Whānau Coping Under the Circumstance of Multiple Job Holding

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Huia Matariki Pere

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Abstract

This thesis explores how Māori whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding in four whānau who have at least one member who is a multiple job holder. The study uses a behavioural model of family resilience to identify the factors that enable or inhibit whānau coping. It finds that the reasons that influence Māori whānau multiple job holding can shape the whānau ability to cope while multiple job holding. The whānau in this study were found to have multiple motives for multiple job holding. Multiple job holding was used as a buffer mechanism because of previous financial stresses and strains, to facilitate future career and employment development and to enable a parent to fulfil what they perceived to be parental-financial obligations. In one case a demand for Māori skilled professional workers, led a whānau member to take on an extra job to fill this demand. Of importance, the study finds that resources are an essential factor when considering how whānau cope. Coping is facilitated by access to multiple resources and the types of resources required by whānau will be contextually specific in each whānau case.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis explores how Māori whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding in four whānau who have at least one member who is a multiple job holder. The question is worthy of consideration given that there is little research on Māori multiple job holding (Karaitiana, et al., 2005) or how whānau are coping with two or more jobs. The Department of Labour in its Work-life Balance Project (2004: 18) has identified that multiple job holding has the potential to influence family life considerably. It is therefore important to understand how Māori whānau cope under these circumstances.

The thesis finds that there are multiple motives for multiple job holding in the whānau cases studied. These include wider political forces, personal development, financial stresses and strains, as well as parental obligations. The study has found that a major factor that enables whānau coping is access to multiple resources. In contrast, the lack of resources has the potential to radically inhibit coping.

The thesis also takes consideration of changes within New Zealand since the mid 1980's, namely New Zealand's economic reforms wherein large numbers of Māori experienced job losses. Prior to this period (1975-1984) the New Zealand government had embraced a "highly interventionist approach to economic management" (Spoonley, 2004: 5-6) of the labour market that provided an environment of secure full-time employment for workers, including Māori workers. The reform period saw the deregulation of this approach including changes to industrial relations legislation and the institution of more flexibility in the workplace, through individualised and collective contracts. Research has found that

these changes have an influence on the rise in non-standard forms of employment, (De Bruin and Dupuis, 2004: 55) including part-time, casual, temporary work and multiple job holding. Māori have been vulnerable to these forms of work Te Puni Kokiri, in that Māori "have generally been more likely than non-Māori to be underemployed" (Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development, 2000: 23, 50). Underemployment rate for Māori is calculated on those who are working part-time but have indicated that they desire more work (ibid). Spoonley (2004: 5) finds that Māori are "disproportionately located in temporary work" which tends to predispose workers to lower skilled jobs and "future employment prospects" (ibid). Although employment vulnerability is noted in studies on Māori not much is said about how whānau are coping under these circumstances in the home. This thesis intends to address this gap.

The first section of this chapter will provide definitions of non-standard work, multiple job holding, and Māori whānau. The following section will review relevant literature from New Zealand and from overseas that sheds light on non standard work and multiple job holding. The third section introduces a model of family resilience that is used to analyse the interview data. This analysis is found in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

1.2 Definitions

Definition of Non-Standard Work

Defining non-standard work has been problematic in New Zealand and in other countries because of the diverse ways in which people engage in work and the complexity of encompassing this diversity into one clear definition (Spoonley, 2004: 12-13). However, there is a difference between standard work and non-standard work: standard work is work offered for forty hours a week, it is work that is mostly situated in one location, it has no

definite expiry date, has employment protections, and may include ongoing training for workers. Non-standard work is employment that may vary in location, may be short term, may include an expiry date that is regulated by a fixed term contract and may involve work outside standard working hours. Types of non-standard work include non-permanent work, part-time, temporary, casual, and multiple job holding. It is therefore work that is not necessarily full-time, has no certainty of on-going employment, and may have low pay and fewer on-the-job training opportunities. Spoonley (2004:12) quoting Stone (2001: 542) and Buultjens (2001) have defined non-standard work as "work that has no explicit or implicit promise of continuity" or "any expectation of a continuing relationship between worker and employer" (ibid).

Definition of Multiple Job Holding

Multiple job holding is a sub-category of non-standard work, also referred to as moonlighting, dual job holding, secondary job holding and portfolio employment. The New Zealand Census 2001 questions effectively define multiple job holding very tightly as: working in two or more jobs in paid work, or unpaid work in the family business or farm, during the week ended 4th March 2001. The definition used in this thesis for multiple job holding is: any paid job that is undertaken with other paid or non-paid[1] employment.

Problems with the Census Definition of Multiple Job Holding

As noted by Girvan, (2005:157) The New Zealand Census (2001) definition of multiple job holding is limited in its scope as it provides only "a snapshot of contemporary multiple job holding" covering only those who are multiple job holding in a seven day period in the

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[1] Work that is unpaid in a family business or farm. See www.stats.govt.nz chapter 2: Personal Definitions.

month of March when the Census is taken. Girvan explains that this is a tight definition that excludes multiple job holding outside the census period and so the true extent of multiple job holding in New Zealand is under reported. One area of the labour market where this may occur is the informal sector where people may work in a primary job that is taxed, but the worker may also work in a second job that is un-taxed (paid under the table as an informal employee). The question is whether those who work informally can be categorised as multiple job holders. For the purposes of this thesis these workers will be regarded as multiple job holders. An example of how multiple job holding in the informal market is used is contained in Chapter Four of this thesis.

Definition of Whānau

Since the focus of this thesis is on Māori whānau it is necessary to define what is meant by the term whānau as this term is used broadly today as compared to its use in more traditional times. The traditional use of the word whānau is explained by Metge, (1995) as a unit that consists of members who had common blood ties (whakapapa) with whom obligations and responsibilities reside and are maintained. In recent times she suggests that usage has been extended to include non-blood descent groups formed on a basis of common interest (Metge 1995: 54-55). For the purpose of this study, a whānau is defined as parents or adults who may or may not be living in the same dwelling (house) but have a shared interest in the care and upbringing of a child or children.

This definition acknowledges parents who have separated and live in different locations, and those who are non kin, step parents, and foster parents, as well as those who are kin raising kin, but are not the parents. These may include relatives, aunts, uncles and

grandparents. This is an inclusive definition reflective of the composition of Māori whānau historically and of Māori whānau today.

