet | 141 |
| Appendix 2 – Consent form..... | 142 |
| Appendix 3 – Whānau background and relationships interview guide and theme card | 143 |
| Appendix 4 – Whānau service interview guide and theme card..... | 145 |
| Appendix 5 – Advocates background interview guide and theme card..... | 147 |
| Appendix 6 – Advocates service interview guide and theme card | 149 |
| Appendix 7 – Wrap up interview guide used for whānau and advocates | 152 |
| Glossary | 153 |

Table of Figures

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 1. Hine’s service map with services that whānau would typically access over two weeks. | 41 |
| Figure 2. Miriama's support network | 51 |
| Figure 3. Miriama's housing diagram representing the past five years..... | 52 |
| Figure 4. Rahera's housing diagram representing the past five years | 53 |
| Figure 5. Miriama’s service map | 63 |
| Figure 6. Rahera’s service map..... | 64 |
| Figure 7. Miriama’s two-week schedule..... | 65 |
| Figure 8. The Refuge staff working diagram..... | 105 |
| Figure 9. Tahu’s service map for a whānau over a two-week period | 109 |

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Rates of poverty and hardship are a persistent social concern in Aotearoa. A recent estimate suggests that over 600,000 people in Aotearoa (or approximately 15% of the population) live in low-income households (60% below the median income, after housing costs), with over 230,000 of them being children (Perry, 2016) . There are far too many people who are vulnerable to facing insecurity in work, income, housing, food, and other essentials, and in order to understand issues associated with such insecurities, it is useful to consider the concept of the ‘precariat’.

The precariat has been described as “a form of worker marginalization in the 21st century” (Di Fabio & Palazzeschi, 2016, p. 2) that has different meanings in different countries (Obinger, 2009). For example, in France, it has been used in reference to to graduates who go in to low paid or unpaid internships. In Germany it refers to people who rotate are in and out of employment and encapsulates low paid employed and unemployed people (Di Fabio & Palazzeschi, 2016). In Italy it refers to people in casual or temporary jobs, and those who are in a constant state of precariousness (Grimm & Ronneberger, 2007). And in Japan, it has been used to refer to people who are in work but remain poor, as well as young people who are actively trying to increase work rights and conditions (Obinger, 2009). Definitions of the precariat are tailored to these various contexts. However, at a general level, the precariat refers to a social class of people who experience cycles of work and unemployment that does not offer sufficient income for members to experience security in life.

Standing (2011, 2014) theorises the precariat is a social class of people who find themselves in and out of insecure work, unable to make ends meet, and constrained by aspects of welfare. For the Aotearoa context, it is estimated that one in four Māori can be considered to be members of the precariat (Cochrane, Stubbs, Rua, & Hodgetts, 2017) compared with one in seven Pākehā in the precariat. In this thesis I will argue that Māori have a unique history with indicators of precarity as far back as the mid-1800s (Ward, 2013). Today the Māori precariat stems from a history of social, economic, and political processes of colonisation as reflected in the number of Māori who experience insecurities

in employment (Welch, 2013), worst off health and education statistics (Education Counts, 2015; Ministry of Health, 2016), and lack of adequate housing (Statistics New Zealand, 2015), all contributing factors toward flourishing lives. It is obvious that Māori are in need of effective assistance to address the primary causes of Māori precarity.

When faced with hardship in Aotearoa, hundreds of thousands of people, a disproportionate number of whom are Māori, seek welfare assistance each year. The social welfare system which they are seeking assistance from was initially created as a cohesive state institution designed to help people in times of hardship (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). However, welfare ‘reforms’ that will be mentioned in this thesis, have brought about changes that make it more difficult and complex for citizens to actually access assistance. Rather than the safety net that it was initially designed to be, the system has been reshaped by an increasingly punitive orientation focused towards resource restraint and discouraging dependency on welfare (Bauman, 2004).

Following trends in countries with comparable welfare systems such as the United Kingdom, neoliberal narratives that chastise welfare dependency and emphasise ‘personal responsibility’ and ‘free choice’ have cultivated public disdain toward people who are in precarious situations and on welfare. Subsequently, welfare in Aotearoa has favoured a more punitive and conditional approach characterised by increased restraint of welfare entitlements (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

In an attempt to navigate a welfare system that has increased restraints for welfare beneficiaries, beneficiary advocacy services have emerged to support people in accessing their full entitlements, and address forms of intimidation by Welfare staff, such as denying them of their entitlements and scrutinizing their life choices, leaving them humiliated (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2014). Organisations such as Beneficiaries Advocacy and Information Services (BAIS), Auckland Action Against Poverty (AAAP), and Waikato Women’s Refuge – Te Whakaruruhau (referred to as ‘The Refuge’ in this thesis) are providing free support and information about entitlements to members of the precariat who are seeking assistance from government entities such as MSD (previously known as Work and Income or WINZ). In cities such as Auckland, Hamilton and Rotorua, you can find advocates sitting outside MSD offices ready to share information about beneficiary’s rights and support them in their meetings with case managers.

The punitive and restrictive nature of welfare entitlements that requires advocates voluntarily working on behalf of beneficiaries, reflects the economic hardships people are experiencing and the austerity that we face. Austerity refers to the government looking for ways to reduce budgetary strain which leads to state retrenchment in public areas of spending such as in the welfare state (Korpi & Palme, 2003). The people who make up the precariat are likely to continue to experience insecurities and hardship, and be limited by the barriers that are put up between them and their entitlements. Such insecurities are particularly pertinent for the Māori precariat who have been experiencing socio-economic hardships since the middle of the 1800s. In order to bring about change and lift some of the burden on Māori whānau, there needs to be some consideration of the experiences that they have within the welfare service landscape. To date, there is very little attention in the academic canon that reflects upon the experiences of the Māori precariat who are dependent upon welfare support and the support they require to navigate welfare with the assistance of advocates.

Understanding the experiences of the Māori precariat is important as Māori are over represented in the precariat in Aotearoa today. This thesis investigates the experiences of two precariat whānau in navigating the welfare and social services in the context of the global rise of the precariat. I also document the role and experiences of two service advocates who work on behalf of precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system. For the remainder of this chapter explores the rise of Māori socio-economic and cultural precarity in the context of colonisation. This leads to a more detailed consideration of the concept to the precariat. I then explore the experiences of Māori members of the precariat in accessing welfare and social services and the rise of punitive approaches to welfare. This chapter is completed with a brief account of the thesis aims and structure.

Māori and socio-economic precarity

According to Guy Standing (2011, 2014), the precariat as a social class emerged in the 1970s. For Māori however, precariousness is not a recent phenomenon. It can be argued that precarity for Māori began following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 where Māori and the British attempted to set the ground rules for future relationships such as authority, governorship, immigration and economic trade. With this in mind, I will

consider the social, political, and economic changes that contributed to the emergence of the Māori precariat as a direct result of the colonisation experience. It is important to note that any history of the Māori precariat is incomplete. The historical developments that shaped the rise of the Māori precariat are often hapū and iwi specific. Here I focus more on the general historical developments of precarity for Māori that has a longer history compared to the major labour reforms of the 1970s as argued by Standing (2011, 2014). More in-depth and detailed accounts of Māori precariat histories are available elsewhere (Firth, 1973; Frederick, 2002; King, 2003; Petrie, 2013) as this is not the focus of my thesis. It is however important to briefly describe transformations that came to Aotearoa with European settlement and colonisation, and how a immediate shift in power base in Pākehā favour affected Māori participation in a socio-economic society governed by British settler rule.

Economic success and Māori entrepreneurs

It is crucial to realise that Māori have long histories of trade, entrepreneurship, and adaptation that go back prior to and following the arrival of Pākehā to Aotearoa (Frederick, 2002, Petrie, 2006, Smith, 2012). Traditionally, the social, economic and political dimensions of Māori life, including trading practices, were organised within the whānau (immediate and extended family), hapū (sub-tribe), and iwi (tribal) dynamic (Firth, 1973). This included hunting, gathering, distributing, and trading with other tribal groups for specific items inaccessible to their geographic location. For instance, landlocked hapū would seek out their coastal based whānaunga (relations) for the trade of delicacies specific to their regions such as sea foods, greenstone, and obsidian (Consedine, 2007). Much of the trade and activities of daily living at that time were based on subsistence which gave Māori skills to hunt, fish, and cultivate crops as a means of survival. With over 1000 years of existence in Aotearoa, Māori were extremely knowledgeable about the resources important for trade toward a healthy and flourishing lifestyle.

With the arrival of British whalers, sealer and traders of the late 1700s and early 1800s, opportunities to engage in trade, labour, and new technologies for Māori occurred. Many Māori hapū and iwi of the time eagerly participated in the emerging capitalist economy. Extractive industries such as sealing and whaling were the first that Māori engaged in

with Pākehā, being recruited to work on Pākehā trading ships (King, 2003). Working on these ships allowed Māori to expand their knowledge of these Pākehā, their language and practices, and expand Māori ability to trade.

Throughout the early contact period, Māori collectives involved in trade not only provided for their own people, but played a large role in the trade and provision of goods for British settlers and other British colonies like Australia (Anderson, Binney, & Harris, 2015; King, 2003). Māori tribes who lived close to shipping docks and stations, often raised pigs and cultivated vegetables to be bartered or sold to whalers and others who visited their respective tribal regions (King, 2003). In addition, some hapū and iwi engaged in large scale cultivation and trade beyond those Pākehā within their tribal regions. Iwi within Waikato would produce large amounts of flax for trade, using the Waikato river for transportation towards Auckland. Iwi of Hauraki (Coromandel) would harvest timber for trade, and greenstone in the South Island would be traded with external iwi. Trade between Northern iwi and Southern iwi also occurred with resources such as potatoes, muskets (Petrie, 2013).

Economic trade for Māori was not limited to the local economy but extended to the international market. Māori also traded with Australia in particular and Europe too (Cawthorn, 2000; Petrie, 2002). Knowledge of the English language and experiences with the technological advancements of these international trade partners was returned by Māori traders to Aotearoa and shared with whānau and hapū. Such knowledge advanced iwi and hapū initiative for future trading prospects by acquiring trading ships, expanding agricultural and horticultural initiatives as well as mills for the processing of flour for trade (Anderson, Binney, & Harris, 2015). Māori-owned flourmills were particularly important for the processing of wheat in to flour for settlers, so flour became a significant commodity in the economy of the time. Māori entrepreneurs also provided large quantities of produce and goods such as meat and vegetables particularly to Auckland, where many settlers had been based. For example, Ngati Whatua and Ngati Paoa were two hapū in proximity to Auckland who provided these goods to Auckland (Petrie, 2013).

In the 1830s, successful endeavours such as shore whaling, ocean whaling, and the flax trade peaked (King, 2003). These extractive industries as well as timber rose and fell, but Māori flexibility allowed them to adapt to the highs and lows of the market (Petrie, 2002).

Māori were also able to live off the land during the low times as they still owned majority of lands for growing crops. Visiting ships required food to stock up on and whale oil and flax to sell on, and the domestic market called for more attention to providing food and building materials that would assist settlers in their mission to create a life in Aotearoa. The Māori presence in the domestic market of the 1840s grew as there were more settlers coming to Aotearoa in need of materials to build homes, fruit, vegetables, and grain to sustain them, and labour to allow them to be productive citizens (Petrie, 2013).

Many Māori chiefs encouraged participation in trade with Pākehā to provide subsistence, wealth and security for their collectives (Petrie, 2013). Māori success and growth in early trade also added to the mana (authority), resources, and political power of many tribal groups, which allowed Māori to be leaders in the early capitalist economy (Walker, 1990). It seems likely that economic success was achievable for Māori because of the ownership of land, the gardening and fishing skills that were common for subsistence, and the entrepreneurship of the collective.

Despite the emerging Māori economy, there was a mixture of encouragement and discontent from settler society and Pākehā colonial officials of the time (Petrie, 2013). Māori control over land and related resources was perceived by Pākehā settler society as a threat to their agenda of political and economic domination. Such discontent coincided with the increased migration of British settlers to Aotearoa around the mid-1800s which put pressure on land acquisition and essentially threatened Māori's primary economic base, Māori rangatiratanga (authority) over resources and Māori ways of being.

Economic disruption and the Māori precariat

The 19th century saw many movements take place that would determine who would hold the numerical, economic, and political power in Aotearoa/Aotearoa. This included the imposition of new governance structures and practices, population changes, and land loss. The signing of Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 played a significant role in the economic disruption of the Māori economy. The Treaty was a document written by settlers in two forms; the English version and the Māori version, and consisted of three Articles. Here I will share the Māori versions translated into English and outline the issues that stemmed

from differences in understandings between the Māori and English versions of the document.

The first Article in both the Māori and English version of the treaty was concerned with kawanangatanga (governance). It states that ‘the chiefs of the Confederation and all the chiefs who have not joined that Confederation give absolutely to the Queen of England forever the government over their lands’. The Māori version used the term kawanangatanga (governorship) rather than mana (in terms of authority over). This meant that Māori believed that they were not giving up their sovereignty, but rather the governorship of the country (King, 2003).

The second Article was concerned with tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty), the rights and possession of land and treasures. It stated that:

‘The Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs, to the tribes, and to all the people of New Zealand, the absolute chieftainship of their lands, of their homes and all their treasured possessions. But the chiefs of the confederation, and all other chiefs, ceded to the queen the right to purchase over such lands as the proprietors are disposed to alienate at such prices agreed to by them and the purchaser appointed by the queen on her behalf’.

This article reinforced Māori belief that they would retain sovereignty. This is the meaning of the term tino rangatiratanga in the Māori version of the treaty. It implies that Māori would retain authority over Māori affairs, land, and treasures.

The third Article was concerned with protection stating that ‘the Queen of England will protect all the Māori people of New Zealand. They will be given all the rights equal to those of the people of England’. Māori read this clause as indicating that they would be treated fairly and as equals to Pākehā in the new society. Many signed the treaty for a number of reasons. They hoped that Māori would continue to have authority over land and resources while the British had control over settlers and governing Aotearoa as a whole. There was also ideas of solidarity and peace (Orange, 2015a), preservation of land and resources (King, 2003), settlement and the continued opportunities for success in the economy (Orange, 2015b).

In actuality, with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 came new governance structures that offered more security to members of the settler society than to Māori (Orange, 2015a). Within the next two decades following the signing of the Treaty and the introduction of a new settler government, the industries that Māori worked such as flax, flour milling, produce, wheat, and shipping had peaked and plummeted. It has been documented that the reason for the downfall of these enterprises was the disagreement between Māori and the settler society at the time. As Pool (2015) noted, the demise of many Māori enterprises was because of “...malevolent factors such as outright hostility, and discrimination over commercial instruments such as credits that favoured Pākehā settlers” (p. 256). This statement reflects the view of some who recognize the role of the Treaty in having flow in effects on Māori success in trade.

Social and governance structures were transformed from traditional Māori structures based in collectivist notions of whānau, hapū, and iwi and communal guardianship of land and resources. In the signing of the Treaty, Chiefs who were invested with the authority of the collective believed that they were representing their hapū in a positive way because they believed that the governance structure in regard to Māori affairs would stay intact.

New governance structures were made up of a settler government that would lay claim to Aotearoa, the people, the land and the treasures. The new settler society therefore challenged what Māori had understood from the Treaty, that being, tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty) would be retained over land, home, and treasures. The development of a settler government that excluded Māori from decision making about land and treasures coincides with the definition to colonise, the British came to “settle among and establish control over (the indigenous people of an area)” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2016).

Successful trading initiatives that generated resources and offered Māori security in the new economy were subsequently disrupted by the colonial government, military incursions and legislation. The New Zealand Constitution Act (1852) for example, enabled the settler government the authority to rule Aotearoa which was a contradiction to how Māori saw governance in signing the Treaty.

The loss of land was a particularly important issue from the mid-1800s which was a significant period of history for Māori. Land was lost through increasing number of settlers seeking and acquiring land, land wars, and Acts that would not only defy Māori understanding of the Treaty, but specifically reduce Māori land ownership and authority.

It is important to consider the role that The New Zealand Company (NZC) played in the colonial efforts to gain land. The NZC were put in place by the British government with the mission to be the systematic colonisers of Aotearoa. The plan was to buy land for low prices and sell them for high prices to future settlers. The intention was to imitate the class structure of the English, by selling land to the higher classes and then using the profits to assist the working class to get to Aotearoa and in to work (Anderson, Binney, & Harris, 2015; King, 2003). These migrants were told they were able to work on the land or be employed by the NZC. This purchase of land was done prior to regulation of land prices and therefore Wakefield was able to buy Māori land cheaply.

In the mid-1800s, a number of Māori agreed that no more land should be sold to settlers as they recognised that they were not getting the appropriate value for their land, the settler population was increasing, Māori had less authority, and they believed at the time that Māori ways of being were at risk of becoming extinct (King, 2003). Implementing a ban on land sales was a tactic they used to slow down the rate of settlement which was agreed upon by a number of Māori who had meetings in the North Island. These meetings and the agreed aspirations for Māori inspired the Kingitanga movement which provided multi-tribal unity for the preservation of Māori land, livelihood, and culture

Māori resistance to sell land did not stop settlers and the settler government from attempting to buy it. A prime example being the sale of land in Waitara by Atiawa chief Te Teira in 1859. Te Teira's superior, chief Wiremu Kingi opposed the sale first with a peaceful protest where he had people from the hapū occupy the land. This provoked the settler government to teach them a "sharp lesson" (King, 2003, p.213) by starting the Taranaki land war (Smith, 2012). The government called in troops from Australia and met with approximately 200 chiefs to talk about the Treaty of Waitangi and its 'fairness', and reiterate that those who do not threaten the Māori allegiance to the crown will continue to be treated with fairness.

In the meantime, the Māori King was in coalition with Wiremu Kingi and was sending warriors to assist in the fight against government troops. There is also the fact that the Governor had not sought any legal support to begin a war and therefore was violating the treaty by not treating Māori as citizens as they would a British settler (King, 2003). With little success on the governments part, Governor Browne sought to make peace in 1861 however it did not last. Governor Grey who took over from Browne decided to focus forces on the kingitanga in Waikato as he felt it threatened the authority of the settler government and the Queen. By 1864, the governor had acquired approximately 20,000 people to fight on the governments side and they included Pākehā and Māori who had sworn allegiance at the time. Māori opposition on the other hand, had approximately 5,000. In the years to follow, fighting broke out still, in Waikato and again in Taranaki.

A group called Pai Mrire was took action continuing the fight with the intention to free Māori from being dominated by Pākehā. War in Waikato was more profound in terms of loss and the clear numerical disadvantage of Māori. It resulted in 1000 Māori dying and over 1 million hectares of land being confiscated, land that was supposedly more profitable in terms of its fertility (Walker, 1990). This was also an issue experienced in the Bay of Plenty, Taranaki, and who would also be impacted economically with the loss of land and resources that allowed for the economic success in the early domestic and international markets.

Before the Waikato war was over, the Native Land Act (1862) was put in to effect. It is one example of how the government implemented legislation that would disrupt Māori economic success. The Act individualised land titles, which allowed for easier purchase of Māori land by settlers which was a concern considering that Māori land was traditionally owned as a collective unit and required the selling of land to be agreed on by the entire collective whether it be the whānau, the hapū, or the iwi. Individualising land titles made it easier to purchase as there were less people to persuade to sell. This law functioned to alienate many people from their land because land was the most valuable resource that also had an important cultural and spiritual link to Māori identity.

The New Zealand Settlement Act (1863) took the Native Land Act a step further and legalized confiscations of Māori land for settler use, as a punishment for ‘rebellion’ against the Crown. An example of this as mentioned previously, was the confiscation of

over 1 million hectares of land in the Waikato region, but also land from Taranaki, and Bay of Plenty. Another example of legislation disrupting economic success for Māori was The Oyster Fisheries Act (1866) which excluded the mention of Māori from using these resources for trade even though some Māori were known to successfully deal in the sale of Oysters. These are just three legislative examples of settler government attempts to assert economic authority over Māori and to restrain our economic security.

The legacy of land and resource loss in the growth of precariousness among Māori cannot be underestimated. For Māori, land was a key resource that allowed whānau to hunt, gather, cultivate, and trade food autonomously. The loss of land resulted in the loss of traditional food sources, including harvesting and fishing rights as well as increased socio-political disruption and cultural precarity (King, 2003).

The disruption of Māori trade and ways of being by the land wars, land alienation, as well as the political and numerical power of settler society negatively impacted the economic success of Māori toward the evolution of Māori as a precariat class within Aotearoa. Pākehā farming and ownership of land in Aotearoa is an example of displacement of Māori that led to precarious work (Pool, 2015). Loss of land meant that Māori had to seek out cash for their labour that would complement their subsistent living in a developing society. In order to adapt further to the new economy and reap benefits from it, from the mid-1800s onwards Māori increasingly moved in to different industries such as kauri gum, forestry, and road construction (Pool, 2015). Butterworth (as cited in Pool, 2015) stated that this:

pattern of work tended to marginalize Māori in a way that earlier trading and farming activities had not... such work all too frequently disrupted traditional planting and food gathering practices without in fact giving Māori a sure place in the European economy. This dislocation showed itself in failed food crops and malnutrition that forced a new dependence on government relief (p.21).

Statements such as these indicate early experiences of precarity that Māori experienced in the capitalist economy. Although I cannot say that the Māori precariat was set in stone in the mid-1800s, the move from being successful entrepreneurial collectives to being labourers in low-skilled and precarious work during this time generated a trend that

eventually lead to mass urbanisation in the search for better work, and then continued more so as Māori who moved in to urban spaces also took on low-skilled jobs, and again today, with 1 in 4 Māori being in precarious work in comparison to 1 in 7 non-Māori (Cochrane, et al., 2017). Mass urbanisation was used here as an example of the continuation of Māori in precarious roles, but will be mentioned later in this section.

With the tightening grip of the new colonial government over Aotearoa and the reduction of Māori sovereignty over land and other resources, the nature of Māori trade, labour and everyday cultural life changed forever. In order for Pākehā institutions to be successful with their business ventures in a way that would adhere to their individualistic and colonial values as opposed to Māori collective ways of being, the colonial government also went about dismantling Māori culture and traditions (O'sullivan, 2005). One prominent tactic for this was the passing of the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907. Tohunga were spiritual and cultural leaders, experts in the Māori world who contributed to the maintenance and continuance of tikanga Māori (cultural knowledge and practices). The suppression of these activities negatively impacted the continuance of Māori culture and undermined the cultural structure of Māori cultural determination. Taking away the people central to the continuance of Māori culture demonstrates one of the unfortunate realities of the colonisation process.

The early 1900s were a time of hardship for many, including Māori, which was reflected in the governments implementation of the welfare support that is considered later in this chapter. Māori continued to be in manual jobs in the mid-1900s that were vulnerable to unemployment when the economy hit lows (Walker, 1990).

In the 1960s, many Māori moved in to urban areas where they relied less on collective crops and more on paid but low-skilled labour (Coleman, Dixon, & Mare, 2005; Nikora, Guerin, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2004). Low-skilled labour roles that Māori commonly worked in included road works, construction, meat works, jobs that Walker (1990) stated were vulnerable to job loss in times of economic downturn. Due to the precarious nature of Māori work and loss of contact with traditional homelands and tribal resources such as land, and associated economic and social supports, Māori have become the economic shock absorbers for society in austere times. By shock absorbers, I mean Māori are often

the first to be laid off from low skilled and casual employment or to have employment hours cut back (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003).

The historical developments associated with colonisation made Māori dependent on the monetary system of the settler society, which threatened Māori ways of life and sovereignty. With the loss of land, resources and socio-cultural structures that came with colonisation, many Māori were increasingly forced to participate in the cash economy that would not guarantee security (Keiha & Moon, 2008).

Briefly, it has been necessary for me to contextualise and localise the rise of the Māori precariat that we witness today. Although the contemporary Māori precariat shares many socio-economic similarities to the emerging global precariat class, Māori precarity has a unique history in terms of economic exclusion, inequalities and experiences of poverty which I have tried to argue above. Below however, I relate the historical and current economic situation for Māori within the context of the global development of the precariat and key ideas that are emerging from international and Aotearoa literature in this area. This is what I intend on discussing for now.

The global precariat class

To expand on the understanding of the precariat defined in the beginning of this chapter, I consider the rise and conceptualisation of the precariat as an emerging social class. I will begin with a brief description of what I mean by social class. I then consider where the precariat as a concept fits in to the theory of social class, examples of the precariat in different parts of the world, and the role that neoliberalism played in the rise of the contemporary precariat.

Social class can be defined as being “composed of people who have life chances in common, as determined by their power to dispose of goods and skills for the sake of income” (Clark & Lipset, 1991, p.398). Social class is typically referred to in regard to socioeconomic factors for instance the social structures and systems in place that impact people’s circumstances and opportunities. Education, occupation, and income are three key indicators of social class as they can determine access to social and material resources, and prestige (Kraus & Stephens, 2012). As a result, social class can influence

different aspects of everyday life, for example, where people live (Matthews, 2015), and go to school (Horvat, Weininger, & Lareau, 2003). Social class positioning matters with people from lower socio-economic status who tend to experience higher mortality rates on average compared with people from more affluent groups (Fritzell, Rehnberg, Hertzman, & Blomgren, 2015; Juárez, Goodman, & Koupil, 2016). Social class impacts how we live our lives as we are exposed to “material and social conditions, which foster and require certain types of behaviour over time” (Kraus & Stephens, 2012, p. 644). Thus, we learn from our engagements with the environment that our resources allow us to be in and we act accordingly. For people who are experience life in the lower classes, there is little opportunity to fully participate in society.

Social class theory provides insights in to the impact that socio-economic hierarchies on people’s life situations and livelihoods (Hodgetts & Griffin, 2015). One of the most renowned theorist of class was that of Karl Marx who, during the rise of capitalism, recognised inequality in society and how one’s relation to the means of production determined their social class. Marxist theory recognized two social classes; the proletariat (workers) and the bourgeoisie (owners) (Marx & Engels, 1848/1998). The bourgeoisie class is made up of people who owned the means of production and received the vast majority of wealth that was produced, whereas the proletariat class is made up of people who had to sell their labour by often working for the bourgeoisie (Marx & Engels, 1998). Put simply, the differences between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are based on access to social and material resources. Further, Marx and Engels (1998) focussed on the conflict between these two groups based on the extreme inequality and exploitation where the bourgeoisie held the resources to survive and flourish, and many in the proletariat were merely surviving. An important insight to take from Marx’s theory of social class is the belief that poverty and extreme inequality experienced by people within the social class is unnecessary, and systems and structures that ensure inequality can be renegotiated and transformed to create greater equality between people.

Weber (1947), another well-known theorist in the social class theory, provided a more complex account of social stratification than Marx originally offered. Rather than focussing purely on one’s place in the means of production as determining social class, Weber considered the interaction between the three key concepts of economic class, social status, and political power (party). That is, the assets someone has, how people

perceive their status, the ability they have to reach their goals and what they do with that ability, reflects the class to which they belong according to Weber.

When considering social class, one might also consider the intersecting social positioning of ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and [dis]abilities which impact the positioning of groups of people within social hierarchies (Crenshaw, 1991). Considering ethnicity and gender within social class theory for example, is referred to as an intersectional approach. An intersectional analysis stems from the writings of women of colour as a means of responding to the limitations of Eurocentric class and feminist theories (Crenshaw, 1991). An intersectional approach is pertinent to the experiences of the Māori precariat because Māori people can be a part of more than one disadvantaged group within social hierarchies such as being Māori, female and disabled. A Māori person with such intersectionality may therefore experience greater hardship than a heterosexual and able Māori male.

Standing's precariat

In this section, I describe the social class structure related specifically to the precariat, along with the three main dimensions that Guy Standing (2011) has theorized. First, I will consider the conceptualisation of the precariat that Standing (2011) has presented and which offers insights into how power and finances are distributed in society. Second, I will consider the three dimensions that make the precariat different from other social classes; relation to production, relation to distribution, and relation to the state. The multitude of issues that make up these dimensions will be mentioned to understand the reality and demonstrate why the precariat is considered the 'new dangerous class'.

With neoliberal economic policies and increases in flexible work, there has been a growth in inequality among social classes. The social class structure as demonstrated in Standing's (2011) theory reflects inequalities among six social classes; elite, salariat, proficians, old working class, precariat, and unemployed. Those in the elite class have billions of dollars, have the most influence on the world, pay less tax, and are free to live their lives as they see fit. Then there is the salariat which consists of people who are in stable employment with high salaries. These people are often white and blue-collar workers who have the non-wage benefits that come with secure employment such as

parental leave and pensions. Proficians, like the salariat, make a lot of money in their roles but their employment is less stable. Proficians tend to have certain skill sets that are sought after and are able to contract out their services, working casual and temporary contracts. They differ to the precariat as they do not actually want secure employment and have control over when and where they work. Beneath the Salariat and the proficians we have the old working class, which has previously been termed the old proletariat (Marx & Engels, 1967; Marx & Engels, 1998). The proletariat was once the majority, with stable employment with liveable wages for which the welfare system and unions were responsible (Kalleberg, 2009). With the increase in demand for flexible workers, the old working class is reducing in numbers globally.

Then we have the classes who do not have the same advantages and power over their lives as more affluent classes; the precariat members of which have been identified as the lumpen precariat when experiencing periods of unemployment. As previously noted, the precariat is a social class that is living with insecure labour, spending much of their time trying to find work and financial assistance as their incomes do not cover the cost of living (Di Fabio & Palazzeschi, 2016). The precariat is not fully a part of the workforce in a way that allows them to identify strongly and positively with their working role or with others they work alongside. The precariat is identified as a class in the making and has distinctive relations that make it different to others in the class structure (Standing, 2011).

This theory of social classes differs from Marxism, the predominant theory of social class which rose from a different historical epoch within capitalism. According to many Marxists, the bourgeoisie hold the power in society as they control the capital and the proletariat have very little power or voice. This perspective holds the relation to the means of production as central to the separation of social classes. Standing's (2011) theory recognises this relation as a dimension of the precariat, but emphasises that the relation to the distribution and the state are just as important to consider. Further, Standing's theory of the precariat reflects the current state of the economy and the complexity of work arrangements. Next, we will look at the dimensions that Standing (2014) has used to explain the defining aspects of the precariat.

