



Tūao Aotearoa
Volunteering New Zealand

The Contributions of Tūao Māori: Principles of collective responsibility and self-determination

**Volunteering New Zealand mahi aroha findings report
2022**

Arataki. Hāpai. Whakamana | Lead. Advocate. Recognise.

“Ehara taku toa, he takitahi, he toa takitini,”

Success is not the work of an individual,
but the work of many.

Contents

Context	5
About Volunteering New Zealand Tūao Aotearoa	5
Volunteering New Zealand – Tūao Aotearoa and Te Tiriti o Waitangi	5
The history of our State of Volunteering Report.....	6
Focus groups for 2022 Report.....	6
Elevating the voices of Tūao Māori in our 2022 State of Volunteering Report.....	7
Kaitiaki, Ohu Tikanga and future reports.....	7
Executive Summary	8
Introduction	8
Rangatiratanga and mana motuhake	9
Historical contexts	9
Focus group themes	9
Theme 1: Whanaungatanga, mana and manaakitanga.....	10
Theme 2: Taha Māori: Māori identity and an intrinsic sense of duty	10
Theme 3: Meaningful kaupapa initiatives.....	11
Theme 4: Tūao Māori recognition	11
Theme 5: Covid-19: Disruption of tikanga and outreach	11
State of Volunteering survey: themes and analysis.....	12
Conclusion.....	12
Recommendations for organisations.....	12
Next steps for Volunteering New Zealand Tūao Aotearoa	13
Story of the report	14
Focus groups	14
State of Volunteering surveys	14
Kaupapa Māori research and its relevance to this report	15
Introduction	16
The nature of mahi aroha	16
Value and challenges of volunteering	17
Key background research	19
Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake as an underlying basis for mahi aroha	22
History and origins of the terms.....	22
Mahi aroha beginnings: Marae committees and the Māori War Effort Organisation.....	25

Te Ropu Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora	27
Māori Wātene – Māori Wardens.....	28
Focus group findings.....	30
Theme 1:Whanaungatanga, mana and manaakitanga	30
Whanaungatanga	30
Nurturing whānau and whanaungatanga connections.....	31
Transferring knowledge and maintaining mana	31
Manaakitanga	32
Theme 2: Taha Māori: Māori identity and an intrinsic sense of duty	35
Intrinsic sense of cultural identity	35
Interactions with tauīwi organisations.....	36
Challenges of navigating different volunteer environments.....	37
Burdening tangata whenua with Māori-based mahi and navigating diversity checkboxes	38
Theme 3: Creating meaningful kaupapa Initiatives	39
Volunteering on Māori terms: effective and meaningful kaupapa.....	39
Theme 4: Tūao Māori recognition.....	41
Reciprocity and validation	41
Reward-based recognition	42
Theme 5: Covid-19: Disruption of tikanga and outreach.....	43
State of Volunteering survey: themes and analysis.....	45
Maintaining social connection	45
Caring for and empowering others.....	45
Impact of service delivery and contribution.....	46
Lack of resources and dissatisfaction with leadership.....	46
Increased workload and Covid-19 deterrents	47
Survey findings summary	47
Conclusions	48
Recommendations drawn from these findings.....	49
Bryony’s ideas:.....	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Works cited	50

Context

About Volunteering New Zealand Tūao Aotearoa

Volunteering New Zealand Incorporated was established in 2001 to be an umbrella organisation, and peak body, for the community and voluntary sector. Our role is to work on behalf of volunteers and Tūao, and for organisations that achieve their purpose and aspirations through a volunteer workforce.

Our purpose is to enable volunteers to enrich Aotearoa New Zealand, and to be an advocate for volunteers and volunteering. We aim to:

- **Whakamana** – recognise the value of volunteering in all its forms;
- **Hāpai** – advocate for inclusive, diverse and impactful volunteering; and
- **Arataki** – lead volunteering in Aotearoa New Zealand.

One of the ways that we support community organisations to sustainably work with a volunteer workforce is by collating and disseminating research about volunteering, in all its forms.

Our work ensures that research, data and insights are available and accessible to organisations and decision makers. It also strives to ensure that all volunteers and volunteering in all its forms is recognised and celebrated.

Volunteering New Zealand – Tūao Aotearoa and Te Tiriti o Waitangi

Volunteering New Zealand acknowledges that Te Tiriti o Waitangi is a foundation for sharing power between tāngata whenua (Māori) and tāngata Tiriti (all others who have come here) to sustain just and vibrant communities.

We are committed to a Treaty honouring Aotearoa where people actively participate in shaping their communities. We also recognise that the treaty as a living document that continues to guide relationships between tangata whenua and tangata Tiriti in contemporary times. We show respect for Māori culture, customs, and perspectives.

We work towards this through our values, uara, which are:

- To care, nurture and grow (manaakitanga)
- To build connections and enduring relationships (whanaungatanga)
- To inspire by example (tūao)
- To hold ourselves to the highest standard (whaiwhakaaro)

As a small organisation with a national focus, our intentions are aspirational and realistic.

We liken Volunteering New Zealand to 'Te Pu o te Wheke' (the head of the octopus), where we work from the centre but our strength lies in all the many arms - organisations and people across the country.

The history of our State of Volunteering Report

We know there is a lack of data available to organisations about volunteers, both at population level statistics data, and within the community research space.

Our State of Volunteering Report is a response to this gap. It aims to provide organisations, and decisions makers with information that informs their activities and volunteer engagement.

Our State of Volunteering reports have evolved since they were first launched in 2015.

Our first three reports between 2015 to 18 were based solely on a survey of community organisations. Respondents completed these surveys on behalf of organisations sharing their experiences on working with a volunteer workforce.

Our 2020 SOV was the first report to explore the experiences of volunteers. We conducted two surveys. One for individuals as volunteers and one for community organisations. The report synthesized findings from both surveys, based around shared themes.

Our 2020 report acknowledged and recognised the importance of mahi aroha and the high participation rates of tūao Māori. However, it also noted the limitations of our survey collection processes. Māori respondents were under-represented in our survey of 1300 volunteers across Aotearoa.

We sought feedback from key stakeholders who used the 2020 report, which helped us identify several areas we could focus to further develop our next report. A key aspiration identified by stakeholders was to better capture the views and experiences of tūao Māori, and other volunteers who did not feature fully in the survey. Other feedback steered us towards further analysis and breakdown by regions, and deeper understanding around gauging volunteer wellbeing and understanding volunteer motivations.

Focus groups for 2022 Report

Based on our own internal review, and the feedback from stakeholders we commenced focus groups in November 2021, aiming to conduct focus groups with a range of groups that that might not respond to a quantitative survey.

Due to the ongoing impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic, we were very targeted in our priority groups: Māori, youth and people with lived experiences of disabilities.

Our aspiration was to hear more fully the voices of volunteers and be able to reflect these through our work.

Our approach to conducting focus groups included the following practices:

1. Focus groups to be led “by participants, for participants”.
2. Focus group leads given full scope to re-frame or re-write focus group questions as they saw fit.
3. A commitment to work through our member network and existing relationships.

Elevating the voices of Tūao Māori in our 2022 State of Volunteering Report

We worked with Volunteer Waitaki/South to conduct two tangata whenua focus groups. These were led by Julia Rata Te Raki, Volunteer Waitaki, Volunteer South.

These were conducted in November and December 2021.

Our quantitative volunteer survey included 33 responses from participants who identified as tangata whenua.

We engaged our research report writer, Bryony Moses to transcribe the focus groups, and then to synthesize and write up findings from these, the survey results and to add to this with her own research and analysis. She has done an outstanding job.

Bryony’s work and report are the main body of this report, *The Contributions of Tūao Māori*.

The journey for this report has unfolded over the course of 2022, and is intertwined with *The State of Volunteering 2022*. Bryony’s work, themes and findings were an integral part of *State of Volunteering Report 2022*. We also see the wide-ranging voices and experiences of tūao Māori within the main body of that report, which Bryony sourced and placed into the main report.

Kaitiaki, Ohu Tikanga and future reports

Our 2020 report, and the 2022 report both took approximately two years of work from inception to publication.

As the 2022 report was progressed, Volunteering New Zealand Tūao Aotearoa has continued to work towards its aspirations as a Te Tiriti responsive organisation.

We have had a Māori board member role for over a decade, and since 2020 we have also established an Ohu Tikanga, or board-led working group to specifically steer the board and operational mahi of Volunteering New Zealand.

In 2022 we were privileged to have Evelyn Tobin MNZM join us as a kaitiaki to guide our Ohu Tikanga, board and wider operational team.

These relationships will be at the forefront of guiding our next steps as we look forward to our 2024 State of Volunteering report.

Executive Summary

The purpose of this report is to add to the knowledge of tūao Māori.

Volunteering New Zealand researches the State of Volunteering in Aotearoa New Zealand and produces a report biannually. Māori volunteers were identified as a significant voice missing from many previous reports. Therefore, Volunteering New Zealand wanted to prioritise hearing their views. Research from Māori volunteers included focus groups and survey data research conducted in 2021-22.

Volunteering New Zealand engaged researcher Bryony Rangimāria Moses who synthesized this research and added desk-based research and her own analysis to provide a comprehensive report. This was peer reviewed by Jordan Green (Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau ā Apanui) who provided some excellent feedback and challenged Volunteering New Zealand to consider the significance of the findings for volunteer-involving organisations and its own work. These are noted as recommendations at the end of this summary.

Introduction

Māori are amongst the highest likely to volunteer, with their participation rates being significantly higher than other ethnic groups, especially in relation to their smaller population size. Importantly, unpaid work performed by Māori is uniquely coded in cultural ideas of reciprocity, cultural identity, and intrinsic responsibilities.

The essence of tūao Māori contributions is ingrained in the concept of mahi aroha. Mahi aroha is performed out of aroha, manaakitanga, and a sense of duty to whānau (family), whanaungatanga (kinship relations) and wider networks of iwi and hapu. Mahi aroha is fixed within a Māori world view and sense of identity; it revolves around the obligations to maintain the mana of Māori culture in accordance with tikanga and represents a responsibility to fulfil cultural obligations which ensure the wellbeing of the collective.¹

Group membership and cultural identity for tūao Māori is experienced on different levels. There is not a homogenous lived experience by which Māori interact and experience their cultural identity

¹ Pam Oliver, Lauri Porima, Tania Wolfram, Dr. Catherine Love. (2007). Mahi Aroha: Māori perspectives on volunteering and cultural obligations. Pages ii, 11. The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector

or traditions. However, regardless of the level of cultural engagement for tūao Māori, many are motivated by whakapapa and collective duty.

Rangatiratanga and mana motuhake

Rangatiratanga and mana motuhake are concepts at the heart of mahi aroha. Tino rangatiratanga can mean the right to self-government or nurturing togetherness, and mana motuhake can mean self-determination through collective support.

In the context of mahi aroha, these values translate as the ability for Māori to collectively mobilize their communities and weave their values into western systems. Upholding the taonga of tikanga, te reo, te ao and mātauranga Māori enables a collective based approach to volunteering and should be recognised as a significant feat in Māori self-determination and cultural expression.

Historical contexts

Māori volunteering and the concept of mahi aroha has historically been utilised as way for Māori to assert their cultural traditions, and to form a separate institutional identity. Flax-root efforts helped bring this to fruition, by transforming western institutions into distinctively Māori ones. Establishments such as committees and councils were adopted and re-interpreted within Māori world views and values. These budding voluntary associations would also help to invigorate Māori culture, adjust to urbanisation, and to affirm collective self-determination. We delve into some of the most momentous volunteer efforts which paved the way for how Māori self-sufficiently organised themselves to reinstate cultural identity, and contribute to the benefit of the collective. These include the Māori parliamentary committee, the Māori war effort organisation, the Māori women's welfare league and Māori wātene (Māori wardens).

The mobilisation of these volunteer groups granted Māori the opportunity to assert their world views into traditionally western institutions, and to lead on their own terms for a cause which aided the wider society. Importantly, these associations have affected the way Māori approach and perceive their voluntary work today. Despite the very different social context of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society, many of the values are retained – especially maintaining Māori identity, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaupapa and Māori recognition.