1.3 Literature

Non-Standard Work

Non-standard work seems to be associated with low pay and poor employment protections. There is also evidence that finds that some workers prefer non-standard work because this type of work offers them flexibility to enjoy other facets of their lives. The occurrence of non-standard forms of work in New Zealand has followed international trends in that non-standard employment is growing in New Zealand. New Zealand has always had a peripheral group of workers who work in low paid jobs with poor working conditions, who lack employment security and work non-standard hours or in seasonal occupations (Spoonley 2004: 6). However, the characteristics of non-standard workers have changed in that non-standard work is now distinguished by those who work at the lower end of paid employment and those at the higher end of paid employment (Stuart, 2005: 24). These characteristics alone do not distinguish non-standard employment as a precursor for adverse outcomes on workers but if certain factors exist in employment the worker may be at risk of poor outcomes.

The Department of Labour in its Work-life Balance Project (2004:18) has identified characteristics of precarious work. Precarious work includes factors such as "low pay, little or no training, and health and safety risks". Thus, precarious work is not confined to non-standard work although non-standard work may be precarious. These characteristics are indicators of risk but the major risk identified by the Department of Labour project that has relevance to this thesis is the potential effect of precarious work "on participation in family and social lives of participants" (ibid). According to the Department's finding's, submissions linked multiple job holding with "difficulties spending time with family" and "This appeared to be a particular issue for Māori and Pacific people" (ibid). On the other

hand, the research showed that "some employees chose to work in casual or precarious positions in order to enjoy other aspects of their lives" (ibid: 19).

Thus, precarious non-standard work has the potential for adverse outcomes on families. However, identifying what factors contribute to a precarious work family life balance is complex. Precariousness may not be distinguishable by using indicators such as income, or occupation, i.e. those who work in low paid employment or those who work in high paid employment. The potential risks on families may be the same whatever the socio-economic background of a family. Thus, it becomes important to narrow down more specifically aspects of non-standard work that have the potential to promote risk to families. Because multiple job holding is a sub-category of non-standard employment, multiple job holding must also be considered to have the same potential effect.

Important Studies from New Zealand on Multiple Job Holding

Since the mid 1980s in New Zealand there have been changes within some communities in work patterns. Such changes are found in a study of multiple job holding farm families in New Zealand. In 1995 Taylor and McCrostie Little researched multiple job holding farm families wherein they found that multiple job holding was used as an important source of additional income to sustain farm income after the farm crisis of the 1980s. A further study by Taylor et al. (2004) found that multiple job holding had become a normal aspect of farm and work-life but the reasons for multiple job holding had become more complex than those given in the initial study of 1995. While economic factors continued to prevail as the main reason for multiple job holding amongst respondents in the later study, the study also found that respondents were multiple job holding for non-financial reasons as well. Despite the differences respondents attributed to the reasons for their multiple job

holding an important finding from this study indicates that multiple job holding has become "widely accepted" in this group. Whereas in the 1995 study working off the farm had been "met with resistance", the new study found that today this is not the case (ibid: 81).

Within the context of the wider population of New Zealand the rate of multiple job holding increased for the years 1981 to 1996 but this increase levelled off between 1996 and 2001 (Baines and Newell, 2004). Historically the period of increase seems to coincide with New Zealand economic reforms when there were high levels of job losses. This may indicate that multiple job holding was used by these individuals for a period of time to buffer the effects of the loss of full-time employment.

However, the study by Taylor et al. (2004) as noted above and the change in attitudes by the rural community sampled indicates that there is cause to argue that people do adapt to multiple job holding but that adaptation takes place over time. The later study noted that amongst farm households multiple job holding had become long term, averaging about 8.5 years, for respondents and was now an established work practice. This finding contradicted the findings of the initial 1995 study wherein multiple job holding had been considered as a short term feature that was a response to the farm crisis of the 1980s.

Multiple job holding may not be viewed as a typical work practice in the major population within urban areas. Taylor et al. (2006: 10) find that statistics from 1996-2001 indicate that rural areas have had "high levels of multiple job holding" while for the same period multiple job holding in urban areas "fell slightly". Within urban areas the geographic location and the concentration of more diverse employment options as compared to the

type of employment options available in rural locations, may contribute to this levelling off effect. Within urban areas people may adopt multiple jobs in a transient manner in that multiple job holding is taken on as needed and therefore these workers move in and out of holding multiple jobs as required by their circumstances. Despite these levelling off trends the effect of holding multiple jobs on some urban families may be significant.

As noted above, Māori families have indicated that holding multiple jobs impacts on their work life and whānau balance. McClintock et al. (2004: 3) report that in New Zealand 46.6 percent of multiple job holders' work 50 plus hours a week compared to 22 percent for non-multiple job holders. Long hours of work have been identified as an indicator of precarious work. While there are individuals and families who may not view working in multiple jobs as precarious, others may find holding multiple jobs a barrier to finding a good fit between work and home life.

To find a good fit between home and work life, a multiple job holder may require good management skills. Spoonley et al. (2002) explored the self management of non-standard work within home life. The study found that those from professional backgrounds use non-standard employment to blend "work-leisure-home domains" by integrating home responsibilities with employment and constructing their own work schedules as a means of "shaking off workplace controls". However, despite these families' efforts, finding this blend was dependant on "prevailing social structures" such as the availability of work for those who contracted out their skills, unpredictable working hours, as well as home responsibilities (ibid: 439-440). The study identifies that despite the individual's efforts to manage their work and home life, broader influences can have an effect on the degree to

which this occurs. Such influences have been identified in literature on multiple job holding and these are discussed below.

Constraints on Hours Theory

Early theories of multiple job holding made the assumption that people held more than one job because they were constrained by the number of hours they could work in their primary job. Shishko and Rostker (1976) found that hours offered in the primary job are the major factor that either increased or decreased the probability of working a second job. Kimmel and Conway (1995:6) found that the average multiple job holder worked full-time in their primary job but worked fewer hours in their second job and concluded that multiple job holders earned a "lower wage and worked fewer hours on the primary job than the average worker". In addition to these findings however, Kimmel and Conway (1995) found that there were multiple motives for multiple job holding, suggesting that a broader perspective is needed to understand the motives for holding two jobs.

Multiple Motives

The studies that examined motives for holding multiple jobs did so from the perspective of the individual's response to workplace constraints. Later studies go further than these by looking at the characteristics of individuals and their occupations to ascertain the variation in motives.

The idea that individuals may have multiple motives for holding more than one job is indicated by Paxson and Shicherman (1996: 13) who found that hospital physicians and professors who engage in dual job holding (multiple job holding) do so for ongoing professional training, and the development of contacts (networks). Amirault (1997: 9)

similarly found a positive correlation between the primary occupation and the secondary occupation in professional jobs. This research found that 53 percent of the sample investigated were professionals in their primary job and worked in professional speciality occupations in their secondary jobs.