The first dimension of the precariat is the distinctive relation to production. People in the precariat are in a position where they have to be in unstable labour such as the low paid

part-time, casual, zero-hour contracts, and temporary roles. Due to the nature and low rates of remuneration from these roles, people often work intermittently with periods of employment and unemployment where they often rely on the welfare system (Shildrick, MacDonald, Webster, & Garthwaite, 2012; Walker, 2011). There is no permanence and no security in such roles, which results in a lack of opportunities for social mobility (New Zealand Council of Trade Unions: NZCTU, 2013). Because there is no permanence and security, precarious work offers no secure long-term prospects for a career (Kalleberg, 2009). Precariat's in low paying jobs are still required to invest a vast amount of time and energy into finding work, keeping their insecure jobs, and seeking additional financial and social assistance to support themselves. Being unable to truly benefit from labour in these aspects can leave people alienated from the workplace, lacking an occupational identity (Standing, 2011). This is important because the precariat must work hard to gain employment and stay in employment, but will not have a solid set of relationships or development of competencies.

Many in the precariat often draw upon support from the welfare system, and such support comes with conditions. One of these conditions of receiving welfare payments is to make themselves available for jobs that they may not be suited to, or work that is unrelated to their current skills or qualifications. For people who are working, they may feel anxious about losing their jobs and work extra time with extra effort in an attempt to keep their job. This is what Standing (2011) terms the *precaritised mind*, shaped by anger, anxiety, anomie, and alienation. Anger that stems from the apparent powerlessness and entrapment to precarious work and precarious futures, lacking the opportunity to long and trusting relationships within the workplace due to the insecure nature of employment. Anxiety that stems from the fear that any mistake they make could make their precarious situation even worse. Thus, having to continuously ensure they are doing what they can to access necessities. Anomie stems from the feeling of social disconnection due to being perceived as lazy, irresponsible, and undeserving by middle-class citizens. And finally, alienation stems from having to please others despite one's own aspirations, and expected to be grateful for any assistance they are given despite being unhappy in their situation. Members of the precariat often struggle to participate in work of their choice, work that adds meaning to their lives, and work that fosters human flourishing.

The second distinctive dimension of the precariat is the relation to distribution (Standing, 2011). People in the precariat have to rely mainly on low wages, welfare payments, and

charitable donations from institutions such as food banks. When one is living off of insecure means the consequences of unexpected costs such as personal illness, illness of a child, and vehicle costs for example can be catastrophic. It often results in people having to seek financial assistance from friends, family, the State, or even financial lenders.

The third dimension of the precariat is the relationship to state. This dimension refers to the weakened civil, political, cultural, social and economic rights. Standing (2011) argued that people in the precariat become ‘denizens’, or citizens with less rights than ‘higher’ social classes (Lea, 2013). He refers to civil rights such as the right to be treated with equality and due process, political rights such as the right to vote (limited for young people and migrants), cultural rights such as having to conform to Eurocentric societal norms, and social and economic rights such as taking part in an occupation that one is trained in and receiving fair pay and access to benefits. An important point that Standing (2016) makes is when he notes that members of the precariat are likely to become what he terms supplicants. Supplicants, like beggars, have to constantly ask others for help.

Although the concept of the precariat has been helpful in describing the situations of many precarious workers, it has received criticism from some scholars. Munck (2013) refers to the term as eurocentric and describes the thinking behind the concept as an “impressionistic and premature set of identifications and generalisations leading to an umbrella concept” (p.752). Munck (2013) and Breman (2013) both question the relevance of the term to workers in the ‘global South’. These authors emphasise that differences in context must be considered, but also seem to normalise the precarity that many Southern hemisphere workers experience as Munck noted it has “always been the norm in the global South”. Both Munck (2013) and Breman (2013) identify the precarious work around the world, but refuse to consider this mass of people as a ‘social class’. Clearly, there is always a down side to applying a label to people or claiming people belong to a particular group. Whether people agree on the precariat being a social class or not, precarious work exists, is growing, and is affecting millions of people globally (International Labour Organisation; ILO, 2016). I find the concept of the precariat useful because it allows me to focus on issues around economic and social precariousness for Māori that stem from structural inequalities in society.

Reflecting diversity in situations and the need for a concept like the precariat to begin grappling more systematically with the dynamics of labour insecurities, Standing (2011) also points out that the precariat is made up a variety of demographics around the world particularly women, young people, older people, and migrants (McKay, Jefferys, Paraksevopoulou, & Keles, 2012). This orientation is in keeping with the intersectional approach to class discussed earlier. For example, women appear to be more likely to enter precarious work particularly in part-time and casual work (ILO, 2016; Standing, 2011; NZCTU, 2013). Australia, 25.5% of women who are in work, are in precarious work (Biddington, Howe, Munro, & Charlesworth, 2012), in Aotearoa, 35% of women are in part time work (NZCTU, 2013) and in both countries these jobs are predominantly in low paid industries, retail, hospitality, and caregiving. In Japan, many women are in similar, low productivity fields, in temporary work being paid below minimum wage (Standing, 2011). Even in this day and age where women have shown increased participation in the workforce, work for women often remains precarious, underpaid, with higher insecurity rates than men. Women with children still do more domestic work in the home compared with men, and women assume more caregiving roles in their family than their male counterparts, and are required to do work that is more flexible to suit home life (Biddington et al., 2012). Coming from an intersectional perspective, this appears to disadvantage women not only in regard to social class and unequal distribution of income, but also of gender where women are experiencing limitations to success due to characteristics that are not always in their control. For women of colour, this would then extend to a third dimension of disadvantage and marginalisation. The history of racism and discrimination against people of colour has perpetuated stereotypes of laziness and lack of responsibility.

The concept of the precariat speaks to contemporary labour conditions and offers more complexity of insights than traditional Marxist theory. It is this diversity that is worrying, as it shows that anyone can fall into precariousness. Flexible work arrangements can be suitable for some people, but for many it is unsustainable. For example, people who have gone through the job search process with the welfare system and are required to take any job that they are offered, may only receive part-time jobs that offer only enough remuneration to cover their basic living costs. People in such situations may still require further assistance from the welfare system and charities. The social class structure and dimensions of the precariat help to us understand the precarious situations in which

growing numbers of people are living. The precariat as a class is experiencing inequalities of income, control over time, and their rights as citizens are often compromised (Standing, 2011). Being in the precariat is an existence that continuously deprives people, making people anxious, alienated, and angry. Now that we have an idea of the people in the precariat, let us briefly look at some of the responses to precariousness that we have seen.

Briefly, in this chapter I have outlined aspects of Māori economic participation and marginalisation historically and how this relates to the lower-class positioning and precariousness faced by many Māori today. Also, evident is the relevance of concepts such as colonisation and social class and more recent theorising of social class in terms of the notion of the precariat. Next, I consider the role of neoliberalism in the rise of the precariat, followed by a section focussed on the rise of punitive welfare.

Neoliberalism and the rise of the contemporary global precariat

International literature suggests that work following World War II was commonly full time and stable up until the 1970s where the rise of insecure work began as neoliberal ideas and globalisation become more popular (Kalleberg, 2009). It was then that the world witnessed the recession that called for labour market flexibility in order to adjust to economic troughs and peaks. It was also around this time that inequality and polarisation of income created a distinctive mass of people around the world who were pulled in to a cycle of work and welfare, and often debt and poverty.

Neoliberalism is a term that is often associated with financialised capitalism, globalisation, consumerism, and the dismantling of welfare states and social safety nets (Bourdieu 1998; Chomsky 1999). Neoliberalism does not yet have a clear or concise definition, but can be conceptualised as a “modern politico-economic theory favouring free trade, privatization, minimal government intervention in business, reduced public expenditure on social services” (Collins Dictionary, 2016). It is commonly known as the set of ideas that inform the political and economic processes in society, and has been linked to conversations about the unequal distribution of resources that serve the interest of the ‘elite’ or ‘bourgeoise’ over the interests of the broader body politic (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005). At the core of neoliberalism is the reduced government assistance

to people experiencing hardships and the implementation of austerity measures to achieve it.

From a neoliberal perspective, the driving force for business is to increase profits and decrease costs. Often obligations to employees is a secondary factor when it comes to ensuring profits are maximised. As a result business interests have taken more control over labour market relations, which for business includes reducing employee security through increased casualization of employment and reduced wages (Standing, 2011). Levels of income inequality increase in societies that embrace neoliberalism (Coburn, 2000) and a report on inequality (using the Gini coefficient) from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development: OECD (2016) shows that places dominated by neoliberal ideology, such as the USA, the United Kingdom, Australia, Aotearoa, and Canada, have high rates of inequality. Neoliberalism creates societies that function specifically for the desires of the wealthy instead of the needs for the poor, whether this is intended or not (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2017). For example, in the daily lives of people who experience inequality, there is hardship and marginalization meaning that they are treated as unimportant and excluded from much of society.

In regard to neoliberal influence on the labour market, the idea that seems to have had the most influence on the rise of the precariat was the shift to more 'flexible' and casualized labour market. The basis for a flexible and casualised labour market was to help corporations increase profits and reduce and increase workforce numbers according to the peaks and troughs of business performance (Meulders & Wilkin, 1991). For example, in an economic crisis, employers could use flexible and casualised employment contracts to reduce the staff required, thereby maintaining profits. A strategy less enforceable with a workforce that has permanent and full-time employment contracts. Although from the outset it appears to be a necessary process, it has resulted in employment practices which render employees expendable. There are four areas of labour market flexibility highlighted by Standing (2011) as having an adverse effect on low income workers ; employment, wage, job, and skill flexibility. Employment flexibility makes it easier for employers to hire and 'fire' staff. Wage flexibility refers to the change in wages as a response to the rise and falls of profits. According to Meulders and Wilkin (1991), such an approach this takes away the financial security of employees as they are susceptible to having income and benefits reduced or eliminated. It also means that the wages

employees receive may not be secure making livelihoods precarious. Job flexibility also allows organisations to move employees around in an organisation and change the structures of roles thereby reducing employment security. Essentially, it is the lack of security in the labour market, employment, job, work skill reproduction, income and representation that has contributed to the rise of the precariat.

Alongside flexibility, organisations also use other methods to adapt to the peaks and troughs of the economy that creates insecurity for workers. In order to continue creating profits, businesses often “downsized, restructured, outsourced parts of the productive process, resorted more to temporary workers, and dismantled internal labour markets” (Benach et al., 2014 p. 231). These methods have become more common since the rise of neoliberal globalisation as the market has become more competitive. They include the loss of permanent and well paid jobs which are replaced with more insecure and lower paid jobs. Jobs are also often shifted from more affluent nations such as Aotearoa to countries where labour is cheaper so that profits can be maintained or increased (Tate, Ellram, Bals, & Hartmann, 2009). A range of terms refer to precarious work including non-standard, atypical, contingent (Polivka & Nardone, 1989; ILO, 2016), temporary work (Vosko, 2000), and flexible work are used to describe flexible working conditions promoted by neoliberals. In this thesis, when referring to such employment, I use the terms precarious work and insecure work interchangeably.

Insecure work is made up of jobs that are part-time, casual, and temporary (Kalleberg, 2009). As the term suggests, these are not full time, reliable, or permanent jobs. Industries that are most known for insecure work are health care, retail, hospitality and social assistance (Biddington et al; Ongley, 2011; Savage et al., 2013). Those in precarious work are transformed into commodities with little choice over their work circumstances. They are pawns in a flexible labour market whose long-term wellbeing is not a primary consideration for employers who subscribe to neoliberal ideology and who are at greater risk of unemployment. People employed in insecure work are part of the precariat, who are increasingly disadvantaged and struggle to get by in life (Bodnar, 2006; Di Fabio & Palazzeschi, 2016; Kalleberg, 2009; Molé, 2010; Obinger, 2009; Standing, 2011).

Prominent responses to the rise of the precariat have included calls for living wages and universal basic incomes and induced large scale protests, following global financial crises and the rise of austerity measures implemented by governments (Ortiz, Burke, Berrada,

& Cortés, 2013; Rüdig & Karyotis, 2014). Protests have been based upon improving employment rights, increasing wages, and increasing the security of workers. Ortiz et al. (2013) conducted a study on 843 protests around the world between 2006 to 2013 and found that over 50% (488) of protest movements were about economic justice and austerity; including welfare reforms, higher wages, labor conditions, housing, food prices, low living standards, inequality tax/fiscal justice, and jobs. Further, 149 were related to the dissatisfaction with the increase of precarious work and inequality (Ortiz et al. 2013). These results reflect the state of the precariat, the people who are effected by the deregulation of the labour market, the flexibility that many businesses adopt, and the changes in the welfare system that will be mentioned later in this chapter (Stolte & Hodgetts, 2017). The 2009 May Day parades were a response to the conditions of work, unemployment, and inequality that people were facing on four continents; Europe, America, Asia, and Africa. They took place in multiple areas with a variety of people. Brussels, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, and Ireland were European countries that saw thousands of people gathering for the cause. Following the economic crisis in Greece in the 2000s, protestors were made up of a number of the average Greek people, in full time work, not specifically young, old, students, or unemployed people (Rüdig, & Karyotis, 2014). This coincides with the results of the analysis of protests around the world where Ortiz et al. (2013) note that the people who have taken part in the 2000s are in the middle class. With the increased flexibility of the labour market, people in the middle class are also at risk of falling in to the precariat and losing the security that they know. These protests offer a forum for people in the precariat to join together in their plight to change the insecurity of work and the reduced support of social welfare systems.

The dissatisfaction with recent and current states of precarity has clearly made an impact on the people. More recently, precarious work in Europe has become the focus of a longitudinal research project from The University of Manchester which has sought to identify strategies to reduce precarious work through social dialogue (Grimshaw, Johnson, Rubery, & Keizer, 2016). They released a series of reports pertaining to issues and strategies utilised by six countries; Denmark, France, Germany, Slovenia, Spain and the UK. the reports present a diverse array of case studies and a complex analysis suggesting that there is no easy way to reduce precarity that requires a complex set of strategies of social dialogue and collaboration of different people at different levels of the issues. An important aspect of their research is the emphasis such reports place on the

‘protective gaps’, or employee rights, considering employee rights an important issue for the workplace and the labour market (Grimshaw, Johnson, Rubery, & Keizer, 2016).

Some countries have responded to the impacts of precarious employment by extending welfare regimes to provide more assistance and security. ‘Flexicurity’ is a welfare model that originated out of Denmark in the 1990s following the rise of flexible and insecure work arrangements. The Danish government recognised the hardship that people experienced as a result of labour market flexibility and aimed to help people who were both in and out of work (Jørgensen and Madsen, 2007; Wilthagen, 1998). Security is provided by the welfare system in Denmark so that people in precarious work are able to cover their living costs and avoid poverty. In the Denmark example, there are five key elements to flexicurity as pointed out by Keune and Jepsen (2007). First, it intends to create contracts that have a mix of flexibility and security for employers and employees. Second, implement policies that support people who are transitioning in to new jobs. Third, provide long term educational opportunities and qualifications to maintain employability. Fourth, social security systems that support people while unemployed. And fifth, inclusion of social partners who are the groups that work together towards agreed goals. For example, employers, employees, trade unions, and the government.

The development of this model shows an understanding that work, although an important addition to the economy, is not the only thing to prevent precarity in their countries. Thus, Governments who promote these five initiatives are more proactive in the lives of their citizens. Something that is not evident in countries such as Aotearoa that offer less generous provisions and much more restrained support for members of the precariat.

This section has considered how neoliberalism has impacted the rise of the precariat, the dissatisfaction that has led to protest, and very briefly considered flexicurity as an alternative that has been implemented by Denmark. The next section will consider the rise of punitive welfare.

The rise of penal welfare

He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata! What is the most important thing in the world? It is the people, it is the people, it is the people! (Māori proverb).

This is a widely used Māori proverb that I saw printed across a wall in the MSD Office. An institution that is support welfare beneficiaries access their rightful entitlements. The whakatauki (Māori proverb) is supposed to reflect the original intention of the social welfare state (Hodgetts & Stotle, 2017). If we consider the starting place of the welfare system in Aotearoa, which I will address shortly, this proverb offers an appropriate slogan for a caring system that is orientated to human need. Today however, our welfare system seems to make accessing entitlements difficult with the understanding by the State that if you make it harder for people to access welfare, then less people will become reliant on it (Cox, 1998; Mead, 1997; Bauman, 2004). In this study, I refer to the service landscape which includes the multitude of services that provide welfare support to whānau who are seeking necessities. Within the service landscape are services that provide support for whānau to access clothes, food, housing, healthcare, and other necessities.

In this section, I will briefly consider the establishment of Aotearoa's welfare system and subsequent reforms. I will also compare our welfare system to the United Kingdom, which administers a similar welfare system to our won. This comparison with the UK is important because many of Aotearoa's societal structures are influenced by British based institutions (Evans, Grimes, Wilkinson, & Teece, 1996; Kingfisher & Goldsmith, 2001). I will also consider the evolution of our welfare system away from its original intention that focussed on supporting people, to a system that appears to view beneficiaries as lazy dole bludgers who need to be whacked off welfare dependency with a large stick.

Our welfare system was originally established to support people through times of financial insecurities and includes health, education, income and social service elements resourced by the body politic (Carpinter, 2012). To provide assistance to the people who experience unemployment and financial hardship, the government introduced a series of financial and housing supports for people in need at the end of the 1800s (Evans, et al., 1996).

In 1889, the government began providing financial assistance in the form of the Old Age Pension Act. The Crown then extended economic support to widows with the Widows Pension Act 1911 to provide financial assistance to women with a child or children under the age of 14, who no longer had a 'breadwinner' in the home, women who would otherwise be relying on charity and family. Then in 1926 the Family Allowances Act was

introduced to provide financial assistance to families with more than two children who earned less than £4 a day (approx. \$360 today). In the 1930s, Aotearoa experienced the hardships of the great Depression (King, 2003), which led to the extension of these earlier financial support packages. As a result, the 1930 Unemployment Act was enacted where relief payments were given to the unemployed in exchange for work. By 1933, approximately 80,000 people had signed up (Petrie, 2013). Subsequently, our welfare system expanded through the introduction of a range of other Benefits for people who could not work due to sickness and disability as well as public housing (Carpinter, 2012). The Unemployment Benefit then came with the passing of the 1938 Social Security Act which provided financial assistance to the unemployed with the belief that everyone deserves to have the means to get by and that it was in part, a social responsibility. In 1942, the Beveridge report came out of the UK which reinforced and supported the development of our welfare system and reflected the view that governments have an ethical responsibility to care for their citizens.

After 30 years of welfare support, the Government introduced the Social Security Act 1964 which had more of an interest in getting people in to work because the focus on employment was becoming more important. The Social Security Act 1964 is the act that has been amended over and over again, mainly from 2007 onward to make this work focus paramount, creating more work-testing requirements and sanctions which will be expanded on more shortly.

In 1973 the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) was established to provide financial support to assist solo mothers to raise their children, similar to mothers with a partner would. In 1977, the Domestic Purposes Benefit Review Committee produced a report that had positive and negative implications for women on the DPB. Although the report did state that there are barriers to women gaining employment and solo mothers shouldn't be rushed in to work, it also appeared to question the responsibility of these women by pointing out that women are less likely to consider stigma attached to having children out of wedlock, leaving their partners, and being solo parents. This is an example of early ideas about solo mothers that were continued in to the neoliberal period in the late 1900s.

The rise of neoliberalism throughout the late 1900s in Aotearoa heavily influenced the reforms of the welfare system with ideas about dependency and personal responsibility

(Kingfisher, 2013). Lead by Roger Douglas initially as part of the Labour Government in the 1980s, followed on by Ruth Richardson and the National Party in the 1990s, both ministers were the drivers of neoliberal policies and the undermining of the welfare system's original intent of the 1930's Unemployment Act. Both Douglas and Richardson were so influential in the localising of neoliberal economic ideas in Aotearoa that both acquired names reminding us of these periods, i.e. 'Rogernomics' and 'Ruthanasia' (Kingfisher and Goldsmith, 2001). Rogernomics neoliberal period refers to the process where government departments were made commercially oriented organisations and the increase of privatisation, and the deregulation of the financial market. Ruthanasia refers to the continuation of the neoliberal ideology that influenced Rogernomics. This period saw an introduction of a number of welfare benefit cuts, harsher conditions for access, and sanctions for noncompliant behaviour (Starke, 2007), for example, failure to complete work-testing obligations. Cuts were made to the Unemployment Benefit, Sickness Benefit, and the Domestic Purposes Benefit (Parliamentary Library, 2000).

The presence of neoliberal ideology in Aotearoa continued to impact on the welfare system in the 21st century. The continued focus on work and the punishment of people who are accessing welfare by making it harder for beneficiaries to gain entitlements. In 2011, the Welfare Working Group (WWG; 2011) produced a report titled *Reducing Long-term Benefit Dependency* where they recommended a sanction regime to 'motivate' people towards compliance and work. This regime has three tiers; first, a 50% reduction of the main benefit if the beneficiary fails to comply with work-testing. Second, a 100% reduction of the main benefit and supplementary benefit for example accommodation supplement for a second failure. And for a third failure, 100% reduction and a 13 week stand down where they receive nothing. Further, should a person lose their job due to misconduct or leaves work of their own volition, they are not entitled to welfare support for 13 weeks (Ministry of Social Development; n.d.). If welfare beneficiaries do not meet conditions for welfare support, their benefits could be reduced or more seriously, withdrawn completely. For example, missing an appointment without valid reason, or turning down a job offer.

Another example is the reduction on welfare benefits for mothers who do not name the father of their child and apply for child support to assist with the financial costs for the child or children (Ministry of Social Development, n.d.-a). The Child Poverty Action

Group (2016) note that approximately 17,000 children have been impacted by a variety of sanctions and over 13,000 parents, or close to 75% of whom are women of Māori descent. In the March quarter of this year alone, 15,465 sanctions were imposed and 3,821 were suspensions and cancellations (Ministry of Social Development, 2017). This point is important when I consider my focus on the Māori precariat as sanctions further reduce the financial security of many members of the precariat leading to increased hardship (Wynd, 2013). Sanctions and benefit cuts mean that whānau are having to seek assistance from charities, whānau, friends and also from fringe lenders offering expensive debt (Hodgetts et al., 2016). Sanctions demonstrate that structures are willing to take away necessities for people who are struggling. It is a way for governments to force the precariat into compliance with welfare conditions and precarious work.

The conditionality and punitive sanctions put in place by welfare reforms are designed to reduce people's dependency on State support (WWG: 2011), and back into work (Dean, 2007). Barry (1998) noted the dominant belief that "if people are paid to be poor, then the numbers of the poor will increase" (p. 23). This is the idea that welfare beneficiaries will never be inspired to work for their income as the benefit is seen as easy money. Instead, the reality of life on the benefit is one of conditional access to an income, income level that fails to meet living everyday living costs, and welfare sanctions for a variety of non-compliance issues. Such conditions have resulted in reduced support and ensured many beneficiaries live lives of precarity.

Despite the popular belief that moving from welfare to a job resolves financial hardships, often the opposite is the case, particularly for people working in precarious jobs (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Precarious work does not only impact income, but can also further disrupt parenting obligations. For example, someone who is told to take a job that is at night, part time and far from home, will then need to pay for petrol or the bus, child care, will spend less time with their children, and have a low wage that only covers the basic costs of living. These are struggles that the precariat is highly susceptible to and fails to understand the needs of people who are experiencing financial hardship (Hodgetts et al., 2014). Stereotypical figures such as the 'solo mum' and 'welfare queen' have been used to justify a penal approach to welfare. Single women with children have been singled out as the source of moral decay who are miss-using the welfare system to support their lifestyles of dependence on the state (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). These mothers are

stereotyped as being promiscuous, workshy, and lazy (Kohler-Hausman, 2015; Tyler, 2008). They are often accused of committing fraud to gain welfare support that they are not entitled to (Handler & Hasenfeld, 2006). Single mothers are accused of making ‘benefit broods’ in order to gain further welfare assistance (Jensen & Tyler, 2015). As a result, the intensive monitoring of these women and discouraging of them having more children has become a key feature of penal welfare. Māori are particular targets for such stereotyping and paternalistic control, particularly when the concept of the promiscuous single mother is combined with notions of ‘feral Māori families’, who are associated with immoral lifestyles, crime and welfare dependency (Beddoe, 2015).

Paternalism or paternalistic control is a term that reflects the current state of our welfare system. Put simply, it is the way in which the government set rules that need to be followed for people to receive welfare support and punishments when those rules are not followed (Mead, 1998). It is also the way that the government goes about monitoring and supervising welfare recipients (Mead, 1998). Paternalism is a central feature to what has come to be known in scholarly circles as penal or punitive welfare (Wacquant, 2009). Penal welfare involves a merging of the logic of a correctional facility that is supposed to provide rehabilitation to inmates, with that of the welfare system and the treating of people seeking welfare assistance as if they also require rehabilitation from being State dependents. For some researchers, this penal approach to welfare is part of the criminalising of the precariat, supported by harsh conditions in accessing benefits and sanctions for non-compliant behaviour (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

The application of this punitive orientation in our welfare system has been conceptualised as a form of structural violence, which further disadvantages marginalized and vulnerable people (Hodgetts et al., 2014). Structural violence described by Galtung (1969) refers to a form of violence where the social structures or social institution cause people harm by preventing them from gaining the necessities of life. This is relevant to the present state of the welfare system that utilizes punitive measures such as intimidation and sanctions as barriers to accessing resources for survival such as food, clothing, and housing.

Although the rise of penal welfare and increased use of conditionality and sanctions places more stressors on members of the precariat, neoliberals justify these measures as a kind of anti-welfare common sense (Jensen & Tyler, 2015). Deacon (2004) points

out the three justifications of welfare conditionality that are termed paternalism, contractualism, and mutualism. Paternalism is the assertion that the conditions placed on welfare applicants act to help, rather than hurt them (Mead, 1997). For example, a justification often used is that people who are required to take on education to receive financial assistance, are being provided with a favour in the way of developing their skills and qualifications. Contractualism is the idea that the welfare system is fair because the government will do what it says if the applicants do what they are expected to do. Lastly, mutualism is the idea that fulfilling the obligations that the state requires is going to somehow benefit the people around those receiving welfare support by reaching their own potential and being more able to recognize potential in others. Each of these justifications for conditionality works to warrant the use of punitive measures within the welfare system, but fails to recognise the everyday hurt and struggle beneficiaries experience as a result of the harshness of the welfare landscape.

Conditionality in the welfare system and difficulties in whānau accessing the resources they need has also contributed to the introduction of advocates who support whānau. An example of a culturally-oriented response to the need for welfare advocacy is Whānau ora. As part of Whānau ora, advocates help whānau in their engagements with services that make up the welfare and social services sector (Gifford & Boulton, 2015).

The present study

This chapter has explored the historical timeline of precarity for Māori, the rise of the precariat social class, the evolution of a welfare system to support people to a current welfare system that is restrictive and punitive in its delivery today. Today, many Māori experience precariousness in cultural, social, political, and economical aspects of life. However, Māori continue to exercise considerable agency in navigating the settler society and welfare system and often in working to assist one another. We remain strong and resilient in the face of adversity. As mentioned previously, my thesis seeks to explore how two representatives of Māori precariat whānau navigate the service landscape and the experience and role of two service advocates in assisting whānau to access the necessities of life including welfare entitlements. My aim is to investigate the experiences of two precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system and social services in the context of the global rise of the precariat (Standing, 2011). I will also document the role

and experiences of two service advocates who work on behalf of precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system. An intended benefit of this research is to identify strengths within Māori precariat families that allow them to be resilient and flourish, as well as informing service redevelopments to better accommodate precariat whānau. These insights might provide recommendations for how we might reform the present penal approach to welfare into one that is more humane and responsive to the needs of the precariat more generally but the Māori precariat more specifically.

Structure of my thesis

The next chapter outlines the research orientation and methodology of the present study. I describe the philosophical framework that guided my research, along with the process of gaining and analysing information from my participants. Also provided is a brief outline of the ethical issues that were considered and how they are addressed in this project.

Chapter three documents the experiences of two Māori precariat whānau. I explore how these whānau navigate the welfare service landscape, the problems they face and other issues deemed important to them for our understanding of the everyday lives of precariat whānau. Key considerations are the barriers to assistance that whānau experience, the everyday practices that allow them access necessities, as well as their practices that provide them with respite from this struggle, and future aspirations for the whānau.

In chapter four I explore the accounts of two Women's Refuge workers who assist whānau in navigating welfare and social services in order to access resources and entitlements. Particular attention is given to the process of assisting whānau through services, concerns that staff have for whānau who are working their way through the social services, and the barriers that they as Refuge workers experience in advocating for and assisting whānau. The staff accounts are shown to be invaluable for identifying practices in whānau from an agency perspective and informing practice for other agencies.

The thesis is completed in chapter five where I discuss the results of this project in relation to the broader literature and consider how these results add to present knowledge of the

precariat, welfare and the plight of precariat Māori in settler society today. I also discuss the importance of these results in terms of implications for whānau and agencies with recommendations for service redevelopments.

CHAPTER TWO

Method

This chapter outlines my research orientation and strategy, as well as the process that I used to engage with research participants, gather and analyse information, and ethical considerations that apply to this study. This study explored the experiences of two precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system and social services in the context of the global rise of the precariat (Standing, 2011) and experiences of two service advocates who work on behalf of precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system. Conducting research with Māori required that I adopt an approach that was informed by Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) and Kaupapa Māori Research (KMR), and which utilized qualitative methods to understand the experiences of participants. Working collaboratively with staff from The Refuge meant that I was able to access participants from a kaupapa Māori service that embraced notions of whakawhanaungatanga (building a trusting relationship) with women and families experiencing violence and poverty.

This chapter offers an account of KMT that guides this project to demonstrate and justify the appropriateness of the KMR methods I used to achieve my research aims. This leads into an account of the process to recruit participants, the research participants, my use of semi-structured interviews and drawing exercises in my engagements with the research participants, relevant ethical considerations and the analysis process I used to understand the life stories I collected.

Kaupapa Māori theory and research

Kaupapa Māori Theory (KMT) offers a culturally anchored philosophical framework for this research. KMT was developed as one of the responses to research that was conducted by non-Māori on Māori in accordance with the worldview and interests of non-Māori (Smith, 1999). Pihama (2001;2012) who has contributed greatly to KMT, considers KMT to be a critique of power structures in Aotearoa, challenging the way that research dominated by Western theories, has not always reflected Māori experiences accurately nor has it always met the needs and interests of indigenous people. Rather, as Pihama (2012) mentioned, it has reinforced dominant narratives of Māori as the ‘others’. Many

non-Māori researchers continue to fail to listen to what Māori participants are actually saying in a manner that is inclusive of Māori world views and as a result Māori everyday realities and ways of being are undermined or simply misunderstood. Additionally, research has implied that the hardship that Māori experience is self-inflicted (Bishop, 1999) and this, combined with publicized views of personal deficits paves the way for further stereotyping and marginalizing of our people.