Focus group themes

During November 2021, two focus group discussions were undertaken to understand the perspectives and motivations of Māori volunteers. These open discussions centred on their motivations for volunteering, deterrents, service and impact, improvement on positive impact, improving recognition and empowerment, valuing and utilising te reo Māori in tauwiwi (non-Māori) spaces, volunteering on Māori terms, and the effects of Covid-19 on themselves and their community. We have identified four main themes from these discussions; and also acknowledge the impact of Covid-19 on tūao Māori.

Theme 1: Whanaungatanga, mana and manaakitanga

Respondents expressed that volunteering serves as a channel to enhance whānau and whanaungatanga relations. Working with whānau and invigorating those connections also made their mahi more enjoyable and meaningful. Volunteers said much of their mahi allowed them to attend ceremonial events such as marae visits or tangihanga and engage with tikanga.

Respondents hoped their passion for helping whānau would influence the next generations, encouraging tamariki to join in the mahi and understand the importance of mahi aroha. Giving respect to tīpuna and recognising how these values have been passed down is a significant motivation for volunteering. Many said that there is a sense of mana in retaining these values and upholding them.

Manaakitanga, to uplift and nurture others, is as an important motivation for mahi aroha. Many wished to ease the adversities of others which they have experienced themselves, and that working cooperatively reduces the burden of demanding work.

While many of the participants' passion to help and nurture others remained strong, some acknowledged that there were limitations in terms of how much they could give. Protecting and nurturing their wellbeing before undertaking mahi meant they were able to give to others more.

Fostering and empowering others was also demonstrated by uplifting and encouraging team members. This was seen as an important motivation and fulfilment in their mahi aroha.

Theme 2: Taha Māori: Māori identity and an intrinsic sense of duty

For tūao Māori, volunteering is an opportunity for them to participate, appreciate and reinvigorate their views into their mahi aroha and the wider volunteer sector.

Respondents approached volunteering from a Māori perspective, encompassing the essence of te ao Māori. It is deeply embedded in how they navigate their mahi and the delivery of their kaupapa. Many respondents noted that as Māori, they were raised to be involved in helping whanau, and added that they would extend this towards the outside community.

Regarding tauwiwi (non-Māori) organisations or members, respondents said they felt more comfortable with those that incorporated the principles of te ao Māori into their mahi. When Māori know that their tauwiwi counterparts are respectful and open towards Māori culture, then they feel like they can be themselves and do not feel the need to diminish their cultural identity.

Many Māori respondents expressed their struggles with the obligations of different volunteer spaces – a Māori sphere and a tauwiwi one. Maintaining their Māori identity and choosing to not suppress their heritage to fit a tauwiwi organisation remained a challenge.

Many respondents expressed a strong desire for a Māori perspective to be seen as a meaningful contribution rather than a formal requirement. Participants felt a sense of unease with tauwiwi organisations persistently putting all the responsibility of overseeing Māori-based mahi on their shoulders – they sometimes felt it was ingenuine, and a means of ticking a tokenistic

diversity box. They felt that sometimes their opinions were only considered because it gave the organisation credibility as a bicultural organisation, but when an organisation makes authentic and genuine efforts to uplift Māori culture and support their kaupapa, they are very appreciative.

Theme 3: Meaningful kaupapa initiatives

Creating meaningful kaupapa initiatives enabled participants to share knowledge with the community. Their kaupapa could reach organisations, schools and whānau, and result in valuable, meaningful outcomes. Many participants enjoyed the impact of empowering whānau and seeing them being able to drive themselves.

Having an agreed upon kaupapa, which all members of the group could contribute their knowledge and input, served to strengthen connections and their mahi successes. Volunteering with a kaupapa which aligned with their beliefs and the cause they are working towards, was important for most participants.

Participants could lend their expertise and unique skill set; this included taking part in decision-making processes, funding pitches, and launching subsequent kaupapa initiatives.

Theme 4: Tūao Māori recognition

The concept of recognition and reciprocity encompasses diverse meanings for Māori volunteers. Some participants stated they made efforts to consciously express or incorporate ways of giving recognition and acknowledgement in the design, structuring and fruition of their mahi. This could be done in small yet meaningful ways – such as koha, e.g., small donations, petrol, supermarket vouchers and supplying kai. These smaller, and yet more meaningful forms of recognition were appreciated. Valuing volunteers did not necessarily entail monetary reimbursement, but instead could be communicated through awahi (to embrace or support).

The way they wish to be acknowledged and shown reciprocity diverges from mainstream forms of recognition. A few expressed that reward-based recognition was correlated with the idea of being whakahīhī (prideful or conceited) and that this was not necessarily compatible with how Māori like to be acknowledged.

Award-based recognition was seen to be a shallow means of acknowledgement which disregarded the cooperative efforts of all parties involved in the mahi. However, participants could see the offer of an award as an acknowledgement of a collective achievement – one which uplifts their kaupapa and the mana of the collective within the sector.

Theme 5: Covid-19: Disruption of tikanga and outreach

While the Covid-19 pandemic has been acknowledged as a wide-spread event of disruption in the world's social, communal, and work environments, it has had a complex cultural and social effect on Māori. The basis of mahi aroha and initiating kaupapa is best performed through in-person hui, collective kōrero, sharing kai, performing tikanga and maintaining connections. This

disruption to taonga customs and social connection left many volunteers struggling to navigate and adapt to this changing environment.

State of Volunteering survey: themes and analysis

The 2022 State of Volunteering survey produced valuable quantitative data and free-text responses surrounding the experiences of Māori respondent's social impact, outreach, and general feedback. The survey also revealed responses on the topics of social connection protocol, leadership, service delivery, contribution, and resource management.

Our analysis recognises that that while some responses partially alluded to Māori cultural values, the findings are more generalised than what we have observed in the focus groups. This could be because the questions were aimed at universal experiences in the sector, with more inclination towards general feedback and experiences rather than specific cultural views and values.

Conclusion

The research findings presented in this report highlight the immense contributions tūao Māori have historically and contemporarily contributed to the volunteer sector. The incorporation of Māori cultural values, consciously utilised or not, demonstrate the endurance of Māori culture and the ability for Māori to drive their mahi.

It should be acknowledged that Māori customs and values are not static and have always evolved with their social context. Tūao Māori have long since persisted in navigating institutions which prioritise Western knowledge bases and standards. Yet they have been seen to rise to the challenge and innovate new ways of doing things according to cultural obligations and a shared purpose. Tūao Māori are critical to the preservation of collective wellbeing and should be recognised as a taonga to Aotearoa New Zealand's volunteer sector.

Recommendations for organisations

The voices and experiences of tūao Māori surfaced in this report suggest some very clear recommendations for community organisations engaging with both tūao Māori, and non- tūao Māori.

Organisations could consider these perspectives and incorporate into their practices:

1. Incorporating principles of te ao Māori into how you work, including values, purpose, and audience.
 - a. Do your values reflect values important within Te Ao Māori?
 - b. Are your decision making and planning processes taking a longer-term, sustainable view?

2. Whanaungatanga: creating meaningful relationships as you work, connect and volunteer should be an engrained part of how we engage with volunteers.
3. Manaakitanga: to uplift and nurture others is an important manifestation of mahi aroha. Manaakitanga of people and volunteers is as important as manaakitanga of service users of organisations.
4. Meaningful kaupapa: creating a shared place to stand, shared understanding and an opportunity for all to grow and learn. Connection to the kaupapa creates greater meaning and experiences for tūao Māori.
5. Recognition and reciprocity: reward-based recognition diverges from understandings of recognition and reciprocity within te ao Māori. A good starting point is to review your recognition activities from a collectivist lens, and to also base this on your relationships, and connections.

Many of these findings and recommendations have been surfaced within the wider *State of Volunteering Report 2022*.

Next steps for Volunteering New Zealand Tūao Aotearoa

Volunteering New Zealand commits to:

1. Share learnings externally with community organisations, and particularly other sector umbrella and peak bodies who are doing or promoting community research: e.g. Hui E!, and Community Research Aotearoa.
2. We will share recommendations with our member organisations.
3. Being guided by our Kaitiaki and Ohu Tikanga in the design of future research products.
4. Continue to advocate for more and better recognition by decision makers, policy makers and the wider public about the diverse ways that people contribute to their communities
5. Advocating for support for tūao Māori in all the ways they contribute to Aotearoa's cultural identity and social capital.
6. Advocating for a more consistent approach to evaluation of volunteering as it relates to progress in wellbeing outcomes. Other data about unpaid work, non-profit institutions, mahi aroha and Māori wellbeing frameworks, and formal and informal volunteering need to be collected and incorporated into evaluations.

Methodology – the story of our report

The two main inputs into this report were focus groups with Māori volunteers and responses to state of volunteering surveys. This section also discusses Kaupapa Māori research and its relevance to this research.

Focus groups

Two focus groups were conducted in late November 2021. These groups were led by Julia Rata Te-Raki from Volunteer South and observed by representatives from Volunteering New Zealand and Volunteer South. Julia sought participants who identified as Māori within various volunteer sectors in Te Waipounamu, including corporate, education, health, whānau, runanga, and environmental based organisations. Both focus groups consisted of five Māori volunteers each, including the facilitator who also provided responses, and two more volunteers who provided written responses to the set questions.

The Zoom focus groups were recorded and spanned between 40 and 90 minutes. These recordings were transcribed and used as a qualitative data analysis for our findings. The discussion was guided by a template of diverse topics and corresponding questions on volunteer experiences and motivations, which provided a general basis for the kōrero. The topics included volunteer motivations, impediments to volunteering, service and impact, recognition, and inclusion, Covid-19 impacts, and the incorporation of te reo Māori and Māori culture in their volunteer environments and the wider volunteer sector. While the set questions acted as a guide, broader discussion led to the emergence of valuable thoughts and insights.

Further, while responses drawn from this group are important, the small group set of participants, all solely from Te Waipounamu, are limitations in our findings. Despite this, the kaupapa of these hui resonated with existing discourse heard in previous reports on tūao Māori, and also uncovered valuable perspectives not previously encountered.

State of Volunteering surveys

Volunteering New Zealand's state of volunteering survey provides insights into the attitudes and experiences of volunteers from diverse organisations across Aotearoa New Zealand. Between March-May 2022, we promoted two surveys to the sector on the State of Volunteering. One of them targeted organisations and the managers of volunteers, and the other was responses from the volunteers. Of the 1019 responses from the volunteers' survey we received, 33 were identified as Māori. We attribute this small response rate to the events of Covid-19 (the survey was occurring during the start of the Omicron outbreak) and the challenges of navigating volunteer outreach during this time. Although we recognize the small sample size and response rate, substantial free-text responses and quantitative data illustrated valuable information which helps to understand Māori experiences in the sector.

This survey yielded valuable quantitative data and free-text responses which revolved around experiences of the respondent's social impact, outreach, and general feedback. The survey also

produced responses on issues of social connection protocol, leadership, service delivery, contribution, and resource management.

Kaupapa Māori research and its relevance to this report

Kaupapa Māori research is theoretical framework developed by Māori researchers to reflect and enact Māori values, ideas, and culture. It is a method in research which ensures a “cultural integrity” is preserved when analysing Māori issues and experiences, and uses modes of analysis which prioritise the cultural, political, and historical context of Aotearoa.² It is about creating and validating Māori realities within society, and acknowledging the social inequities and power structures which influence them. Fundamental to these elements are that cultural structures are acknowledged as emphasising the ‘collective’ over the ‘individual’. Overarching ideas in Kaupapa Māori analysis are frequently based on the principles of Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) tino rangatiratanga (sovereignty), mana motuhake (self-determination and autonomy), whanaungatanga (relationships), and aroha (love and compassion).

Kaupapa Māori research follows the rule of always being by Māori, for Māori and with Māori.³ To achieve a tika (right or correct) means of approaching Kaupapa research is that the processes, procedures, and analysis is correct, so that everyone involved in the research is enriched and empowered, and proud to have participated.⁴

Volunteering New Zealand ensures that the values of Te Ao Māori and Mātauranga Māori are treated with respect, and that our research reflects the ideals and concepts of Te Ao Māori valued in Kaupapa Māori analysis.

² Pihama, Leonie et al. (2015). Kaupapa rangahau: a collection of readings from the Kaupapa rangahau workshops series (2nd ed). Te Kotahi Research Institute. P. 11.

³ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (2015). Kaupapa Māori Research- Some Kaupapa Māori Principles. In Leonie Pihama et al (Eds.), Kaupapa Rangahau A Reader: A collection of Readings from the Kaupapa Māori Research Workshop Series. Te Kotahi Research Institute Research Institute. Univeristy of Waikato. P. 47.

⁴ Mead, Hirini Moko. (2003) *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, Huia Publishers, Wellington. P. 318.

Introduction

Māori participation in volunteering is an incredibly important contribution to Aotearoa New Zealand's volunteer sector. Māori are amongst the highest group likely to volunteer, with their participation rates being significantly higher than other groups in comparison to a smaller population size.⁵

There has been an absence of research on tūao Māori (Māori volunteers) since the now dissolved Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector first published their watershed 2007 mahi aroha report. This work cultivated the prevalent concept of 'mahi aroha' which closely translates to a Māori concept of voluntary work. This version of volunteering understands unpaid activity as being carried out of sympathy or caring for others. This form of volunteering is done according to the principles of tikanga to maintain mana and rangatiratanga instead of financial or personal gain. This work is a taonga which surfaced precious Māori values and knowledge, and is a point of reference in our own findings.

This report provides an updated snapshot into the unique motivations, values, and impact of Māori volunteers. This report is based on focus group and survey data research conducted in 2021-22 from Māori volunteers and is supported by background research which contributes a broad historical and cultural context for our findings.

The nature of mahi aroha

The nature of mahi aroha has been observed to be largely shaped by traditional cultural and social values. These emerge in the values of whakapapa (genealogy), whānau (family), whanaungatanga (kinship) and manaakitanga (kindness or generosity), guided by mātauranga (Māori knowledge) tikanga (Māori customs) and kaupapa Māori (plan of action expressing Māori values and principles). These are concepts which translate as intrinsic responsibilities and contribute to the common good.⁶ Significant events over the last ten years, such as the Rena oil spill, the Canterbury earthquakes and the Covid-19 pandemic are iwi and hapū-led responses which demonstrated how Māori values and communities facilitated safety and aid through organised volunteer efforts.

We frame the application of these cultural values as being expressions of tino rangatiratanga (absolute sovereignty) and mana motuhake (self-determination), as having implicit ties to the

⁵ Statistics New Zealand. (2019). "Quarterly Labour Market Statistics June 2018/19".

⁶ Pam Oliver, Lauri Porima, Tania Wolfgramm, Dr. Catherine Love. (2007) p. 44.

social context they originated in. This includes discussion on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and initial the formation of Māori-led volunteer organisations such as Marae committees and the Māori War Effort Organisation. This historical context underlines important understandings of how these values first emerge and continue to persist in volunteering today.

Māori society and cultural values have always been open to change, whilst also protective of its fundamental norms and principles.⁷ That is, the wellbeing of Māori has always depended on the innovation and adaptiveness of our tikanga, yet still firmly grounded in whakapapa and tradition. Our primary research demonstrates that many tūao Māori continue to impart cultural values and obligations into mahi aroha activities in both implicit and explicit ways. Many express that they continuously incorporate a Māori world view into their mahi, and this came with responsibilities to the collective. Ensuring the wellbeing of the collective was learnt through their upbringing and for some, responsibilities to the community are viewed as inherently fixed in who they are. Navigating tauwi (non-Māori) volunteer spaces was a factor which complicated respondents' sense of identity and mahi obligations. Concerns over having to suppress their heritage and cultural identity were also expressed, alongside issues of filling a diversity quota which left some respondents feeling underappreciated. This underlined the fact that the environment or culture within volunteer organisations that ultimately enable or creates challenges to realising tino rangatiratanga in mahi aroha work.

Value and challenges of volunteering

Opportunities to volunteer allowed tūao Māori to deepen whānau (family) and whanaungatanga (kinship) connections. These community relations can be both primary and distant, where the membership is distinguished by elements of “kinship, residence, contribution, linked participation in certain activities and adherence to the community’s norms”⁸ Respondents expressed how participating in cultural activities and ceremonies through their mahi enhanced the relationships between volunteers who were not necessarily connected by whakapapa (genealogy). This made their mahi feel more meaningful, and there was a clear desire to pass on these responsibilities to future generations. A sense of duty to pay respect to tīpuna (ancestors) is also suggested, where respondents recognized that their work ethic and values were passed down from them. Protecting and upholding the mana of their duty and values was especially important in undertaking mahi aroha.

⁷ Durie, Eddie (1994). Custom law, working paper. The Waitangi Tribunal. p. 8.

⁸ Durrie, Eddie (1994). P. 11

There is an essence of manaakitanga (kindness and generosity) in tūao Māori efforts, where the duty to uplift and nurture others is paramount. Empowering those who are overlooked or sharing their skills with others to uplift their potential are aspects of this manaakitanga. Tūao Māori also express a deep compassion and empathy for those experiencing hardship and voiced their wishes to lessen these struggles. However, prioritising the state of their own wellbeing often determined how much they could contribute.

The Kaupapa of their mahi is a motivating force in how tūao Māori assist the community and organize their mahi on their own terms. Establishing a kaupapa that was meaningful and aligned with their beliefs made their work more fulfilling. It is stated that having an agreed upon kaupapa provided the opportunity for everyone to showcase their unique skill sets and have joint ownership over their social impact.

The subject of recognizing and valuing volunteers presented differing cultural understandings from Western ones. Many expressed that they consciously tried to communicate their appreciation through the kaupapa, verbal validation or through koha (reciprocity, contribution). Reward based validation was a divisive topic which many said represented individualist validation, although some rationalised it represented a recognition of collective efforts.

The Covid-19 pandemic presented a challenge to tūao Māori in the aspects of cultural disruption and outreach. The way many of the volunteers worked was through a face-to-face environment, and the switch to remote communication affected the way they could contribute their services. Covid-19 protocol also prohibited Māori customs that require close contact from being used. Despite this, many were able to find ways to adapt with this new environment and contribute their mahi in as many ways as they could.

Tuaō Māori all have a unique purpose and motivation for their mahi aroha, but a sense of duty is observed to be dominant, whatever the extent that they connect and acknowledge their cultural identity. This can be attributed to the different levels for cultural exposure or estrangement. Despite this, the sense of togetherness can be recognised as culturally inherited by virtue of whakapapa⁹, and reinforced through the collective's common goal. The incorporation of Māori cultural values and principles, whether consciously used or not, demonstrate the endurance of Māori culture and the ability for Māori to work on their own terms.

⁹ Pam Oliver, Lauri Porima, Tania Wolfgramm, Dr. Catherine Love. (2007) p. 23.

Key background research

Before our analysis of our primary data, we sought to foreground much of this mahi in contextual research to frame our findings. Historical research was firstly explored through the context and obligations outlined by Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the ongoing impacts of colonisation, urban migration and shifts in living environments and the emergence of independent Māori organisations. The examination of important Māori cultural concepts and practices was also crucial in developing a foundation for our primary data. This included analysing aspects of Te ao Māori (a Māori world view), mātauranga Māori and kaupapa Māori. This also extended to the correlated philosophies of tino rangatiratanga (absolute chieftainship) and mana motuhake (self-determination). Lastly, we analysed a variety of contemporary resources which gave insight into contemporary examples of Māori volunteer efforts and the wide scope to which tūao Māori have provided their volunteer efforts. Here are just some of the works we accredit to informing our findings and understandings. These joint elements of our analysis was important towards seeking to understand and represent Māori from all cultural and structural aspects of their realities.

Ranginui Walker's "Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End" is a historical account of the adversities of Māori in Aotearoa against colonization, and the ongoing social, economic, and political challenges that remain today. Walker also covers the history of Māori activism and social movements, as well as the formation of Māori volunteer associations that were guided by the values of mana motuhake and rangatiratanga. The contribution of this book is extremely relevant to the enduring movement of Māori cultural and political revitalization in New Zealand and has aided in promoting the recognition and respect of Māori culture and identity in New Zealand society. Much of this kaupapa framed the historical and contextual analysis of our findings, particularly in the way Māori continue to navigate western spaces while retaining their cultural traditions, language and unique perspectives.

Richard Hill's work¹⁰ explores the tumultuous Crown-Māori relations in the first half of the twentieth century. Hill approaches this topic through an overview of Māori quests for rangatiratanga and autonomy. This follows important instances of Māori mobilisation and the formation of Māori volunteer organisations, such as marae and tribal committees, the Māori War Effort Organisation and Māori wātene (wardens). This book provides foundational information on the history of Māori civic identity and volunteerism and is an important resource that references the evolution of how Māori approach their volunteer work.

¹⁰ Hill, Richard (2004). State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: crown-relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950. Victoria University Press, part of New Zealand Texts Collection. <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-HillStat.html>

Hal Levine's paper¹¹ documents the history of Māori adaption to urbanisation, and the emergence of Māori volunteer organisations through urbanization processes in New Zealand. These shifts in how Māori began to adapt and organise themselves through changing social contexts are viewed as evolving social arrangements which act as surrogate kin groups in place of iwi. Levine examines whether urban Māori authorities and volunteer organisations can replace traditional kinship groups, such as iwi, as potential treaty partners. The Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust, and their efforts to function as treaty partners with the *Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission* and the *Department of Social Welfare* are of main discussion. This paper argues in favour of their inclusion as treaty partners, and in acknowledging the complex realities of shifting Māori social organisation.

David Robinson and Tuwhakairiora William's work¹² explores the meanings of social capital, how it is created and used, and how volunteering in particular acts as a driving factor. Western concepts of social volunteering and formal networking often diverge from Māori social arrangements which are predominantly kinship related and community driven. The article further explores conflicting ideologies of western and indigenous understandings of volunteering. Giving, sharing, duty, and reciprocity are proposed as ways in which individuals behave, and volunteering is used as an example of a voluntary action alongside public service, government, and unpaid labour. This is put forth by the authors that when formulating policy, various groups' viewpoints and approaches are acknowledged and included independently.

The Mahi Aroha report led by Dr. Catherine Love, Pam Oliver, Lauri Porima and Tania Wolfgramm¹³ is a significant piece of research which cultivated the widely used term 'mahi aroha' (work performed out of sense of duty and love for the collective). A variety of Māori respondents were interviewed to put forth their ideas of what unpaid work means to them and their cultural identity. This report gives insight to the cultural obligations which inspire mahi aroha, such as a cultural sense of duty, cultural survival and Māori identity. The report correlates these aspects

¹¹ Levine, Hal B. (2001) Can a voluntary organisation be a treaty partner? The case of Te Whānau O Waipareira trust. Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, Issue 17. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj17/17-pages161-170.pdf>

¹² David Robinson, Tuwhakairiora Williams. (2001). "Social Capital and Voluntary activity: Giving and sharing in Māori and non-Māori society" Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, no. 17. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/journals-and-magazines/social-policy-journal/spj17/social-capital-and-voluntary-activity-giving-and-sharing-in-maori-and-non-maori-society.html>

¹³ Pam Oliver, Lauri Porima, Tania Wolfgramm, Dr. Catherine Love. (2007) Mahi Aroha: Māori perspectives on volunteering and cultural obligations The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector. <https://communityresearch.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/mahi-aroha1.pdf>

Te Ao Māori concepts such as Aroha, (love) Whanaungatanga (kinship), Manaakitanga (kindness and generosity) and Koha (contribution or reciprocity).

Kelly Smith and Heather Hammerton's paper¹⁴ details Māori efforts in Maketū during the 2011 oil spill in the Bay of Plenty. Over 450 volunteers aided in the clean up, and used the Whakaue marae as a home base to organise assistance. The effects of the oil spill on the community are explored and how their resilience was motivated by a strong sense of protection over their whenua and community. The values of rangatiratanga and mana motuhake were activated through their determination as mana whenua to care for their community and were further uplifted by the values of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) and manaakitanga.

Fiona Cram's paper¹⁵ uses the concept of Mahi Aroha to understand how Māori volunteers responded to the Canterbury earthquakes and the Covid-19 pandemic. Mahi aroha is demonstrated as deeply connected to te ao and mātauranga Māori and is shown to inform the way Māori could mitigate further impact of these disasters. Cram details how Māori respondents used kaupapa to motivate their response as a collective, and in turn were able to promote Māori culture and wellbeing.