While personal development may be assumed as an individual's choice, other theorists argue that such motives are influenced by wider forces that promote the marketisation of the self. Crompton (2002: 538) puts forward the case that the marketisation of self is prominent in today's labour market and has its roots in ideas of economic liberalism. According to Crompton this is reflected in "individualized pay schemes, the conscious development of individual and inter-team competitiveness within organizations, the development of self directed training and career paths and a 'high commitment' [sic] management practices" (ibid).

Self directed training through multiple job holding may be used by the individual as a strategy to be more competitive in the labour market. Thus the second job is viewed as an informal means to obtain new skills and training to further the individual's employment options. Also, a person may shuttle between two jobs where one functions as a survival job to pay for weekly expenses while the other enables the individual to gain necessary social networks to access the dream job[2]. The whānau data in Chapter Four of this thesis gives an example of how the marketisation of the self influences a multiple job holding strategy.

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[2] See Girvan (2005) *Skills, Credentials and Social Networks: Multiple Job Holding of Older Workers.* University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.

Collins and Berge (1994: 8) who compared moonlighting (multiple job holding) motives by professionals, managerial and technical persons found that motives among these groups were diverse and ranged from the use of existing skills, the need for extra income and a desire to provide service to others as factors that prompted these individuals to multiple job hold. Those sampled between the ages of 25-44 years were found to be highly educated and on high incomes (ibid: 10). As well the study found that women were likely to work shorter hours at multiple part-time jobs because it fitted their schedules, but the major reason cited for multiple job holding among women was the need for extra money to support children.

Changing Situation of Families and Women

With the economic demands faced by families today, women may be required to work and supplement the family's primary income. Multiple part-time jobs may facilitate the flexibility women need as they seek a balance between work and caring responsibilities. However, Crompton (2002: 544-549) argues that flexible types of work, namely part-time, temporary, casual work and multiple job holding are often not conducive to women's future career and promotion and tend to be clustered in lower-level occupations. According to Crompton these occupations have been "presented as a possible win-win combination as far as employment and family life is concerned" in that such a combination enables paid employment alongside caring responsibilities (ibid: 545).

Crompton's argument is based on the identification of the adverse effects that working in flexible types of employment can have on women's career opportunities in the long term. According to Crompton, flexible work practices polarise the division of labour, the major factor being caring responsibilities associated with children. Thus, since women tend to

give priority to their domestic lives the loss of career opportunities on women is greater than for men. However, the study also notes that men who take on the major care giving role may also find their career prospects are reduced.

Mather and Scopilliti (2004: 1) report from data on the rate of multiple job holding among rural American families. They find that many people take a second job because they cannot earn enough money in farming to support their families. On the other hand, the study found that others work part-time in farming because they enjoy the work and it supplements their incomes from non-farm labour. Mather's findings support those already noted above that there are diverse reasons that people hold an extra job and that some of these reasons are to buffer financial hardships or for non-financial reasons.

With regard to the decisions that parents make on whether the woman finds employment or whether the husband takes on an extra job, Krishnan (1990) found that the husband's decision to moonlight (multiple job hold) is influenced by the wife's decision to work or not. In addition the study found that a wife and husband can act as substitute sources of income and that participation by the wife in the labour market decreases the probability of multiple job holding in families.

Within the context of New Zealand a study on multiple job holding has reported a rise in part-time employment among women. Baines and Newell (2004) report that in 1981 there were 38,000 male multiple job holders in New Zealand; almost twice as many compared to female multiple job holders who numbered 20,800. By 1991 the number of women holding multiple jobs had peaked at 51,100, while men holding multiple jobs continue to show a steady increase.

Self Employment

A study from overseas by Simard et al (2000: 15) found that gender, the sector an individual works in, and absence of promotion have an influence on the propensity of a person opting to take on extra jobs and self employment. The study finds that there is less likelihood of self employment and multiple job holding in the public sector, public administration, and communications. In contrast, there is a higher chance of self employment and multiple job holding in the construction sector as they note "this sector is characterised by frequent fluctuations in activity that oblige organisations and individuals to be more flexible" (Simard, et al, 2000: 9-13).

A recent piece of research examined the widespread occurrence of multiple job holding by health professionals in developing countries who work in the public sector and in the private sector. Berman and Cuizon (2004: 33) argue that multiple job holding is prompted by "insufficient financial incentives" paid in the public health care system compared to financial incentives in the private sector. However the study noted that monetary incentives are not the only reason for holding multiple jobs. Other professional factors are also important. These factors seemed to be related to governments' "overly ambitious manpower and service-delivery goals" and the lack of "sufficient resources and capacity" thus provoking employees to seek work in the private sector (ibid).

Informal Employment

The study now turns to the literature on the informal labour market, as it has been identified that the practice of multiple job holding may include a job held in the informal labour market. Informal employment has often been defined by the concealment of

employment, the avoidance of paying tax and criminal activity (OECD Employment Outlook, 2004: 232-233). However, this description does not accurately portray the underlying influences that promote informal activity. Leonard, (2000: 1069) suggests that the formal sector and the informal sector of the labour market are interconnected and that "informality is a social and historical process rather than a separate sector or economy" (ibid: 1082). Leonard is suggesting that the need for flexibility in the workforce increases the potential for both employers and employees to participate in informal work choices and thus the resilience of traditional economic activities continues. In short the motivation for employers to seek informal employees derives from the need to be competitive in a global economy by cutting their labour costs and thus avoiding fluctuating product markets. Leonard further suggests that the informal employee may claim welfare benefits wherein the very low wages paid by the employer are viewed as "supplements" to a benefit payment "rather than replacements for inadequate benefit payments", and that neither payment on its own is a sufficient source of income for households "to secure a reasonable standard of living" (ibid: 1080).

Thus, there is evidence to suggest that beneficiaries and low paid workers may be vulnerable to the enticement of informal activity. Within the New Zealand context, Stuart (2005: 19) interviewed representatives from the Council of Trade Unions, on their perceptions of what percentage of the workforce was involved in non-standard labour, one of whom noted that "in his experience, there were more women and minority workers" working in non-standard work and working in the informal labour market in New Zealand. Also, the same study found that of four interviews held with multiple job holders two of the interviewees had jobs in the informal labour market.

What induces people to participate in informal labour may include the desire to work in stable employment. The employee may use the informal job for the same reasons that formal multiple job holders do, which is to develop skills and networks to gain entry to the job of choice.