The imposition of Eurocentric research practices on indigenous peoples has also been identified as a form of epistemological (Teo, 2010) and ontological (King, Hodgetts, Rua & Morgan, in press) violence. That is when non-Māori researchers investigate the experiences of Māori they often do so from their own worldviews and in the process often disrupt, misinterpret or simply ignore the cultural basis for the experiences of Māori people. What is often provided by such researchers is a view of Māori people that fits Eurocentric understandings that often focus on the perceived persona deficits of Māori (King et al., in press). This is particularly concerning for research topics such as mine that explore the lived experiences of Māori women from the precariat who are already subject to processes of stereotyping in the settler society.

Consistent with Smith's (1999) view of KM research, my research was conducted with Māori, by Māori, and for Māori. In my thesis I draw on Māori cultural understandings of human beings as fundamentally interconnected with other people (King et al., in press) and concepts such as whānau, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaupapa and tino rangatiratanga. Such Māori cultural concepts offer an appropriate conceptual framework for this thesis to frame my understanding of stories from my Māori participants from a Māori worldview. This does not mean that I cannot also draw insights from theorising around welfare and the precariat. For example, I can draw on these cultural constructs and ideas about welfare and the precariat from my own worldview, as a Māori person with experience of precarity, to understand the experiences of whānau navigating Aotearoa's current welfare system. In this way, by drawing on KMT, I seek to both use Eurocentric scholarship and move out beyond such scholarship to contribute to Māori knowledge production. In so doing, I hope to ensure that Māori experiences of precarity are presented through my research in a manner recognisable to Māori people (Groot, Rua, Masters- Awatere, Dudgeon and Garvey, 2012). All the while, seeking to displace the dominant fixation of Māori failures as individual and personal deficits that pervades our

society, by considering the colonial and systemic issues that have failed Māori as a collective. I also intend on highlighting and emphasising whānau resilience and resourcefulness in the face of systemic adversity.

KMT has been linked to critical theory as they both identify and challenge power relations and inequalities in society, and as offering a basis for emancipatory social reform or change (Eketone, 2008: Smith, 1999). Smith (1997) notes three shared aspects of Kaupapa Māori and critical theory; conscientization, resistance, and reflective action. Smith (1997) describes conscientization as the process of analysing and critiquing the dominant structures that marginalise Māori knowledge. He describes resistance as reacting and responding to these dominant structures and being proactive in creating space for change by and for the collective. He then describes reflective action as using what has been learned to work toward the future. In adopting these concepts, KMT and critical theory are relevant to the present study as I hoped to provide a space for four Māori women to speak about their experiences of dominant structures such as the welfare landscape, analyse and critique the injustices within this dominant structure, and consider changes that could be effective for the Māori precariat.

By increasing awareness of the structural inequalities faced by the Māori precariat, I seek to offer further support for the need to reform our welfare system in order to make it more humane similar to its original intention (see chapter five). With a critical kaupapa Māori lens, I have developed a kaupapa for conducting this research that draws on qualitative or participative research techniques. In doing so I have embraced the idea that KMT and KMR offer a culturally-based and flexible orientation to research that can be combined with mainstream research approaches such as qualitative methods of interviewing, that “hold related visions, goals and outcomes” (Mane, 2009, p. 6). What makes my thesis approach distinct from other research approaches is the use of tikanga (Māori values and practices), whānau involvement, Māori specific aims and outcomes, and contributions I can offer to toward a Māori culturally competent workforce. In addition, a KMR approach is relevant to my study because the main priority is to understand the reality of Māori who are navigating social services and to offer insights into how welfare support can be provided drawing on Māori ways of being and living that could be more humane than what is currently being offered to Māori.

In accord with my KMR orientation I have embraced a person centred research strategy that is guided by core principles as outlined by Smith (1999) and Cram (2001): Aroha ki te tangata (a respect for people), Kanohi kitea (the seen face, present yourself face-to-face), Titiro, whakarongo ...korero (look, listen ... speak), Manaaki ki te tangata (share and host people, be generous), Kia tupato (be cautious), Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata (do not trample over the mana of the people), and finally, Kaua e mahaki (do not flaunt your knowledge). Each of these principles can be used to enact aspects of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga (the process of showing respect, generosity and care for others) as ethical considerations that encourage cooperation and respectful and caring connections between myself and the research participants. In this way, I did not seek to be detached from participants but rather to cooperate with them and for us to build an understanding of their situations through our research encounters that makes sense to them as Māori. This involved my embracing the participatory and reciprocal elements of KMR (Smith, 1999; Cram, 2001) in a manner that extended to my offer of help with administrative work at The Refuge which was taken up on one occasion. I also reciprocated with whānau participants by offering and providing transport them to and from interviews.

The use of interview-based techniques, which I will discuss shortly, also seemed appropriate for this study because these offer a way of accessing participant's lived experiences, feelings, and perspectives (Willig & Stainton-Rogers, 2017). This is what I will now discuss.

Research Design

Preparation, recruitment and participants

Purposive sampling was used in this study as the most appropriate method to reach my aim in interviewing Māori participants. Commonly used in qualitative research, purposive sampling is useful for gathering information from people who have certain characteristics or experiences consistent with the focus of my research, and are willing and able to share their life narratives (Tongco, 2007). In this case, I sought four Māori participants; two of whom are part of the Māori precariat, and two who work as advocates in the welfare system for precariat whānau. These two advocates also happen to share similar backgrounds and experiences of hardship. Access to these participants was made through

The Refuge in Hamilton. One of the managers of The Refuge is also a named investigator in a larger Nga Pae o te Maramatanga funded project investigating the lives and experiences of precarious Māori households. My thesis is situated in this larger project as well.

By way of further background, The Refuge was the first Māori refuge in Aotearoa and opened in 1987. The service is informed by Māori values and tikanga and staff typically reflect the cultural role of aunties as traditional primary caregivers within many hapū who provide a caring space for others. Their mahi resembles aspects of the Whānau Ora, the philosophy and model that is family wellbeing, which involves ‘navigators’ (Gifford and Boulton, 2015) that reflect the roles that Hine and Tahu both have within The Refuge. It shows that they are doing the mahi that the Whānau Ora encourages, reflecting the values and principles that work towards improved circumstances for whānau. The extent of this caring approach by Whakaruruhau was extended to me as a young Māori researcher undertaking my Masters’ thesis.

Prior to recruiting of my participants, I engaged the support of my supervisors in interview techniques specific to my thesis. I also drew upon the support of staff from The Refuge as well considering their experience in research and dealing with my targeted participant group. As a beginning researcher myself, an introduction to participative and semi-structured interview techniques was useful preparation, increasing my confidence and knowledge of the data collection process. I would often meet with my supervisors and staff from The Refuge once a fortnight to design the study and to ensure I had the skills and knowledge to conduct interviews with participants I followed up with the manager by providing a letter describing my thesis orientation and outlined the contribution I could make to The Refuge and vice versa. This manager then provided feedback relating to the orientation and design of my thesis and a few necessary changes that would make my project more suitable to the needs of their organisation and consistent with the needs of my thesis. When she was happy with the thesis plan, the manager then passed it on to two of her staff members who then agreed to meet with me and discuss their potential participation in the theses, which they subsequently agreed to.

In the first meeting with these two staff participants, or ‘service workers’ who I have named Hine and Tahu as pseudonyms, I described the study to them and how they might contribute to my thesis as participants. We also talked about how they might help me recruit two Māori precariat whānau through their professional networks. I had lunch with these service workers which allowed us time to connect through whakapapa and similarities. It was also an opportunity for them to ask me any remaining queries they had about my study. Together we arranged a time for me to interview them and a possible timeline for when I could meet two potential Māori whānau. I offer more information about these staff participants in chapter Four. For now, it is useful to note that Tahu is 39 at the time of this study and is of Te Atiawa descent. She is experienced in working with precariat Whānau in helping them to access resources through various welfare and social service agencies. Tahu has worked in social services for ten years and is currently in a leadership role with The Refuge. Hine is 57 at the time of this study and is of Tainui descent. She is also experienced in working with precariat Whānau and like Tahu, has been at The Refuge for ten years.

As part of their participation in this research, the two Refuge staff introduced me to two women living in precariat whānau. These two whānau participants had both drawn on the support of The Refuge and been placed in emergency housing. When I met with these two whānau members, we engaged in whakapapa and processes of establishing relationships of trust and rapport. My first whānau participant is Rahera, who is and of Te Arawa descent, similar to me. Her household includes herself, her 2-year-old daughter, and her teenage sister who is now in her full-time care. At the time, Rahera was transitioning out of The Refuge’s emergency housing into her own home. My second Māori whānau participants is Miriama, 29 years of age, and of Tainui descent. Her household includes herself, her two sons who are 8 and 10, her mother, and her younger adult brother. She was living independently in rented accommodation but still supported by The Refuge when required.

As is culturally appropriate, for each interaction that I had with each participant, I provided kai (food) and a \$50 PaknSave voucher as a koha (gift) for their participation, both of which were funded by Nga Pae o te Maramatanga. The giving of koha has been a long held traditional practice in Te Ao Māori that reflects contribution, respect, manaakitanga and reciprocity (Mead, 2003). Reciprocal acts commonly included giving

of food, time, work, and taonga (treasured possessions), and today is often in the form of money. The koha provided in this study being food and a voucher for groceries is deemed appropriate considering whānau are living precarious lives which can mean difficulty in accessing necessities such as food. The koha are contributions of reciprocity to show appreciation for participants time in a way that is meaningful to their life-worlds and hopefully a temporary alleviation from food insecurity. The staff participants did not always wish to receive the koha, feeling that it was too much. The whānau participants voiced that it was a big help particularly for the upcoming Christmas costs.

A series of semi-structured interviews and associated drawing tasks

I conducted a series of three main semi-structured (background, experiences with services and feedback and closing off) interviews with all four participants, tailoring different but overlapping questions to the two staff advocates and two whānau representatives (see appendices three to seven for interview guides and the theme cards that were taken in to interviews). Whānau interviews were more related to how they navigate social services, whereas interviews with advocates were more related to their mahi (work) with whānau and advocating on their behalf. The interviews drew on predetermined open-ended questions, which offered opportunities for my participants to raise unanticipated issues and to go in to depth with their responses (DiCicco-Bloom, & Crabtree, 2006). A theme card was presented to the interviewees at the beginning of each interview to provide them with an idea of what I wanted to discuss and offering them a chance to add additional topics to the interview (Barriball, & While, 1994).

Each interview was conducted approximately two weeks apart and interviews were between one and two and a half hours in length, which reflects the difference of depth that can come about in this type of interview.

During the first interview, we explored their backgrounds, present situations and associated everyday dilemmas. These interactions embraced processes of whakawhanaungatanga, enabling me to further establish our working relationship (Mane, 2009). Practices around manaakitanga (kindness and caring for others) were also important and I worked culturally with participants to craft a shared space of reciprocity, sharing, respect, and appreciation (Jones, Crengle, & McCreanor, 2006). This was not

simply a sterile information mining exercise. We shared kai (food) and took our time to create a relaxed atmosphere that helped the conversation flow.

Continuing our culturally-patterned interactions, the second interviews with all four participants went into their experiences of the welfare system and broader social service landscapes in more detail. Participants were asked about specific positive and negative experiences in accessing services as well as the nature of their relationships with key service providers such as MSD. To further facilitate the conversation regarding key issues, I also engaged participants in brief drawing exercises, such as mapping out and reflecting on their housing and work histories. These exercises really did enhance our conversations around particular aspects of life and how they manage adversity.

Visual tools such as drawing exercises were used to enhance the semi-structured interviews (Copeland & Agosto, 2012). Having whānau participants draw aspects of their lives enabled them to start documenting and expressing the complexities of their situations and the service landscape that they must navigate (Crilly, Blackwell, & Clarkson, 2006). Such exercises enable these participants to step back from and view their lives and experiences from a slightly different angle, while being able to then reflect on their circumstance in a little more depth. Across the first two interviews, five diagrams were developed in the process of interviews specifically for whānau to talk about: whānau (family), pepeha (a form of introduction that establishes identity and heritage), a housing diagram, a support network diagram, and a service use map.

The whānau and pepeha exercises were used in the first interview to get to know participants, where they are from, who makes up their household, and the relationships they have with their whānau. The housing diagram was used to illustrate the stability or transience that whānau experienced in terms of where they lived over the past five years, what type of accommodation that could afford, and who made up their household during each placement. The support network diagram was used to identify who whānau felt that they could rely on in times of need. The service map was used to illustrate the service landscape that whānau had to navigate, who they preferred to access, and the relationships they had with service workers in those agencies.

For both advocates and whānau, three of these mapping and drawing activities in this study included a service map, a support network map, and a two-week schedule, all were oriented towards whānau life-worlds. For example, both advocates and whānau were asked to draw a service map to include the services that whānau would typically engage with over a two-week period. The two-week schedule was a way to think about the amount of time whānau spend engaging with different services as well as their family commitments. Both activities allowed us to co-construct a visual tool to refer to when discussing services, including relationships and experiences with services. The Support network diagram presented insight in to the people who these whānau can turn to for assistance, the people that they trust and can rely on. An example of a service map is provided in Figure 1 below to provide a pictorial example of these exercises. More of the diagrams are shared in the analysis chapters, Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

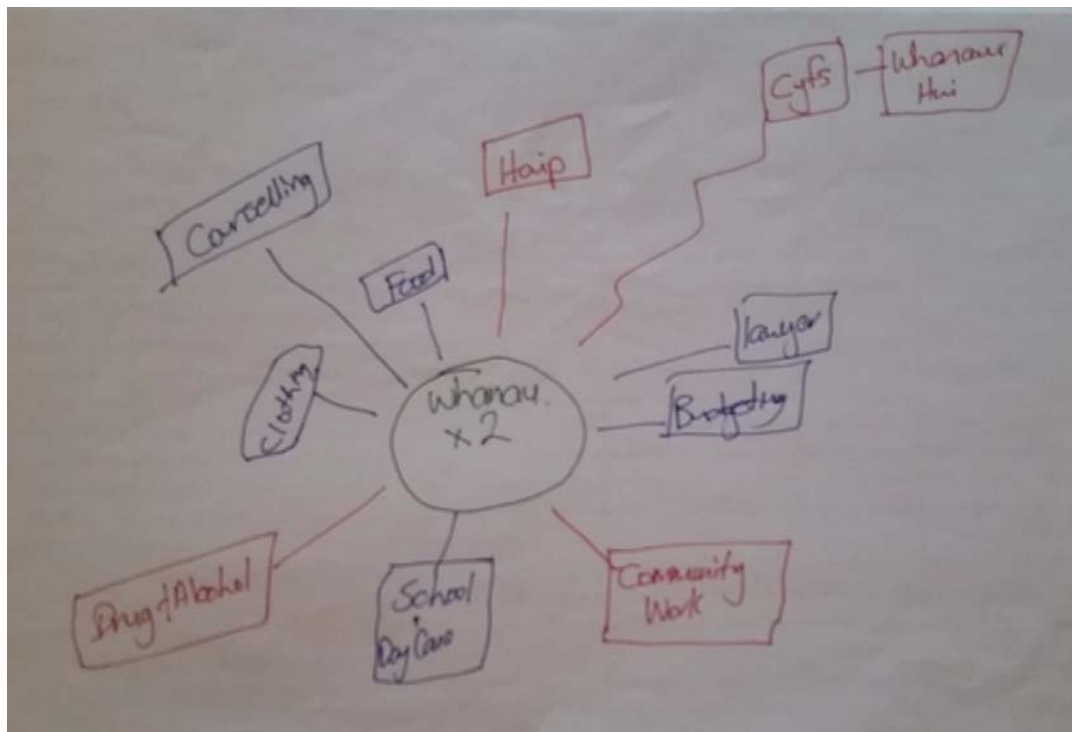


Figure 1. Hine's service map with services that whānau would typically access over two weeks.

For the third and final interview with advocates, Hine and Tahu requested they be interviewed together because they felt it would benefit to hear key findings and provide feedback in the one session, so that was arranged. In order to discern their individual perspectives, both Hine and Tahu were given opportunity to respond to findings and to provide feedback. Although interviewing them both together could have resulted in one

having more say than the other, or one being less inclined to speak up, I felt that due to the close and long-term friendship that they had, they were both comfortable to say what they wanted to say and the responses in this final interview seemed balanced. We went over the key findings, offering opportunities for further reflection and then closed off their participation in the research. I provided them with a list of findings for us to go through and they reiterated some points, elaborated on others, and also added points that they thought were important.

For the final interview with whānau, the initial plan was to have a feedback session where I would share the key findings and give whānau the opportunity to respond, change, elaborate, or add any points they thought were important. However, I conducted an extra interview about health as it had been discussed in a research team meeting as being an important aspect of precarity. This interview explored aspects of their lives that contributed or negatively influenced their health. A fourth interview with the whānau became the final interview and followed a similar process to that followed with the advocates, but individually. I provided the whānau participants with a list of findings for us to go through and they reiterated some points, elaborated on others, and also added points that they thought were important.

Analysis process

To begin the analysis, I took notes from my interaction with the participants. I then transcribed the interviews, taking further notes on emerging issues and subsequently read through the transcripts to confirm an evolving coding framework and to identify other key issues or themes from the interviews. The resulting framework, reflected the research aims and key questions I had explored with the participants (see section headers in the analysis chapters of this thesis). I then systematically categorized extracts from the interviews and some of the drawings into the coding framework and then gathered all the coded material and worked on finding a sequence to present these in a logical manner. I did this by using multiple word files. Working from each of these files I worked to interpret participant narratives, linking their experiences to the findings of previous research and cultural concepts in order to provide an interpretation that considered commonalities of the precariat experience and cultural relevance to their actions. In other words, the writing of sections became central to the analysis process.

I had conducted the analysis process separately for the staff and whānau participants and decided to present the findings for each participant type in separate chapters. Next, I worked at finding a sequence for the sections and then on linking between these sections. I then went back to the transcripts to check that my interpretations of particular extracts were appropriate given the context of our discussion. The result was the following two analysis chapters (three and four). I spent some time thinking about the order to present these two chapters. I wanted whānau experiences to be central, but also felt that the advocates offer a broader perspective and spoke at a more structural level about the [dis]functional character of the welfare system and associated problems that whānau faced. I reached the conclusion that it was better to present whānau experiences of the service landscape first and then present agency staff efforts to help whānau navigate services.

Principles and Ethics

My thesis was approved by the Massey University Ethics Committee. Ethical considerations of respect, risk of harm, informed consent, and confidentiality were considered in order to make this project as ethical as we could. Respect for people and culture was an important ethical consideration in this project. Participants were able to express their viewpoints on any matters that they felt were important within the study. They were able to have input into the focus of the interviews so as to better reflect their situations, concerns cultural understandings and beliefs. I also liaised with kaumatua who were part of the larger Nga Pa o te Maramatanga project on the Māori precariat to which this thesis contributes. These kaumatua helped me understand key cultural concepts and how I might draw upon them in interviewing my participants and later analysing participants life narratives via Māori cultural concepts of manaakitanga and whanaungatanga.

In regard to harm, there was no identified risk or harm to participants. The inclusion of tikanga Māori practices such as whakapapa in establishing relationships with The Refuge, staff and clients functioned to build trusting relationships so that participants felt comfortable sharing their experiences with me. It also meant that I became more accountable to participants as a younger Māori woman. In a sense, the two staff members

who were older than me, resembled aunty figures who supported me by accepting me in to their space, shared with me their experiences, and they recruited two client Māori women for the project. Emotional content or difficult experiences were raised during our interactions, but as these interactions occurred in The Refuge contexts social workers were on hand to ensure any difficulties were managed in accord with the value of manaakitanga. If an interview was becoming difficult for a participant, the interview will stop, and we dealt with any concerns before continuing the conversation. Participants were also given the information gained from interviews in a feedback session, where they were able to alter or eliminate aspects with which they were not comfortable or felt were misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Consent from participants was gained during our initial interactions and during these interactions, each participant was provided with an information sheet (see Appendix One) and a consent form (see Appendix Two) containing information about the study and what their involvement would entail. I also emphasized that participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without repercussions to them. The information sheet also informed and reassured participants of anonymity and confidentiality, along with my verbal reassurances that I would treat the information they provided with the utmost sensitivity. Participants were informed that their names will not be mentioned in the course of writing the thesis. Pseudonyms are used to protect participant's identities. Recorded conversations and transcriptions were kept secure in locked electronic folders on my computer and a university server.

CHAPTER THREE

Māori whānau navigating social services

In this chapter, my attention shifts to the experiences of two Māori women, Miriama and Rahera, who navigate the social services on behalf of their own whānau. Both these women exist within precariat Māori households. My analysis explores key issues emerging from my interviews and mapping exercises with these participants regarding how they navigate the welfare system. The analysis is presented in two sections. First, I provide background information from Miriama and Rahera that sets the context for the precarious situations they are currently experiencing. Second, I share how whānau navigate the service landscape. This chapter is completed with a brief summary and will be followed by the analysis of advocate responses to working with precarious whānau.

In order to understand the present situations and experiences of Miriama and Rahera, it is important to gain a sense of their backgrounds. This section considers past influences such as their upbringing and whānau life, housing, and work history. I then consider their more recent experiences of money matters, health, food, and cultural connections. These were key themes that shaped our discussions. Throughout the section I will highlight some of the complexities and contradictions evident in both participants seeking to live up to cultural expectations of them as older siblings and whānau members with responsibilities towards supporting other family members and their own precarious situations and needs.

Rahera was born and raised in a large Māori family of which she is the oldest of ten siblings. Although she stated that she had a strained relationship with her mother, Rahera has had a good relationship with her stepfather and describes her relationships with her siblings as being “real tight”. Her early relationships with her extended whānau, however, have been strained and she felt excluded. As Rahera states: *“In my family I was like the black sheep of them all ... all my mum’s brothers and sisters. They all knew me as the trouble maker, none of the kids would be allowed to hang with me”*. Being considered a ‘trouble maker’ in the eyes of her extended whānau was a result of her stealing food to feed her siblings which will be mentioned later in this section. Rahera’s account reflects early experiences of being excluded and feeling like she had little support. This was also

reflected in her support network diagram that consisted of her nan, her daughter, herself, her lawyer, and refuge staff. The visual tool that reflects her support network has not been shared in this thesis as it was a list of the names of these people which would risk revealing her anonymity.

Miriama is from Tainui and provides the following description of her papa kāinga:

I was raised in the mighty Waikato next to the river. In the waves of the west coast. At the foot of Karoi maunga. And the ancient Taupiri mountain ... The sleeping beast they call her. Female on the Raglan side, male on the Kawhia side. Two different sides of the mountain. That's why they call her the sleeping beast. So the waves out there, the water out there is Aotea harbour, and the Pacific Ocean. Heading back in to Waikato, the most mighty river of them all, the mighty Waikato river... the banks of Hakirimata, Turangawaewae, and all the way out to Ngati Whawhakia. And they call that Waikato Tainui Taniwharau. Taupiri mountain.

Miriama was raised within her ancestral homelands and her quote above tells us of the significant geographic locations within her tribal identity that give her a sense of ancient belonging to the Māori world. Despite this cultural sense of belonging her actual upbringing is less stable. Her father passed away when she was a child and both of her parents experienced mental health issues at some point in Miriama's life. In addition to her parent's mental health issues, Miriama's whānau had significant financial limitations within her immediate and extended family that reduced their capacity to care for her. Miriama eventually became a ward of the State at quite a young age. Despite being separated from her mother and siblings, of which she is the eldest, Miriama continued to stay in contact with her whānau over the years. In fact, her sense of connectedness to her whānau and responsibility as the eldest meant she always felt a responsibility to keep her whānau together regardless of her own upbringing and situation.

Miriama and Rahera both felt a lot of responsibility from a young age, mainly within their respective whānau. As the oldest of their siblings, they both experienced life as the elder sibling or tuakana. For Māori, the role of a tuakana is significant as the tuakana can take on a parental role in the whānau (Edwards et al., 2007). The common definition of tuakana referred to here is the older sibling who has the role of caring for and teaching their teina

or younger siblings (Jenkins & Harte, 2011). Being the oldest in the family contributed to Miriama being thought of as a *boss* among her siblings. For Rahera, her siblings would “...look at me like I’m the mother ... And still today they keep ringing me up “can I come up and stay with you?”. So even though both Rahera and Miriama experienced difficult upbringings, they both understood the importance of being the tuakana for their siblings.

Yet the pressure to be the boss as Miriama would say weighed heavy on her and when she became homeless, she saw the positives of this situation in only being responsible for herself. Miriama suggested that when she was homeless and living in her car, she was able to free herself from the burden of caring for others. This what she had to say about life as a tuakana:

...always looked out, looking after everyone else, what do they need. Everyone else’s needs came first. What needs to be done? Cook tea, wash the floor, scrub the floor, make the beds, hang the washing, make sure there’s enough bread till payday, do we have enough milk till payday? No cereal this week, porridge everyday so we can have meat... all that.

The heavy responsibilities towards other whānau members put a lot of strain on Miriama. Becoming homeless meant that Miriama could gain some respite from her obligation towards others. She could focus on her own needs for once.

Rahera also felt the strain of caring for others without adequate resources. This resulted in her moving away from her home town where her family still resides. She expressed a feeling of weight being lifted off her form trying to support others in need when she had few resources to even support herself. Rahera stated that: “having to spread my wings and not have to worry about my brothers and sisters ... I felt free”. However, this sense of freedom from her role as a the tuakana invoked strong emotions of guilt for Rahera. She knew that despite her new sense of individuality, her whānau were still experiencing a range of hardships and this was hard for Rahera to reconcile. It seems that although Rahera found it overwhelming to care for her siblings, she still felt a cultural obligation to assist her siblings out of poverty, even in her own precarity. Although gaining a form of respite from her caregiving role, she did not totally sever ties with her whānau and continues to care for her siblings as reflected in Rahera’s sister currently living with her.

Simile, Miriama's break from her role as tuakana while she was homeless did not last long either with family members living with her now "*I have my 50-year-old mother and my 27-year-old brother residing with me in my home and they are currently homeless for many reasons*" (Miriama). Miriama did not elaborate on the experiences of her family members.

As suggested already, both Miriama and Rahera are conflicted in their cultural role as tuakana. On the one hand, there is the strong sense of familial responsibility to guide and help their younger siblings. This reflects what I mentioned previously about traditional Māori ways of being based on collectivism and interconnectedness, working together for the betterment of the group. On the other hand, Miriama and Rahera are trying to focus on their own precarious lives as well. Difficulties appear to stem from their precarious status and lack of resources to meet their own basic needs as well as those of other family members. Although it has been difficult, Rahera and Miriama continue to execute their role of tuakana for their siblings.

Miriama and Rahera both faced further challenges in their upbringing that provide context for the precarity they face today, and their responses to hardship. Rahera's stepfather was the provider in the family, but was in and out of prison. It was during this time in prison that their family struggled the most. Rahera made the following comment, which demonstrates the common response to food insecurity they experienced while her father was incarcerated:

When he was out it was all good. If we ever just ran a little bit low on food, he would go out there and do something, make something out of nothing anyway. But when he went to jail, it just crumbled. And she (mum) would literally just sit there and just do nothing.

Observing the way her parents reacted to hardship, Rahera decided to take a more proactive approach to their whānau precarity. At the age of 11, Rahera started stealing to feed her siblings: "*me and my brother had to... because we were hungry ourselves... go out there and rob food and shit like that to feed them*". Considering her life circumstances at that time, it is understandable that one might resort to crime but it is difficult to comprehend an 11-year-old girl forced to steal for her siblings. Although research shows

that youth stealing food is not uncommon (Dachner and Tarasuk, 2002; Kipke, Simon, Montgomery, Unger, & Iversen, 1997), it is disappointing people like Rahera felt no other option in a country as wealthy as Aotearoa. Rahera was too young to access financial assistance, and she also felt her parents were not supported enough by the State which she felt forced into theft to survive. These precarious circumstances that she encountered meant that the tuakana teina relationship was not simply about Rahera caring for and teaching her siblings. It reflects desperation on Rahera's part that lead to self-sacrifice, risking her own safety and life to feed her siblings.

Whittle et al (2015) related food insecurity with matters of structural violence. In their study they stated that the income people get on benefits is barely enough to pay the cost of rent, particularly in urban spaces which are often subject to development. Whittle and colleagues (2005) make the point that people on benefits will rather reduce their food bill to ensure housing costs are paid. Furthermore, Colbert (2014) found that food insecurity for people in precarity is a structural issue through unequal access to food. Our current economic market focuses on exporting foods for profit over localised distribution and access.

Food insecurity also impacts on social and cultural practices. Hodgetts and colleagues (2016) stated that for a Māori woman in the precariat, having no food in the cupboard can bring cultural shame and limit the social interaction whānau have with others. Māori have a long cultural tradition of caring (manaaki) for others via food. Feeling whakamā (shame and humiliation) as a result of being unable to share food and therefore show manaakitanga (hospitality) transgresses important cultural and social ties that can undermine whanaungatanga. Whanaungatanga or social connectedness is an important buffer in times of stress and hardship.

Food insecurity has not gone unnoticed and there have been more humane attempts to improve food security for people in precarity. In Italy for example, a man was discharged from stealing food because the judge found the man's actions did not constitute a crime because he was hungry and malnourished (BBC News, 2016; Pianigiani & Chan, 2016). An example to reduce food insecurity closer to home is the development of the Education (Breakfast and Lunch Programmes in Schools) Amendment Bill 2012, or the 'feed the kids' Bill which would provide breakfast to decile 1, decile 2, and other designated

schools in New Zealand. This Bill was introduced to assist parents with food costs as a result of poverty in New Zealand and the push from groups such as the Child Poverty Action Group. In 2015 however, the National government turned the Bill down. In contrast to the National party's apparent lack of interest in the struggle of the precariat, is the Tribal Huk Gang's Sandwich Plan. This gang supplied sandwiches for 31 schools in New Zealand to 'hungry kids' (Kerr, 2015). Although these approaches are a move in the right direction, they do not resolve the structural cause that create food insecurity or precarity.

Similar to Raheera's experience of having to steal food at the age of 11 to provide for herself and her siblings, Miriama has a similar story fending for herself in her youth. At the age of 15, she had to access a welfare benefit because she became a boarder with Oranga Tamariki caregivers (previously known as Child, Youth, and Family or 'CYFs'). This was quite a traumatising time for her as she reflects:

The last thing you expect to do is go out and fend for your own and learn how to apply for financial aid at 15 years old ... A 15-year-old should be playing sport, hanging out with their friends but to financially apply, to apply for financial aid, that's a biggie for a 15-year-old to do. And not have a support or an advocate or a person next to them.

Becoming a beneficiary and having financial responsibilities at 15 reflects Miriama's life circumstances of the time. It is an unfortunate reality for some teenagers who are in state care, where they are made to live with strangers, have to become independent and are expected to be responsible at a young age. Such situations place further stress and disadvantage on young people in care who are already vulnerable, lacking security, support, and the skills they need to be successful (Cashmore and Paxman 1996). Miriama had to learn to navigate the system from the age of 15.