Leila-Dawn Rewi and Louise Jeanette Hastie's 2021 paper¹⁶ explores the Ngāti Manawa iwi's use of te ao Māori and tikanga Māori during the first wave of COVID-19 in Murupara. The use of Rāhui was adopted to reduce negative impacts on Māori during the pandemic. Rāhui is known as a restrictive device, or a 'conservation measure' to separate people from tapu things or places within their natural environment. In this context it is used to manage access in and out of Murupara through checkpoints and employing a tracing system. Ngāti Manawa's use of Rāhui and the adaption of tikanga and kawa are significant efforts which secured much of their community's safety. It also allowed Māori to understand the importance of lockdown protocols through a traditional te ao Māori lens.

¹⁴ Smith, Kelly, Hammerton, Heather. (2016). "Local volunteers respond to the Rena oil spill in Maketū, New Zealand". Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1177083X.2015.1009474>

¹⁵ Cram, Fiona. (2021) "Mahi aroha: Māori work in times of trouble and disaster as an expression of a love for the people." Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, Volume 16, No. 2. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epub/10.1080/1177083X.2021.1879181?needAccess=true>

¹⁶ Rewi, Leila-Dawn; Hastie, Hastie, Louise Jeanette. (2021). "Community resilience demonstrated through a Te Ao Maori (Ngati Manawa) lens: The Rahui." Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work, Volume 33, Number 3. <https://anzswjournal.nz/anzsw/article/view/914>

Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake as an underlying basis for mahi aroha

The ways in which Māori tuaō (volunteers) approach their volunteering has implicit correlations to the values and aspirations of tino rangatiratanga and Mana motuhake. These terms are politically-charged and culturally significant, yet carry varying understandings. They have been shaped by the historic adversities faced by Māori. However, the way Tino Rangatiratanga and Mana motuhake are explored are not fixed in the political context in which they were prominently expressed. Self-determination and the ability to lead and make decisions to the benefit of the collective are approached on different levels outside the original context of colonisation and historical struggle. Diverse Māori collectives approach and interact with their own path to rangatiratanga and mana motuhake, of which “emerges from the past to fit the present” and which will continually transform in the future.¹⁷

History and origins of the terms

Teanau Tuiono's¹⁸ breakdown of the term tino rangatiratanga presents a layered definition that emphasises leadership to self-govern ones affairs to the benefit of the collective. 'Tino' is an emphatic word which can translate to 'absolute' or can be used to denote importance. 'Rangatira' closely translates to 'chief', and when put together it translates as 'absolute chieftainship' or absolute sovereignty. The meaning of Rangatira is broadened when further deconstructed: 'ranga' is shortened from 'raranga', which means to weave, while 'tira' is a word used for a group or collective with a purpose. Rangatira is therefore an agent who weaves the people and their opinions or causes together, rather than a leader who dictates what they must do. The meaning of tino rangatiratanga and its use outside of its political context is based on the ability to connect people through leadership and cooperative action to the benefit of the collective.¹⁹ Safeguarding the present and future wellbeing of the collective is elevated through honouring the traditional concepts of manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and whakapapa.²⁰

¹⁷ Hill, Richard (2004). P. 277-78.

¹⁸ Tuiono, Teanau; Maria Bargh. (2007). Interview with Teanau Tuiono: A Small Issue of Sovereignty in Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism. Wellington: Huia.

¹⁹ Smith, Linda Tuhikai (2021). P. 7

²⁰ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai (2021). P. 14

Mana motuhake is a principle which refers to independent Māori authority and self-determination²¹. The term 'mana' refers to a Māori concept of authority, control, prestige or power. This sense of prestige can manifest as spiritual power, social status/standing or individual charisma. Motuhake translates to concepts of autonomy or self-determination, and describes the capacity for an individual or collective to govern themselves and make decisions autonomously. Together, these terms describe the ability and power of Māori to “determine their own futures, control their own resources and develop their own political structures”²². Mana motuhake is therefore very analogous to Tino Rangatiratanga - where Tino Rangatiratanga encompasses the ability to attain self-government and chieftainship, Mana motuhake can be seen as driving force of self-determination which makes this a reality.¹⁶

The distinctive ways that Māori navigate their volunteer environments as a collective, or as 'kotahitanga' (together as one), can be interpreted as representations of tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. Tribal structures provided a basis for Māori to undertake their political Kaupapa which were commonly embedded in cultural tradition, and a sense of identity.²³ In the modern volunteering context, these principles represent the ability for Māori to independently mobilize their communities and weave their values into European institutions as their own.

The pursuit of Tino Rangatiratanga and Mana motuhake still persists in various sectors of society, in which Māori collectives contribute their mahi and assert rangatiratanga “in ways that changed to suit the times”.²⁴ In a mahi aroha context, rangatiratanga can emerge through Māori contribution to community wellbeing, demonstrating a commitment to cultural values, sharing skillsets and knowledge and strengthening relationships with the community. All these aspects are ones that enforce stronger and more self-sufficient communities, which is a key concept of mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga.

The taonga of Tikanga, Te Reo, Te Ao Māori and Mātauranga Māori facilitates the community-centred approach to volunteering and should be recognised as a significant feat in Māori self-determination and cultural expression. Tino rangatiratanga and Mana motuhake became prevalent in many of the historical pursuits to achieve autonomy, protection, and cultural survival within emerging Pākeha value systems. These aspirations included reclaiming cultural

²¹ Levine, Hal and Henare, Manuka. “Mana Motuhake: Māori self-determination” in Pacific Viewpoint 35(2) p. 193.

²² Munford, Robyn and Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata. (2006). “Community Development: Working in the Bicultural Context of Aotearoa New Zealand.

²³ Moeke-Pickering, Taima. (1996). Maori identity within whanau: A review of literature. Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.

²⁴ Richard Hill (2005). “Social Revolution on a Small Scale: The Official Māori Committees of the 1950s, Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies. P.1

recognition, autonomy and reinstate Māori health, education and legal systems that align with principles of tikanga and te ao Māori.

Tino rangatiratanga, and the notion of being the master of ones' own destiny, is a well-established principle within Māori culture understood far before its emergence in Te Tiriti o Waitangi.²⁵ The objective to obtain tino rangatiratanga and assert mana motuhake, however, would become more pressing as Māori culture, customs and rights to the land were stripped away through ongoing processes of colonisation.

Interpretations of rangatiratanga span across a variety of meanings: absolute chieftainship, absolute sovereignty, tribal self-government, or Māori nationalism.²⁶ In Te Tiriti o Waitangi, tino rangatiratanga is translated as a promise to keep and uphold the lands, homes and taonga that were promised to Māori. Tino rangatiratanga stands alongside the obligations of kāwanatanga (authority or governorship); where Te Tiriti would allow the freedom for Māori to exercise sovereignty, and ōrietanga (the equal treatment of people), which sought to ensure fairness and equity between ethnic groups.²⁷

This would allow Māori to be able to remain under a governing establishment which “reflects Māori values, respects the authority of hapū and iwi to conclusively determine their own values, and protects the relationships that Māori consider important to their survival as Māori”.²⁸ The failure to uphold the Māori and the British versions of Te Tiriti's obligations relinquished much of Māori control, where the only obligations met were those that advanced resources, interests, and value systems.²⁹

For Māori, aspirations would continue to revolve around the cultural reinforcements of tino rangatiratanga and Mana motuhake, guided by whānau, hapū, iwi, Te Reo Māori and tikanga. These cultural concepts, intrinsically fixed in the Māori world view, anchor Māori to their sense of identity and purpose, and provides a means of “coming together on Māori terms”³⁰

²⁵ Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. P. 5 Third edition., Bloomsbury Academic & Professional, p. 5.

²⁶ Hill, Richard. (2004) “State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: Crown-Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950”. Victoria University Press. Page 13.

²⁷ Campbell, Bronwyn, et al. (2011) ; “Te Tiriti o Waitangi: A Blueprint for the future in *Mana Tangata : Politics of Empowerment*. Huia, p. 42.

²⁸ Hill, Richard (2009). “Māori and the State: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000.” Victoria University Press, p. 180

²⁹ Campbell 2011 p.43.

³⁰ Tuhiwai-Smith, Linda. (2021) p. 125.

Mahi aroha beginnings: Marae committees and the Māori War Effort Organisation

Māori have always championed the concept of self-determination, and following Te Tiriti o Waitangi in 1840, Māori sought to mobilise to create a new institutional identity,³¹ and of “engendering and institutionalising iwi identities”³². Tribal leaders were key agents of this process, where tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake were pursued, and demands for the Crown’s recognition were asserted.³³

Flax-root efforts began to gain traction in the nineteenth century – the Kingitanga movement and formation of the Māori parliament being significant examples of attaining a degree of autonomy. Māori began to rework traditional British institutions such as committees and councils within their own cultural interpretations. These were fashioned into voluntary Marae committees and councils, which combined “Māori values and tikanga with Pākehā powers and procedures to create uniquely Māori institutions.”³⁴ These fledgling voluntary associations acted as means to help Māori adjust and come to terms with a newly urbanized environment³⁵, where group membership within the collective uplifted the Kaupapa of Māori identity and values.³⁶

The Māori parliamentary committee’s 1942 submission to the Labour government for the MWEO marked a turning point in reclaiming a sense of autonomy through voluntary efforts. Paraire Karaka Paikea, who chaired the Māori parliamentary committee, had a goal which extended beyond Māori voluntary contributions – there was a clear intent to assert Māori self-determination through tribal leadership.³⁷

The 1942 Scheme also requested a system of tribal committees to liaise with local Māori communities whilst assisting with recruiting, primary production and directing Māori personnel.³⁸ The Māori parliamentary committee insisted that Māori values and customs be involved in the

³¹ William Hosking Oliver, (1988). Royal commission on social policy: the April report, vol III, part 1. P. 43.

³² Durie, Eddie. (1994 p. 60.

³³ Waitangi Tribunal Report 2014, “Whaia te Mana Motuhake: In Pursuit of Mana Motuhake” Report on the Māori Community Development Act Claim. P. 2

³⁴ Waitangi Tribunal 2014, p. 3.

³⁵ Cram, Fiona (2021) “Mahi aroha: Māori work in times of trouble and disaster as an expression of a love for the people”. Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online, . Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group. P. 1-2.

³⁶ Walker Ranginui (2004). Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End” p. 199

³⁷ Wanalla, Angela (2020) “Paieka’s Men’: Mobilising the Māori War Effort. The Māori Home Front. Para 10

³⁸ Orange, Claudia (1987). P. 159

decision-making processes, even if these undermined traditional military administrative practices. The committees' mahi would extend to food production, investigating housing conditions and social security benefits, and facilitating access to rehabilitation services to returning servicemen, as well as providing them advocacy³⁹. All these exploits were undertaken without funding and were entirely voluntary.

The Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945 would eventually grant Māori some semblance of recognition of these groups at a local level by the Crown. The Act allowed constitutional authority for Māori to organise tribal committees and tribal executives to formally aid in Māori war concerns, after seeing the successes the committees were providing.⁴⁰ Whilst this move by the government fulfilled Māori aspirations for an independent institutional identity, it was also motivated by the government's wish to "control, steer, tame and utilise those energies."⁴¹

Māori aspirations to improve social wellbeing and become autonomous flourished during the Māori War Effort Organisation's operations and volunteer efforts. Māori had been given the capacity to assert leadership and self-government of their own affairs, on their own terms.⁴² This mahi was partly based in meeting the immediate needs of Māori during wartime but was significantly seen as a hopeful precursor to "the future development of Māoridom"⁴³. Such developments asserted the capacity for Māori to transform and borrow settler institution structures, to meet Māori ends and wellbeing – an inclination which persists today.⁴⁴

The mobilisation of Māori voluntary groups granted Māori opportunity to have an identity outside of the Crown, to independently work as a collective through an agreed Kaupapa. The capacity to infuse their culture within adapted Pākeha frameworks furthered the morale of tūao Māori that they had responsibility over their own affairs. Although the principles of mana motuhake and rangatiratanga clearly stand strong in this aspect, the principles of mahi aroha also begin to form. The sentiment of mahi aroha especially shines through the strong desire to protect Māori wellbeing and the interests of their marae-based collectives at the time.⁴⁵ The MWEO achieved

³⁹ Wanhalla, Angela (2020). Para 14

⁴⁰ Waitangi Tribunal, 2014. p. 3

⁴¹ Hill, Richard (2005), p. 3

⁴² Orange, Claudia (1987). P. 159.