Informal working arrangements may be further promoted by systemic weaknesses in the New Zealand tax system which adversely affect families' willing participation in multiple job holding. The New Zealand secondary tax system taxes the second job on a higher rate than the primary job. This can lead to less incentive for families and individuals to pursue a multiple job holding strategy as a means of earning a viable wage without being reliant on government subsidies. Literature from the OECD Employment Outlook (2004: 273) notes that government strategies need to take account of the "complex interactions between employment regulations, tax collection and informal employment". Further, the "general need is to devise better-quality regulation which promotes tax-collection and other objectives effectively" (ibid). There may always be an informal labour market but if families are given more incentives to actively pursue their own interest without those interests being impeded by what might be viewed as a punitive tax system formal work may be seen as a more viable option than informal work.

Effect of Broader Influences on Families

The literature above points to a polarisation of multiple job holding in higher paid occupations and lower paid occupations. But the literature also identifies that multiple job holding should be considered as a response to broader social and political influences. In relation to the effect of such influences on families Crompton (2002) argues that rather than developing a completely new approach to employment and the family, both "should

be seen as intertwined, rather than approached as separate phenomena" (ibid: 537). Furthermore, as work becomes more flexible and family instability increases, families will seek to counter the effects of "economic liberalism by employing modifications in their own interest" (ibid: 538).

The idea that family and employment is intertwined is not new to the literature on family resilience. Economic hardship has been linked to adverse effects on good child outcomes. However, as Kalil (2003: 39) points out, very little is known about the mechanisms that link economic conditions to children's wellbeing. In the case of multiple job holding families, some of which are at the lower end of paid employment, families may find that they are work rich, money poor and their hours spent with family radically reduced. These are potential risk factors present in the family system and have the ability to break down family cohesion and successful family functioning. Yet despite the presence of risk many families cope well and produce good outcomes for their children.

Furthermore, the point made by Crompton with regard to families countering the effects of economic liberalism is significant, not that economic liberalism is a major point of response at the level of the family, but certainly the idea of families employing modifications in response to policies of economic liberalism fits well with resiliency theory. In fact modifications made by families when faced with adverse situations are the result of their problem solving efforts and enable them to cope with the situation. This study now turns to resiliency theory to understand the complex relationship between multiple job holding and successful family outcomes.

1.4 Resiliency Theory

As noted by McCubbin et al (1997: 2), in today's world there is a greater need to advance our understanding of families than ever before because of the diverse and complex living arrangements and economic pressures that families face. Within New Zealand since the reform period many government services (that existed prior to these changes) for the elderly, the chronically ill, and the disabled have been devolved back into the community. Thus, many families are now confronted with the possibility of having to extend their capability to care for these members while still trying to maintain the core unit and its stability. It is therefore important to identify aspects of family life that promote family strengths. It is also important to identify factors that predict family corrosion. Such identification has great potential for the study of Māori families given statistics that show considerable social and economic disparities which exist in this community as compared to the major population group in New Zealand. These statistics have been useful in that they indicate that some Māori families are in crisis. We know what conditions place stress on the family system yet despite this we have not yet been able to decipher what particular patterns of functioning, if nurtured in the home environment, have the potential to turn these statistics around. What are important protective factors for Māori families? Do these factors differ from families in the major population? Is an approach that specifies a "one size fits all" conducive to fostering the strengths of Māori families? The study of family resilience has the potential to expand our knowledge of these facets of family life.

A specific focus for researchers of family resilience has been to try to understand why it is that under adverse circumstances and challenges a child or a family can survive and remain intact while others facing similar circumstances do not. Two approaches have been adopted to examine such questions. The first approach views resilience as a property of

the family strengthened by characteristics such as family cohesion, family belief systems, open family communication, coping and problem solving (Kalil, 2003, McCubbin et al 1997, 1998, 1999); these are family processes that promote adaptation when families are faced with difficulties. The second approach examines parenting practices, consistent discipline and individual autonomy as factors that create a protective environment that nurture a child's successful development (Kalil, 2003: 6).

This thesis has adopted the first approach from which authorities on the subject have developed a conceptual model for predicting family adjustment and adaptation. The model is used in an effort to understand how Māori whānau cope with multiple job holding. The full complexity of the model is discussed in Chapters Four and Five. But firstly the thesis will review some of the primary concepts of resiliency as these concepts form the basis of resiliency theory, and so inform the model to be used here.

Risk has the potential to induce negative outcomes. However, risks do not guarantee that a family will experience a negative outcome but do increase the odds (Silliman, 1998: 1). Risks may include socio-economic disadvantage, job loss, divorce, death, illness, infertility, or any chronic adversity that is pervasive and persistent (Kalil, 2003: 12).

Protective factors are the family's strengths that function to aid the family to adjust and adapt when confronted with a difficult situation. An essential protective factor of resilience is flexibility. Flexibility may be likened to an elastic band that stretches but bounces back into shape. This bounce back feature of resilience relates to the ability of the family to recover from the situation.

Recovery factors are personal, social and material resources and may include community support, optimism, meaningful participation and employment. Recovery factors may also be positive traits that are contained within family systems such as family cohesion, family communication, and the family's beliefs. All function as recovery and protective factors when a family is faced with risk.

A definition that will be useful to guide the analysis of the whānau data comes from McCubbin and McCubbin (1996: 5). They define resiliency in terms of the positive behavioural patterns of the family unit that promote the family's ability to maintain its integrity and to restore the well-being of all its members.

1.5 Model of Family Resilience

A Conceptual Model of Family Resilience for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation (Resiliency in Ethnic Families) found in *Resiliency in Native American and Immigrant Families* (McCubbin et al. 1998) is used as the tool of analysis in this thesis. The model recognises that when a family is confronted with a crisis or stressful situation the issue has the potential to cause disharmony and imbalance in the family system. If imbalance and disharmony occurs, to regain positive functioning, the family system must adapt by maximising its harmony while minimising its imbalances. This model will contribute to the study of Māori whānau who hold multiple jobs as the model includes a component that acknowledges the world view of ethnic families as an important factor that functions positively towards their adaptation (ibid).