Miriama's statement above also reflects the lack of support that she had in her youth. Figure 2 is Miriama's current support network. I asked Miriama to write down the people who she felt she could rely on in times of need, people who have supported her in her hardship. She documented family members such as her mum, her children, and her relatives who work in social services. She documented services such as Salvation Army,

and underlined in orange are the services that she felt were the most reliable including The Refuge, Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa, and her marae.

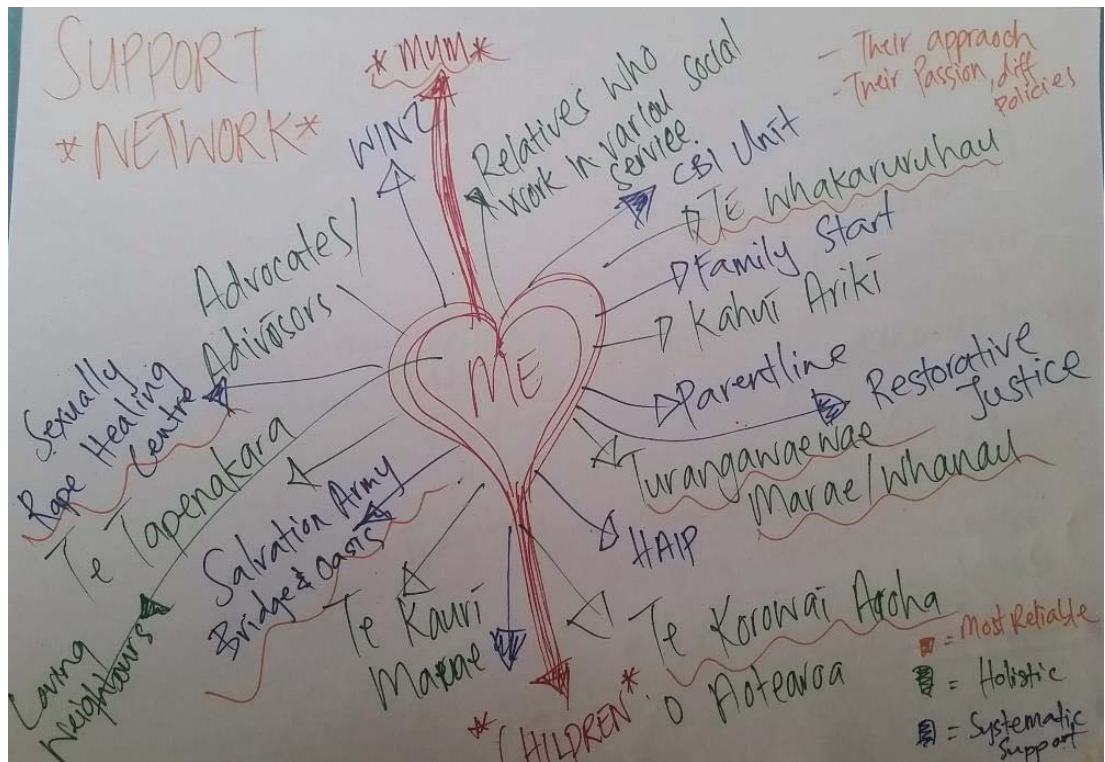


Figure 2. Miriama's support network

Housing

For my two participants, insecure housing is a significant part of their precariat lives. Rahera and Miriama have experienced both similarities and differences in terms of where they lived and who they lived with. As a “ward of the state”, Miriama experienced a lot of transience, living with various relatives and non-relatives. In adulthood, she continued to move around a lot, living mainly with her partner and children. Miriama was asked to map out her living situations in the past five years and this is shown in Figure 3. The exercise of mapping her housing history on paper opened up further dialogue about the insecure housing she’s experienced and how this reflects her precarity both past and present. As reflected in Figure 3 below, Miriama has lived in different kinds of accommodation, including a caravan, cabin, car, Housing NZ home, and in Women’s Refuge accommodation in the past five years alone.

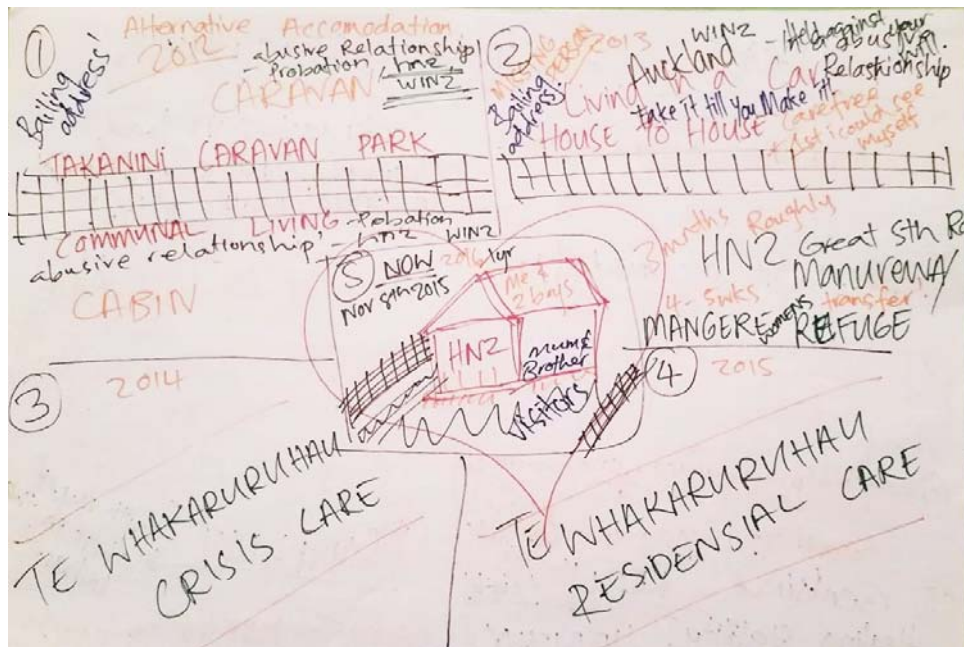


Figure 3. Miriama's housing diagram representing the past five years

When considering the experience of living in her car, Miriama had differing responses. At times, it was “mentally challenging, physically uncomfortable, emotionally very stressful”, and she would lie to her whānau about being homeless with her strategy being “fake it till you make it”. She would put on a front when she would see her family and friends, pretending that she was not homeless. This is a reflection of her feeling whakamā (shame and humiliation) about her situation and being too whakamā to ask for help from her loved ones. It could also be that her whānau are precariat too so were unable to help her. At other times however, she felt “carefree” as she did not have to the responsibilities of a tuakana as I mentioned earlier:

I didn't feel the strain of paying rent, paying power, buying food. What was in your pocket, was in your pocket. You didn't have to worry about the power getting turned off, you didn't have to worry about, the only thing you had to worry about was gas in the car. To get moving from one spot to the next spot. And maybe where your money was coming from and that's it (Miriama).

She then compared the experiences of living in a car to a physical home with the basic functions of a bathroom and kitchen as having “Security, stability, that was another feeling again ... I suppose it was a different feeling of peace”. Her response to both

experiences reflect the reality of making the most of each situation. This account also speaks to how some people can look for the positives of living in a car compared to their domiciled lives characterised by precarity (Groot & Hodgetts, 2012).

Similar to Miriama, Rahera also moved around in her adult years living with her partner and different family members. As seen in Figure 4, in the past five years she has lived in four different cities, in nine different homes, as a boarder and as a renter.

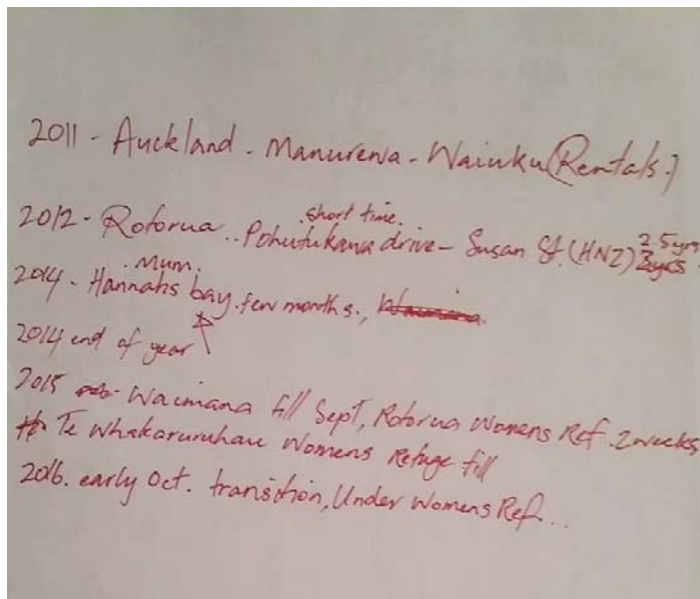


Figure 4. Rahera's housing diagram representing the past five years

Rahera recently moved in to a Housing NZ home where some of my interviews took place. I had the pleasure of visiting her and seeing how happy she was to feel a bit more secure and able to think more long term. The security of this new home meant she was able to plan for the future:

I just wanna make sure my house is like you know. Like this is where I wanna be long-term ... From there just putting my baby on track and then putting my sister on track and then knowing that I know where I wanna go and just go through what I wanna do.

Transience and housing insecurity is common among members of the precariat due to social and financial stressors that lead them to move or be evicted (Coulton, Theodos, and Turner, 2012). For the last two years, Miriama has lived in four different types of accommodation, including her car due to an abusive relationship. This has heightened Rahera's resolve to ensuring some stability and security for her baby and sister. Women, like Rahera, who experience intimate partner violence have been found to be four times more likely to experience housing insecurity (Pavao, Alvarez, Baumrind, Induni, & Kimerling, 2007; Phinney, Danziger, Pollack & Seefeldt (2007). To make things more difficult for both Rahera and Miriama, they also face the added barriers of limited resources that provide options in how they deal with their housing insecurities.

Despite my participants' experiences of precarity there is still the desire to own their own home which for Miriama at least has to be "economical and environmentally friendly" (Miriama). The desire for such a home is not simply for one's self. Reflecting an ongoing sense of responsibility towards whānau, Miriama stated that she would "*like to own a home too. But not for me, it'd just be a foundation for the kids*". This statement reflects a relational understanding of the functioning of a home where metaphorical roots can be planted and stability offered to her family. Something she has had little experience of in her own life. Should the dream of owning a home become a reality, which is hard to imagine considering the housing crisis Aotearoa is currently experiencing (Howden-Chapman, 2015), people experiencing precarity are limited in the type of home they can purchase or even rent, and the type of neighbourhood they can choose to buy or rent in (Belle, 1983). Precariat whānau would often coalesce with other precariat households in stigmatised low socioeconomic areas characterised by a range of risks and insecurities (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). This is the case for Miriama who resides in a Housing NZ home within a low socio-economic neighbourhood:

My neighbours are drug addicts, alcoholics ... abusers, gang members and that's the environment that we have to look at every day. Gangsters walking down the street, people arguing in the middle of the night ... that is the environment that systems have created and that's the consequences of cheap housing (Miriama).

This extract invokes a 'ghetto' type scenario as the result of public housing, grouping members of the precariat together. It is segregated from affluent neighbourhoods in many

regards when communities that Miriama finds herself in are under resourced in terms of material and social supports. Wacquant (2004) discussed this as the process of ‘decivilizing’ and ‘demonizing’, where people in precariat neighbourhoods due to inadequate state support and therefore socially excluded from equal and genuine participation in society’s resources.

Whānau living in precariat neighbourhoods also experience substandard housing which can include mould, dampness and heating issues (Butler, Williams, Tukuitonga, & Paterson, 2003). Miriama talked about how one has to remain constantly vigilant for mould in order for it to not get out of hand:

The mould in my house is there but I keep it to a minimum because I take that time to wipe my windows every morning. I make that extra effort ... so that my environment can be healthy (Miriama).

Howden-Chapman and colleagues (2007; 2012; 2015) have published extensively on the effects of unhealthy homes and its impact on health such as respiratory problems coronary issues and also mental health. Damp and mouldy housing in particular can negatively impact on an occupant’s health (Jaakkola, Hwang, & Jaakkola, 2005; Bonnefoy, 2007) and for some, death can be an outcome too as suggested by the mother of a two-year old toddler in 2015 (Walters, Fagan & Small, 2015). So, the experiences of Miriama have serious health implications for people who cannot afford to live in healthy homes. Interventions that improve housing quality by making it warmer and drier have shown that better housing quality can reduce hospitalisation rates for respiratory issues (Howden-Chapman et al., 2007; Howden-Chapman et al., 2008; Jackson, Thornley, Woolston, Papa, Bernacchi & Moore, 2011), GP visits, days off school, as well as improve self-rated health (Howden-Chapman et al., 2007).

Similar to Miriama, Rahera also tries to keep her whānau healthy by ensuring they have a “clean house, clean clothes, and clean bodies”. In Rahera’s most recent accommodation which houses her immediate whānau she had this to say:

The environment (home) is dirty ... I’m not used to it, I’m not used to having an untidy place because it makes me think that my baby will get sick fast and pick up

germs from just in that dirtiness. Yeah cos I'm a bit of a clean freak ... seeing things untidy is, is germy to me (Raheera).

The idea of cleanliness being good for wellbeing has been around for centuries (Thinn, 2007) and people in the precariat engage in every day practices such as personal and public hygiene to keep their whānau healthy. Washing walls and bodies is also a way these women can exert some control over their environments and present themselves and responsible and caring home-makers.

Employment and education

Employment and education issues are also important to consider in the lives of precariat whānau. As mentioned in the introduction, part of being in the precariat relates to being engaged in precarious employment. Such work is characterised by low pay, casual and seasonal work, which limits the resources they have and ability to respond to material hardship. Miriama and Raheera are not strangers to precarious employment and associated strains. Commonalities between their work histories includes starting work at a young age, engaging in casual and insecure work, and a lack of qualifications to gain more secure work or even long-term career employment options. Both their experiences of precarious employment invoke related issues around education and life chances. For example, Miriama engaged in seasonal work before her teenage years, working intermittently in orchards around the country:

I know seasonal work very well. I know pretty much every fruit and vegetable in the supermarket. I know how it grows. I know what it needs. I know how to pick it. I know what sort of environment it needs to grow in. I did that for a long time till I was about 18.

Despite having to work during her secondary school years, Miriama still managed to complete high school to then work in social services for a few years. Currently however, Miriama is unemployed due to medical reasons and receiving a benefit from MSD as a result. She does volunteer work however with Waikato Women's Refuge and at her marae which is close to where she lives. Miriama expressed that if she was physically fit enough to work, she would love to but faces another barrier to work, which is her lack of

qualifications, “*education is the key, being certified in your field is the key ... unfortunately if they want a piece of paper, it does not exist*”.

Living in precarity means that benefit payments do not cover all living costs so she draws on assistance from family and donations:

People give me a donation to help assist them with their needs, whatever they may need, that’s a nice way of putting it. People call it ‘volunteer’.... Family offerings ... with the accommodation problem that we have at the moment

This housing problem Miriama refers to means many people are struggling to find suitable accommodation and it is not unusual for people to live with her for a while. Such short-term stays help with basic food necessities especially when one is unemployed.

Like Miriama, Rahera got her first job in her early teenage years too. This involved part time and seasonal work cleaning and working in the kiwifruit orchards. Rahera felt that working while at school impacted negatively on her education and she eventually left school without qualifications:

I was doing everything just to get my grades up there and then make money at the same time. But, yeah, I was working myself off ... And then after that, I went back to cleaning... I was doing kiwi fruit packing at the same time so they dropped my hours down. I was only doing four hours and then I’ll go to kiwifruit.

Rahera also worked on a farm, which she enjoyed, and took part in the Army Limited Service Volunteer (LSV) program as directed by MSD, which she described as “definitely a challenge but ... loved it”. There she gained experience in training and routine that one would encounter in the army and contributes to work-readiness with a focus on discipline, leadership, and communication skills (Ministry of Social Development, n.d.-b). Now, with a young child, she is a full-time mum receiving the Sole Parent’s benefit from MSD. Like Miriama, Rahera also volunteers at Waikato Women’s Refuge.

Both Miriama and Rahera do volunteer work for their favourite service, Waikato Women’s Refuge-The Refuge. Reciprocity with the services they enjoy going to is a

strategy that maintains the support network that whānau have. Reciprocity has long been a functional response to the actions of others (Gouldner, 1960). Falk & Fischbacher's (2006) theory of reciprocity defines it as "the behavioural response to an action that is perceived as either kind or unkind" (p. 3). Not only do whānau seek the services of agencies that make them feel more comfortable and accepted, they seek to show their gratitude by volunteering work time for them.

Money matters

Worries about money were a constant companion for these precariat whānau. As beneficiaries, Miriama and Rahera stressed the necessary skill of being able budget well in order to get by. They do not have the freedom to buy whatever they desire. Coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds and having to try to fend for themselves at a young age has made them more appreciative of the necessities in life such as food and shelter. For example, Miriama prioritises the necessities:

I have rent, power, food, travel, phone. Necessities, right? That's weekly. And because I have 2 boys, every 3 months they need a new pair of shoes, times 2, remember this is times 2. A bag, sometimes it's even a lunch box and a drink bottle. Clothes. Change of season remember. ... We have takeaway, funerals to attend, family events, birthdays, weddings, marae huis. That's all on a benefit. Laundry in winter, dry your clothes ... I don't have any bad habits that cost money. So, I don't smoke cigarettes, I don't drink alcohol, and I do not participate in consuming drugs of any kind.

A strategy Miriama uses in harder times is being more flexible with food. For many such families, food has become a discretionary item that can be skimmed on in order to cover competing costs such as high power bills in winter or school fees (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Rahera has similar priorities in terms of food and essential bills. Her strategy for more difficult times is also similar, reporting that she would cut back on the amount she spends on food and nappies:

I don't go through Salvation Army or ST Vincent for food top ups just to get me through ... I just use what I have ... stretching it anyway just stretching that money

and making it last till that next week. I can do heaps with \$50 ... if my baby has to wear budget nappies for that one week then she will cos normally I get her those expensive huggies (Raheera).

Their strategies for budgeting with food reflect Dowler 's (1997) findings that not only is food the most prioritised cost for low income families, it is also commonly a cost that is considered flexible when whānau are struggling. Although Dowler (1997) also found that items such as clothing and shoes were often cut first, these items were not reported by Miriama and Raheera as fitting in to their budget.

An issue that Raheera experiences in terms of finances is her debt and bad credit rating due to purchases from clothing trucks and previous high power bills. These debts limit her ability to make bigger purchases as you “*Can't go for loans when you got bad credit*” (Raheera). Her situation then leads her to pay her bills by using her overdraft each week until she pays one of her debts:

Every time I take 60, I pay \$60 back the next week ... I end up getting my overdraft out cos I can't afford to you know, so I'm like taking it out every week just to add it back up again. But yeh. I always make it work with whatever I've got. There's always a way.

This quote demonstrates an outcome of exploitative lending practices from businesses such as clothing trucks. These practices take advantage of vulnerable whānau who are often getting loans for necessities and leave them bound in debt (Hodgetts et al., 2016). It makes the financial struggle more difficult and ongoing.

These issues also bring both participants recognition of their class position in society to the fore. For example, Miriama reflects on being at the lower end of the class hierarchy, aspiring to a middle-class existence but lacking the resources for achieving it: “*The gap between ... the lower status and the higher status, it's too big ... Some of us are just scraping in trying to look like middle class but aint living middle class*” (Miriama). This desire to look middle class seems a more viable option as there is less stigma and stereotypes of unworthiness assigned to being middle class. It is common for people in precarious circumstances to strive towards at least the appearance of social mobility and

status by presenting themselves with confidence, and in a way that adheres to the group or the position they are seeking (Anderson & Kilduff, 2009). Examples of this are shown in the third section of this chapter, which refer to how whānau navigate social services. It is the way whānau behave that contradicts their circumstances, in order to receive more positive responses from others

Connecting with whānau for leisure and respite

Following on from money matters, it seems that both woman appear to live simply, focussing on the necessities for survival, rather than luxuries or materialistic things which is indicative of precarious livelihoods. This contradicts the stereotypical notion that beneficiaries are wasteful of their money and incapable of budgeting to survive. Rather, precarious whānau like Rahera and Miriama are drawing on all the resources available to them to make ends meet. Alongside their focus on necessities in their weekly budgets and simply trying to survive, Miriama and Rahera also find time out from their precarious lives through simple everyday acts:

We turn the TV off, we read books and we play board games. Or hand games most of the time, hand games. I've got kids around that age where they need to be active but their minds need to be a bit more active than their bodies. So, we do a lot of board games we do a lot of reading, we do a lot of hand games, lots of singing, and meditation... On a beautiful sunny day ... If transport is an option, we go to free activity places. We go to places where it doesn't cost us money. We pack a lunch and we go for a few hours ... We put our bikes in the car, we put our scooters in the car, and our skateboards, and we go and we do physical activities all day ... There are a lot of free events and festivals going on so we partake in those (Miriama).

Simile, Rahera reflects upon various activities her and her whānau use to take time out from their which includes going for walks and to the park. She noted that “*You really don't need money to connect more, just having that 'us time' ... I like that my sister and my baby like to walk, they like to go park, they like to explore ... I do all of that*”. What we see in both Miriama and Rahera's accounts of respite, is that they both make use of free public resources and spaces. They specifically seek out activities that strengthen their

sense of whānau connectedness without spending money that they don't actually have. Unsurprisingly, families experiencing financial hardship have often been limited to the leisure activities that they can participate in (Kennett, 2002) so it is understandable that their leisure practices involve free activities that are more easily accessible to them. Having respite from hardship is an important aspect of maintaining wellbeing and achieving more than just survival for these whānau. Kleiber, Hutchinson and Williams (2002) report that leisure activities buffer against adversity with the capacity for self-protection, self-restoration, and personal transformation. Self-protection refers to taking control over situations that can be distressing. Kleiber et al (2002) claim that engaging in activities and in relationships that distract a person from their hardship is a strategy for self-protection and can raise optimism about future opportunities. Self-restoration refers to having a sense of being one's 'normal' self, being able to continue living with their own idea of life without hardship. Engaging in leisure activities and reconnecting with people provide an escape that allows people to have hope that life will be okay. And personal transformation refers to the growth that comes from adversity and self-restoration, and the reorganisation of perceptions about one's self and priorities.

Thus, whānau who engage in activities of respite are able to experience times of relief from the stress that is the precariat life-world and allows them space to do more than just survive together.

An extension of this whānau connection is the connection that whānau have with culture and their desire to practice traditional ways of living such as growing their own fruit and vegetables, and living off the land, or as Miriama puts it, "to be self-sufficient". Rahera voiced that she would like to do:

What we used to do back in those days like ... how the Māori used to live. Not like real horey, how we used to live from earth, from nature. Yeh. Like hunt, fish, gather but these days it's a whole different world.

These statements are a reflection of how both Rahera and Miriama see a simpler life where cost of living was not a barrier. Many Māori continue to live off the land and sea and my participants see this approach to life as staying connected with Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). Living in the Māori world also means living by Māori cultural values and

practices of staying connected to the larger whānau. Having whānau connections and cultural links is important to my participants as it can provide a social support network and sense of belonging that can buffer against the hardship they face (Howarth & Andreouli, 2016) just as a lack of cultural connection can lead to diminishing support structures (Kingi, 2003). As I have argued already, my participants' precarity means that they are less connected to their larger whānau which compromises their sense of health. Hodgetts and colleagues (2016) discussed this in their research on Māori precarity and how such situations restrained people from reaching out to whānau or calling upon cultural resources that could manifest in the Māori practice of manaaki (caring for others). Precarity is therefore a threat to practising Māori cultural traditions. Both Rahera and Miriama acknowledged that at certain points in their life they have had some time out from whānau, however they still long for immersion with whānau and things Māori as this is central to who they are and the responsibility they feel towards others. Unlike some Māori who no longer have connectedness to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and Māori ways of being, Miriama and Rahera both embrace their identity as Māori women, both speak te reo, and are familiar with their whakapapa and tikanga within Te Ao Māori. These are important traits they recognise as helping them deal with their precarious lives.

In this section, I have shared whānau experiences of precarity, whānau, housing, and money. Next, I consider Rahera and Miriama's experience of services they use and reliant upon, followed by a section considering strategies they use to effectively navigate these services.

The service landscape whānau face

For the purposes of this section, the 'service landscape' refers to Government, non-Government and charitable supports services used by Rahera and Miriama in response to their precarious lives. To give some insight in to Rahera and Miriama's service landscape they both used drawings to map their engagements with agencies over a two-week period. Their experiences are presented in Figure 5 (Miriama) and Figure 6 (Rahera). In Figure 5, Miriama would typically engage with 19 separate services. These services were distinguished by those they 'have to go to', those they 'need to go to', and those they 'choose to go to'.

The services they ‘have to go to’ (coloured in red in Figure 5), are services that are compulsory and have consequences for them and their whānau if they did not attend appointments. They included Work & Income NZ, ‘CYFs’, formerly Child Youth and Family and now Oranga Tamariki (Ministry for Vulnerable Children), and Housing New Zealand (HNZ). Those they ‘need to go to’ (coloured in orange in Figure 5) are services that provide essential service but will not be penalised by the service for not attending. They included budgeting services, GP (general practitioners or doctors) and Salvation Army. And those they ‘choose to go to’ (coloured in green in Figure 5) are services that they do not ‘have’ or ‘need’ to go to but do so out of choice whether it be for culture, learning, or leisure. These included the marae, The Refuge and Korowai Aroha o Aotearoa.

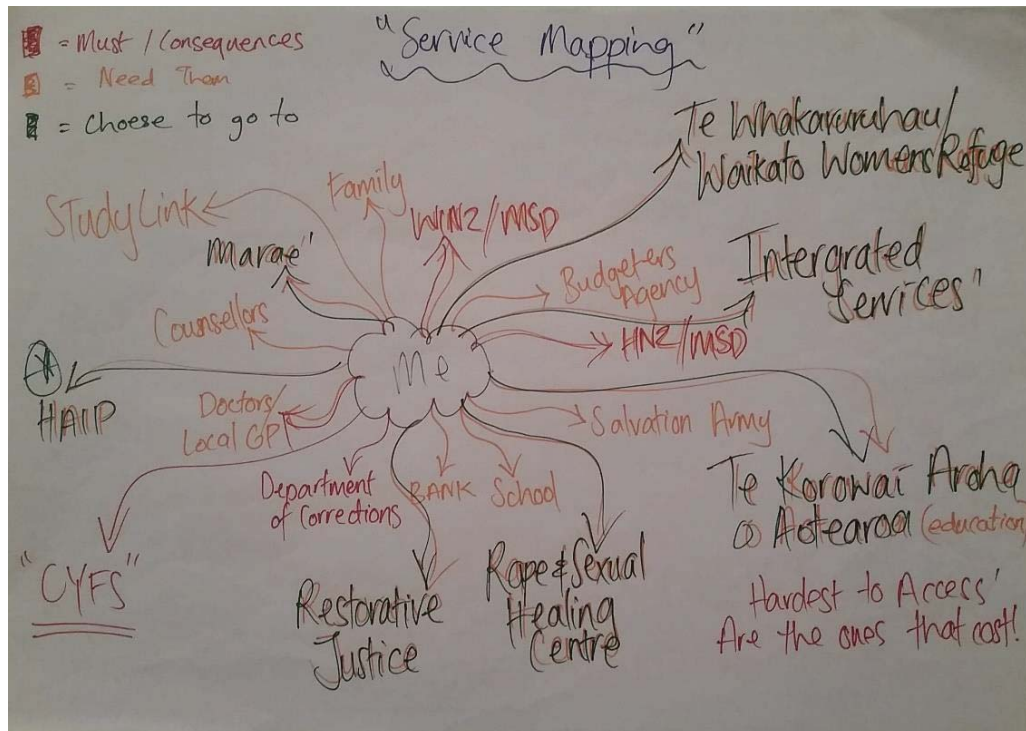


Figure 5. Miriama's service map

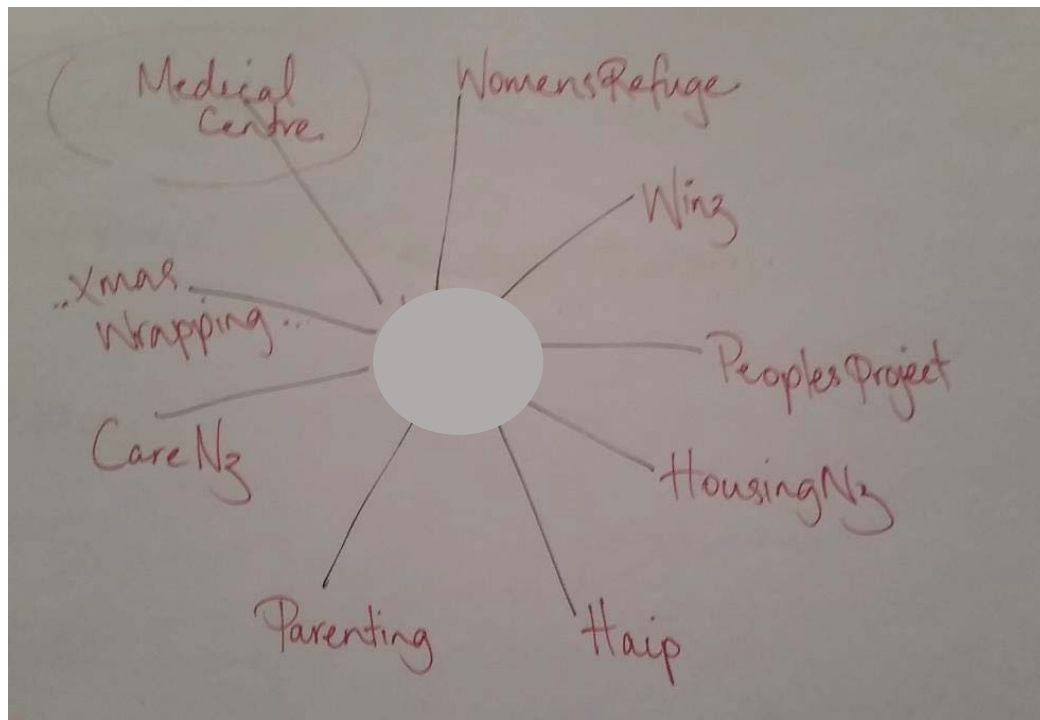


Figure 6. Raheera's service map

As suggested in Figure 5, Miriama's engaging with a high number of services which takes approximately four hours a day on top of her parenting and household duties. Her two-week schedule is shown in Figure 7 and is reflects the services that she planned to access in the two weeks following the interview and on some days that four hours included time she would spend preparing for those appointments. The services she included were her marae to do volunteer work, The Refuge, Housing New Zealand (HNZ), and in orange she put her children's schooling (Di Fabio & Palazzeschi) as she had to arrange appointments around getting her kids ready for school and having time to get home by the time they finished school.