⁴³ Orange, 1987, p. 162.

⁴⁴ Tennant, Margaret. O'Brien, Mike. Sanders, Jackie. (2008). "The history of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand". Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector. p. 7

⁴⁵ Wanhalla, (2020), para 10.

what no other Māori initiative had been able to – the successful union of wide-reaching Māori political unity with “civic whanaungatanga”.⁴⁶

Te Ropu Wāhine Māori Toko i te Ora

Te Ropu Māori Toko i te Ora – The Māori Women’s Welfare League – is a salient example of collective Māori organisation spearheaded by wāhine Māori. The basis of the organisation aimed to help Māori adjust to the challenges of post-war urbanisation and enact positive welfare outcomes, primarily through empowering wāhine Māori and whanau voices. Especially important to their cause was the preservation and revival of the teachings of Te Reo Māori, tikanga and the Māori arts to ‘perpetuate the Māori culture’.⁴⁷

The MWWL is credited as being the first national Māori organisation to be formally established, the first to assert their opinions with a ‘truly national voice’ and the first Māori organisation to appoint their own representatives at a national level.⁴⁸

The formation of the MWWL resulted from the success of preliminary women’s welfare committees and was bolstered by Chief Welfare Officer, Rangiātaahua Kiniwē Royal. Royal was a prominent figure in the Māori Social and Economic advancement act and was a fervent advocate for transforming tribal self-determination through civic participation. Royal recognised that tribal committees were dominantly male, and that marae conventions did not meet the needs of wāhine Māori or allow opportunity for them to voice their concerns.⁴⁹ In 1951, 87 delegates, all representing 187 branches gathered in Ngāti Pōneke Hall at the inaugural conference to adopt a formal constitution for the organisation. Dame Whina Cooper was elected the role of president of the league and Princess Te Puea Herangi accepted the role of patroness.

Wāhine Māori focused on easing the difficulties Māori faced in migrating to cities, including housing, health, welfare, education and crime and discrimination. This would extend to organising activities such as weaving harakeke, establishing cultural groups, pre-schools, school bus services and facilitating marae infrastructure projects. They further helped disadvantaged whānau

⁴⁶ Mamari Stephens, “To work out their own salvation: Māori constitutionalism and the quest for welfare”. Victoria University of Wellington law review

⁴⁷ Carlyon, Jenny and Morrow, Diana. (2014). Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945. Auckland University Press, 2014. p.35

⁴⁸ Carlyon and Morrow (2014). Pp.35-6

⁴⁹ Carlyon, Jenny, and Diana Morrow. (2014). P.35

and gave social support and financial advice. The league especially put pressure on government to obtain better housing conditions for Māori, which were extremely overcrowded, unsanitary, and substandard.⁵⁰ Much like other Māori-led organisations at the time, the league combined Pākeha bureaucratic systems with distinctly Māori concerns and modes of operating.⁵¹ Despite the league's respect for state procedures, it is observed that the league had minimal state intervention throughout their efforts.⁵² The MWWL were steadfast in intermingling Māori perspectives into Pākeha systems to benefit Māori wellbeing and to advocate collective Māori identity and autonomy in society that was "beyond tribalism".⁵³

Māori Wātene – Māori Wardens

Before the formal establishment of Māori Wātene policing specialists among tribes had previously existed in the mid-19th century, notably within the Ringatu faith which delegated 'pirihimana' (police officers), 'katipa' (constables) in the Ratana movement and Wātene within the Kingitanga movement.⁵⁴ The institution of wātene in these circumstances was to bring about self-determination within the context of Māori's own social institutions".⁵⁵ The 1945 Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act formalised the position of Māori wardens and delegated their duties to the maintenance of crime, disorderly conduct and alcohol abuse, with an aim to deescalate hostilities prior to police involvement.

The environment where Wātene did their mahi determined how drastically different they had to assert their authority. In rural areas and on the marae, there were far less problems to surveillance than there were in the city. The mass migration of Māori into urban areas following the war had been shown to strain the connection many had with their tūrangawaewae. Their role became especially significant as crime rates among Māori soared in the 1960s, an issue

50 Carlyon, Jenny and Morrow, Diana (2014).p.36

51 Tennant, Margaret. O'Brien, Mike. Sanders, Jackie. (2008). "The history of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand". Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector. p/ 25

52 Hill, Richard (2004). P. 77

53 Tennant, Margaret. (2005). Welfare interactions: Māori government and the Voluntary Sector in New Zealand. History Australia, vol. 2, no. 2. Monash University Press.

54 Fleras, Augie (1981). Māori Wardens and the control of liquor among the Māori of New Zealand. The Journal of the Polynesian Society, volume 90, no. 4. P. 495.

55 Dr Ranginui Walker, cited in the 2014 Waitangi Tribunal Report WAI 2417 – Whaia te mana motuhake in pursuit of mana motuhake – Report on the Māori Community Development Act 1962 claim.

attributed to urbanisation, social dislocation, cultural alienation, and poverty.⁵⁶ Māori wardens would play a pivotal role in Māori adjustment to urbanisation in “creating a sense of kinship in unfamiliar surroundings”.⁵⁷

For the government Wātene existed as important figures for the surveillance of Māori alcohol consumption in the community. But for Māori, the role of Wātene were seen as figures who worked with Māori, for Māori, and who held them accountable in accordance with Māori principles.⁵⁸ At the core of their voluntary service was the motivation to preserve Māori control over culturally important activities and Māori social concerns. While Wātene were expected to oblige by much of the states set of legal codes and modes of policing, they were observed to instead work in the spirit of manaaki (kindness), aroha (compassion) and rangimārie (peace).⁵⁹ The mahi of Wātene reflected Māori community needs and wishes than those of the crown, and they were generally more responsive to people and leaders within their community rather than state appointed officials.⁶⁰ Their mana was always “derived from the people (they) served”, and their duties were easily carried out because they were done on the basis of kinship and “aroha ki te tangata”.⁶¹

These instances of Māori volunteer mobilization are just one of many examples within history which have facilitated Māori autonomy, kinship, and cultural engagement. The introduction of these organisations, as well as smaller associations such as protest churches, culture clubs and tribal organisations, are all attributed to the success of Māori adjustment to urban life.⁶² While the commencement of these groups occurred within a time where their activity was heavily mediated and legitimized by the power of the state, tūao Māori continued to find ways to navigate these institutions through a Māori lens to remedy Māori issues. Regardless of these differing social and political contexts from today, the kaupapa and mahi of these organisations are consistent with what we are seeing in tūao Māori today. That is, the capacity to do their mahi on their own terms, and for the benefit of the collective.

⁵⁶ Hill, Richard (2004). P. 124

⁵⁷ Waitangi Tribunal (2014). P. 257.

⁵⁸ Waitangi Tribunal (2014). P. 256

⁵⁹ Fleras, Augie. (1981). P. 497

⁶⁰ Hill, Richard (2004). P.123

⁶¹ Walker, Ranginui (1971). A review of the position of the Māori Warden.

⁶² Walker, Richard. (1992). The Oxford History of New Zealand. 2nd ed. Auckland N.Z: Oxford University Press.

Focus group findings

These open discussions centred on their motivations for volunteering, deterrents, service and impact, improvement on positive impact, improving recognition and empowerment, valuing and utilising te reo Māori in tauwi (non-Māori) spaces, volunteering on Māori terms, and the effects of covid-19 on themselves and their community. These topics were formulated into themes which link their experiences with interrelated Māori concepts. This presented a generally uniform Māori perspective on their volunteering from all respondents, despite the varying connections to their cultural identity.

We have identified five main themes from these discussions, including: whanaungatanga and manaakitanga; Māori identity, facilitating meaningful kaupapa initiatives, tūao Māori recognition and the impact felt by Māori during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Theme 1: Whanaungatanga, mana and manaakitanga

Whanaungatanga

A common theme in the motivations of respondents was that of whānau, whanaungatanga and whakapapa. These are concepts that emphasise the importance of relationships and maintaining cultural connection through their mahi aroha. Whānau, whanaungatanga and whakapapa are key concepts which embody connection on different levels. Whakapapa is the principle of genealogy, connectedness to tīpuna (ancestors) and all things with mauri (life essence).⁶³ It is a paramount concept in the Māori worldview and entails a complex ordering and layering of the world; this is understood as the layering of genealogical ties, past and present relationships and events, of all living things across time and space.⁶⁴ Encompassing this relational perspective, is idea that all aspects of creation and life force belongs to their own origin with rich and unique histories.

In a Te Ao Māori perspective, a sense of belonging and reciprocity go hand in hand, where by serving others, people are in turn serving their extended self and fulfil a shared purpose.⁶⁵

Whānau refers to one's immediate familial, iwi and hapū relations, whereas whanaungatanga

⁶³ Waitangi Tribunal (2011). "Ko Aotearoa Tenei: a report into claims concerning New Zealand Law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity". Wai 262, Waitangi Tribunal report. Legislation Direct.

⁶⁴ Spiller, Chellie et al. (2020). Paradigm warriors: Advancing a radical ecosystems view of collective leadership from an Indigenous Māori perspective. *Human relations (New York)*. [Online] 73 (4), p. 521.

⁶⁵ Spiller, Chellie et al. (2015) Wayfinding leadership: ground-breaking wisdom for developing leaders. Wellington: Huia. P. 72

extends beyond whakapapa relationships and into “non-kin persons who became like kin through shared experiences.”⁶⁶ People may not necessarily be related by blood, but are connected by uniting with a collective intention. This aspect of connection and membership works through the exchange and acceptance of duty and responsibility an extension of customary Māori association.⁶⁷ These connective relationships provide a basis for a uniquely Māori conception of volunteering; one that works to enhance connections, honours the mana of their ancestors, and transfers important values to the next generation.

Nurturing whānau and whanaungatanga connections

Volunteering commonly serves to enhance Whānau connections. One respondent asserted that her work is “for my connections and connecting to my whānau”. Working with whānau and invigorating those connections also made their mahi more enjoyable and meaningful.

Most of the Māori volunteer work and mahi aroha sees its tūao regularly engaging in various tīkanga and ceremonial events. This is an aspect that enhances the connections between tūao, who may not even be connected by whakapapa. One respondent shared that attending a close-knit tangihanga was an insightful and unifying experience:

“You know, just to go through the tangi process and collect people into the marae... I look back on it now and think, ‘man, how did that all happen?’ So that’s where I really get a feeling that there’s something greater in the world that takes care of people when it needs to. So, rather than it being a proud moment...it was just a moment that I was amazed by how we all were able to come together and help whānau.”

Transferring knowledge and maintaining mana

The transmission of Māori knowledge is a significant concept within Māori culture. There is a principle in Māori culture that all Māori are a continuous reflection of those that have come before them.⁶⁸ The transference of values and work ethic in volunteering is a part of tūao Māori obligations within their mahi aroha. One respondent echoes this view, where they express hope

⁶⁶ Mead, Hirini. (2003). P. 31

⁶⁷ Robinson and Williams (2001). P. 55

⁶⁸ Pere, Rangimaria Rose cited in Pihama, Leonie. Daniels, Ngarimu (2007). “Tikanga Rangahau”. Māori and Indigenous Analysis.

that the positive impact of their mahi rubs off on the next generations in their whānau – specifically their mokopuna.

“I would like to think in my modelling, that I’m influencing my Mokopuna. Because I know I’ve changed my tamariki, and they’re doing stuff, but I would like to see my mokopuna pick up some of the things that I’ve taught their parents.”

“To give back, from all the privileged knowledge and information that is shared with me – it’s not mine to keep, it’s mine to share, so that drives me.”

In a Māori world view, the act of honouring the mana of one’s whakapapa is fundamental to the assertions of cultural membership, belonging and identity.⁶⁹ Giving respect to tīpuna and acknowledging that these are traits we get from them is seen as a significant motivation for volunteering. There is a sense of mana in retaining the values passed down through generations, and in upholding this aspect and translating it to the people they work with presently.