There are two phases to the model. The first is the Adjustment phase which is a pre-crisis state in which if minimal changes are made in the family system the family's potential to

counter risks will increase. The second phase of the model is the Adaptation phase in which the risk posed in the Adjustment phase has expanded its thrust and impacted on all domains of family functioning. For the family to regain stability radical changes must take place in the way in which it functions. This is the post-crisis phase, meaning the crisis has induced a situation that requires tremendous effort to resolve in order to recover to a level of functioning where harmony and balance are felt in the system (McCubbin et al 1996: 2-3). Each phase consists of components that act in an inter-relational manner to shape the family's problem solving strategies and which in turn have an influence on the family's coping outcomes. These components are described in more detail in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

The model indicates that multiple resources are crucial to families in that resources function to increase and strengthen the family's capacity towards problem solving and thus, increase their ability to cope. The McCubbin et al (1998) model allows the thesis to explore the whānau participants' problem solving processes which in turn allows the identification of resources that are shown to be beneficial to the whānau while whānau members hold multiple jobs. The model also enables the study to identify whānau vulnerabilities that may be present in the whānau system and that have the potential to influence the whānau ability to cope while working an extra job. Thus, the model enables an interventionist approach for addressing these vulnerabilities somewhat accurately.

1.6 Conclusion

Families have greater influence than any government institution to create an environment of opportunities for their members. However, broader socio-economic conditions can also influence the degree to which this occurs. Employment is a crucial economic resource for

families and has the potential to assist them in their efforts toward the development of healthy well adjusted children. The responsibility for a family's well-being therefore extends beyond the level of the family. A family's wellbeing can also be attributed to opportunities in the wider social and economic environment.

The literature above indicates that multiple job holding can lead to positive or negative outcomes on families. Non-standard forms of labour do not seem to be diminishing in New Zealand; in fact for many, such flexible employment arrangements have become the norm. These forms of working arrangements need to be reflected in policy responses that will allow families and individuals to manage their working life with less stress and more protections.

By exploring whānau coping while multiple job holding, this thesis seeks to fill a gap where the effects of multiple job holding on Māori whānau are investigated. A further explanation of the model as well as some discussion of literature on Māori whānau can be found in Chapter Three. Chapter Three also outlines the methodology used in the thesis. The analysis of the data is contained in Chapters Four and Five.

Chapter 2: Labour Market Changes and Trends in Māori Multiple Job Holding in New Zealand

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a contextual background to labour market changes since the social and economic reforms of the mid 1980s in New Zealand. This was a period of radical change that had far reaching impacts on New Zealand society. For Māori in particular this was a period of high job losses and high unemployment, higher than that experienced by non-Māori. However, the period also offered Māori opportunities to advance collective rights and interests. Policy changes in Māori education, health, service provision and economic development were aspects of policy reform advocated by Māori in an attempt to increase Māori and social economic parity with non-Māori New Zealanders.

In addition, with the deregulation of the New Zealand labour market non-standard forms of work (De Bruin and Dupuis, 2004: 54-55) have increased in New Zealand over the period. Multiple job holding is one form of non-standard work. Within New Zealand generally multiple job holding is polarised between high and low income deciles (Baines and Newell, 2003: 17). This polarisation may also be evident with Māori occupational change and with a growing Māori middle income group. However, it should be noted that at the time this thesis began there were no statistics available that could corroborate such an assumption.

2.2 New Zealand's Economic Reforms and Māori Loss of Employment

During the period from the mid 1980s to the mid1990s a radical programme of social and economic reform was implemented in New Zealand. The reforms transformed the country from a state that had provided employment based welfare as the preferred direction for social well being, to adopting "the market as the dominant social institution" (Cheyne, et al. 2002: 81). This shift in perspective was underpinned by neo-liberal ideas. These ideas assumed that the market would create an economic environment where dependency on the state welfare would be diminished.

The initial thrust of these changes was set in motion by the Fourth Labour Government in 1984 and included implementing policies to reduce state control over imports, interest rates, wages and state services (Rosenberg, 1993: 14-15). These policy changes opened New Zealand's highly regulated markets to a globally competitive environment. Overseas commodities flooded into the country creating competition for manufacturers as these items could be manufactured and sold more cheaply than those made in New Zealand. The New Zealand manufacturing sector experienced high job losses as businesses were forced to shut down or cut jobs to compete. The changes impacted on Māori greatly as Māori were a predominantly unskilled and semi skilled workforce and were concentrated in state employment, manufacturing and food processing industries.

The structural adjustments to the state sector exacerbated the loss of Māori employment when the Labour Government embarked on a process of corporatisation/privatisation in every state service that had a commercial function (Kelsey, 1995: 3). Over a period of four years New Zealand's railways, ports, forestry, radio, television, and airport holdings, became state owned enterprises required to make a profit and to compete on the open

market. Rosenberg (1993: 104) noted that Māori had a 25.7 per cent loss of employment in this period compared to 8.2 per cent for Europeans. With data drawn from five successive censuses Karaitiana et al (2005: 9) confirm this trend, pointing out that the unemployment rate for Māori in 1991 was more than twice the rate for New Zealand as a whole (Figures 1 and 2), in a period when the total Māori working-age population also increased considerably. The greatest loss of employment was felt by Māori males over the period (Figure 2).
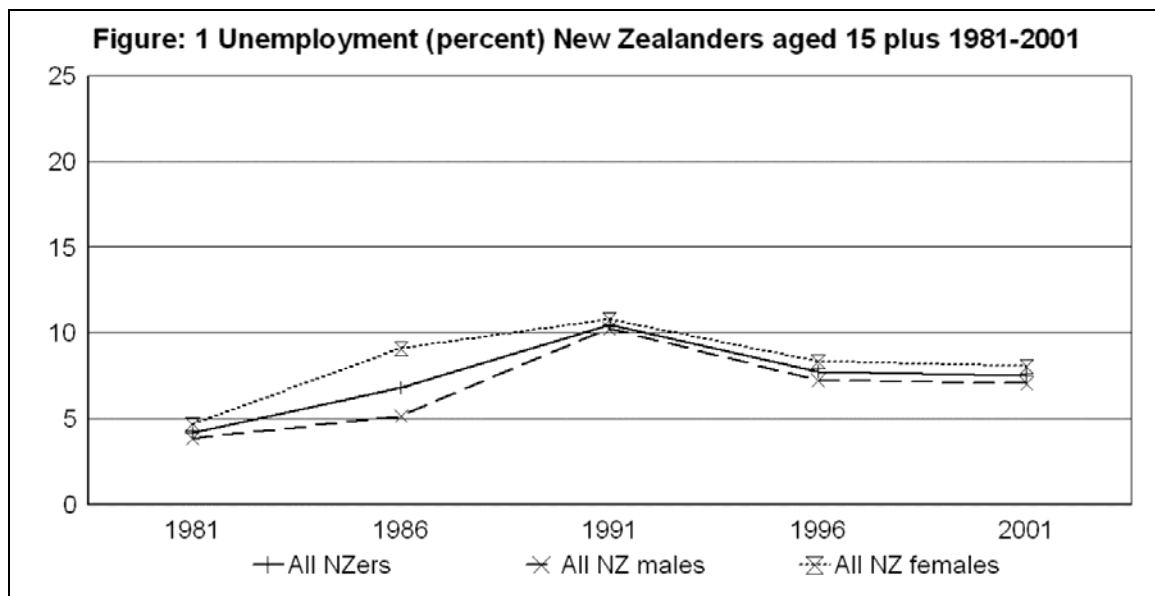
Figure: 1 Unemployment (percent) New Zealanders aged 15 plus 1981-2001