4hrs a day¹

| | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday | Sunday |
|----------|--------------------|--------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------|--------|
| WEEK ONE | Sch HAIP WWR | GP Sch Counsellors | GP Sch R & SH centre Restorative Justice | GP Sch Budgeters Marae | Sch HNZ WWR marae | WWR marae | marae |
| WEEK TWO | Sch HAIP WWR | GP Sch Counsellors | Sch R & SH centre Restorative Justice | HNZ GP Sch Marae | Sch HNZ WWR marae | WWR marae | marae |

Figure 7. Miriama's two-week schedule.

Rahera also engages with multiple services and notes that she spends approximately eleven hours per week with these services. The approximate time periods engaging with these services did not include getting to and from services, or any preparation for them. Considering that both women do not have vehicles, transport to and from each engagement can be a barrier to accessing these services. Rahera stated that she will “literally just walk everywhere” and went on to note the difficulty of being a single mother and having to manage it all: “On my own it's pretty hard. But it's just ... like a routine”. Rahera has had to adapt to this way of living to get the necessities from multiple services. The effect of planning her day around appointments and preparing for appointments, means less time and energy for Rahera's own whānau needs and aspirations. Following are the accounts of experiences within this service landscape.

Another challenge for precariat whānau on a benefit is not only juggling multiple services as reflected in Figures 4 and 5, but also dealing with the multiple criteria of each service. Miriama reflects upon the service landscape as an ‘obstacle course’. “When you are on a Work and Income benefit there are hard times and so there are other services that you tend to need” (Miriama). This comment reflects how the service landscape is not simple

as whānau must access multiple services, getting through different obstacles such as meeting their criteria for assistance from each agency. Precariat whānau are having to go from service to service, to make up for the insufficient income received by a MSD benefit. Although this is important to the next section on navigating the service landscape, I chose to include it here first to demonstrate the circumstances whānau face. In the next section, I will talk to whānau responses to this obstacle course.

Responsive services

Although there are services my participants prefer to avoid like MSD, there are services they enjoy engaging. Miriama reflects upon her favourite service to work with, The Refuge. Miriama's enjoys this service because of its focus on helping women in abusive relationships but also because of the way it operates in a culturally diverse and holistic way. Miriama stated that it is "*because you are not just made up of one thing you made up of many and they were able to provide that service and they still are ... to this day*". Miriama's perspective on The Refuge resembles holistic approaches such as Whānau Ora and reflects a traditional Māori approach to life informed by a Kaupapa Māori philosophy such as that promoted by Durie's (1994) Te Whare Tapa Wha Māori health model. Durie's model considers a person's the physical, psychological, spiritual, and social dimensions of health as all being interconnected and relevant to Māori wellbeing (Durie, 1994). It is important to the lives of participants in this study because their precarity places strain on them that cannot be addressed by simply focussing on the presenting issue, but rather on the dynamics of their physical, psychological, spiritual, and social circumstances.

Secondly, the attention paid to the outcomes that whānau experience, the ongoing consideration of the state of the whānau is what makes The Refuge (Waikato Womens Refuge, 2017) and similar kaupapa Māori services appealing to my participants.

Rahera also singled out The Refuge as her favourite service to engage with as they are:

Like an ear that will listen to you in how you feel and what you want and how you want to get it or do it. They ... tell you whether it's good or not, just straight up, that's how I like it, just straight up. Not beat around the bush ...

In the eyes of the whānau they work with, The Refuge provide a service that appears to put Miriama and Rahera's needs first. The Refuge's focus on the needs of whānau, considering their feelings, aspirations, and whānau centred outcomes, that make them appealing to my participants. This by Miriama:

They (The Refuge) come from a holistic view and it makes their service effective. They live and breathe that holistic view. Indigenous people get indigenous people ... Their view on the world is the same. The lens that they look through is the same. So the assumption and the judgement is minimized ... when you're looking through the same pair of glasses and you have a similar way of thinking, and you come from the same world, it minimizes it (negative judgement). So, it makes things more effective and humane.

Miriama's statement offers an insight into what a responsive service could look like for precariat Māori whānau. Miriama's point challenges mainstream social services offered in Aotearoa which commonly engage in eurocentric practices, despite cultural diversity of people such services engage with (Hollis, 2016). Cultural awareness and sensitivity have become more important as the rights of indigenous people have gained more attention. The resurgence of the Māori culture, the development, use, and acceptance of Kaupapa Māori philosophy, and the implementation of Kaupapa Māori services has made it possible for responsive services such as The Refuge to exist, where services focus on people and a 'by Māori, for Māori' perspective (Eketone, 2008).

Rahera's experiences supported Miriama's when referring to The Refuge. Rahera felt that they had more of an understanding approach to dealing with precariat whānau, as many of their employees have similar experiences of hardship and the corresponding empathy that comes with that. As Rahera notes "*having experienced people that have gone through something similar, worse, or the same. Or um, the support and comfort that they give you when you're lost I suppose*". Seeking similarity in others is to be expected as it is natural for people to respond more positively to others who they perceive are similar to them,

and less so if they are dissimilar. As Bauman (2011) noted “the ‘strangeness’ of strangers is bound to deepen and acquire ever darker and more sinister tones, which in turn disqualifies them even more radically as potential partners in dialogue and the negotiation of a mutually safe and agreeable mode of cohabitation” (p. 70). Similarities between the service employees and people utilising the service helps reduce demographic distance that might cause negative judgement and stereotypes of the poor. As Lindsey (2004) mentioned, people who are suspicious of beneficiaries would benefit from actually getting to know them and the struggles that they experience. If service workers do not have experience with people in precarity, and do not get to know whānau and what their situation is like for them, it is likely that service workers may feel superior, judgemental and out of touch with people like my participants. The effect of which for my participants can be loss of self-esteem, self-worth and feeling of worthlessness which can contribute to negative health outcomes (Trzesniewski et al., 2006).

Unresponsive and punitive services

The least favourite of the services whānau engage with are reported to be MSD, Oranga Tamariki, and Housing New Zealand. The following accounts of their worst experiences and services consider issues with policies but emphasise the issues with relationships between themselves and service workers. Miriama and Rahera have both experienced the unresponsive and punitive nature of MSD in particular, when their benefits have been either reduced or cancelled, otherwise known as being ‘sanctioned’, unfair and dismissive treatment by MSD staff, unnecessary scrutiny, withholding of information about entitlements, and being denied rightful entitlements.

When reflecting upon her experiences with MSD, Miriama stated that she was sanctioned due to a mistake that MSD had made, as she recalls:

I had already settled and moved to a new home. Work and Income had paid my bond and rent and everything else to settle me in to the new address but for some reason they weren't sending the mail to my new address even though they have paid for the place. ... my weekly income was stopped, completely stopped. I had to go in and sit and explain the whole picture, the whole scenario what happened but not just that, actually convince them.

Rahera had a similar experience with MSD where she was sanctioned for not meeting obligations that she was unaware of.

It wasn't my fault. I just got cut just like a couple of weeks ago ... they said that I had been work tested, full time work tested or something like that but it kept expiring because I was still on a sole parent (benefit). But they never got in contact with me and they were just cutting my benefit.

It is clear that sanctions on benefits are not considerate of what a whānau needs to get by and therefore when whānau are sanctioned, their hardship is worsened (Joo Lee, Slack, & Lewis, 2004). Having their benefit cut by half or entirely is not a just a matter of waiting for the next week or using money saved in the bank. Whānau in the precariat do not have these luxuries. Whānau have to follow up with MSD, “*sit in Work and Income and just wait for a space*” (Miriam), be convincing, and then wait for the decision of the case manager that they get on the day. Cherlin, Bogen, Quane, and Burton (2002) found in their study that majority of people who were sanctioned did follow similar procedures, or at least attempt to get their full entitlement reinstated. Other common strategies were getting a job, cutting back on spending, and borrowing from friends and family (Cherlin et al., 2002).

The punitive nature of welfare is also expressed through the treatment whānau are dealt. When asked how whānau are treated within the service landscape, Miriam responded that with “*majority of these government services, you're just a number ... I just believe that the quality in the care of our people is really important ... it shouldn't be about the number game*”. Not being treated in a humane way by services was also experienced by Rahera who states: “*I've never come across anyone who's tried to get to know me as a person*”. Handler and Hasenfeld (2006) noted that the jobs of welfare case managers was designed so that they had to act like technicians who ensured that stringent conditions of entitlements were adhered to. The supposed rational of this approach is to prevent benefit fraud. In accordance with this logic, the welfare system has become overly technocratic and staff decisions and interactions with client have become less about people and more about enforcing inhumane policies and procedures. Staff then see beneficiaries as a number and the identity as people is undermined by being treated in a dehumanizing way

as the poor ‘other’ (Shepard, 2007) in these spaces. Being so easily dismissed by service workers can impact beneficiaries access to life’s necessities. As Rahera commented:

I could ring up for food and they’ll (MSD) tell me no. In desperate need and then they would say no ... they were the worst experience ... they made the ugly always come out of me ... Housing NZ just made me wait, they just made me wait ... Or just hang up like when you’re on the phone waiting for them to answer they’d say ‘hi’ and I’ll be like “hi I’ve been waiting on the phone for ages but can I see if there’s any houses available or can I put some places down”. And then they’ll ask me who I am and then next minute hang up.

This statement shows that being dismissed by services includes difficulty accessing such things as housing opportunities and emergency food packages. Rahera also referred to the power imbalance often invoked by MSD workers towards whānau. She said:

They (WINZ) make them look like... big bad people and they will bite your head off and not give it to you after you know when they only need to just push a button and get it approved ... that’s what I mean about them having the power over people is that they actually want people to like, beg.

This demonstrates how whānau are made to feel like supplicants, having to beg for the basics (Standing, 2011), and an apparent abuse of power. Soss (2002) also mentioned this in their research where unequal power relations in the welfare service existed but beneficiaries could do little but conform to welfare staff expectations. Such experiences are supported by Hodgetts and colleagues (2014) and Morton and colleagues (2014), who claim that the unfair treatment of beneficiaries appears to be a common experience for whānau engaging the welfare system.

Rahera also mentioned that despite how prepared she is for employment, staff will still deliberately withhold information regarding entitlements:

You show them that you’re actually interested and you’re active and you’re like looking for work and you’re doing everything that they’re asking you to do then they’ll give you everything but they still won’t tell you your entitlements...

The nature of Rahera's interaction with service workers reflect Hegel's (1807) idea of the master/slave dialectic and his discussions around the relationship between lords and bondsmen. Hegel (1807/1977) suggests that people in power do not typically understand the needs of the people who are in bondage, it is their own perspective and needs that matter. For those in bondage, they are dependent on the 'masters', doing what they say, in order to meet their own needs for survival (Hegel, 1977). Here, whānau are having to arrange their own life-worlds around the needs and requirements of service workers and the service as a whole. Beneficiaries are then required to somehow understand what it is that service workers want from them and conform to this in order to access their rightful entitlements.

Rahera also claims that whānau are also put under unnecessary scrutiny or unfairly judged by MSD workers:

Majority of them (MSD) have just told me ... "why you asking for this? My own family have got bla bla bla kids and um, they're doing it like this or they're doing it with this amount of money or they stretch their money out" ... making me like feel like, I should, I should get out, I should be doing something about what I want instead of going to them and asking for stuff.

Turgeon, Taylor and Niehaus (2014) found that the experience Rahera that refers to is quite common and that welfare officers often compared clients to 'non-clients' implying that welfare recipients have an inherent lack of competence, knowledge, skill, and willingness to work in comparison to the more competent, intelligent, and good work attributes of people not on the benefit.

Another form of scrutiny was faced by Miriama who was being judged on areas of her life that were not the focus of the appointment. She stated:

This particular case manager put me under scrutiny about the way that I was parenting my child and asked me if they need to bring Plunket in. Did they need to ring all these other services and started assessing me mentally and emotionally instead of providing me with the financial support that I needed. As far as I

understand a case manager for Work and Income is not a psychiatric doctor ... So, I just thought that case manager was out of line ...I did not see that coming, I did not expect it to come across the table. I came there for one reason and one reason only, for financial support and aid. I did get it in the end but after that was 2 boxes of tissues, after crying and being emotionally distraught ... And I see that lots today.

Putting whānau under scrutiny is a method that individualises their situation and puts the blame on whānau themselves for their hardship, which reflects the dominant narratives about the poor (Handler & Hasenfeld, 2006). Reutter, et al. (2009) conducted a study which showed that people living with poverty feel that “other members of society tend to view them as a burden to society—as lazy, disregarding of opportunities, irresponsible, and opting for an easy life” (p. 297). These ideas make up the stereotype of the poor that guides the welfare system, yet whānau have challenged each of these ideas. The ongoing expression of personal deficits exposes whānau to the possibility of reinforcing a stereotype threat, where whānau confirm the ideas that others have about them, particularly when whānau are alone, vulnerable and decide to disengage from the system (Stroessner & Good, 2011).

Rahera mentioned that there does appear to be mixed responses from service workers. For example, some service workers will treat whānau fairly but: “*it really depends on who it is that you’re working with like who the case manager is*” (Rahera). Rahera’s comment demonstrates the uncertainty that whānau face when entering services. She went on to state that the type of treatment they get is dependent on whether the person they interact with is “*in a good mood or not a good mood. And you can like, ask them a question and they’ll think it’s a silly question and just shut you down*”. Staff will make decisions at their own discretion despite whānau rights to necessities and respect. Whānau are unable to predict the response that they will get from the people they engage with and are also unable to predict what mood they will be in.

How these whānau feel about these experiences is an important aspect of the welfare system that is often ignored. Miriama described the worst part of it as having strangers: “*making life changing decisions for you. And you feel helpless*”. She also said: “*I know from first-hand experience that it traumatizes a person that they have to emotionally feel*

that way in order to get ahead in life or to survive". Feeling helpless and traumatized in these situations is understandable considering the imbalanced power relations and would be even more difficult for people who are not experienced. Even for people who are experienced, despite showing agency, Miriama mentioned it can all be:

...draining. It puts a lot of pressure on you ... the strain that you go under ... I'm wary, because even though I've been doing this for years, there's always that one person. And all it takes is some ignorant person (MSD case manager) to look at me and go "nah, I'm not having a bar of it ... guess what? I'm having a bad day, denied. See you later" ... Your confidence doesn't just get smashed down, but your motivation does as well.

Being reliant on services can leave whānau in a state of stress, feeling both deflated and on edge. Feeling a lack of control is common for people experiencing poverty (Butterworth, Rodgers, & Windsor, 2009), however it is worsened and reinforced in situations such as that explained by Miriama. It reflects the impact that such simple dismissive actions can have on whānau that are long-lasting and detrimental to their wellbeing.

It seems that the ongoing interaction with services and advocates allows for more confidence as Miriama also noted:

I've gained confidence over the years but that's after the good, the bad, and the ugly but I suppose that's life itself aint it ... It's probably taken me longer than expected. I wish I would have learned sooner what I know now cos I could have saved myself a whole lot of grief.

Rahera appears to feel more confident when it comes to approaching services as she stated: *"I feel all good actually, because I'm not scared to ask for what I want. Is only going to be a yes or no"*. Having confidence is important to how whānau respond and this will be considered in the next section.

In order for whānau to be empowered, to stay engaged, whānau note that it would be more effective for service workers to treat them with more respect and dignity. As Rahera

states: “people who sit there on the computer should be treating those people, any people with the same treatment as they would be treated. With comfort and acceptance”. To which Miriama adds that whānau deserve to be treated as:

...human. Not being labelled and judged. Not an assumption based on my appearance... It's as simple as that. Don't judge me because of what I look like or how I'm dressed or because of the lack of education that I have (Miriama).

This reflects a desire for services workers to have empathy when working with people rather than punishing them for simply being poor. These are not unrealistic requests. Whānau already experience shame from being poor. They have felt traumatized, helpless, drained and deflated from being on a benefit. It is fair to ask for such changes that reflect a service that treats beneficiaries more humanely.

The above section has attempted to share and highlight the experiences that whānau have with social services and MSD in particular. There is clearly a negative undertone where power and control are practiced by certain service workers, making lives of precariat Māori whānau more difficult than necessary. Such whānau who have experienced precarity from a young age have developed responses to hardship and this will be explored in the next section.

Navigating the service landscape

This section is about precariat whānau having to work hard to navigate the contemporary welfare and social services landscape. Their efforts involve sacrifices, adaptation and having to engage in interactions one would rather avoid. In navigating the system, whānau are often positioned as members of a socially-excluded out-group trying to gain resources from institutional representatives of an in-group. In outlining their efforts, participants also bring negative stereotypes of ‘welfare queens’ and single mothers who access welfare benefits into question. This section documents what whānau are doing as they navigate services as a means of gaining access to their entitlements to necessities. I will show how in navigating the system whānau adopt strategies that make the process more dignified and maximise the potential for them gaining access to resources. This includes the choices they make in regard to which services they work with, how they prepare for

these interactions, how they conduct themselves during interactions, and what they do with the knowledge that they gain about how services operate.

It is important to note that there is no longer a coherent welfare system in operation (Hodgetts et al., 2013), but rather a patchwork of service providers that whānau must go to and choose to access. As part of this research, I asked whānau to draw this patchwork of services that make up their welfare and social service landscapes. As seen earlier in Figure 5 and Figure 6, whānau engage with a number of services that make up the landscape they navigate and the services that whānau work with can make a positive or negative impact on their lives.

Prior to interactions with services, whānau do their best to plan ahead and be prepared which allows them to manage engagements when they occur. Beyond the need for paperwork, the preparation that whānau reported included analysing services and their ability to choose to access or avoid them, knowledge of entitlements, and mental preparation. These work to reduce the uncertainty that they face within the service landscape, and minimize the helplessness they experience.

Being able to choose the services they engage with can determine how they are impacted. Although having a choice is not always possible, when they do have an option, Rahera and Miriama both mentioned that MSD is a service that they would avoid if they could. As Miriama states:

I try to avoid getting any sort of extra assistance from Work and Income because I suppose the pressure or the strain that you feel when you have to go through their processes. So, I tried to avoid that service all together. I tried to use other services if I can.

Miriama's statement is unsurprising considering the argument I made in the previous section about the treatment they beneficiaries receive from MSD case managers. Avoiding a service reflects whānau refusing to re-experience the anxiety, stress and helplessness and degradation they feel during those interactions. Whānau in the precariat are justifiably doing this in order to avoid the punishment they have already experienced

through engagements with MSD. In contrast, whānau seek out services that will treat them better As Miriama noted:

“I go to kaupapa Māori driven services to survive when I need food ... The system and the structure do make it harder for humans to survive, but with our indigenous practices and tools from ancient times, it allows us to survive.”

This statement by Miriama is consistent with earlier arguments about seeking support from The Refuge. It is Māori focused services that whānau choose to go to primarily because they are not treated punitively and are treated in a more holistic and dignified manner. This also suggests that whānau wish to draw on cultural values and practices that Kaupapa Māori services intend to embody. For people such as Miriama and Rahera who are proud Māori women, Kaupapa Māori services allows them a space to be themselves rather than the ‘others’ or part of an out-group who are undermined and dismissed by MSD staff. Being treated with dignity is done through the principles that guide Kaupapa Māori, and ultimately, the validation of their worldview and acknowledgement of their rights (Mane, 2009) as opposed to the scrutiny they experience in other services like MSD. Within a service landscape that can be dismissive and punitive, whānau purposefully seek out services that are founded on humane practices.

Choosing to avoid and to seek out particular services, along with other strategies adopted, can be read as forms of adaptation to how whānau will be treated and whether they will receive their entitlements. Bandura (1976) proposes that such strategies constitute responses to circumstances that increase predictability and control for social actors. Furthermore, whānau are trying to obtain food, shelter, and clothing which are essentials for survival. It is understandable that they want to have control over the situations to attain them.

Particularly helpful in preparing for the successful navigation of services is knowledge of one’s entitlements as whānau who know their entitlements have an advantage in gaining resources. As mentioned in the previous section, service workers do not always tell whānau what they are entitled to, so knowing entitlements is vital. Both Miriama and Rahera sought to “*have a clear understanding of the process*” (Miriama) and learn about entitlements relatively early in their involvement with welfare providers: “*inquiring about*

these entitlements one by one” (Rahera). Such interview extracts reflect how members of the Māori precariat have to not only know their rights, but also be willing to advocate for these rights. Successful self-advocacy requires doing one’s homework or research and preparation prior to key interactions with agencies such as MSD and HNZ. More broadly, Māori have been advocating for rights through the search for knowledge and participation since the beginning of colonisation by engaging in trade with settlers, learning about different cultures and their practices, and being part of the treaty of Waitangi (King, 2003; Walker 1990; Petrie, 2013). Despite the injustices that occurred, Māori continued to engage in the settler society, adapting, willing to learn and to flourish. Over a century on and our people are still responding to injustices with the goal of participation, knowledge, and growth for themselves and their whānau.

Whānau prioritize the engagements with services shown in Figure 5, Figure 6 and have to plan their day around them as demonstrated in Figure 6. As Rahera states: *“the days I know I have those things, I always make sure that I’m ready for it, planned, like I know in my head that I’m going to it”*. Simple things such as going to an appointment require mental planning and awareness of how interactions may pan out. Along with having to gather the necessary paperwork and identification required to take to services, whānau have to prepare themselves mentally. For Miriama, part of her mental preparation is visualising what these interactions will be like and focussing specifically on the day ahead. She voiced that she will spend: *“4 hours every night premeditating, visualising what the next day will look like because I only take one day at a time”* (Miriama). Visualisation can be a powerful tool of mental imagery by “imagining successful performance of the task before it is actually completed” (Neck & Manz, 1992, p. 684). Neck and Manz (1992) developed a model which suggests that visualisation leads to thought patterns and psychological scripts that are used to respond to different situations when they arise.

When speaking of having to mentally prepare every time she dealt with a professional, Miriama and Rahera expressed having to constantly be ready for scrutiny. Rahera stated it is important to:

Be one or two steps ahead of them, what they’re going to ask you. Or, you know, what they’re going to say and already have it with you whatever they’re going to

say, already have it. So, sort of be two steps ahead of them ... If you're not two steps ahead of them they're not even going to help you. They're not gonna bother.

Miriama provided a similar account:

While you are waiting and before you've walked in, you will have premeditated what your speech is going to sound like. What your scenario is. What your situation is and the facts you have... You have to know all the ins and outs of what you're dealing with in the subject that you're going to be talking about. You have to be ready for when they quickfire. They are going to be asking you questions and put on the pressure and you need to be able to maintain the sweats, the shakes, the rattling of your brain because your brain is going to go 110 miles an hour when they start questioning you ... questions that you didn't expect to be asked.

Whānau are thinking carefully through the interaction to come and imagine the conversation they might have. They make sure they know how they will respond to likely questions, including questions that are unpredictable or make them feel uncomfortable. They anticipate efforts to catch them out and the pressure that comes with the unpredictability as well as the pressure to have the right answer and say it the correct way. Despite feeling that pressure and the anxiety that comes with it, they need to use their body language, their knowledge, and their communication to keep calm and not appear stressed.

Their extracts also reflect the expectation of the worst. It is an aspect of their lives that makes preparation absolutely necessary and exemplifies attempts to respond to a system that treats clients as suspects. Mistrust and the use of interrogation relates to an example in the US provided by Lens and Carry (2010, p. 1039). Stanley, a hard-working African American veteran who was no longer physically able to work reported that he and his partner were treated as criminals when they sought assistance from the welfare system. Another example in the UK was provided by Bauman (2011) who mentioned that these kinds of scenarios have a definite impact on the relationships that people have with welfare staff, resulting in reduced contact, communication, and desire to do either. The following accounts of whānau navigating the service landscape reflect their need to engage and to communicate in certain ways.

When engaging with services, there were two common types of strategies that whānau reported using. The first, reflected playing a submissive role, conforming to expectations of service workers when attempting to gain entitlements. The second, reflected resistance, used to confront unjust decisions when they are denied their entitlements.

Much of what whānau do in the service landscape reflects them doing what they have to do to get the necessities. Resembling the findings of previous studies (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017), when engaging with services, both my participants talked about having to pretend to be someone they are not in order to be acceptable to agencies they ‘have to go to’ and in order to access their entitlements. As Miriama states, this involves “*getting into character, visualising appropriate appearance level and expected behaviour and attitude*”. There are three aspects to this statement from Miriama; pretend to be someone they’re not, dressing up, and presenting in a certain way.

When whānau are acting, or pretending to be someone they are not, part of them engages in a mental dilemma, or cognitive dissonance. Cognitive dissonance is when a person engages in behaviour that contradicts their beliefs (Festinger, 1962). Miriama noted that “*you are expected to act and present yourself in a certain way, at their level, in order to get what you want in this world*”. This is a reflection of the pressure of beneficiaries to conform to the idea of the ‘deserving’ citizen even though the process is not one that they want to engage in. Dodson (1998) reported that mothers receiving welfare assistance consciously play a role, as if they were part of a theatre, in order to make the process more bearable.

When whānau are dressing up, they are appealing to this idea by being “*well presented*” (Rahera) because service workers are “*looking at the way you’re dressed*” (Miriama). In their everyday lives, these participants are struggling to access food, shelter and clothing and are also expected to appear visually as worthy of assistance by ‘looking the part’ or ‘presentable’ as a jobseeker. This reflects how in many respects, organisations such as MSD sanitise the appearance of hardship and are out of touch of how dire the circumstances of some whānau have become. These participants are forced to pass themselves off visually and in demeanour, as respectable or middle-class people who have

the means to look appealing to others. If not, they will be identified as the poor and more vulnerable to feelings of exclusion (Harju & Thorod, 2011).

When whānau are presenting themselves in a certain way, they are communicating with caution. Raheera stated that she has to:

Have that real good communication ... Having to be respectful with the words you speak ... just having those manners and having that communication there where you understand them and they understand you and them not thinking that you're demanding anything (Raheera).

Whānau are consciously speaking and communicating in ways that conform to the expectations of them from service workers. As mentioned previously, Lens and Carry (2010) and Bauman (2011) have found that this is also happening in the USA and the UK. Beneficiaries must be careful about what they say and how they say it. Soss (2002) considered this in light of two thought processes. First, participants consider the amount of influence they can have on the decisions being made, and second, they consider their position within these relationships in the future if they do speak up. This was also found by Dodson and Schmalzbauer (2005), who state that beneficiaries avoid negative responses by following cues of service workers and saying what they need to say in order to get their benefits. This demonstrates how Whānau are navigating the service landscape by learning how to “play the game” as Miriama notes “*it's like a board game really you know to be on the benefit you have to like make the right moves to get what you want*”. Bourdieu (1990) referred to this in a general sense as the ‘double game’, where people conform to what is expected but all the while employing necessary strategies for their own interests. Playing the game in the welfare system means people like Miriama learn how to behave in a manner that enhances their chances of getting their entitlements without penalties or sanctions from agency staff.

When beneficiaries and people in need have to be someone they are not, they are temporarily changing themselves. Whānau are adapting to hardship by utilising different psychological scripts when putting themselves in situations that can be degrading, decivilizing, and dehumanizing (Lindsey, 2004; Mirchandani & Chan, 2008; Wacquant, 2001). This response of whānau changing themselves can be explained in part by Hogg

(2011) who proposes that people are likely to do what they can to appeal to others in order to ensure certain outcomes. These extracts also reflect the dynamics of the master/slave dialectic (Hegel, 1977) I have mentioned already, and is related to in-group and out-group processes. As with the idea of the master/slave dialect, whānau understand what service workers expect from them and whānau do what is required to survive. Whānau in Rahera's situation know that to survive, they must appeal to service workers rather than upset them.

Another strategy that whānau adopt is emphasising their needs to secure their entitlements. Miriama mentioned that:

If you're going to give them a sad story about somebody died in your family and you need help with this and that, well by all means cry ... that's the reality of getting into character, emphasising your needs. Do you know how many years we've been doing this, emphasising our needs?

In part this reflects the expectation of the lack of trust due to stereotypes of 'poor lazy Māori' or 'dole bludgers', beneficiaries who are work shy and want everything for nothing (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991). People in their position have to induce enough sympathy to be believed and assisted. I mentioned this earlier in what Standing (2011) refers to as the supplicant. An unfortunate aspect of being in the precariat is having to be a supplicant, begging for help from others. With begging comes the stigma of being poor and the stereotypes assigned to it that reflect personal deficits.

Many of the strategies that Miriama and Rahera adopt have been learned through observing and imitating others. Rahera admitted that she used to become angry with service workers who considered her quite demanding. Lens and Carry (2010) found similar reactions in the US, where welfare recipients reported having to avoid coming across as angry. She now reacts differently and has benefited from it as she commented:

I'm just learning, you know ... I observe how people act and how people come across with other people say clients and those workers, case workers and clients. I observe how everyone just communicates with each other and I take it all on board however they act.

Observation of other beneficiaries and of advocates and their successes with service workers has taught Rahera certain behaviours and scripts to adhere to in her own engagements. When whānau adopt these behaviours and scripts for themselves, they test their accuracy and efficiency, and adapt them to suit the situations they come across. Whānau do not only observe other beneficiaries and advocates, they also observe the service workers as Miriama states:

When you're walking into an appointment from the first time you see somebody walk, the manager or whoever service person approaches you, you need to start reading their body language straight away. Be ready.

Again, people dealing with punitive services are faced with uncertainty and have to be ready to deal with whatever situation arises. They have to respond quickly to adopt their pre-planned psychological scripts that they have developed through visualising how the interactions will play out. Whether it be emphasising their needs with tears, staying calm and composed, or adopting another strategy they premeditated prior to their engagement, reading the service worker is an aspect of engagement that they cannot control, leaving them vulnerable.

A major tool that whānau have learned about through observation and experience, is the importance of confidence. As seen in the previous section, there is a mixture of confidence and a lack of confidence experienced when accessing services. Miriama noted that when:

You're talking like you know what you're talking about, things get done ... don't be afraid to ask questions, be confident with pride and assertiveness. And be assertive with accomplishing the outcome that you set out to do ... when you can have self-belief, you will succeed ... When you get in to the habit of doing that, life gets easier.