“For what it’s worth, I just think that from a Māori perspective, I think it is about honouring and respecting and giving recognition to our tīpuna. I don’t know how we do it in the volunteering sector – but sometimes people are whakaaiti (belittling, disrespectful) - people disrespect people. I would like to see, as volunteers, that we are respecting each other like we’re supposed to have gotten from our tīpuna in days gone by. So, the respect that we can generate would be something that I’d really appreciate...volunteering to acknowledge...”

When asked what an appropriate use of Te Reo and te ao Māori within the volunteering management sector, which also upholds the mana of these aspects, a respondent said that “the purpose of traditional Māori management was the survival of whanau, hapū and iwi.” This is an affirmation of the traditional Māori institutions of whanau, hapu and iwi. These institutions are crucial to preserving and passing on traditions, language and values through generations.

Manaakitanga

A dimension of whanaungatanga is the concept of manaakitanga. Personal and group relationships are mediated and guided by mana⁷⁰. Mana can refer to authority, influence, or power, and the act of raising the mana of another is analogous to upholding the value of manaakitanga. People can gain or regain mana through personal achievement and or actions

⁶⁹ Mahuika, Nepia. (2019). A brief history of Whakapapa: Māori approaches to genealogy. *Genealogy*, 3(2), 32–32. P. 1.

⁷⁰ Mead, Hirini. (2003). P. 32.

which benefit of others.⁷¹ Uplifting the mana of others is done through generosity, care and compassion, which consequently uplifts one's own mana. Manaakitanga emerges as a central motivation and purpose in the mahi aroha of tūao Māori. In the responses we observed, there is a shared sense of wanting to uplift and nurture others.

“Manaakitaka⁷² is why I volunteer. I feel a responsibility to my whakapapa and my culture.”

“I’m a single mum of seven, and I know those struggles. Helping people to not have the same struggles as I did, motivates me.”

“We do it from our heart and it’s more than just ‘working for love’, right? It’s more than that. It’s about wanting to get up and do that, it’s a lot more than that. It’s about connecting to your people; it’s about doing things for others.”

“That was the motivator – to stay well. That’s probably my experience in volunteering for free and for fun, for no other reason than to...maybe it was going to help me, but it was motivated in wanting to help others.”

The impact of performing manaakitanga was gratifying to many volunteers. One respondent expressed that the impact they were most proud of was uplifting and influencing another person's experience in their cultural identity:

“I was sent a message thanking me for my time and energy and was told my interaction has enhanced the individual’s cultural confidence.”

While many of the respondents' passion to help and nurture others remained strong, some acknowledged that there were limitations in terms of how much they could give. Protecting and nurturing their wellbeing before undertaking mahi meant they were able to give to others more.

Fostering and empowering others was also seen through the lens of simply uplifting and encouraging team members; where fostering team members who do not have as much of a voice as others or those who are hesitant to speak or feel disillusioned in sharing their opinions because of being ignored or overlooked in previous work:

“I love it when we have our rōpū and see more and more of our people coming out of their shell. The knowledge that they have is bursting out to be shared with us. They just haven’t found that avenue yet and they haven’t been encouraged, and that they may have been

⁷¹ Durie, Eddie (1994). P. 6

⁷² South Island dialect, where 'k' is adopted in place of 'ng'.

disillusioned in the past or been shot down – and it takes a little bit of a while for them to come back up.”

Theme 2: Taha Māori: Māori identity and an intrinsic sense of duty

Identity has a basis in the recognition of a familiar origin and shared characteristics with person(s), groups or modes of leadership, which creates solidarity and allegiance⁷³. For Māori, this context has shifted both socially and historically, where Māori interpret their sense of cultural identity to different degrees. The expression of identity and a sense of duty is constantly relevant to Māori on account of their whakapapa, whether it is acknowledged or fully embraced. The expression of cultural identity does not have to be judged by the amount of Te Reo learned, nor an in-depth knowledge of Te Ao Māori. The expression of cultural identity can arise simply by coming together with a shared purpose.

Intrinsic sense of cultural identity

For some Māori, taha Māori is continually embedded in who they are and how they deliver their Kaupapa. This is true for one respondent, who characterized their approach to volunteering as always deriving from a Māori perspective and Te Ao Māori.

“So, everything I do encompasses the identity of Te Ao Māori. So, the Kaupapa, the ways it’s written, it’s always embedded; the Reo, the tikanga, our practices, our delivery. Everything that we do, and we encourage has that already in (place). We always make sure that we’re either doing tangata whenua, reo or tikanga and acknowledging that. Then the wider iwi – making sure that essence is there. So that’s what I meant by that when that question is being asked to Māori volunteers.”

It is expressed that motivations to volunteer are often marked as an intrinsic trait of being Māori, or in a similar vein, that it had been entrenched in their upbringing which they chose to carry on. Focus group respondents noted that as Māori, they were raised to play their part in helping whānau, and eventually would apply this principle towards the outside community:

“It’s in our DNA – it’s how we were brought up.”

“Because that was your duty, you know, you’re in the whānau, you’re the oldest one, you do the mahi. And if somebody outside the whānau needs a hand, it’s your job to go and do it. So, volunteering basically comes as part of the way I was raised- and the way I was raised is, yes,

⁷³ Weaver, Hilary. “Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?” *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (2001): p. 242.

you did it within whānau and it was natural. But as I got older, I actually ended up doing it outside of my whānau and within the community and that's probably the big thing for me. So...I did it because it always has been."

"So, when I was younger, yeah, I suppose it was...you did it because you felt that the aroha, the responsibility to."

"...I did connect with the mahi aroha, that was something my mum passed on to me from the time that we were together as a family. And um, so...on one hand it was about my own personal journey into a recovery process with other people. That was the motivator – to stay well."

The environment in which tūao Māori contributed their mahi could greatly affect the enjoyment and fulfilment of their work. Being close to their tūrangawaewae (place of origin) made their mahi aroha more enjoyable and meaningful. One respondent expresses this idea and said that upon returning to Aotearoa after working in an unfamiliar country, their passion and drive for their mahi had deepened:

"I love being back home, and my husband enjoys doing mahi aroha in our Kaupapa and we do it together. That has been a big bonus for us in returning home to New Zealand, because he sees himself there, whereas he didn't in Australia..."

Interactions with tauwi organisations

Regarding tauwi (non-Māori) organisations or members, respondents made it clear they felt more comfortable with those that incorporate the principles of Te Ao Māori into their mahi and who show respect towards these values.

"When I'm with my tauwi ones that I volunteer with, I actually only volunteer with those ones that either have the mānawa (inner heart/mind) or the ngākau (universal heart/mind), all of that, embedded in their philosophy. So, I know that I can still keep who I am and keep my practices, and they're acknowledged into those settings. So, I'm quite selective as Māori to go into those tauwi ones."

When Māori know that their tauwi counterparts are respectful and open towards Te Reo and tīkanga Māori, and that they want to help to uplift the Kaupapa which resonates with Māori, then they feel like they can be themselves and do not feel the need to diminish their cultural identity:

"But it's really, really a blessing when an organisation, a tauwi-led organisation comes along and our tīkanga is right up there- right up at the top. You know, and it's not just a few words that someone has made, there's real genuine thought about it. because you're really thinking, 'yeah, I love this, I love your fella's Kaupapa'. And yeah, I'll jump on board, because I know that I'm not going to be alone, standing up – you know, trying to get my Māori people involved because I know all of them are behind me going, 'we're with you and we'll help you however we can.'"

Respondents also voiced that they are challenged less by Māori than they are with tauwi or Pākeha on important decisions and ideas. Pākeha views on environmental or restoration issues

and their reaction to differing Māori principles made them feel invalidated and that their input was not respected. One respondent remarked that encountering people who see Māori and other indigenous people and issues through a scholarly or theoretical lens: *“it’s hard (for them) to change us from ‘data’ to just people.”*

Challenges of navigating different volunteer environments

Tūao Māori express their adeptness in moving between Pākeha and Māori worlds.⁷⁴ While many express their capability for doing so, it has not made the process any less disheartening. However, Māori continue to champion collective aspirations including the revitalisation of tikanga and te reo Māori. Tūao Maori voiced their experience of grappling with their mahi obligations in two contrasting environments – a Māori sphere and a tauwiwi one. Having conflicting approaches and procedures between tauwiwi and Māori organisations is expressed as a challenge that could leave volunteers confused or lost between these conflicting environments.

“...Volunteering that stops me in two different worlds – because I volunteer in both a Māori Kaupapa or in a non-Māori one, sometimes they will have two different approaches or pedagogies. That sometimes stops me, or I get a bit lost in one or the other world when making those jumps or leaps.”

Respondents stated that moving between a Māori and Pākeha Kaupapa could muddle priorities and their sense of identity in different organisations. Maintaining their taha Māori (Māori identity) and not having to act in conflict with their values to fit a Tauwiwi set of values remained a challenge. However, this was sometimes a sacrifice they felt they needed to make to navigate the sector or liaise with important people in order to drive their mahi:

“I try not to turn off who I am, in between all of those Kaupapa – I am Māori, I love where I live, I love my whānau and hapū. I try to bring that into all my Kaupapa because it shows people who I am.”

⁷⁴ Tennant, Margret (2008). P. 25

Burdening tangata whenua with Māori-based mahi and navigating diversity checkboxes

Many respondents wished to have their presence and perspectives heard, not as an obligation to be fulfilled, but seen as a meaningful contribution.

Respondents expressed unease with tauwiwi organisations persistently putting all the responsibility of managing Māori-based mahi on their shoulders – which they sometimes thought was ingenuine, and a means of ticking a tokenistic diversity box. Many felt that sometimes their opinions were only considered because it gave the organisation credibility as a bicultural organisation. However, when an organisation makes authentic and genuine efforts to uplift Māori culture and support their Kaupapa, participants felt far more appreciative and empowered.

“It’s becoming an obligation to have representatives from tangata whenua, mana whenua, and that’s...they also made those Kaupapa uncomfortable because they had probably never...you know sometimes you can come across people that have never had a conversation with a Māori person in their whole life, which is just really hard to believe that still happens. They’ve never had to have a kōrero, but all of a sudden, they have to because it gives it credibility.”

Theme 3: Creating meaningful kaupapa Initiatives

Volunteering on Māori terms: effective and meaningful kaupapa

Kaupapa Māori is a concept referring to a plan of action or agenda designed by Māori and enacted by Māori. It is influenced by the knowledge, perspectives and experiences of Māori, and developed from aspects of mātauranga Māori and prominent political activist movements.⁷⁵ Early establishments of Māori voluntary organisations were often guided by a Kaupapa that provided a purpose that resonated with Māori, and maintained the mana of their cultural and institutional identity.⁷⁶ This stands true for tūao Māori today – a kaupapa which is meaningful and aligns with their goals is expressed as crucial to a meaningful contribution. It could also allow diverse people to contribute their unique skillset and provide an opportunity for overlooked people to express their ideas.

Assisting the community through their meaningful Kaupapa emphasised how passing on knowledge for projects or program could have a domino-effect in terms of outreach. Their Kaupapa could reach organisations, schools and whanau, and result in valuable, meaningful outcomes. Many respondents enjoyed the impact of empowering whanau and seeing them being able to push themselves.

Respondents said that having a clearly outlined, and collectively agreed upon Kaupapa created unique understandings, as well as shared experiences and passions. The exchange and transference of knowledge in this process made the Kaupapa more meaningful. Having an agreed upon Kaupapa which all members can contribute their knowledge and input strengthens connections and their mahi successes.

“I love being in any of my Māori Kaupapa, my whānau’s Kaupapa and seeing that - because everyone has something to give, no matter how small it is...”

Volunteering with a Kaupapa which aligned with their beliefs and the cause they are working towards, was important for most respondents. This sentiment was echoed in another participant’s response, who said they must be enjoying the Kaupapa to fully give their all to their

⁷⁵ Pihama, Leonie et al. (2015). Kaupapa rangahau: a collection of readings from the Kaupapa rangahau workshops series (2nd ed). Te Kotahi Research Institute.

⁷⁶ Walker, Ranginui. (1990). Ka whawhai tonu matou: struggle without end. Penguin Books. P. 199.

commitments. Creating Kaupapa that could be translated to a variety of environments, instil new knowledge, and seeing an impact, were motivating factors for their mahi.