Source: Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

Figure: 2 Unemployment (percent) Maori aged 15 plus 1981-2001
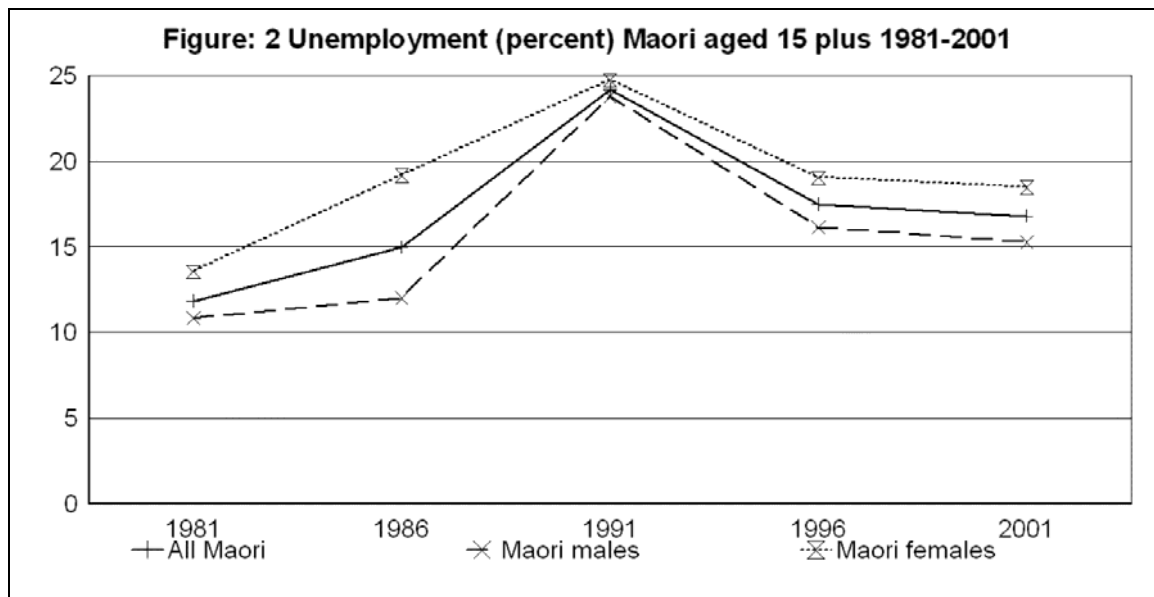
Source: Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

2.3 Increased Social Welfare Dependency

The decrease in proportion of Māori full-time employment and the growth in Māori unemployment were followed by the National Government's redesign of the welfare state in 1991. Changes to the welfare state included benefit cuts and tighter criteria applied to benefit eligibility. In 1979/80 unemployment beneficiaries had totalled 20,850, but by 1989/90 these numbers had increased to 139,625 (Kelsey, 1995: 227). Māori families felt the full thrust of the benefit cuts in the early 1990s as a quarter of Māori families compared to 9 percent of European families were dependant on government benefits (ibid: 227-285). At no other time in New Zealand history had Māori been more dependent on state benefits than during this period (ibid: 284).

There were a number of factors that ensured Māori vulnerability to unemployment. Firstly, Māori were an unskilled labour force and were clustered in low skilled occupations;

secondly, Māori were highly dependant on state employment and, thirdly, Māori had few economic resources of their own to counter the effect of the loss of work, due to the past actions of the Crown (Kelsey, 1995: 283-284). There had always been social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori prior to this period but the reforms had generated higher numbers dependant on a government benefit (Ministry of Māori Development, 2000: 22). Kelsey (1995: 284-285) notes that "The combined effects of benefit dependency and low-wage, low-skilled labour meant that in 1990 the average Māori household received only 79.2 percent of the average income of all households". Additionally, the median income for Māori families with children was a third lower than for non-Māori families with children.

2.4 Māori Development

In 1991 the *Ka Awatea* report was presented to the Minister of Māori Affairs by the Ministerial Planning Group. It stated "The effects of many years of both market and Government failure have led to well documented consequences for Māori" (Department of Māori Affairs, 1991: 9). The report emphasised that Māori development was a key issue for social, cultural and economic well-being as Māori continued to experience low educational achievement, high unemployment levels, low income, and high representation in crime and imprisonment, as well as a high state dependency. It also stated that government resources were underutilised and that if Māori had the power to determine their own needs, there would be more positive outcomes. According to Sullivan (2006: 606) this document "determined" that although "government departments would be accountable for the needs of Māori, the contracting of specific services to Māori organisations was an acceptable means of service delivery". This change to contracting

services was also in line with the general restructuring of the public sector that took place in the 1990s.

Māori Social Services

Māori organisations took the opportunity to contract for many services. However, what underpinned Māori motives differed ideologically from the approach taken by the New Zealand Government. Māori motives were based on group rights and ensuring Māori collective well-being; service delivery was but one mechanism to achieve this goal. From the Māori viewpoint these changes would offer some "autonomy over the delivery of programmes and services directly impacting Māori" (Sullivan, 2006: 606). For the government the reforms were based on marketisation and privatisation and conveyed to New Zealanders as an opportunity for individual consumer choice. According to Cheyne et al (2002: 111) the contracting out of services to Māori providers was also the government's way of responding to Māori claims of citizen rights. Māori autonomy over services where the client base would be predominantly Māori would also require cultural expertise and skills relevant to the particular area of service offered.

Implications for Māori Multiple Job Holding

One of the implications of this development in Māori service delivery was the need for skilled Māori workers. The demand for skilled workers compelled the few skilled Māori workers to train up others, to fill new employment opportunities in Māori health and social services. This demand also seems to have impacted on Māori skilled people to do extra jobs, thus becoming multiple job holders. In one of the whānau case studies found in chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis, it appears that one whānau member took on an extra job to fill the need where skilled workers were lacking. She also trained workers up, but noted in

her interview that one of the reasons her organisation found it hard to hold on to workers was because of the lack of adequate funding.