Miriama's statement reflects the need for a combination of confidence, knowledge, assertiveness, and practice, to be successful. Rahera also emphasizes confidence. She reports feeling confident and has no issue asking for what she wants and she said the key

to show confidence is “*to be calm, be calm and good*”. Similarly, Miriama noted that you have to show that: “*you know what you’re doing, go in confident ... eye contact is everything, don’t fidget*” (Miriama). These statements reflect how whānau create their own understanding of how to express confidence. In certain aspects, it resembles the requirements of a job interview such as impression management. Impression management in situations where you have to prove you are worthy of a role by behaving in a certain way requires preparation (Kowalski & Leary, 1990). It can be anxiety-provoking, having to do this but in the precariat, this is not a one-off but an ongoing experience that adds layers of hardship that cannot be simply labelled as ‘anxiety’.

Not all strategies to navigate services involve playing a submissive role. When it comes to being declined of entitlements and support or sanctioned by agencies such as MSD, Miriama and Rahera have both responded by challenging service workers to get their entitlements and have sanctions removed. Challenging is a risk that people must take to gain entitlements. It is a reflection of the persistence that leads to entitlements and includes asking questions and requesting to speak to senior staff. When Rahera has been declined of entitlements she voiced that:

I question them and ask them why and I should be entitled to that because I know that I am ... I will keep going till they give it to me. I won’t leave that place till I get a proper answer. And a reasonable answer where I will be like “oh yeah okay, I understand now why”. But if there is no reasonable answer I just will keep going and make sure I’m going to get it. Yeah, I just don’t back down till I know the real answer.

As stated previously, Rahera does her best to stay calm and composed when she is interacting with services. This includes when she is challenging service workers decisions. Her use of asking questions reflects the knowledge that she already has, particularly when she knows that she is treated unfairly, being declined of entitlements that she has not yet used. Miriama stated that in times of such frustration:

You can’t let it hit you, you know when you get a reaction like that and somebody’s not responsive ... If you really want that help you’ll be persistent ignore that sort of ignorance or ... behaviour or attitude or whatever it is ... You’re not there for that

carry on, but it's easier said than done ... It just comes with experience you've got to go through it to not go through it. (Miriam).

People who have been in the precariat for a long time learn from their experience and learn to stick to what they are there for rather than have conflict. This shows self-control in situations that can be difficult to do so but also demonstrates that as you go through the system, you have to stick to the strategies that work. When this is unsuccessful, another strategy used to challenge service worker decisions is to request to speak to senior staff:

You ask to speak to their supervisor you ask to speak to their manager you ask them for the complaints email address and say that you're going to write an email. Sometimes it works sometimes it doesn't but if you sound clever you usually can get through the doors. (Miriam).

This is another example of the precariat standing their ground, advocating for their rights. It is an attempt to use the organisational hierarchy in order to access an authority figure and gain a second opinion on a decision that determines whether or not they get their entitlements. Rahera and Miriam demonstrate small acts of fighting for their rights in the services that they approach to get entitlements. It is through simple practices in their everyday lives that prepare them for situations where they are not treated as citizens and need to remind certain people that they are. Perseverance is key to navigating the service landscape and through these persevering actions, whānau are able to test what works and what does not.

As has been implied by comments from Miriam and Rahera, whānau reflect on their experiences of engaging with agencies and their own responses. *“You need to educate yourself from experiences, got to learn your lesson” (Miriam).* What they do with this knowledge is not limited to their own interactions. Both Miriam and Rahera have supported their whānau by teaching them what they know. Miriam explained that:

“The system and the structure do make it harder for humans to survive... even when they are being told where to look they won't do it cos they're afraid, aye. They're afraid of change or trying new things and ... they're gonna start playing the game that they don't know (Miriam).”

This reflects the reaction of many whānau who find the service landscape to be intimidating and have not developed their own strategies to face it. Miriama does what she can for her whānau who are struggling to engage with services and get the outcomes they need. She provides advice to them in terms of the strategies that she employs such as how whānau present themselves and insists that *“it's not what they're doing. It's how they're doing it ... what words are they using? How do you dress? You don't walk into Work and Income with a swannie (Swandri bush jacket) on and a pair of gumboots and go "got a job ow?"*. The advice Miriama gives to her whānau reflect how services require people to behave and look a certain way to be considered deserving. Her advice is to employ strategies of impression management in order to reduce the scrutiny they are put under.

Rahera takes her assistance a step further and has advocated for her mother in an appointment with MSD. Her mother had been declined a food grant that she was entitled to so Rahera went with her to the next appointment and challenged that decision, resulting in a food grant. She spoke of her mother being too *“shy, scared ... had no confidence ... like they had the power”* and Rahera spoke on behalf of her mother saying:

“By right you have to give this lady here a food grant because she hasn't used three food grants. She hasn't used her entitlement ... You didn't even give her a food bank letter to go get food ... she's got five kids at home now how is she supposed to support them?”

This is a further demonstration of Rahera's proactive response to hardship. Rahera recognized that her mum was not ready to challenge injustices and in advocating for her mum, she puts accountability back on service workers. Just as service workers impose 'moral' and 'responsible' expectations on beneficiaries (Hodgetts et al., 2013), people like Rahera impose moral and professional expectations on service workers, at the risk of being penalised. She demonstrates agency that has manifested through her social interactions and experiences with hardship.

Both Miriama and Rahera show an understanding of the system, the strategies they use to respond, and then actively resisting hardship reflects Paulo Freire's concept of

conscientization. He refers to conscientization as "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and take actions against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1974, p. 4). It appears that there is a liberating impact of conscientization, where people in the precariat are confident enough to interact with services, to be someone they're not for a while, to challenge the services when they need to, and to share what they know. Being conscientized seems to help those in the precariat to engage in their own personal activism against the unresponsiveness and punitive aspects of the system. Our tipuna (ancestors) have paved the way for the Māori precariat to challenge the injustices that they recognize and stand up for Māori who do not yet have that understanding and confidence.

Despite many people developing specific strategies for accessing resources from agencies they 'have to go to', there are times at which they still do not receive their entitlements. In these cases, whānau need to access advocates from agencies they 'choose to go to' in order to ensure they are treated humanely and gain access to their entitlements. Tahu, an advocate from The Refuge mentioned that some whānau have relationships with many advocates to help whānau in their precarity. Tahu noted that:

They might have a Family Start worker ... a (Women's) Refuge worker ... a CYFS worker ... or they might have whānau, depends...they go through one service to go to another service, to go to another service. "Oh yeah I'll get my peoples project worker Mary to help me ... If not oh well, I can get Angel over at Salvation Army ... Or I'll get Kelly over, my Refuge worker, to help me". They know the ins and outs or who to tap to access this.

This relates to what Hine, the second advocate from The Refuge said about whānau being resourceful and speaks to a strategy that people employ, using their social networks. For people like Rahera who do not have many whānau to rely on, she is aware of the people around her who can assist her. On the other hand, this statement reflects the dismantled state of welfare where whānau are assigned workers from independent services from MSD and they have to navigate through the obstacle course that is the service landscape. Whānau who have not had enough experience to navigate successfully will need advocacy services more so. This supporting role of advocates will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter summary

This chapter shared the accounts of two Māori women, Rahera and Miriama, who represent their precariat whānau in navigating the service landscape to access life's necessities. The first section considered Rahera and Miriama's backgrounds to provide context to their current precarity and responses to precarity. Everyone in the precariat has their own history that provides context to their present situations. Miriama and Rahera are two proud Māori women who became familiar with precarity in their childhood. With insecure support networks and a lot of responsibility within their immediate whānau, they both had to grow up quickly and learn to deal with not only their own hardship, but that of the people around them as well. Despite their efforts to make a living, they continue to face insecurity in adulthood with financial struggles, transience, and housing quality.

The second section, *'the service landscape whānau face'*, considered the state of the service landscape that Miriama and Rahera are faced with and the experiences that they have had. Whānau identified the multitude of services they must engage with on a regular basis. They also identified the dismissive and punitive treatment they experience from agencies and employees of these agencies and the imbalance of power and control that precariat whānau face in accessing their entitlements. Miriama and Rahera reported a mixture of feelings including trauma, helplessness, worthlessness, deflation and wish only to be treated humanely in their time of need.

The third section, *Navigating services*, considered the strategies that whānau employ to get support and entitlements. Whānau engage in a number of strategies that assist them to gain control over their lives. They differentiate between services that treat them with respect and those that are unresponsive and punitive, and subsequently seek some out and try to avoid others. Despite the idea of the 'irresponsible and undeserving poor', whānau prioritise their engagements with services, planning, researching, and mentally preparing for interactions. Through observation and experience, whānau 'play the game' of the service landscape, playing the role of someone who deserves support by agencies and their employees who determine the type of support offered to precariat whānau. And when precariat whānau fails to get their rightful entitlements, they stand their ground and challenge service workers decisions.

Overall, this chapter has shown that Māori in the precariat are familiar with resisting hardship, showing agency, and defying stereotypes in their daily lives. Precariat Māori whānau are part of a resistance against the dehumanizing structures that appear to pervade agencies like MSD and Housing NZ who can treat beneficiaries as ‘undeserving’. The next chapter, Chapter 4, is focussed on Māori advocates who support whānau through the service landscape.

CHAPTER FOUR

Māori women's refuge workers supporting whānau to navigate the welfare system

The rise of punitive welfare in the mid to late 1900s brought about new challenges and roles for people working in the social services. As a response to the added complexities of the service landscape, many became more than advocates in their given field but also advocates for whānau seeking assistance for benefits and entitlements from the welfare system (Abramovitz, 2005). As mentioned in the Methods section, the staff involved in this study work with whānau who have experienced domestic violence and therefore assist whānau with multiple issues. Part of their role that takes up much of their time is advocating for whānau who are navigating the social services to access their rightful entitlements.

These advocates represent people experiencing financial hardship. They provide them with information they need, assist with accessing entitlements and essentials, and assist with disputes with the welfare system (Auckland Action Against Poverty, n.d; Beneficiaries Advocacy and Information Service, 2017). Their work has not been documented sufficiently and there is very little academic reference to what they do for whānau. The accounts of advocates shared in this chapter substantiate the points raised by whānau regarding the difficulties of navigating the welfare system today. This chapter delves in to the stories told by two Māori Refuge workers who offer their insights into their mahi (work) or efforts to support the whānau of Rahera and Miriama whose experiences I explored in chapter three.

This analysis is presented in five sections. First, I begin briefly with background information from Tahu and Hine, The Refuge workers who advocate on behalf of Miriama and Rahera as well as other precariat Whānau. This background information sets the context for the work they do as advocates and for the perspectives that they hold regarding the situations in which precariat whānau find themselves. Second, I share staff perspectives on the nature of the service landscape that they support whānau to navigate. Third, engagements within services are considered, briefly commenting on how they

perceive precariat whānau as being treated. Fourth, I share how advocates work to support whānau through services. This chapter is then completed with a brief chapter summary.

Setting the context for staff advocacy work

It is important to bring some context to the work that these refuge workers are engaged in by sharing the motivation behind their roles, their cultural identities, their empathy and understanding of social issues. Considering the nature and diversity of work that The Refuge are engaged in, one would expect staff to have a predisposition or at least a desire to help others. This is evident in the stories that Hine and Tahu tell of their upbringing and the inclusiveness that both women observed from their parents. Hine shared with me her experience of being adopted by a caring Pākehā family and having other whangai (adopted) siblings. Her parent's role modelled how to enact the core cultural practices of care that she has brought in to her mahi (work) and her home life. *For me, it's a cultural thing. Even though mum is a Pākehā ... Māori culture aye, it is the way that we have been brought up (Hine).* To this day, Hine has several whangai children that she has opened her home to and her house seems to be the base for people who need somewhere to go.

Tahu also shared with me her experiences of being brought up in a whānau who have opened their home up to people as well as working with whānau in the community. The account that she shared about her whānau is that they:

Always instilled some very good values and stuff. So yeah, as a whānau, as siblings, as mokos...we continue to do what they'd done and be a part of the legacy that they set here when they left. Mum was very involved. Well mum and dad were very involved in the community and they were involved in working with whānau so yeah just surrounded. I remember as a kid waking up and, you know, I got a cousin and an aunty that had come in during the night or something and are sleeping in my room and things like that. So, it's nothing, it wasn't out of the ordinary for us (Tahu).

Her parents and grandparents have normalised helping others in and out of the home and have influenced her to do the same. She has an extended whānau structure in her immediate and everyday life that includes cousins, uncles, aunties as well as community

members. Hine and Tahu have both been influenced by a collective notion of interdependence, of care and responsibility for the wellbeing of the collective. Evident in these accounts is the core cultural value of manaakitanga (caring relationships) and a commitment to caring for and supporting other people. From childhood experiences this value has become ingrained in these participants very being and way of relating to others. They position their own advocacy activities as a continuation of familial and Māori cultural practices of manaaki (caring relationships) and whanaungatanga (relational connectedness).

Hine and Tahu were both engaged in different career paths prior to coming to work for The Refuge. They were both drawn to their present mahi initially by family. When reflecting on her transition in to her role at The Refuge, Tahu stated that it seemed to:

...come quite naturally in terms of how we, how we manaaki and how we awahi (help) people. Um it didn't feel foreign because it was just something that we were always brought up doing. It was just a part of who we are.

As with Hine, cultural values have been ingrained and implemented in Tahu's work. For these advocates, the work they do is a continuation of traditional roles for Māori. As Walsh-Tapiata (2004) notes, "cultural continuity and traditions are important strengths that provide guidelines for living that have served our indigenous community well for thousands of years". The values that both advocates have aligned with indigenous ways of being and practicing in areas of social work that centre the needs of people and the importance of relational connectedness.

The connection that these Māori workers have with Māori cultural practices can be seen in their perspectives on their mahi. They both see their backgrounds and life experiences as being essential for their effectiveness as advocates. To be effective one needs to anchor one's mahi in Māori cultural practices whilst also needing to be proficient in how the Pākehā world or settler society works. Hine stated: "*I have the best of both worlds...I'm used to walking, used to walking in both worlds. In the Māori world and the Pākehā world*". Although Hine was raised with a Pākehā family, she remained in contact with her Māori whānau and whakapapa, and embraced an identity as a bicultural person.

Tahu is also connected with Te Ao Māori as evident by her ongoing inclusion of te reo and tikanga in our engagements. More broadly, Tahu relates the advocacy work that she does to Māori activist movements that have responded to historical injustices such as *Nga Tama Toa* and claims that her work is about “*injustices and the rights and our people*” (Tahu). This link to activism indicates this participant’s knowledge of systematic marginalisation that Māori face and how Māori have historically worked towards regaining autonomy and achieving justice. Having this knowledge, combined with practicing values that have been instilled in them since they were children, is important to this field, particularly for Māori clients who come in to their service because advocates come from a standpoint of understanding the wider cultural context of whānau experiences (Walsh-Tapiata, 2004).

When considering the current state of whānau experiences in hardship, both advocates express empathy and sympathy for their plights, “*It’s real hard for families out there. I feel for them... Rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer*” (Hine). Acknowledging that life can be more difficult for some people relates to these participants own life and work experiences, getting to know whānau and seeing what they face every day. In recent years the issue of poverty, in particular child poverty, has become more prominent in society. With the 2016 ‘Incomes in New Zealand’ report showing that approximately 16% of households have a low income as defined as being 60% of the median income, and approximately 22% of children officially live in hardship (Perry, 2016). This is also supported by the numerous accounts of hardship presented in the media and the increased attention paid to child poverty.

These advocates do not only recognize the financial hardship, but they both go further to consider the impact that hardship has on people, “*I think that can also take away from feeling human too. You know, when there’s not enough money to feed the kids*” (Hine). And this from Tahu...

A lot of whānau get to that state where things become unbearable or things become so challenging or difficult or they’ve put themselves in such dire straits that they don’t know how to get themselves out. You know, and if I think about some of our whānau we got with us now. Some of these are mamas with 5, 6 kids out there and just trying to survive and everything’s gotten too much. Emotionally,

physically, the house, the kids, the partner whatever that looks like for them (Tahu).

Hine and Tahu both empathise with whānau in a way that humanizes them and emphasizes their need for survival. These participants recognize that having a low socioeconomic status can be overwhelming. The accounts of these two advocates also relate to Standing's (2011) work on the precariat, where people are caught up in the short-term actions that are required to get by, with little probability of progress and career development. These situations often become exhausting or as my participants put it, 'too much' for people to handle alone. In a related comment, Tahu offers further insights into the situation faced by precariat whānau:

When you're in a low socio sort of environment, your head's not looking up and looking at what the future looks like for you next year. Or what your dreams and aspirations are looking over there or "what I wanna do". Your head's looking down and it's looking around in that pool of just trying to survive day-by-day (Tahu).

Tahu understands that barriers such as a lack of resources, time restraints, location, and unexpected circumstances have the potential to keep whānau in a state of stress. Pemberton, Sutton, Fahmy, and Bell (2014) found that people in the precariat were often consumed by anxieties around their situations and lacked control over their lives. It is not new that people living in hardship have stress and that the precariousness they experience impacts multiple facets of their lives (Santiago, Wadsworth, & Stump, 2011). Precariat Māori whānau in particular are dealing with disadvantages in terms of stereotypes, health (Ministry of Health, 2016), education (Education Counts, 2015; McKinley & Hoskins, 2011), and social exclusion that perpetuate hardship. When whānau are spending much of their lives preoccupied with responding to hardship, having an advocate to help access services is often necessary to alleviate some of this stress.

Along with having low-income housing issues, Hine and Tahu are both aware of situations that whānau get in to as a result of having little financial security and homelessness: "*I see a lot of people at the moment homeless. I never ever thought I would see that in this day in age, but there's a lot of people homeless*" (Hine). The housing crisis

in New Zealand has recently been given a fair amount of media attention. A number of families have become homeless in recent years and attempts have been made to get the government to provide homes and improve living conditions. An example of government attempts to help was putting whānau in motel rooms paid by MSD which required whānau to make payments for reimbursement. Contradicting acts however, include forcing families to loan for the exorbitant rent in these hotels. Further, the implementation of drug testing for Housing NZ homes lead to the eviction of tenants when tests returned positive, and their subsequent exclusion from Housing NZ homes for twelve months. There has been a lot of public questioning of the government because of the housing crisis and homelessness that many whānau are pushed in to, from people like Hine and Tahu who empathize with people in hardship and advocate for human rights.

Tahu also acknowledges the insecurity of housing for whānau of lower socioeconomic status where whānau are: *“always starting afresh or keep on looking you know. Housing is not like a long-term thing anymore”* (Tahu). This statement invokes the transience or residential instability that many precariat whānau experience. Schafft (2006) makes an important point in this regard that residential instability worsens the insecurity that creates it, and thus families can become trapped in a cycle of hardship. These advocates are working with whānau who have a history of transience and are often in transitional stages when they engage with them. They assist with finding and applying for rental properties, and help to ease the hardship by helping whānau to move homes and access support from MSD. This is just one of the functions they have that relieve some of the stress that whānau experience. In later sections I will talk more about their roles and how they support whānau in terms of social services.

Alongside financial and housing insecurities, advocates are also aware and understanding of the stereotypes that whānau in hardship face, a point raised in the previous chapter by Miriama and Rahera. Despite the various successes that Māori have had since early contact period with settlers, there have always been stereotypes of our people. For example, Hine talks about stereotypes and voices that: *“It's usually Māoris, the poor Māoris that get it. It's always our fault”* (Hine). Hine has worked with many people from different cultures and backgrounds and it is specifically the poor Māori that she sees being stereotyped. This is not new. Māori have often been constructed by members of the settler society as being “primitive, dirty, lazy, intellectually challenged, having low moral

values” (Cotter, 2007, p. 52). Blaming poverty on an individual’s supposed deficits seems to have become widely accepted as common sense and spread through media and politics. This relates to ‘victim-blaming’ and ‘personal deficit’ theories which hold that individuals are the reason for their own hardship (Bauman, 2004; Handler & Hasenfeld, 2007; Gunewardena, 2009). It is this emphasis of individual characteristics as opposed to structural systems that are the focus of scrutiny and it drives and justifies punitive welfare.

What is particularly destructive is when such negative stereotypes become institutionalised and contribute to discriminatory responses to whānau in need by which they are denied access to their welfare entitlements. Also of concern are processes of stereotype threat by which whānau internalise such perceptions and start to see themselves as defective individuals (Hodgetts et al., 2010). Tahu also commented on such stereotypes of people in need and emphasised the importance of context when considering whānau situations and struggles:

To some degree I get that they, you know, here comes the stereotype again oh, you know, Māori bla bla bla, didn't pay rent ... the house is a mess and all that sort of stuff. But that's the surface stuff ... and if you go in to context and dig a little bit different, it will really give you a good picture... Unfortunately, that's where a lot of our agencies and a lot of the systems jump to its conclusions. Without actually sitting with her and finding out what's going on. A lot of things I read through what people have put on files and what people have written through observation which is not necessarily what's going on for her or what's going on for them (Tahu).

Instead of relying on stereotypes that situate hardship solely with those affected and their perceived deficits, Hine also proposes that people should also consider societal arrangements that shape the situations whānau face. As she states:

The government, it always comes back to the government. Cos it's all about money... And resources and all about funding and you know stuff like that... It all comes back to the government (Hine).

Hine challenges the narratives that relies on negative stereotypes of the Māori precariat and instead encourages us to consider what else is going on for whānau that shapes their situations. Dominant narratives in our society that individualise hardship have been challenged because these do not account for the negative impacts of systemic factors such as labour market and welfare reforms that cause the socio-economic exclusions faced by precariat whānau (Bauman, 1998; Gorski, 2008; Greenbaum, 2015). The history of New Zealand in particular shows a systemic dismantling of Māori culture in the 19th century which pervades stereotypes of Māori today.

A strength that both Tahu and Hine bring to their mahi is their willingness to look beyond the immediate situations in which they find precariat whānau, and in doing so invoke broad societal relationships that shape the lives of the whānau with whom they work. Hine and Tahu bring their experience with their own whānau and the values that have been instilled in them, to their work. They consider the context behind whānau hardship and empathise with these whānau as they engage with them and work to get the outcomes whānau need. *“Personal experience goes a long way... I’ve been there and I know what it’s like. I had some really ratshit people that supported me” (Hine)*. Because of their overlapping cultural experiences with the whānau with whom they work, these advocates are able to build supportive relationships with whānau. Above, I have introduced just some of the issues that these two advocates see whānau facing. Below, I share advocate perspectives on the nature of the service landscape that they support whānau to navigate, how whānau navigate, and how advocates support whānau.

The service landscape from the advocates perspective

As I argued in the first chapter of this thesis, the welfare system has undergone changes that do not always work for whānau in need. Recent changes have made many key agencies less responsive to whānau needs and their navigating of the system has become more difficult and time consuming (Hodgetts et al., 2014). This section documents what advocates report regarding the service landscape that precariat whānau have to navigate which overlaps with what whānau have expressed in areas in Chapter Three. It includes their reflections on the nature of the service landscape, the barriers to accessing services, the treatment that advocates have witnessed from service workers, and how this impacts on how both whānau and advocates feel.

Tahu and Hine both refer to the increased difficulties for whānau when accessing services, particularly the complexity. In doing so, they paint a picture of a cumbersome and unresponsive system central to which are daily hassles in obtaining the ‘right information’ needed to ensure whānau access to financial support, “*they make it hard, they make people jump through hoops*” (Hine). Explaining the practicality of the situation further, Tahu uses the example of paperwork around applying for housing New Zealand accommodation:

It’s a lot of run around I tell you. The amount of times we’ve taken women to view housing or to go to a property so they can hurry up and get a decline so they can mark it down as being declined so I can put it with my Housing NZ assessment. To making sure that they’ve got all their IDs, that’s another hassle, IDs. Everything’s got to be, got to have physical IDs, like birth certs for the kids, for her. In regard to work and income, we’ve got to have ID for them. As part of our argument with them is that well “she’s had to leave in a hurry with her and the children. He’s taken all of that or she hasn’t got any of that” bla bla bla... Often go through one service to go to another service, to go to another service.

What Tahu refers to as the ‘run around’, Hine spoke of as having to ‘jump through hoops’ Both euphemisms speak to unnecessary bureaucratic barriers to whānau accessing necessities such as housing and food. This reflects the complex nature of the service landscape as being an ‘obstacle course’ (another euphemism commonly used by advocates) that requires well-honed skills to navigate services (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011). These advocates noted that having to constantly meet the information requirements and conditions set by government services in particular can be like having a full-time job in terms of time spent completing a number of tasks for different services to make ends meet. Lens and Cary (2010) raise several issues of relevance to the situations whānau face: “For welfare participants, welfare means the web of relationships, rules and bureaucratic pathways they must navigate to secure its benefits and avoid its penalties. That pathway is often strewn with hurdles” (p.1033). As shown in Chapter Three, whānau have to develop their own system to navigate the service landscape. Advocates play an important role in helping with access to, and success within this service landscape.

Tahu also indicated that the general life situations of whānau are getting a lot more desperate, and at the same time agencies that whānau ‘have to go to’ are becoming a lot less supportive. As Tahu states:

It's definitely gotten worse over the last 5 years in terms of our whānau navigating the Social Services. A lot of red tape, you know, a lot of penalising. It's gone real punitive in terms of, if you don't have the form by this time then we're going to take 25% off [your benefit for the week] or [you get] nothing... High, high stats on whānau that are homeless. That are living in, you know, sharing houses and garages and how living standards, all of those things are raised, you know, gone dearer. The income, the benefits that aren't meeting that. Just all over the place. More numbers of families that are worse off. Things are harder. And we've seen the effects of that in our mahi every day. It's the same stuff, not enough kai (food) in the cupboards, incurring more debt... Families are just on their bones. Just surviving. So, the system, it's just getting harder and harder for them. It can get really deflating when you've been declined or rejected or judged or looked at a certain way when you've walked in there.

The ‘you know’ statements invoke common experiences of the punitive approach and increasing hardship. Tahu relates to the punitive nature of welfare that has been discussed as welfare reforms have resulted in punishment of the poor through multiple conditions, sanctions, and bad treatment (Wacquant, 2010; Wiggan, 2012; Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Groot & Tankel, 2013). Having punitive policies in place reinforces the idea that individuals are responsible for their own hardship, by teaching them to be accountable for their position and take the consequences that the welfare system enforce (Wiggan, 2012). Taking what little whānau have when they are already struggling and adding more pressure to prove they are deserving of entitlements. Whānau are more likely to be trapped in poverty when their situation is worsened by factors too difficult to emerge from (Moncrieffe, 2004).

There are further barriers to security than the landscape of complexity and punishment. Advocates identify issues that arise when attempting to assist clients in simply accessing benefits, housing, food and counselling services and the resources that whānau need to survive. ‘Entitlements’ is one that was referred to numerous times throughout this study

and having knowledge of entitlements is vital to whether they are attained or not because: “*Government D don’t tell you what you’re entitled to*” (Hine). Whānau therefore, need to seek this information on their own and this is one of the ‘hoops’ that Hine mentioned. It reflects recent changes in the welfare system. Welfare was once a safety net for people in need, but reforms and continued austerity means that whānau constantly face barriers and have to work harder to get entitlements. There are a number of specific barriers that have been put in place that prevent whānau from accessing the resources that the advocates identified. The system is now overly cumbersome and increasing unresponsive to whānau needs:

So like, transport. Getting from A to B. Even jumping on the bus when you aint got nothing. You know that’s three dollars something. So, trying to take some of those, take some of that pressure on them by actually taking them there. Then it’s about waiting on stuff so emails, faxes, gathering all the information they’re needing. Ringing up wherever to get this, to get that. To, send this over to there to get, a good couple of days’ worth. Yeah, you might be with them for a couple of hours and over here for maybe an hour or two. Then go to that appointment. Then go to the doctors for another hour or two. And trying to get it all done before 3 o’clock when you have to pick the kids up. (Tahu).

In this one extract, we can see that barriers can be due to resources, time, location, and unexpected circumstances. Resources that many of us take for granted, such as money for public transport or internet access can become barriers to service access. Not having the required identification, paperwork, or access to internet. Having photo identification in particular has recently become more mandatory in order to get in the door at MSD offices. Time restraints come with having multiple appointments in a day that are essential to getting by also cause further stress and complications. Transiting the separate locations of whānau residences, offices where appointments are conducted, and then children’s schools, also adds further time burdens on parents. Even when a workable system is put in place unexpected circumstances such as an illness can throw precariat whānau routines out of kilter. There are mounting pressures to focus on immediate tasks at hand, as is proposed in Standing’s (2011) work on the short-term nature of the precariat focus, also mentioned in the previous section.

The nature of the service landscape requires skill because whānau need to be able to jump through the hoops that services set out just to get in the door. Advocates need to be aware of the difficulties in order to be helpful to the whānau they support. In this section, I have shared how advocates see the issues that whānau face and therefore why being skilled in navigation is important. Next, I share some experiences that advocates have had when supporting whānau and how whānau are treated, followed by a section on how advocates support whānau through.

Engaging with services

In this section, I consider Tahu and Hine's experiences and accounts of how whānau are treated within the service landscape. There are a number of comments and ideas that overlap with whānau accounts in Chapter Three so to minimize repetition, I have attempted to keep this section brief and acknowledge the similarities to whānau accounts.

Tahu's best and worst experiences related to witnessing the removal and return of children to their parents. She voiced that it is hard "*watching a family go through having their babies taken because of some misfortune*". Conversely, Tahu's best experience was: "*about returning children to the mums and their dads*". The work The Refuge does is centred around domestic violence and these experiences that have been prominent for Hine and Tahu reflect service responses to these situations. The consideration of context and individual efforts to progress, and the emphasis on connection with whānau is representative of the knowledge that advocates have of the whānau they work with. They know the outcomes whānau face with each decision service workers make and this seems to be a great motivator for their mahi.

In a more general sense of how advocates see whānau being treated, Tahu commented with the following statement:

I've seen whānau being treated terrible through the system's where ... they get retraumatized you know when you get traumatized you shut down and you just don't want a bar of it. And when it happens to whānau, connections shut off or shut down and then no movement and nothing happens. And you just accept that this is how it is (Tahu).

Tahu's comment reflects closely what whānau have said in Chapter Three, that they are treated dismissively and that interactions can be traumatizing. Further similarities were found in the recognition of the unevenness or a lack of consistency in how different workers and different agencies respond to the needs of different whānau. For example, Tahu mentioned that there are: *“a lot of great workers and case managers ... but there's one or two that think, you know, that it's their money and it's not (Tahu).* Hine elaborated:

It depends on the individuals... you get some really good case workers and you get some really shit case workers ...some organisations treat them with fairness ... culturally aware and culturally sensitive, but sometimes it's just bloody horrible. Housing New Zealand sucks. The way they treat people. They treat people like that number, you know, they are really rude. You know, even to us they are rude. It's like they're God and, you know, they ... can say yay or nay you can have a house and you know it's like giving their own personal house away. It's a power and control thing and, you know, our families get enough of that (Hine).