“On the awa, if you think of that as our projects, and depending on how fast it is flowing, we’ll go with that flow or we might go off on another branch, but it’s still the essence of the Kaupapa that we’re on.”

Respondents could lend their expertise and unique skill set; this included taking part in decision-making processes, funding pitches, and launching subsequent Kaupapa initiatives. One respondent described navigating this arena of volunteering as being a minefield (Julia, S1, page 6), where Māori-led Kaupapa often struggles to get funded and secured.

“We give a lot back to our hapu and I enjoy that, and I enjoy bringing the skills that I’ve learnt in the last 40 years back to my people, to empower them to do better, as well.”

Working collaboratively in a Kaupapa meant organizing and allocating everyone’s skillset to the appropriate role to see their mahi get off the ground. (Maria, S1, page 7) Recognizing that each part of the rohe or whānau group has their own knowledge base or capabilities to contribute facilitates a shared sense of ‘ownership’ in the mahi. Being able to *put forward their expertise*, and work collaboratively within a team with differing skill sets, meant the process was smoother. The collaborative aspect of delivering Kaupapa and seeing their team as extended whānau striving towards a common goal makes the process an even more rewarding one.

Theme 4: Tūao Māori recognition

The concept of recognition and reciprocity encompasses diverse meanings for Māori volunteers. The way they wish to be acknowledged and shown reciprocity diverges from western forms of recognition – and this is relevant to the ways they actively express recognition to others. Traditionally, the principles of reciprocity are facilitated by mana, manaakitanga and whanaungatanga, and it is given by either free-will or obligation.⁷⁷

Some respondents stated they made efforts to consciously express or incorporate ways of giving recognition and acknowledgement in the design and fruition of their mahi aroha. This could be done in small yet meaningful ways – such as koha (reciprocity, gift or contribution) through small donations, petrol, supermarket vouchers or supplying kai. Sometimes it is as simple as writing or verbalizing their gratitude to individuals and their wider organisations to uplift mana. These smaller, and yet more meaningful forms of recognition were those that most respondents agreed was appreciated.

Reciprocity and validation

One respondent remarked that valuing volunteers does not necessarily entail monetary reimbursement, but instead could be communicated through a form of koha or awahi (support or embracement):

“I do think that our volunteers are undervalued in some areas. And I don’t think you really need the monetary recompense. But I do think they need that awahi verbally from you...and if somebody turns up and gives you a fish because they’ve been fishing, I think that koha is heaps plenty. It warms your heart. That’s somebody’s thought about something they can give you in return for the little bit you did for that wee bit of volunteering help that you gave them, really.”

Another expressed that valuing and empowering volunteers was about *“an acknowledgment of the volunteer’s mana and inclusion of their world view.”*

⁷⁷ Mead, Hirini. (2003). P. 144-46.

Reward-based recognition

Reward-based validation was generally expressed as unimportant to most volunteers. For many respondents, the demonstration of reward-based recognition shows the divergence in understandings of recognition and reciprocity obligations in Māori versus Western culture.

One respondent said that reward-based recognition was correlated with the idea of being whakahīhī (prideful or conceited) and that this was not compatible with Māori conditions of reciprocity:

“You know, that’s not in our nature either to be whakahīhī in what we’re doing. We don’t need- when we’re doing this mahi, I don’t need accolades, all I need is a smile on someone’s face. Or I hear, on the grape vine, that they’re doing something. So that is enough accolades for me that my mahi is being done. But I know out in the non- Māori world acknowledgement of what we do is sometimes not seen, it doesn’t hold the same value in a cultural way as it does with our own people.”

“I’m uncomfortable, to be honest, when people are saying, you know, things...because for some things it comes very natural for me to just give, give, give and I don’t think about fundings, you know, that reaction. But hey, I have to be honest, it is lovely to hear the acknowledgement, you know? But it’s never something we look for in volunteering – well I don’t, anyway, and I know many of us don’t.”

One respondent stated that they initially refused and even challenged their volunteer award nominations for their mahi. This was because they felt the recognition was a superficial acknowledgement which disregarded the cooperative efforts of the mahi. They were only persuaded when they began to frame the award as an acknowledgement of a collaborative achievement, one which uplifts their Kaupapa and the mana of the collective:

“But then we had this discussion that it wasn’t actually for me. It was for the Kaupapa that needed to be seen in our rōhē. That there are other things Māori going on that our non-Māori need to know. We know as Māori what’s going on, and who’s on there – it gets around our kumara vine – and you soon find out what’s going here and what’s going there, or somebody’s said this and they’ve said that. That’s how we network...and so this was the nominator’s discussion with me. It took a lot for me to say yes, but when she put that to me, I went, ‘okay, I’ll do it this once and it better happen!’”

Theme 5: Covid-19: Disruption of tikanga and outreach

While the Covid-19 pandemic has been acknowledged as a wide-spread event of disruption in the world's social, communal, and work environments, it has had a complex cultural and social effect on Māori. The basis of mahi aroha and initiating Kaupapa is best performed through in-person hui, collective kōrero, sharing kai, performing tikanga and maintaining connections. This is echoed in Volunteering New Zealand and Hui-E!'s 2021 collaboration on the Hauora wellbeing survey. Findings emphasised that "for Māori communities, networking and community connections are key, and being able to pass on information and knowledge to others."⁷⁸ This disruption to taonga customs and social connection left many volunteers struggling to navigate and adapt to this changing environment whilst upholding their volunteer obligations.

One respondent spoke of this disturbance to uplifting their Kaupapa and lending appropriate support:

"The biggest thing, I feel, for Māori Kaupapa is us getting out there and connecting and building a relationship, no matter what the mahi is. It's always good to do the little mahi but really it's having the kōrero together and being with each other. Having our kai, sharing a kōrero related to the mahi we're doing- it might not be, but it doesn't matter if we're just hanging out together because we love doing that. Covid has affected us, hasn't it? And it has affected the way we react towards each other- not towards each other, but usually we'll all be going in for our big awahi, and our big hugs."

The social distancing restrictions meant Māori were discouraged from performing hongis or showing awahi, and were barred from attending cultural ceremonies such as tangihanga (funerals). The unpredictable shifts between alert levels and rules further complicated how volunteers interacted, and how they were received by those they helped. Some interactions were described as remaining mostly the same, whilst others they helped were apprehensive or scared to work together.

"There is an uncomfortable-ness in regards to, you know, even at our marae, we know that we spend a lot of time with a lot of our whānau. So, we're still getting a lot of awahi and hugs, you know, close contact, which is really good. But every time the door is shutting and closing

⁷⁸ Volunteering New Zealand, Hui E! Community Aotearoa. (2020/21). COVID-19 Hauora Wellbeing Survey: of tangata whenua, community & voluntary sector. P. 101.

with regard to Covid – we’re locked down, we’re un-locked down, it takes that little bit of time to come back together again, where everyone is sort of afraid.”

Tūao Māori also expressed that the differing protocol on Marae or Rūnanga was ever-changing, and adapting to the different regulations and logistics were both unpredictable and something they struggled to navigate at times:

“Each rūnanga does things slightly different as well, so we have to remember when you go to that Marae, you got to do it that way...”

“You know, or are you in for the hug or are you not in for the hug. To be honest it’s really sad – we don’t see many hongis and it’s a real big...you know we’re not doing that. The elbow and all the other things we are trying to put into place to, not maybe replace it, but just to navigate that way through there...It just is not the same. It’s just not the same. How that fares going forward, I don’t know. With the kōrero around, it’s a missing thing. It’s a missing part of the beginning.”

State of Volunteering survey: themes and analysis

The 2022 State of Volunteering survey produced valuable quantitative data and free-text responses surrounding the experiences of the respondent's social impact, outreach, and general feedback. The survey also revealed responses on the topics of social connection protocol, leadership, service delivery, contribution, and resource management.

Maintaining social connection

Social connection, teamwork and togetherness were expressed as an important motivation and social impact for Māori respondents. Twenty-three percent of Māori volunteers shared that their motivation for joining their organisation was to make friends and connections, and 19.23% said they joined after being asked by a friend. Making connections, being a part of a group with a shared agenda and passion for their work is communicated as significant motivators for their volunteering, and a factor for why they continue to contribute:

“Volunteering is not just to assist those in need as in our case, but also to being part of a passionate, like-minded team.”

“The people I work with are the only reason I am still involved with both groups.”

Caring for and empowering others

Māori volunteers expressed that helping and supporting members of the community and empowering them was essential to their social impact. All of the Māori respondents answered that their motivation to join their organisation was to give back to the community, and we observed that most respondents on average, strongly agreed that they could connect with the communities they served.

This support and sense of empowerment is expressed in diverse ways. One respondent stated that their organisation's mahi is *“positive, engaging and mana enhancing.”* Another reflects that the encouragement they give people allowed their passions and confidence to flourish. Volunteers would challenge people to learn new skills and noticed that this empowered them. These volunteers expressed that this opportunity to uplift others and give them hope for the future was extremely rewarding.

One respondent expressed that their support is often given through sharing knowledge and valuable information and providing advocacy. Volunteers saw this as an important means of supporting their communities, with one volunteer sharing that their organisation's efforts had affected social justice policy reforms. One respondent from the Citizens' Advice Bureau stated:

“Our goal is to ensure those who seek our assistance are supported by way of information (and) advocacy, so as that they are empowered with the knowledge that they may not have been aware of prior to their coming to us. The impact our service provides nationally to those in need within our community has reflected in changes to social policies and social justice.”

Volunteers who work in victim support roles saw their mahi as crucial towards supporting their community. This type of support includes providing advocacy, assistance and offering information on forms of outreach that can aid victims' situations. When dealing with people whose circumstances are sensitive, they seek to listen to them with empathy and compassion. Providing this type of support is expressed as a very meaningful aspect of their volunteer mahi.

Another volunteer expresses that the social impact they provide in their mahi enlightens them about different social issues within their communities. Further, the support volunteers receive from their organisation uplifts them, and many state that they were motivated to continue their mahi because the systems in place (within their organisations) made them feel safe. Another respondent expresses their contentment with their organisation, stating that it is *“generous, kind, giving, non-judgmental (and) places aroha at the centre at all costs...”*

Impact of service delivery and contribution

Māori contributions to service delivery are extensive and diverse. Their mahi includes delivering kai to families in need, donating to food banks, providing goods to hospital patients, assisting retirement residents, offering low price point goods and services, easing administrative burdens in their organisations, and supporting vulnerable individuals in the community through different programmes and counselling. This mahi is detailed as extremely rewarding and highly appreciated by the community. Most of the volunteers agreed that their skills and experiences are valued at their organisation, rating this a 4 on scale of 0-5.

Lack of resources and dissatisfaction with leadership

Some volunteers expressed frustration with the lack of communication, acknowledgement, and feedback from their organisations. The lack of resources is especially seen as an aspect which affects their organisations' potential to deliver. Financial capacity of organisations is an additional strain on accessing resources, which forces many volunteers to pay out-of-pocket. The survey data further demonstrated that 48.48% of Māori volunteers are not reimbursed for these expenses, and only 24.24% are occasionally paid recompense.

While volunteers enjoyed their work, many express that the lack of volunteers could make the work taxing. Some volunteers were dissatisfied with their organisations' leaders in terms of poor management and inadequate skills and criticised the lack of contributions of their board members. A few respondents pointed out that there was a lack of control and authority over their organisations and its volunteers, which are aspects seen as damaging morale, membership numbers and volunteers' ability to contribute. Some respondents assert that there needs to be regulated processes and monitoring to prevent this from happening. Despite this, there are volunteers who are content with their organisation and the development of leadership, support systems and how they are valued.

Increased workload and Covid-19 deterrents

Many volunteers stated that the impact of the pandemic has impeded their ability to work and provide outreach in their volunteer mahi. Strict lockdown rules and social distancing impacted their ability to coordinate activities or provide extensive assistance. Face to face forms of support switched to remote measures, which was seen as being less effective and meaningful. Lockdown restrictions were also said to cause the volunteers' organisations to go months without any activity and deprived communities in need of support.