The idea of choice and diversity underpinned the changes to social service provision, but choices require sufficient resources to make a significant impact. According to Cheyne et al. (2002: 202) "state funding seldom meets the full cost of the service (Nowland-Foreman, 1995) [sic]". Cheyne et al (ibid) also note that the difficulties faced by providers include inadequate support and limited budgets that are unable to stretch to cope with client needs. These impacts on the service that employs the whānau member above are noted by her as reasons why she has taken on extra work, sometimes paid and sometimes unpaid in other organisations where her skill is used.

2.5 A Shift in the Māori Labour Force

In May 2000 the Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development brought out the Report *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps*. This report noted that although Māori unemployment levels were recovering from the economic transition of the mid 1980s, high levels of unemployment still prevailed (Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development, 2000: 21). In particular, Māori were still over represented in lower skilled occupations for any given level of qualification (ibid). Further, the report suggests that the increase in Māori employment levels may be due to larger numbers of Māori youth transitioning into the labour force. The quarterly Household Labour Force Survey June 2000 confirms this trend of rising Māori employment. Sectors that have seen an increase in Māori employment participation are in the construction sector, health and personal services (Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development, 2000: 21).

Māori Part-Time Work

Part-time work has been growing at a faster rate for some age groups and gender groups than others in New Zealand. As shown in Figures 3 and 4 below, the percentage of part-time work increased for all New Zealanders including Māori from 1986 to 1996 followed by a levelling off to 2001. In 1999 Carroll (1999: 101-102) suggested that the rise in people holding multiple jobs is likely to be linked to the rise in part-time work. Karaitiana et al. (2005: 10) point out that "while the rate of part-time work for Māori females was considerably less than for New Zealand females in 1981, there was a steeper increase for Māori women 1981 to 1986 and again from 1991 to 1996 followed by a levelling off to 2001". Furthermore, by 2001 "the rate of part-time work for Māori females was almost at the national average" for all New Zealand females (ibid).
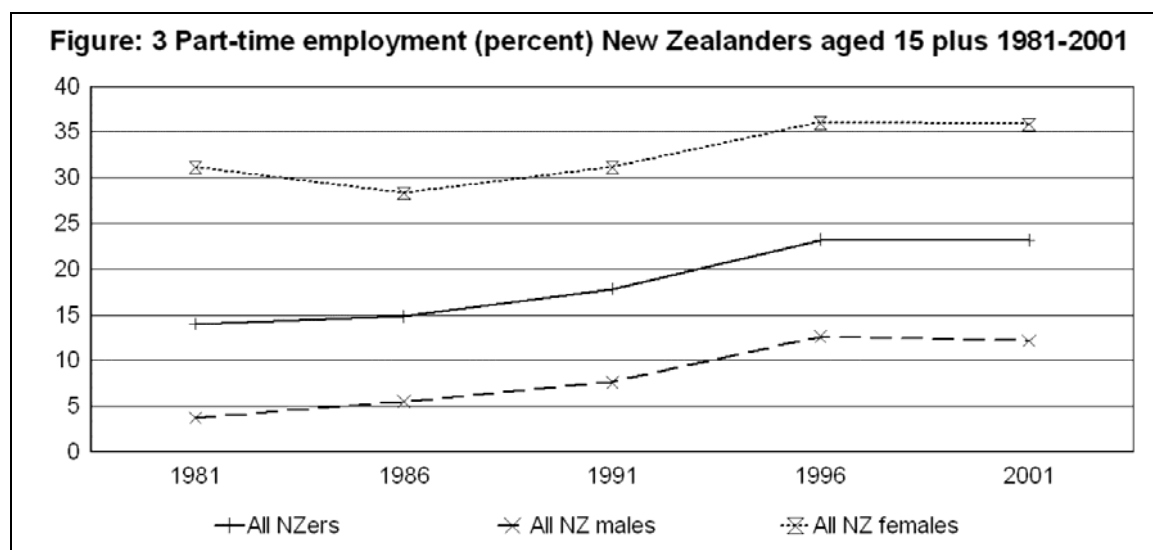
Figure: 3 Part-time employment (percent) New Zealanders aged 15 plus 1981-2001

Source: Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

Figure: 4 Part-time employment (percent) Maori aged 15 plus 1981-2001
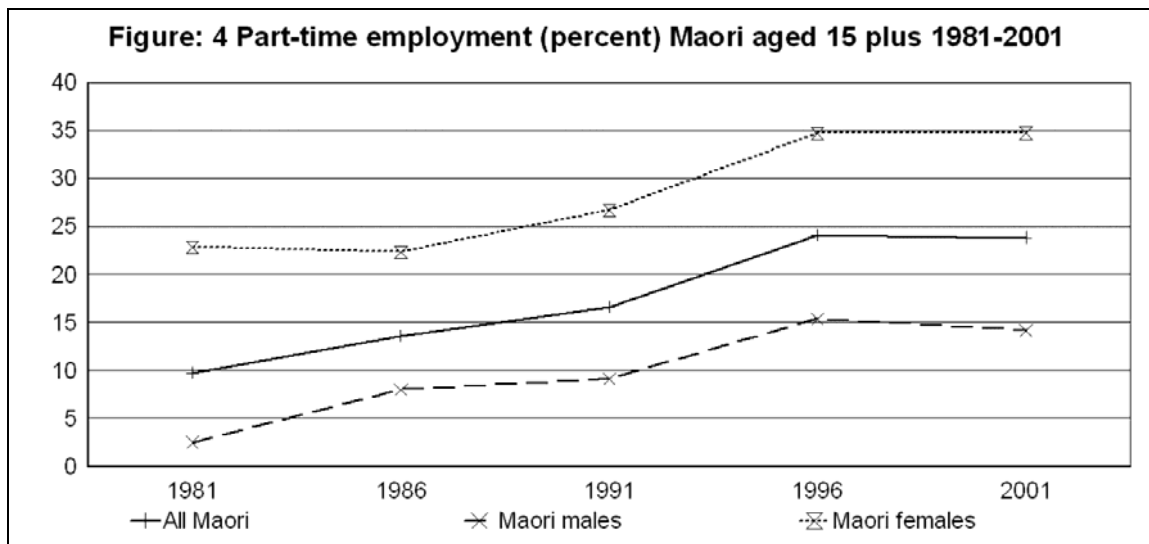
Source: Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

Māori Multiple Job Holding

Māori multiple job holding grew over the period 1981-2001 while remaining below the rate for non-Māori. Whereas the rate of multiple job holding by non-Māori grew steadily over the period, the rate for Māori peaked in 1996 (at 8.9%) and then fell back to 7.3% in 2001, considerably below the non-Māori rate of 10.4% at that time (as shown in Table 1 below). Māori multiple job holding rates peaked in 1996, so by 2001 the rate of multiple job holding amongst Māori workers was 7.2 per cent and for Māori females the average rate was 8 per cent. This was slightly higher than for Māori males whose average rate was 6.6 per cent (Karaitiana, et al. 2005: 11).