This statement also reiterates what whānau have experienced. From the uncertainty they face from service workers, being treated like a number, and the recognition of unequal power relations. Tahu has also witnessed whānau being scrutinized as they are constantly asked questions such as: *“Why do you want a fridge for? Why do you want a food grant? ... How come you're in here again?”* To which she has replied: *“What? You bloody try and live off this and try and pay all these”*. Scrutiny over finances also comes with particular issues such as whānau having to prove that they have consulted a budgeter in order to access entitlements:

This is what I can't understand, when you're getting two hundred and something dollars to survive, and you're only left with \$5, after all your bills and, you know, you put money on power and you've been able to get some kai for this week and you're left with this much, what's the use of going to a budgeter when you've only got \$5? (Tahu).

This reflects a logical argument of the irrelevance of a budgeter for someone who has minimal finances to budget. This point has also been reinforced by other studies where advocates have posed similar questions (Morton et al., 2014). In his seminal work on

inequalities in New Zealand, Rashbrooke (2014) makes the important point that it is the income level, rather than the ability to budget the income that is the problem. Despite this fact, how whānau are treated speaks more to case managers in agencies such as MSD using stereotypes to shape their reactions rather than empirical evidence (Cochran, 2010). It is commonly assumed that beneficiaries must be inadequate budgeters and are irresponsible with their income and if they find themselves with insufficient funds then supposedly it is because of their lack of budgeting skills or wasteful lifestyles, and not the lack of income to cover necessities in the first place (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017).

Also at issue here is the neoliberal political climate in which government agencies are overly reliant on statistics and trends. Such use of statistics to manage the precariat have been associated with efforts to socially distance, pathologize and dehumanize people in need (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). When asked if service workers try to get to know their clients, Tahu and Hine both responded remarkably similar to Miriama and Raheera, with comments relating to being treated as “*a number...not about getting to know this person as a person*” (Hine) because that is not the way that the system is “*setup and designed*” (Tahu). The accounts that advocates provided reflect structural failures that make them ineffective and inhumane.

Hine and Tahu noted that whānau are not treated badly with a support person present and the desired outcome is more likely:

There's times where they say they've gone to try and resource it and say for example, Work and Income, and they haven't been able to, they've been turned down. They come to us and we've walked straight in [to Work and Income] and got it for them (Hine).

This reflects how the presence of someone with knowledge and similar perceived social status to case managers can make an impact on responses. Having an advocate present makes services workers accountable for their actions as advocates are witnesses to how they interact with whānau and hold knowledge of the legislation that service workers are guided by.

Advocates themselves feel confident when advocating for whānau but they understand that the people they advocate for, do not always share that confidence because “*the last time they went in there it went all pear shaped*” (Tahu). However, when whānau have a successful outcome with an advocates support, their confidence increases and the next time they get declined they get “*more confident to challenge it ... And that’s always a good thing ... Challenging as opposed to just accepting.* (Tahu). Tahu recognizes that whānau become more confident when they have been reinforced by their gaining access to needed resources and learning from advocates how to better lobby for their entitlements. Advocates stress the need to educate whānau so that they can better advocate on their own behalf in future engagements with welfare agencies and in doing so gain more confidence and autonomy. Tahu acknowledged that despite such support, many whānau remain reluctant to engage with services such as:

Work and Income. It takes all your courage just to get through the doors and it just takes one judgement and one degrading comment ... but you have to sit there ... Cos at the end of the day you need what they’ve got. If they could go any other way they would.

Discouraging people from accessing a service is one way to restrain the amount of resources that such agencies consume. Work on welfare conditionality suggests that the system is now designed to discourage client dependency by making client staff engagements overly gruelling (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). Standing (2011) refers to such processing by which people who have to rely on the state to get by having to act like beggars in order to access support. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Standing (2011) calls this the ‘supplicant’ where people who are struggling have to beg to get necessities. Tahu described the outcome of this in the following way:

By going there, it comes with the sacrifice and part of that is your pride ... Every time you go in there it strips away a bit of your pride and a bit of your mana (self-worth/authority). Especially being ... degraded (Tahu).

Tahu’s statement provides a more cultural account of Standing’s (2011) ‘supplicant’. She describes it as a mana-stripping process to be in the position of a beggar. Considering the importance of mana in Māori life-worlds, particularly in regard to a lack of resources

(Petrie 2006), the degradation that is experienced in the service welfare has a deeper impact on Māori.

When asked if other services engage with whānau in a culturally sensitive manner, Hine stated that:

Sometimes some do, some don't. Mainstream don't ... Some of them that's the job. Te Koha Health, their navigators, that's all about culture and stuff like that I've worked with a couple of the navigators and yeah, they're very Māori based in the lot of their practices. There's them, the Runanga [Te Runanga o Kirikiriroa] ... a couple of other Māori organisations (Hine).

This extract reflects that despite the expectation of most caring professions to have cultural awareness, it is mainly the Kaupapa Māori services that practice in a culturally sensitive manner. Much of what advocates report aligns with what whānau have reported in Chapter Three, including the concentration of cultural sensitivity in Kaupapa Māori services. This insight in to what the Māori precariat face, how they are treated, and how they feel all inform how these Māori advocates support them as they navigate services.

Supporting whānau to navigate services

Now that I have considered the backgrounds of these two participants in relation to their advocacy efforts, their perception of the service landscape, and how they view treatment of whānau, I will share their accounts of how they support whānau to navigate social services. This section will begin with some of the activities that advocates engage in to get the best outcome for whānau. Next, I will talk about how advocates treat whānau, and consider the role of culture in their work. This section is completed with my participants accounts of what changes might be necessary for services to be more effective for whānau. Although advocates support whānau to navigate services, this section is by no means implying that whānau do not have agency or are incapable of navigating on their own. My focus on advocacy reflects the complexities and the obstacles of the service landscape and how whānau benefit from advocacy support.

Adams, 2004; Meyers & Cornille, 2002) and burnout (Maslach, Schaufeli, & Leite, 2001). Being reflective and aware of the impacts that their work can have allows for Hine to stand back from the negative aspects of the situations that she encounters, and approach it with a positive outlook.

Prior to working at The Refuge, Hine and Tahu both had little knowledge of the policies and procedures of the services that they would encounter prior to working at refuge. They both took it upon themselves to learn about the system and services to be more effective in their mahi:

I've learned along the years for us to be advocates for our whānau, we need to know these systems inside and out and know their game, know how they play in their playground. Really to be able to help our whānau. No good us going in there and not knowing what section 79 is or what sort of act or legislation they're going to put on our whānau. So, it's really important that we go in there knowing some stuff (Tahu).

Hine and Tahu have had to learn about entitlements, to provide whānau with the information that they need and the means to access entitlements, and support through the process which will be outlined in later sections. Groups like Auckland Action Against Poverty (AAAP) and Beneficiaries Advocacy and Information Service (BAIS) have been established to do just this (Russell, 2015) and it is very relevant to what The Refuge staff do on a daily basis. Using knowledge to their advantage occasionally requires advocates to think outside the square to get the best outcome for whānau:

Our job is to think outside the square and make things happen no matter what and I guess that's part of our culture here at The Refuge still around 30 years later, because it's about getting those outcomes no matter what for our whānau. (Tahu).

Fortunately, The Refuge has had the flexibility that advocates need to be creative, to think outside the square as: “*there's a lot of freedom with this job...freedom to think*” (Hine). It is this need for creativity that non-government organisations in Aotearoa have had to use to respond to the complexity of the service landscape for decades (Tennant, 2007). Tennant (2007), in her historical discussion of the Fabric of Welfare in New Zealand,

acknowledged that non-government organisations became increasingly vulnerable to the constraints that government organisations have, due to the need for government funding. Working within constraints but being able to think outside the square is an aspect of their Mahi that Tahu and Hine both attribute to their effectiveness.

The supportive and coaching approach that The Refuge staff take is what makes them unique and what differentiates them from services that take a punitive approach with families. Building trust, having respect, working holistically, and being family centred is key to the practice of these two participants. Working with people who have been on the receiving end of judgement and negative treatment makes advocates more informed on what works and what does not. They have observed that there is a lack of trust from whānau toward services and they make sure they take the time to build trust in their role:

When they first come in they don't trust us so you've got to prove to them that you know, that you can be trustworthy. Some other organisation may have broken some confidentially and when that happens, you know, it's hard to get them to trust you. With me, I'm just me. I work with people, when I was in domestic violence, that's how I wanted to be treated. Cos I've been there and I know what it's like. (Hine).

Hine's own life experience has added to her empathic approach to whānau that resonates with their own predicaments. Building trust and rapport with whānau and maintaining that by working ethically and guided by traditional values is at the core of her work. Trevithick (2000) note that building trust in relationships with people in hardship is what fosters progress. This is likely to be true particularly for Māori who have experienced a history of colonisation that lead to a mistrust of services in the settler society (Frederick & Henry, 2003). For many who have experienced distrust, seeking out services for assistance is often an opportunity to learn how to trust again (Trevithick, 2000).

Throughout their time with whānau, advocates ensure that they show respect which is vital in any relationship and is often missing in welfare services (Lens & Cary, 2010). Working with whānau who are oppressed requires organisational structures and

environments that are both safe and respectful, reflecting anti-oppressive services (Strier & Binyamin, 2014). When talking of the way whānau are treated, Hine said that she encourages her colleagues to be accepting, *“I say how do we treat our manuhiri (visitors)? With respect”*. She also mentioned that it is important to *“treat people like they're whānau ... Because as Māori that's what we do”* (Hine). Hine and Tahu expressed their expectations for appropriate behaviour of service workers in agencies such as MSD and Housing New Zealand. Tahu takes real issue with such staff engaging with whānau in a dehumanizing manner, failing to build up supportive relationships:

Getting to know them is the biggest one because if we don't do that well we don't do whakawhanaungatanga (relationship building) ... that's really important actually that's the first thing off the bar is actually put all the things that are going on with them to the side for a minute and bring them down and settle them. Just say “hey look” and get to know them a little bit (Tahu).

Becoming familiar with people's lived circumstances and the situational factors behind their current dilemmas, is necessary to working with them effectively (Strier, 2013) Whanaungatanga is clearly central to such an approach and the work of advocates. It is this emphasis on relationships, of providing whānau with a sense of belonging and security, and embracing whānau with kindness and respect (Ritchie, 1992), that resembles an inclusive and culturally-oriented practice.

Hine implements this in her work as she comes in to engagements with whānau with respect. As mentioned in the previous section, service workers often treat whānau with a lack of respect. *“If we treat them with respect and mana (self-worth) you know, it reflects back. If you're disrespectful to someone and you treat them like shit, of course they'll treat you like shit”*. (Hine). This statement reflects the importance of reciprocity in relationships as with social exchange theory, people will interact based on what they believe they will get from that interaction (Cook, Cheshire, & Rice, 2003). Hine reactions to service workers reflects the common phrase; ‘treat others how you want to be treated’. Similar concepts have been written about by Wattles (1996) who referred to the importance of fairness and respect.

Building relationships with staff at various agencies is central to supporting whānau through the social service landscape. Advocacy work requires networking with numerous organisations involved in the wellbeing of those they work with (Dowling, 1999). The multitude of services that Hine and Tahu engage with are demonstrated in Figure 7. Tahu also provided a service map specifically pertaining to a whānau she advocates for to show the services they would typically engage with over a two-week period. This is shown in Figure 9. Similar to whānau service maps, I asked Tahu to differentiate between services whānau ‘have to go to’, ‘need to go to’, and ‘choose to go to’. Her diagram has similarities to Miriama’s, shown in Chapter Three, with whānau engaging with 18 services in two weeks, having to go to MSD and CYFs, and needing to go to medical and budgeting services.

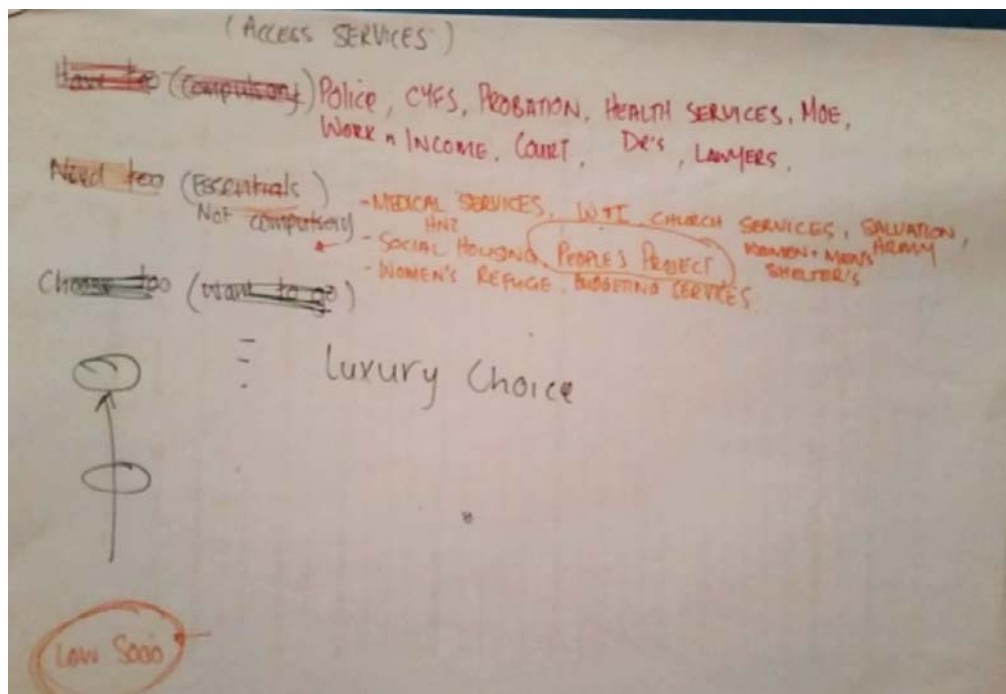


Figure 9. Tahu's service map for a whānau over a two-week period

Hine and Tahu both showed a willingness to build and maintain relationships with different services for the betterment of the whānau they work with. “It’s not what you know, it’s who you know. That’s why I have relationships with all sorts of people ... it betters my clients” (Hine). Hine describes the importance of having social connections with service workers as a way of improving the standard of service they are given and their access to entitlements. Central to relationship building is a whānau centric

orientation to the work these advocates do. They consider strategies to get whānau and service workers in a trusting relationship. As relationship brokers that span whānau and key agencies, these advocates consider the betterment of whānau in the long term:

We are there to make that immediate “oh this is such and such” ... Then from there, we’ll step back and the whānau feel “oh yeah I know someone now” ... doing some whakawhanaungatanga [relationship building]. Sort of making that rapport happen for them. And it’s always a good thing because they start to trust (Tahu).

And this by Hine...

It's about having relationships. Us having relationships. It's like Work and Income, we have a relationship with their family violence coordinator that gets us through a lot of doors and gets us a lot of things for our families. And we can access them a lot more for our families because of her (Hine).

Advocates act as ‘in-betweeners’ a lot of the time. They use their professional role to gain trust with service workers and then they will introduce them to whānau, to start a relationship based on this association. This relationship assists whānau as it can be difficult to build a relationship with service workers whose processes do not allow for them to really get to know whānau. Considering that advocates are in working roles and resemble what it is to be middle or working class, social identity theory would explain part of this dynamic. Advocates enter services as ‘equals’ rather than the out-group that whānau are seen as. This makes them more likely to be heard and thought of in a positive light (Hornsey, 2008).

Part of being an in-betweener requires having to communicate the situation for both the whānau they support and the service workers:

I think part of our role is to be the inbetweener for a lot of our whānau and with these agencies to be able to, you know, here that language and understand that language and translate it and a language that our whānau understand and get. A lot of the blockage, a lot of the conflict is around the miscommunication or

understanding of what they are needing or what is required to actually put it into terms that whānau get and understand (Tahu).

The issues of language and miscommunication can be influenced by whānau lacking the experience with interacting with services. Advocating by doing the interacting with services on behalf of whānau, demonstrates to whānau the language, the body language, volume, tone, and demeanour that advocates use. In modelling their interactions with other agencies on behalf of whānau, these advocates demonstrate how to get results and role model a more assertive approach and being confident with their knowledge. Each of these things being role modelled can be observed and replicated by whānau in their own interactions. Narayan-Parker (2002) noted that “poor women and men need a range of assets and capabilities to increase their wellbeing and security, as well as their confidence, so they can negotiate with those more powerful” (p. 14). Experiences with advocates offer whānau these capabilities.

Advocates also demonstrate how to challenge service workers when they withhold information about entitlements or decline whānau access to their entitlements. There were a number of instances where advocates reported having had to challenge services to ensure that whānau are being treated fairly: *“For me it’s about accessing the best service. The best service for this whānau. And ensuring that they get exactly what that persons getting” (Tahu)*. Within these accounts the issue of equity was paramount and invoking fairness enables the advocates to position their work as being about ensuring that welfare agencies do the right thing by whānau:

You can call them on it sometimes you go “oh na, na I know for a fact that you will pay out for that because I’ve been with another person and they have paid out. That one, that one over there paid for it so why aren’t you paying for it?” So, it’s about challenging them in a good way too (Hine).

Challenging decisions made by welfare staff is an important technique used by advocates. Many who are in precarious situations accept service workers decisions, assuming that there is no alternative. Having advocates challenge services offers an alternative response to acceptance that whānau can take in to future engagements. Strier and Binyamin (2014) recognise that neoliberal oriented policies and practices create the hardship and punitive

welfare that whānau experience, and they encourage social workers to practice in a way that liberates people from oppression. Advocates challenging unfair decisions is a form of resistance towards the oppressive dynamics and structures within services and the service landscape (Strier & Binyamin, 2014).

Where whānau have had bad experiences with agencies such as MSD and are seeking further support, advocates have stepped in to engage such services directly on behalf of whānau. This shields whānau from further punitive responses:

I try to do a lot of the Work and Income stuff myself because we hit them [whānau] up to sign an agent form which means we can go in and do it and I would rather do that sometimes because sometimes it's about not putting the whānau through that shit (Hine).

This action affords an example of the role of kaitiaki that The Refuge advocates have (Waikato Womens Refuge, 2017). Kaitiaki traditionally refers to the carers, protectors, guardians of earth, sea, and land (Ritchie, 1992), but in the case of advocates, they are the guardians of Māori whānau. When whānau reach a point where times become too difficult, Hine and Tahu come in and “*it's about getting out there and...helping families sort of mend their lives. Cos some of them, their lives, their worlds are shattered. So ... protecting them*” (Tahu). It is a mixture of bearing the brunt and eliminating the negative treatment because of the different way that service workers engage with advocates.

Although advocates do a lot of work on behalf of whānau, the key to their mahi is participative whānau centred support. These advocates do not do all the work for whānau, they consider each situation and guide whānau accordingly:

It's where they're at and ... what they're going through at the time. So, our job's not to tell them, 'you've got to do this, you got to do that', but it's to give them choices and sort of, you know, just walk beside them... you could do this, this, this, or this, giving you the options... (Tahu).

The work of these advocates is, in part, designed to build the capability of whānau to be able to navigate the welfare landscape more independently and with more confidence.

Giving people the knowledge and strategies to get through struggles has been a helpful resource from people in helping roles. This strategy reflects what has been termed a empowering or liberating approach to social work (Lee & Hudson, 1996) which emphasizes the need for people experiencing poverty to be empowered by social workers in order to deal more effectively with the plights they face. This has the ability to cultivate collective growth, knowledge sharing and building capabilities of others in the collective as demonstrated in Chapter Three where whānau pass on their knowledge to their family members.

Hine and Tahu work in a multicultural setting with people from different cultures and backgrounds, including Māori whānau. Cultural awareness and safety is vital to working with indigenous cultures. In New Zealand, cultural safety and competence has been recommended for a number of caring occupations (Nursing Council of New Zealand, 2011; New Zealand Psychologist Board, 2011; Social Work Registration Board, 2016). The Refuge management try to get staff to be culturally aware and encourage staff to learn about different cultures. Tahu emphasized the importance of culture:

It's our foundation, it's how we operate. It guides how we are. And for the whānau that comes in to this space, for us it's like being on a marae. It don't matter who you are what culture you are or what ethnicity because I've had a whole lot of different ethnicities in here you will get treated the same and what that means is it's about us acknowledging the differences and the different ways and different customs and the different cultures. But in our whare (workplace) and under our roof, this is how we practice or this is how we do things. So, your identity and who you are is important to us. A lot of our mahi is around helping a woman get their pride and get that sense of confidence back because they've been stripped of their mana (self-worth/authority).

Tahu spoke of culture in a manner that invokes a Māori way of operating, describing a principle of acceptance of all people and the desire to improve the life-worlds of the women they support. She brings in a cultural element of her description, referring to the marae as a place of respect and liberation from oppression.

Connecting whānau back to their whakapapa when links have been broken is a unique and cultural aspect of advocates' mahi. Hine talked about the importance of “*knowing your whakapapa*” and often helps the whānau she works with to reconnect to their whānau, hapū, and iwi. Emphasised in such accounts was the importance of familial ties to whānau wellbeing:

For me it's a cultural thing. Even though mum is a Pākehā ... it's about..., being part of a whānau, whether it be white or brown ... it's about knowing your roots (Hine).

Hine emphasised the importance of being connected with whānau and whakapapa to wellbeing and to having a sense of belonging and support. It is grounding a person into a larger social and relational context that can give people a sense of belonging, pride and relational importance. Things that can be stripped off of precariat whānau when dealing with inhumane services. It is known that having a strong support system can buffer against stress (Cohen & Hills, 1985) and this is important for Māori as a more interdependent culture. Hine and Tahu are both connected themselves with their own larger whānau and whakapapa and understand the socio-cultural and health importance for them and want the same for the precariat whānau they work with.

Chapter summary

This chapter outlined the perspectives and experiences of two advocates at The Refuge Waikato Womens Refuge. Participant accounts raise the importance of their mahi as advocates, their perspective on social issues, the service landscape that whānau encounter, their experiences engaging with services, and how they support whānau to navigate that landscape.

The first section, *Setting the context for staff advocacy work*, Considered the background and dispositions of advocates that inform their practice These advocates have modelled their culturally-anchored approach to helping whānau from their own whānau traditions. They act as conduits for Māori traditions of aroha (love), manaakitanga (care), and whanaungatanga (relational connectedness) to their own mahi. Their empathetic disposition is a driving force in their daily interactions with whānau and services, and

their overall outlook regarding individual, community, and social issues that whānau experience.

In the second section, *The service landscape from the advocates perspective*, these participants recount how the service landscape has become more difficult for whānau over time due to policies, structures, and the ongoing demonization of ‘the poor’ (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). These advocates acknowledge the increasingly punitive nature of welfare provisions (Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011; Wacquant, 2009) along with the complexities of the ‘run-around’ and making people jump through hoops to gain their entitlements. Accessing services and entitlements comes with barriers such as lack of transport, time, and resources to enable access, as well as the withholding of entitlement information from service workers. In these situations, where pressures are mounted on whānau, it can be overwhelming and it creates the need for advocates.

In the third section, *Engaging with services*, negative experiences seemed to linger more in terms of the emotion and depth of advocates accounts. Advocates see treatment as being an issue of power and control (Hodgetts et al., 2013; Morton et al., 2014) which relates to punitive approaches that are backed by neoliberal Government policies (Soss, Fording, & Schram, 2011; Wacquant, 2009). Advocates see whānau being scrutinized and subjected to degrading treatment in unwelcoming environments. This punitive treatment makes people feel like beggars or supplicants (Standing, 2011) and whānau often lack the confidence to engage with some services. Through their work with precariat whānau, advocates also witness growth in whānau in terms of confidence and becoming assertive, challenging the power relations.

The fourth section, *Supporting whānau to navigate services*, involves factors that reflect inclusive, anti-oppressive (Strier & Brinyamin, 2009), and culturally oriented social work. These participants actively educate themselves about policies and legislation that relates to external services in order to have the knowledge required to challenge services and ensure whānau acquire their rightful entitlements. Advocate roles consist of being present during appointments, building relationships with whānau and service workers, communicating for whānau, stepping in for whānau, and challenging service workers when they know that whānau are not being told about, or are being refused their entitlements. The support these participants offer whānau does not encourage the

dependency of whānau on advocates but it builds whānau capabilities for the future (Narayan-Parker, 2002) which is then shared with other whānau.

Overall, this chapter has shown that Māori advocates are working to protect precariat whānau from the harshness of the service landscape they encounter. Advocates are part of a resistance against the dehumanizing agency and service structures that fail to adequately support precariat whānau in their times of need. The next chapter provides a discussion about the results of this project in relation to the broader literature and consider how these results add to present knowledge of the precariat, welfare and the plight of precariat Māori in settler society today. I also discuss the importance of these results in terms of implications for whānau and agencies with recommendations for service redevelopments.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

Early in this thesis I argued that recent developments of the concept of the precariat are relevant to Māori. Departing somewhat from the international historicising of the precariat, I also argued that the Māori precariat has been around since the mid-1800s. Precarity came to Māori with the systematic social, cultural, political, and economic upheavals that are central to colonisation. Through the successful trading ventures from the 1800s, to the loss of Māori lives, land, and culture post-Treaty of Waitangi, the Māori precariat emerged as from a direct result of the negative effects of colonisation which culminated in a disparate and almost extinct population by the 1900s. Although the Māori population has rebounded to around 600,000 people today from approximately 40,000 one hundred years ago, precarity continues to be the most significant issue for Māori today. As I have argued already, the Māori precariat in particular, are the shock absorbers for austere times (Ajwani et al., 2003) and this has had a drastic impact on Māori health and ability to flourish as a people.

There is no disputing that there are far too many people without the means to get by, with thousands living precarious lives below the poverty line in Aotearoa (Perry, 2016) including thousands of whānau with children (Simpson, Duncanson, Oben, Wicken, & Gallagher, 2016). We know that high rates of unemployment have lead governments to create low paid, low skilled jobs to get people off welfare and reduce the unemployment rate (Andress & Lohmann, 2008) and this mishandling of the problem and the solution contributes to what is conceptualised as the precariat, with 1 in every 4 four Māori making up the precariat silhouette (Cochran et al., 2017), in a cycle of work and welfare. The rising cost of housing, and the precarious nature of work, means that even working people are experiencing financial hardship (Zuberi, 2006; Andress & Lohmann, 2008; Sekine, 2008) that necessitate s access to welfare support.

Welfare provisions have long been available to help whānau in need. However, the development of policies and practices informed by a misguided conservative ideology increasingly renders these provisions mono-cultural, punitive, and austere. The system, if we can still call it that, is no longer as effective in reducing hardship as it once was and

the discretion of service workers can mean that whānau are often not told about, or denied of their entitlements (Hodgetts & Stoltie, 2017). Whānau now have to navigate an uncoordinated and increasingly unresponsive welfare and social service sector.

The purpose of this study was to investigate experiences of two precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system and social services in the context of the global rise of the precariat and experiences of two service advocates who work on behalf of precariat whānau in navigating the welfare system. Using a Kaupapa Māori philosophy to guide the study and repeat qualitative semi-structured interviews, my aim was to engage with two representatives of precariat whānau and two advocates from The Refuge in a culturally-respectful manner. This approach enabled participants to share their experiences of how the present welfare system operates, their strategies for accessing resources, and the broader implications for precarity in their everyday lives. By identifying aspects of the present system that is dysfunctional for whānau, this thesis contributes to a body of knowledge that can improve agency responsiveness to the needs of the Māori precariat.

This chapter discusses key findings from this research at a more general level. I do so in relation to literature on the precariat and the place of Māori in contemporary society and the welfare system. I also provide recommendations for how the welfare system can be reoriented to better meet the needs of the Māori precariat.

Key findings

There are a number of key findings to consider from this study. Below, these are listed under three thematic subheadings. First, *'the idea of the poor as capable'* is vital to any discussion around the Māori precariat because of the emphasis my participants place on their efforts to adapt to precarity and in doing so challenge stereotypes that reduce them to passive recipients of welfare. Second, *'Māori precariat playing the game to address issues of power and control'* is important for further considering how whānau operate within the present punitive welfare system, and in demonstrating how they navigate this dysfunctional service landscape. And thirdly, *'Kaupapa Māori advocacy, conscientization and the need for anti-oppressive welfare'*, considers the benefits of Kaupapa Māori orientated support and liberation of the Māori precariat. Rather than

keeping the findings from whānau and advocates separate, there are areas where they are weaved together in this chapter as they relate to similar ideas.

The idea of the poor as capable

One of the most important findings was the idea of ‘the poor’ as solely responsible for their situations of hardship. This stereotype drives the contemporary welfare landscape and the creation of barriers that obstruct whānau access to their entitlements (*cf.*, Hodgetts & Stotle, 2017). It results in a situation where advocates are needed to assist whānau in accessing necessary resources from agencies such as MSD. Woven throughout all participant accounts are examples of the negative implications of a neoliberal construction of the poor as defective individuals which staff in welfare agencies, such as MSD and Housing New Zealand, draw on to guide their interactions with whānau. How staff in welfare agencies perceive beneficiaries sitting in front of them requesting assistance is vital to the outcomes that precariat whānau receive.

These findings are consistent with international literature on penal welfare that recognises the role that neoliberal ideology plays in stigmatizing welfare recipients as defective individuals and discouraging perceived dependency on state provisions by imposing punishing policies of austerity (Bauman, 2005; Dean, 2007; Hancock & Mooney, 2013; Marston, 2008). Welfare reforms for example, were put in to place to address the perceived issue of welfare dependency and the corresponding need to discourage people from seeking welfare supports (Bauman, 2005; Dean, 2007; Marston, 2008; Slater, 2014). The stereotypical view of the ‘deserving’ or ‘undeserving’ poor is not supported by empirical evidence and ignores the structural causes of precarity and hardship. Flawed assumptions about people in need also have material and psychosocial implications in terms of how they are treated when trying to access entitlements (Hodgetts & Stotle, 2017).

There has long been a distinction between the so called ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor that impacts on the perception and response to the person in need. The differentiation is directly related to the perceived ability and willingness of a person to work. The ‘deserving poor’ are those whose age, health, and physical ability to work restricts what

they can do in terms of work (Katz, 2013). The young, the old, the sick, and the ‘genuinely’ disabled are typically placed within this category. The undeserving poor are the people who are able to work but are still unemployed and assumed to be work shy (Katz, 2013). This characterization of the undeserving or workshy poor ignores the structural causes of unemployment or the impacts of underpaid and dehumanizing work conditions on the need for many members of the precariat to access welfare supports.