Respondents further expressed that these struggles were worsened by the financial impact of Covid-19 on their organisation. These were aspects that affected their ability to work and yet were also factors that demanded a higher workload and output. Despite many volunteers' difficulties adapting to this new environment, there were many who were comfortable with the changes. These volunteers agreed social distancing rules were necessary and that their safety was secured through these measures.

Survey findings summary

Findings from the freeform survey differ from the qualitative analysis we present through focus groups. Our analysis recognizes that while some responses partially alluded to Māori cultural values, the findings are more generalized than what we have observed in the focus groups. This could be because the questions were aimed at universal experiences in the sector, with more inclination towards general feedback and experiences rather than specific cultural views and values.

Conclusions

The research findings presented in this report clearly highlight the immense contributions tūao Māori have historically and contemporarily contributed to the volunteer sector. These findings highlight a specific experience which sits alongside contributions made by volunteers from other diverse ethnicities and social locations. However, we found it imperative that we recognise tūao Māori efforts and how the basis of collective Māori organisation is situated in historical efforts to enact rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori volunteering has promoted community development and cultural empowerment, and can be recognised as a feat in the advancement of the principles of partnership, participation, and protection closely intertwined in Te Tiriti o Waitangi. As tangata whenua, Māori are seminal to the social and cultural fabric of Aotearoa New Zealand.

From the onset we attributed the past and present day mahi aroha efforts to be underpinned by tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. This is not necessarily expressed in the political and social context of which it gained traction (although these contexts are important to the production of mahi aroha today). Rather, we present these core values as expressions of the way tūao Māori approach volunteering through their unique cultural understandings and identities, and on their own terms.

Many of the themes conceptualised are presented through Māori terms and values and reflect their perspectives and purposes. The incorporation of Māori cultural values, consciously utilised or not, demonstrate the endurance of Māori culture and the ability for Māori to drive their mahi. It should be acknowledged that Māori customs and values are not static and have always evolved with their social context, and this is an aspect which is illustrated through observations made from the focus groups. We aim to acknowledge that Māori cultural identity and values is not experienced homogenously. Māori all identify with these aspects to different degrees due to a variety of social contexts and factors. These themes are generated by sentiments within common goals and collective purpose through the lens of mātauranga Māori.

The respondents in this research provided much needed dialogue on issues in the volunteer sector, such as navigating tauwi organisations, diversity checkboxes, recognition, and a lack of resources. These themes jointly present the struggles of being Māori within an environment that does not fully acknowledge or accommodate their experiences and ways of doing things. Additionally, the challenges of adapting to Covid-19 protocol and mounting workloads presented an immense disruption to the social and cultural organisation of tūao Māori. These are issues that need to be addressed by organisations, which could look like: actively learning about and understanding different lived experiences, creating strategic frameworks that actively accommodate mahi aroha approaches and Māori needs, and in providing opportunity that guarantees the agency to structure their mahi and kaupapa according to their terms.

Tūao Māori have long since persisted in navigating institutions which prioritise western knowledge bases and standards. Yet historically and contemporarily they have been seen to rise to the challenge and innovate new ways of doing things according to cultural obligations and a shared purpose. All of this provide a necessary sense of social control by Māori, to the benefit of

the collective. Whether these actions have been purposely coded in Māori cultural belief or not, the endurance of te ao, mātauranga, tikanga and kaupapa Māori is apparent. The experiences reported in this research provide a historical framework for the realization of mahi aroha and provide a glimpse into the motivations and experiences of tūao Māori today. This analysis can be used as a tool to understand their unique relational modes of volunteering, and sense of duty to support the communities they belong to and are involved in. There is still more mahi to be done towards collating more expansive insights about Māori who come from diverse geographical and social locations in society. Tūao Māori are critical to the preservation of collective wellbeing and should be recognised as a taonga to Aotearoa New Zealand's volunteer sector.

Recommendations drawn from these findings

Organisations could consider these perspectives and incorporate into their practices:

1. Incorporating principles of te ao Māori into how you work, including values, purpose, and audience.
 - a. Do your values reflect values important within Te Ao Māori?
 - b. Are your decision making and planning processes taking a longer-term, sustainable view?
2. Whanaungatanga: creating meaningful relationships as you work, connect and volunteer should be an engrained part of how we engage with volunteers.
3. Manaakitanga: to uplift and nurture others is an important manifestation of mahi aroha. Manaakitanga of people and volunteers is as important as manaakitanga of service users of organisations.
4. Meaningful kaupapa: creating a shared place to stand, shared understanding and an opportunity for all to grow and learn. Connection to the kaupapa creates greater meaning and experiences for tūao Māori.
5. Recognition and reciprocity: reward-based recognition diverges from understandings of recognition and reciprocity within te ao Māori. A good starting point is to review your recognition activities from a collectivist lens, and to also base this on your relationships, and connections.

Works cited

- Bishop, Russell. (1999). *Kaupapa Maori research: An indigenous approach to creating knowledge*.
- Campbell, Bronwyn, et al. (2011). "Te Tiriti o Waitangi: A Blueprint for the future in *Mana Tangata: Politics of Empowerment*. Huia publishing.
- Carlyon, Jenny, and Diana Morrow. *Changing Times: New Zealand Since 1945*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014.
- Chellie Spiller et al. (2015) *Wayfinding leadership: ground-breaking wisdom for developing leaders*. Wellington: Huia.
- Chellie Spiller. et al. (2020) *Paradigm warriors: Advancing a radical ecosystems view of collective leadership from an Indigenous Māori perspective*. *Human relations (New York)*. [Online] 73 (4), 516–543.
- Cram, Fiona. (2021) "Mahi aroha: Māori work in times of trouble and disaster as an expression of a love for the people." *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*, Volume 16, No. 2.
- David Robinson, Tuwhakairiora Williams. (2001). "Social Capital and Voluntary activity: Giving and sharing in Māori and non-Māori society" *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, no. 17.
- Durie, Eddie (1994). *Custom law, working paper*. The Waitangi Tribunal.
- Fleras, Augie (1981). *Māori Wardens and the control of liquor among the Māori of New Zealand*. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, volume 90, no. 4.
- Graham Smith (2003). *Kaupapa Māori Theory: theorizing indigenous transformation of education & schooling*. *Kaupapa Māori Symposium*. NZARE/AARE Joint Conference Hyatt Hotel, Auckland, NZ.
- Harris, Aroha. (2022). "Assaulting the Ears of Government." *E-tangata (Web site) : a Māori and Pasifika Sunday magazine*.
- Hawksley, C., & Howson, R. (2011). *Tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake: Nation, state and self-determination in Aotearoa New Zealand*. *AlterNative : an International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 7(3), 246–257.
- He Roopu Taurima. (2022). *He Pukapuka Rauemi Mō Te Ahurea: A Resource Book about Māori Culture*.
- Hill, Richard (2004). *State Authority, Indigenous Autonomy: crown-relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa 1900-1950*. Victoria University Press, part of the New Zealand Texts Collection.

- Hill, Richard (2009). "Māori and the State: Crown-Māori Relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000." Victoria University Press.
- Hill, Richard (2012). Maori Urban Migration and the Assertion of Indigeneity in Aotearoa/New Zealand, 1945-1975. *Interventions (London, England)*. 14 (2), 256–278.
- Hill, Richard (2005). "Social Revolution on a Small Scale: The Official Māori Committees of the 1950s, Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies.
- Kataraina Pipi, Fiona Cram et al. (2004) A research ethic for studying Māori and iwi provider success. *Social policy journal of New Zealand*. (23), 141–153.
- Leonie Pihama, Kim Southey, Sarah Tiakiwai. (2015). *Kaupapa rangahau : A reader : A collection of readings from the Kaupapa rangahau workshop series (Second ed.)*. Te Kotahi Research Institute Research Institute. Univeristy of Waikato.
- Levine, Hal and Henare, Manuka. "Mana Motuhake: Māori self-determination" in Pacific Viewpoint 35(2).
- Levine, Hal. (2001) Can a voluntary organisation be a treaty partner? The case of Te Whānau O Waipareira trust.
- Love, Catherine; Oliver, Pam, Porima; Lauri Wolfgramm, Tania. (2007). Mahi Aroha: Māori perspectives on volunteering and cultural obligations The Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector.
- Mahuika, Nepia. (2019). A brief history of Whakapapa: Māori approaches to genealogy. *Genealogy*, 3(2).
- Mamari Stephens, "To work out their own salvation: Māori constitutionalism and the quest for welfare". Victoria University of Wellington law review.
- Mason Durie (2017). Kaupapa Māori: Indigenising New Zealand. In Te Kawehau Hoskins and Alison Jones's *Critical Conversations in Kaupapa Māori*. La Vergne: Huia (NZ) ProQuest Ebook Central.
- Mead, Hirini Moko. (2003) *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*, Huia Publishers, Wellington.
- Moeke-Pickering, Taima. (1996). Māori identity within whanau: A review of literature. Hamilton, New Zealand: University of Waikato.
- Munford, Robyn and Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata. (2006). Community Development: Working in the Bicultural Context of Aotearoa New Zealand.
- Oliver, William Hosking. (1988). Royal commission on social policy: the April report, vol III, part 1.
- Pere, Rangimaria Rose cited in Pihama, Leonie. Daniels, Ngarimu (2007). "Tikanga Rangahau". Māori and Indigenous Analysis.

- Pihama, Leonie et al. (2015). *Kaupapa rangahau: a collection of readings from the Kaupapa rangahau workshops series (2nd ed)*. Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Rewi, Leila-Dawn; Hastie, Hastie, Louise Jeanette. (2021). "Community resilience demonstrated through a Te Ao Maori (Ngāti Manawa) lens: The Rahui." *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work*, 33(4).
- Robertson, N. (Ed). *Maori and psychology: Research and practice*. Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Maori & Psychology Research Unit, Department of Psychology, University of Waikato, Hamilton.
- Stanley, Elizabeth, and Trevor Bradley. (2021) *Rethinking Policing in Aotearoa New Zealand: Decolonising Lessons from the Covid-19 Pandemic*. *Current Issues in Criminal Justice*, vol. 33, no. 1, pp. 131–37.
- Smith, Kelly; Hammerton Heather et al. (2016). "Local volunteers respond to the Rena oil spill in Maketū, New Zealand". *Kōtuitui: New Zealand Journal of Social Sciences Online*.
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. (2015). *Kaupapa Māori Research- Some Kaupapa Māori Principles*. In Leonie Pihama et al (Eds.), *Kaupapa Rangahau A Reader: A collection of Readings from the Kaupapa Māori Research Workshop Series*. Te Kotahi Research Institute Research Institute. Univeristy of Waikato. (p.46-52).
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 2021. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Third edition., Bloomsbury Academic & Professional. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, Issue 17.
- Statistics New Zealand, "Quarterly Labour Market Statistics June 2018/19".
- Tennant, Margaret. (2005). *Welfare interactions: Māori, government and the voluntary sector in New Zealand*. *History Australia*, Volume 2, Number 2. Monash University Press
- Tennant, Margaret. O'Brien, Mike. Sanders, Jackie. (2008). "The history of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand". Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector.
- Tuiono, Teanau; Maria Bargh. (2007). *Interview with Teanau Tuiono: A Small Issue of Sovereignty in Resistance: An Indigenous Response to Neoliberalism*. Wellington: Huia.
- Volunteering New Zealand, Hui E! Community Aotearoa. (2020/21). *COVID-19 Hauora Wellbeing Survey: of tangata whenua, community & voluntary sector*.
- Waitangi Tribunal (2011). "Ko Aotearoa Tenei: a report into claims concerning New Zealand Law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity". Wai 262, Waitangi Tribunal report. Legislation Direct.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2014). "Whaia te Mana Motuhake: In Pursuit of Mana Motuhake" Report on the Māori Community Development Act Claim. WAI 2417, Waitangi Tribunal Report. Legislation Direct.

Walker, Ranginui. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: struggle without end*. Penguin Books.

Walker, Richard. (1992). *The Oxford History of New Zealand*. 2nd ed. Auckland N.Z: Oxford University Press.

Wanhalla, Angela (2020) "Paikea's Men': Mobilising the Māori War Effort. *The Māori Home Front*.

Weaver, Hilary. (2001). "Indigenous Identity: What Is It, and Who Really Has It?" *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2