Guiding policies with this ideology is a process of institutionalised exclusion, where whānau are continually marginalized due to their circumstances and stereotypes about their culpability for the hardships they are facing (Barnes, et al., 2002; Beddoe, 2015). Romano (2015) spoke of the stereotypes that reinforces stigma, specifically the idle paupers, the scroungers, and the shirkers that aided misguided welfare reforms in the UK. Precariat participants in this study recount their attempts to access welfare supports as single parents, a group that has been the target of demeaning conservative propaganda that is socially exclusionary (Barnett et al., 2007; Bunjun et al., 2006). Just like the United States example of the ‘welfare queen’ or the United Kingdom’s ‘chav mum’, these are precariat mothers, particularly those of colour, who are depicted as work shy, promiscuous and generally lazy (Neubeck and Cazenave, 2001; Kohler-Hausman, 2015).

Māori women in the precariat also experience stigma of being poor single mothers on welfare which adds to their life stress and exacerbates the hardships they face (Barnett et al., 2007; Beddoe, 2015). Whānau and advocates acknowledged that being Māori adds another dimension to the disadvantages experienced in services which is not necessarily surprising considering our people have often been negatively stereotyped by members of the settler society (*cf.*, Wall 1997; Petrie, 1998; Cotter, 2007). The findings from this study show that the punitive service landscape is a space where stereotypes and punitive practices are reinforced based on service worker’s judgement of intersecting dimensions of race, class, and gender (Crenshaw, 1989). These judgements are manifested as structural barriers to resources that whānau need and were reported by all four of my participants in relation to micro level acts such as the denial of food grants or other forms of support.

Unresponsive service workers have these preconceived ideas about whānau, about what they do in their spare time, how they spend their money, and whether or not they are deserving of welfare support (Handler & Hasenfeld, 2006). All of the above reinforce the paternalist notion of penal welfare that is embedded in the current social systems that have power over the livelihoods of the poor (Wacquant, 2010).

Māori precariat whānau and aligned advocates work to challenge such stereotypes and associated decisions. In doing so, they demonstrate their agency in the face of ideological restraints and present themselves as proactive people trying to do their best in adverse circumstances. This is an important finding because it challenges the rhetoric of ‘the poor’ as passive and challenges penal or punitive approaches to welfare provisions (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). The findings from this study demonstrate that within their personal lives, whānau exercise considerable responsibility in trying to address their needs and those of their whānau. Further challenging neoliberal stereotypes, both client participants were drug and alcohol free, caring mothers who embrace their identities as positive Māori women who are making the best of dire situations.

In terms of navigating the service landscape, the whānau in this study act responsibly and with determination, using their resources to plan out, to access and engage with services. Despite racist colonial stereotypes to the contrary, Māori have always had to be active agents who work to navigate the intricacies of colonisation and life in the settler society. The participation in trade, the responses to colonisation, to urbanisation, and to precariatization are testament to such agency (King, 2003; Petrie, 2006; Pool, 2015; Walker, 1990). With the systematic dismantling of the Māori culture by British settlers, Māori have long responded with activism and cultural revitalisation since the 1960s (Anderson, Binney, & Harris, 2015). And with constant battles of inequality, insecurity, cultural insensitivity, there has been a growth of Kaupapa Māori services to step in and manaaki our whānau. The common thread within each of these examples of Māori action and response is the ability of Māori to adapt to the changes and challenges that society presents. This is not however, to say that the challenges should keep building. Rather, it is the view of Māori and of the precariat that need to change because it is prejudicial and leads to class, ethnic and gender discrimination in the welfare system.

Māori precariat playing the game to address issues of power and control

The findings of this study demonstrate how, at the institutional level, the precariat face the obstacle course (Boon & Farnsworth, 2011) that they must navigate which engages people seeking welfare assistance in a conditional relationship of subservience. This process of control and submission has been associated with structural violence in the provision of welfare in New Zealand and the denial of the legitimacy of experiences of hardship and genuine need for assistance (Hodgetts et al., 2014).

This reformed and increasingly punitive welfare ‘system’ is forcing members of the Māori precariat who participated in this study to ‘play the game’ to meet expectations of welfare agency staff in order to avoid being denied access to necessary resources (Bourdieu, 1990). In many respects, these whānau lack the power and control to gain necessities with ease. In response, they must find ‘work arounds’ such as employing their own strategies and recruiting the help of advocates (Soss, 2002). There is not a wealth of information to draw on relating to beneficiaries and how they navigate such landscapes, however findings from the present study are consistent with that of Lens and Carry (2010), Soss (2002), Dodson and Schmalzbauer (2005), and Hodgetts and Stolte (2017) who all recognize that people have to put considerable effort into gaining access to resources that they are entitled to and need. They do this by conforming to the ideals of the deserving and compliant poor.

As Rahera mentioned in Chapter Three, playing the game is about “making the right moves”. This means being able to read the game and the people in it to develop strategies to respond. They need to prioritise, problem solve, be creative, think fast, and be adaptable. From scheduling appointments, organising transport and paperwork, visualising and anticipating the interactions ahead of time, to adopting psychological scripts for every possible response from service workers. They need to dress, walk, talk, and act in a way that appeals to the service workers to whom that physical presentation and communication comes naturally. These practices demonstrate how members of the Māori precariat make agentive moves in response to the obstacles between them and their entitlements in an increasingly punitive welfare system. Every engagement presents the possibility of being dehumanized (Mirchandani & Chan, 2008) and having their mana stripped, so each strategy is necessary to increase their control over the outcome.

Studies in the US (Lens and Carry, 2010), the UK (Bauman, 2011), and here in Aotearoa (Morton et al., 2014) consider the imbalanced power between welfare agency staff and those seeking assistance, reflecting the ingroup/outgroup dilemma. Members of such outgroups have to be careful about how they present themselves as normal, as complying with moral imperatives that emphasise personal responsibility. (Dodson & Schmalzbauer, 2005), Such self-presentational practices are central to successfully playing the game.

The master slave dialectic described by Hegel (1977) offers insights into the relationships between welfare staff and whānau which the advocates in this study seek to bridge. The master or welfare staff control the resources that the slave or clients will receive. The allocation of resources appears to be dependent on the staff member seeing genuine need on the part of clients and one way clients can appear more deserving is by complying with the expectations of staff. In his description of a ‘disciplinary society’, Foucault (1979) also points to institutions exercising power by enforcing punishments on its subjects or clients.

Like any game, playing it successfully takes practice. One must acquire new skills. In part, this is where the importance of advocates comes in as advocates support and coach whānau in their dealing with agencies such as MSD. This study shows that Māori women who have interacted with advocates, and learnt how to play the game, also know when to drop the subservient role they play and challenge service workers who do not follow the rules.

The recounted interactions between welfare staff, whānau and their advocates is a microcosm of the paternalism, power and control issues that are now central to welfare services (Deacon, 2004; Morton et al., 2014; Standing, 2002). The role that advocates play addresses the power imbalances between welfare agency staff and whānau. Their work can help to rehumanise whānau in the eyes of welfare staff by attesting to their worthiness, and moral character, and in doing so present them as ‘deserving poor’.

Kaupapa Māori advocacy, conscientization and the need for anti-oppressive welfare

Advocacy work has developed as necessary responses to a welfare system that is unnecessarily punitive towards precariat whānau in need. Advocates have many roles when supporting whānau to navigate services and liberate them from the oppression they experience. They become intermediaries who often communicate directly with service workers, vouching for whānau, and challenging unfair decisions. They protect whānau from experiencing degradation by acting on their behalf, and because they do not experience the stigma that is directed at whānau, they can more readily form and maintain relationships which often soften the relationship between service workers and whānau. Advocates and precariat whānau both reported that the presence of an advocate results in a successful outcome and this could be because advocates relate to precariat whānau more but also because they are witnesses to and a counter balance for arbitrary decisions by welfare staff.

Through the process of ongoing interaction with the welfare system and with the support of advocates came conscientization (Freire, 1974) for Māori precariat whānau in this study. Through their own life experiences, the two advocates in this study have gained critical consciousness that they are passing on to the whānau they work with. This conscientization is a tool for understanding and responding to oppressive processes that are now central to the welfare system. Through processes of supported conscientization whānau come to recognize that their situations are not completely of their own doing, that intergenerational trauma of the Māori precariat comes with a history of loss and adaptation that they continue to deal with in their own lives.

Few studies have considered how welfare advocates of beneficiaries or precariat whānau operate and what support they provide that makes their work effective. Preliminary findings from my study show that Māori advocates work effectively with precariat Māori whānau particularly when they engage holistically, in an empowering way that considers the societal impacts on whānau and the potential outcomes for whānau. Unfortunately, like many non-government services, advocates lack resources to be more effective and this requires change.

When we consider what works in the relationships between whānau and their advocates, it is their shared culture and the mutual understandings as Māori women. It is clear that all four women are behaving in culturally-based ways that embrace Kaupapa Māori practices and tikanga. Whānau connections to Māori culture is reflected overtly in their use of Te reo Māori, practices of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, and adopting the role of tuakana.

Advocates work in a way that reflects Māori cultural values with whanaungatanga. A common understanding of whanaungatanga is as an inherently humanistic value for treating people with kindness and acceptance. Ritchie (1992) describes whanaungatanga as an interrelated set of value-based practices of manaakitanga (reciprocity and caring for others), kotahitanga (unity of the group), rangatiratanga (hierarchy in the group), and wairuatanga (spirituality). Each of these are fundamental to Māori oriented social work (Hollis, 2006). Recognizing roles not only as an advocate, but specifically as a Māori advocate caring for precariat Māori whānau is representative of embracing these value-based cultural norms that make up whanaungatanga. As kaitiaki (guardians), enactments of whanaungatanga are crucial as these advocates become guardians of the whānau they work with. Whānau and advocates do this within a settler society that does not always practice the same values and are not necessarily connected to the interrelated processes that are a central part of Te Ao Māori.

The findings from this study shed a little more light on the importance of kaupapa Māori approaches specifically within the welfare system where there is a need for change to how people are treated. Māori advocates demonstrate ways of being that are traditionally humanitarian and reflect how we are meant to conduct ourselves as Māori (King, Hodgetts, Rua & Morgan, In Press). In relation to non-Māori attempts to do the same, inclusive and anti-oppressive social work reflects the moral, humanitarian approach to social work (Strier & Binyamin, 2009) that works for the Māori precariat.

Anti-oppressive social work is based on notions of human rights, acknowledgement of the oppressive processes and structures in society, and efforts towards liberating members of socio-economically marginalised groups such as the Māori precariat (Burke & Harrison, 1998; Strier, 2013). Dominelli (1996) pointed to the importance of anti-oppressive practice as being person-centred, egalitarian, focussed on the outcomes as well

as the process, liberating, and addressing power relations. The more recent framework from Strier (2013) describes four main principles of inclusive social work; involvement, partnership, advocacy, and conscientization. Both frameworks consider the social context, attempt to create inclusion to consider the people directly involved, challenging inequality, and liberation from oppression. These principles can also be identified in Kaupapa Māori practices. This demonstrates that advocates do not necessarily have to be Māori, but that there are mainstream strategies and frameworks that align with kaupapa Māori, such as humanitarian and anti-oppressive approaches to welfare.

Kaupapa Māori and humanitarian approaches work with Māori because these approaches not only seek to know people, they treat them with dignity as they help to build the capabilities, and allow them to become their own advocates. Such an approach to advocacy and social work also aligns with calls to develop an anti-oppressive welfare system that rejects punitive or penal welfare (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2017). In an anti-oppressive welfare system that is informed by Kaupapa Māori values, whānau trying to access welfare are treated with care and compassion rather than stigma and suspicion. This reorientation has the potential to remove the need for advocates in the welfare 'system' because services would be reoriented towards enabling people to access their entitlements (Strier & Binyamin, 2014).

What is clear from the present study and previous research is the need to reorientate the present penal welfare system in order to render services more responsive to the actual needs of precariat whānau. In order to implement these recommendations, there requires a change of mind set regarding precariat Māori whānau. My first suggestion is to involve whānau and advocates in the design of the welfare system. As we can see from the key findings of this study, whānau exercise considerable agency in their efforts to get by and access resources. They know what they need and what is expected of them, and they are able to meet both needs repeatedly. As such, it makes sense that in reforming the welfare system input should come from whānau and their advocates who have experienced hardship and the dysfunctional nature of penal welfare. Inclusion of whānau and advocates in the redesign of the welfare system to make it more human and responsive to client needs also demonstrates trust and inclusion towards precariat whānau.

While the system is in transition, a pool of money that is independent from government control could be given to advocates and their agencies to support their work. Findings show that not only is the landscape an uncertain and sometimes harsh environment, but that it also causes the need for advocates. Advocates are working as a response to the system to help whānau to access entitlements for survival and to educate and liberate them. As shown in this study, advocates are not always employed simply as advocates, but as social workers for whānau experiencing other serious difficulties such as domestic violence. Having the additional role of advocate comes with no extra funding that advocates need. More generally, if we are considering the core needs of precariat whānau it is important to discuss possibilities that might alleviate the need for the present welfare system. In this vein we might consider the introduction of a Universal Basic Income (UBI) to replace all state benefits. A UBI currently exists in the form of superannuation accessible by all over the age of 65 years. So, the function of a UBI is well known already.

My research also suggests that people who make up the precariat are stigmatised for their reliance on services and use of state benefits. Introducing a UBI has the potential to remove stigma from the system, is more efficient and signals inclusion for all citizens. It provides the government with an opportunity to give all its citizens the means to survive without the constant process of marginalization. A Universal Basic Income (UBI) offers all citizens an unconditional amount of money regardless of any other sources of income from activities such as paid employment (Standing, 2014). UBIs have been put forward as a means of addressing inequalities in society and promoting more stability in ‘flexible’ (read precarious) labour markets such as ours. Such UBIs can improve access to basic necessities among the precariat and smooth out cycles of casual employment and unemployment (Wacquant, 2008). They also remove some of the stigma associated with receiving welfare benefits because everyone receives the UBI as a matter of citizenship.

Concluding statement

Although the Māori precariat from this study reflect aspects of the global precariat, Māori have a unique history, worldview, and approach to life. For too long, power has been in the hands of people who know very little about what it is like to be Māori and a member of the precariat. Being Māori and in the precariat, means having to get by with less in a settler society whose agencies are selectively responsive and culturally insensitive to

Māori needs. Since the rise of neoliberal ideology and the socially-embedded stereotypes of ‘the poor’, accessing basic necessities and fundamental human rights in the service landscape has become a difficult endeavour that requires skill and mutual support. This study demonstrates that whānau are practicing initiative and making ends meet through ensuring continuous learning from their experiences, and implementing strategies that are simple yet effective. These can be read as attempts to gain and exercise control over their own lives. With a raised critical consciousness, the Māori precariat are able to be their own advocates and continue to support themselves and their whānau. Although small in scale, this research illustrates how advocates play an important role supporting whānau to practice strategies, access and engage with services, and recognizing that personal deficits are not the cause of their hardship. Māori advocates adopt humane practices guided by kaupapa Māori philosophy which allows for the Māori precariat to exist in a space where they are validated, included, and liberated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1 - Information sheet

Participant information

We invite you to participate in the project: **Precarity in Māori households: Respite, connections and human flourishing in austere times**

Who are we?

We are, first and foremost, citizens concerned with the growing inequalities in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We are also a group of mostly Māori researchers from the University of Waikato, Massey University Auckland, and Te Whakaruruhau – Waikato Women's Refuge. This research is funded by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and is approved by the School of Psychology Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato.

The current research project

We are interested to learn how Māori households engage in everyday life and leisure activities in times of low job security, high costs of living, and expensive housing. Some of the areas we are interested in are: What encourages cultural connections and practices? How do whānau experience health? What are the aspirations for change? What needs to change for whānau to be strengthened?

How can you and your whānau contribute?

We plan to talk with members of 8 Māori households on 8 occasions. First, we would like to get to know you, and give you an opportunity to get to know us. Then, we would like to have open-ended conversations with you about some general topics, and we also plan to use photos and drawing exercises. The important thing is that your whānau has an opportunity to tell us about your experiences. At the end of the research we will share our findings and you can provide feedback.

What will we do?

After we talk to you about the research we will ask you to sign a consent form to indicate that you understand the research and you agree to take part. You can withdraw at any time from the research without giving us a reason, or you can decline to answer a specific question. With your permission we will record our conversations with you which then will be transcribed. We do this for accuracy and for our analysis.

What will happen with the material we collect?

We will discuss issues raised in the research with the Women's Refuge so that they can improve their services. We will also use the material for academic publications, which may lead to policy changes. We will present the findings at conferences. For our students, the project will support them to become skilled Māori researchers. We hope that your stories will improve understandings of what life is like for Māori whānau.

How to participate

If you would like to participate in this research then first discuss this with your whānau. Then, let the social worker or staff member who contacted you know that you would like to participate. A researcher will then contact you to arrange a suitable time to meet. If you have any further questions or concerns regarding this study **please** do not hesitate to contact any of the following people:

Mohi Rua
(07) 837 9213
mrua@waikato.ac.nz

Rolinda (Poli) Karapu
(07) 855 1569
Rolinda.Karapu@tewhakaruruhau.org.nz

Ottilie Stolte
(07) 837-9231
ottilie@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 2 – Consent form



CONSENT FORM

A completed copy of this form should be retained by both the researcher and the participant. [Note: you may delete or reword any items that are not relevant to your research and add items that are relevant to your research – please ensure that the crest and logo above appear on the top of the page]

Research Project: Precarity in Māori households: Respite, connections and human flourishing in austere times

| Please complete the following checklist. Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each point. | YES | NO |
|--|-----|----|
| 1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it. | | |
| 2. I understand that the conversations will be recorded. | | |
| 3. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study. | | |
| 4. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet. | | |
| 5. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. | | |
| 6. I have the right to decline to participate in any part of the research activity. | | |
| 7. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general. | | |
| 8. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study. | | |

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (Dr Rebecca Sargisson, phone 07 557 8673, email: rebeccas@waikato.ac.nz). You can also contact the project leader Mohi Rua, phone 837 9213, email: mrua@waikato.ac.nz

Participant's name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 3 – Whānau background and relationships interview guide and theme card

Interview one - background and relationships

** These questions are only examples of possible questions and issues to explore with whanau. This list is not intended to be taken in the room. It is a guideline for asking questions related to the themes and are general issues that we'd like you to raise with whanau. The key point is to build whanaungatanga, share whakapapa and learn more about the background to their present situation.*

➤ **WHERE ARE YOU FROM** (draw it)

I've got a few questions about where you're from and thought we can also draw some key relationships.

- Where are you from? (Whakapapa)
- How long have you guys been there? Parents born there?
- How long been in Hamilton? What brought you here?
- Links back home
- Draw
- Work and employment history

➤ **NETWORKS AND SUPPORT PEOPLE** (Mapping of their support network)

- Who have been important people in your life? (really helped you out stuff)
- How close are you to whanau now?
- Explain genogram and then draw relationship diagram (explain what you are drawing) - draw whanau then social network
- We have done your relationship diagram, but can we talk about who is missing?
- Are you a key supporter for other people?
- Who else in your life would you consider to be part of your support network?
- Who can you rely on and who not so much?

➤ **PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE/HOME**

- Where have you lived in the past 5 years? (draw and explain each place and why moved - gives us movement)
- What are some of the reasons you moved?
 - i. How long have you been here?

- Who's usually in the house (full-time/part-time)?
- Is it a rental, yours or your families?
- What do you like or dislike about where you lives?
- If there was anything you could change about your house/home what would it be? (Wish list idea)
- Ultimate place to live in?

➤ **MONEY AND RESOURCES**

- What are your sources of income?
- Money in and out
- Other resources
- How does it vary

➤ **CLOSING OFF**

- Summarise the main points from the interview and ask if they'd like to elaborate on anything.
- Ask them if there is anything else they would like to raise in relation to what you have been talking about.
- Ask them if they think there is anything you have missed.
- Is what covered what you thought this project would be about?
- Is this what you think this research should be about?

TOPIC: BACKGROUND AND RELATIONSHIPS

Themes

- **WHERE ARE YOU FROM**
- **NETWORKS AND SUPPORT PEOPLE**
- **MOVEMENT [past 5 YEARS]**
- **CLOSING OFF**

Appendix 4 – Whānau service interview guide and theme card

Recap Interview 2 Services, Agencies and Community Groups

Recap 2 - Services, Agencies and Community Groups

**** These questions are only an example of possible questions and issues to explore with clients. Take the 3 major themes of the services, agencies and community groups RECAP and adapt the questions to each specific client and the examples/issues/strategies they have raised in previous interviews. The service maps that you made with the clients previously should be taken into the room to assist in refreshing the conversation and keeping things on track. This list is not intended to be taken in the room, but is a guideline of asking questions related to the themes and are general issues that have been raised by clients previously.***

- **Dealing with Services (some of these will be used regularly, some intermittently; we are interested in ones you need to go to? And that you chose to go to? (see footnote)¹)**
 - Tell me about the best experience you've had with an agency?
 - What worked well? Why did it work well?
 - Tell me about the worst/most difficult experience you've had dealing with an agency?
 - If you were to give someone advice based on your experiences dealing withwhat would you tell them?
 - (BARRIERS - what stops you)What agencies/services do you avoid?
Why do you avoid them?
 - How have these experiences shaped you using other services?
 - Thinking about all the agencies/services you deal with, how do you think you are treated?
 - In a dream world how would you be treated?
- **Access - getting around**
 - Tell me about your week last week with services.
 - If you had a diary what would it look like?
 - Can you tell me about some strategies you use for accessing services?

1 You have to go to - these are the services that are compulsory (statutory) for you to access, there are consequences if you don't. *e.g.* WINZ, HNZ, courts, police, probation, CYFS, IRD, ACC, budgeter. **You need to go to** - These are the services that are essential to your life and you need to access them, however the repercussions of you not accessing them are different to those 'you have to go to'. *e.g.* Doctor, dentist, mental health providers, Foodbanks, debt trucks, clothing trucks (RED RAT), Auckland City Mission, Salvation Army, budgeter.

You chose to go to - these are the services or community groups you do not 'have' or 'need' to access but you do out of choice. These are often groups and services related to culture, learning and leisure. *e.g.* cultural groups, Marae, church, sports clubs, library, dance classes, art groups.

Recap Interview 2 Services, Agencies and Community Groups

- Can you tell me about any of them that are difficult for you to access/get to?

What happens when support there or not there

- **Managing Time**
 - Let's work out how much time you spend on a regular day/week accessing services?
 - What does a regular day look like?

Recap Interview 2 Services, Agencies and Community Groups

Themes

TOPIC: SERVICES, AGENCIES AND COMMUNITY GROUPS

SEEKING: STORIES AND STRATEGIES

- **Access**
- **Dealing with Services - Good and Bad**
 - You have to go to
 - You need to go to
 - You chose to go to
- **Managing time**
- **Being reliant on services**
- **Culture and service engagements**

Appendix 5 – Advocates background interview guide and theme card

Interview one with advocates - background and relationships

*** These questions are only examples of possible questions and issues to explore with agency staff. This list is not intended to be taken in the room. It is a guideline for asking questions related to the themes and are general issues that we'd like you to raise. The key point is to build whanaungatanga, share whakapapa and learn more about the background to their present situation.**

➤ WHERE YOU'RE FROM

I've got a few questions about where you're from and how you came in to this work with Te Whakaruruhau.

- Where are you from? (Whakapapa)
- How long have you guys been there? Parents born there?
- How long been in Hamilton? What brought you here?
- Links back home

➤ HOW YOU CAME IN TO THIS WORK

- What's your employment history?
- How long have you worked in social services?
- What brought you to this mahi? Own experience?
- If you were to describe your mahi to someone, what would you say?
- What do you enjoy about your work?
- What do you find hard about your work?

➤ HOW THE REFUGE GOT IN TO THIS WORK

- Can you tell me how Women's refuge came to supporting families to access services?
- Tell me about how the refuge response developed?

➤ WHANAU BACKGROUND AND NETWORKS (Overview of whanau)

- Where are whanau from? Where do they whakapapa to?
- Is it a mix of people in work and on benefits?
- What supports do these whanau usually have outside of this service?
- What kind of help do they get from family? Friends? Others?
- Does one whanau support another? How do they network?

➤ PEOPLE IN THE HOUSE/HOME

- Before whanau come to your service, what kind of living arrangements do they typically have?
- Who was usually in the house (full-time/part-time)?
- Rentals or family owned?
- Was it stable or did they move around a lot?
- What are some of the reasons they'd move?

➤ **CLOSING OFF**

- Summarise main points from interview and ask if they'd like to elaborate on anything.
- Do you think there's anything we've missed?
- We will go in to the services and how you guys navigate these in more detail next week.

TOPIC: BACKGROUND

Themes

➤ **WHERE YOU'RE FROM**

➤ **HOW YOU CAME IN TO THIS WORK**

➤ **HOW THE REFUGE GOT IN TO THIS WORK**

➤ **WHERE WHANAU COME FROM**

➤ **NETWORKS AND SUPPORT PEOPLE**

➤ **MOVEMENT**

➤ **CLOSING OFF**

Appendix 6 – Advocates service interview guide and theme card

Services, Agencies and Community Groups

**** These questions are only an example of possible questions and issues to explore with participants. Take the 3 major themes of the services, agencies and community groups interview and adapt the questions to each participant and draw out examples/issues/strategies from them. Remember to develop service maps with them to assist the discussion. This list of questions is not intended to be taken in the room, but is a guideline of asking questions related to the themes and are general issues that have been raised by participants.***

- **Access - getting around** Start by asking them to talk through a typical week at work, main tasks, families working with, what it involves, what the dilemmas, heartbreaks and successes are etc.

Printed two week diary template

- Tell me about a typical two weeks for whanau with services.
- If whanau had a diary what would it look like?
- Can you tell me about some strategies whanau use for accessing services?
- Do whanau draw on support people outside of the refuge to help access difficult services?
- Can you tell me about any services that are difficult for whanau to access/get to?

Ask them to draw a diagram of the services they engage with and explain it as they go. Ask question and prompt further elaboration as they draw. The diagram can be developed further as you work through the themes and questions below.

- **Dealing with Services (some services will be engaged regularly, some intermittently; we are interested in ones you need to go to? And that you chose to go to? (see footnote)¹)**

¹ **You have to go to** - these are the services that are compulsory (statutory) for you to access, there are consequences if you don't. e.g. WINZ, HNZ, courts, police, probation, CYFS, IRD, ACC, budgeter. **You need to go to** - These are the services that are essential to your life and you need to access them, however the repercussions of you not accessing them are different to those 'you have to go to'. e.g. Doctor, dentist, mental health providers, Foodbanks, debt trucks, clothing trucks (RED RAT), Auckland City Mission, Salvation Army, budgeter. **You chose to go to** - these are the services or community groups you do not 'have' or 'need' to access but you do out of choice. These are often groups and services related to culture, learning and leisure. e.g. cultural groups, Marae, church, sports clubs, library, dance classes, art groups.

- Agencies whanau need to go to, have to go to, choose to go to?
 - Tell me about the best experience you've had with an agency?
 - What worked well? Why did it work well?
 - Tell me about the worst/most difficult experience you've had when supporting whanau with an agency?
 - If you were to give someone advice based on your experiences supporting whanauwhat would you tell them?
 - (BARRIERS - what stops you)What agencies/services do whanau avoid? Why do they avoid them?
 - How have these experiences shaped whanau using other services?
 - Thinking about all the agencies/services you deal with, how do you think whanau are treated?
 - In a dream world how would whanau be treated?
- **Managing Time**
 - Let's work out how much time whanau spend on a regular day/week /fortnight accessing services?
 - What does a regular fortnight look like for them?
- **Being a person reliant on services**
 - How does it feel to have to go to these services?
 - Which services do you enjoy going to and why?
 - Can you tell me about the relationships that whanau have with agencies?
 - What needs to change to make services more effective for whanau?
 - Is there a better way of helping people?
 - What resources do you need that are particularly hard to access?
- **Culture and service engagements**
 - How is the support you guys offer informed by culture?
 - Do services try to get to know whanau as a person/whanau?
 - Do whanau access Maori focused services?
 - If so, tell me about it?
 - If no, what would it look like?
 - Does it make a difference if a service is Maori focused?
 - Are whanau treated in a culturally sensitive manner?
 - Are there particular people that you prefer to interact with? Tell me about it? Why?
 - How does the whanau situation impact on their ability to be a Maori person in the world?

TOPIC: SERVICES, AGENCIES AND COMMUNITY GROUPS
Themes

- **ACCESS - GETTING AROUND**
- **DEALING WITH SERVICES**
- **MANAGING TIME**
- **BEING A PERSON RELIANT ON SERVICES**
- **CULTURE AND SERVICE ENGAGEMENTS**

Appendix 7 – Wrap up interview guide used for whānau and advocates

TOPIC: Wrapping it up

- We'd like to start by discussing how this project has been for you
 - Have there been any good things about being a part of this project for you (and your family)? (e.g., food vouchers, sharing stories)
 - Have there been any downsides?
- Tell the participants what we have found so far - this will invoke discussion
- Future Expectations

Glossary

Aotearoa – New Zealand

Aroha ki te tangata - a respect for people

Te Atiawa - tribal group to the north-east of Mount Taranaki and Wellington

Hapū – sub tribe

Iwi - tribe

Kai - food

Kanohi kitea - the seen face, present yourself face-to- face

Kaua e mahaki - do not flaunt your knowledge

Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata - do not trample over the mana of the people

Kaumatua – elder, a person of status within the whānau

Kaupapa - context

Kaupapa Māori – Māori philosophy

Kawanangatanga - governance

Kia tupato - be cautious

Koha – donation, gift

Kotahitanga – unity, solidarity, collective action

Mahi - work

Mana – status, integrity, prestige, authority, influence

Manaaki ki te tangata - share and host people, be generous

Manaakitanga – hospitality, generosity

Ngati Paoa - tribal group of area west of the Hauraki Gulf

Ngati Whatua - tribal group of the area from Hokianga to Auckland

Pai Mārire - Christian faith developed by Te Ua Haumēne in Taranaki which is still practised by some, including Waikato Māori

Pākehā – English, European

Papa kāinga – home land, original base, communal Māori land

Tainui - tribes from the Waikato, Hauraki and King Country areas

Taonga - treasure

Te Ao Māori – Māori world

Te Arawa – tribes in the Rotorua-Maketū area.

Te reo – Māori language

Te whare tapa wha – Māori model of health developed by Mason Durie

Teina – younger sibling

Tikanga - customs

Tino rangatiratanga – self-determination

Tipuna - ancestors

Titiro, whakarongo ...korero - look, listen ... speak

Tohunga - expert

Tuakana – older sibling/family member

Whakamā – shy, ashamed

Whakatauki – Māori proverb

Whakawhanaungatanga – building relationships

Whānau - family, extended family

Whanau ora - family wellbeing, culturally oriented government policy established 2010

Whanaunga - relatives

Whanaungatanga – relationship, sense of family connection