With the rise in Māori social service delivery since the early 1990s it seems reasonable to expect an increase of Māori working in this service sector. In 1981 Māori were mostly employed in the manufacturing, construction and primary industries. Karaitiana, et al (2005: 15) found that by 2001 Māori multiple job holders were working in community

services, wholesale and retail trade, and business and financial services. Occupations which showed a higher concentration than other occupations held by Māori multiple job holders were in farming, film making, music and entertainment, and Māori health, education and social needs (ibid). Karaitiana et al (2005) have reported that in 1981 there were higher numbers of Māori male and female multiple job holders working in the service sectors, in education, business, research, real estate, motion picture and other entertainment services than in other sectors (ibid: 14). By 2001 this had changed and Māori multiple job holders had increased in agriculture, motion picture and other entertainment sectors, and science and research (ibid).

Māori Multiple Job Holding Households

In order to help understand the pattern of multiple job holding amongst Māori households with children the numbers holding multiple jobs were analysed over the period 1981-2001 (Table 1). The table shows that the rate of multiple job holding is consistently higher (all five census) for couples with children only, compared to couples with children plus others in the household (Figure 5). There is also a similar pattern of a higher rate of multiple job holding in one parent households with children and without others. This indicates that others living in the same household with the family may act as resources, by assisting with childcare, or supplementing the family income.

Table 1: Māori Multiple Job Holding in Private Dwelling Households Comprising Couples with Children 1981-2001

	1981	Sum of MJHers	MJH Rate %
Couple with Children only		2,001	3.2
Couple with Children plus others		315	2.4
All Māori Aged 15 and over		3,717	2.9
All Non-Māori Aged 15 and over		55,131	4.4
	1986		
Couple with Children only		2,442	3.4
Couple with Children plus others		417	2.7
All Māori Aged 15 and over		5,214	3.1
All Non-Māori Aged 15 and over		71,787	4.9
	1991		
Couple with Children only		3,093	6.2
Couple with Children plus others		399	5.4
All Māori Aged 15 and over		6,585	5.7
All Non-Māori Aged 15 and over		94,371	7.3
	1996		
Couple with Children only		6,294	9.4
Couple with Children plus others		822	8.2
All Māori Aged 15 and over		15,147	8.9
All Non-Māori Aged 15 and over		148,398	10.2
	2001		
Couple with Children only		4,992	7.9
Couple with Children plus others		795	6.9
All Māori Aged 15 and over		13,431	7.3
All Non-Māori Aged 15 and over		160,995	10.4

Source: Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

Note: a change in the way Māori ethnicity was defined in the Census in 1996 affects the total numbers of Māori in the population and workforce categories. The definition was maintained in 2001.

Figure 5 Multiple job holding rate of Maori aged 15 plus in households comprising couples with children only and couples with children plus others 1981-2001
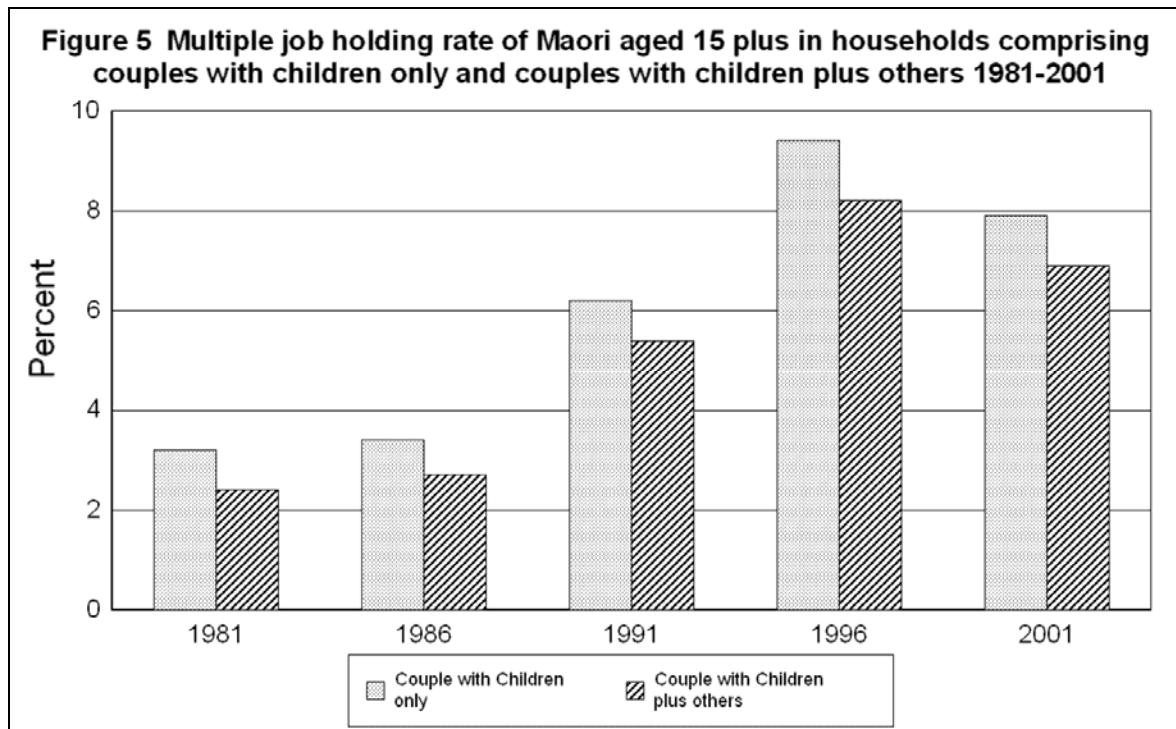
Source: Table 1 Generated from statistics taken from Taylor Baines Multiple Job Holding Project statistical library of census data developed by James Newell and James Baines.

2.6 Conclusion

The economic reforms of the mid 1980s were broad structural influences that had an effect on Māori participation in the labour market. A consequence of these reforms was a reduction in Māori full-time employment and an increase in Māori dependence on state welfare benefits. Changes in the labour market included new and flexible employment contracts. Such contracts were instrumental in the increase of non-standard forms of labour of which multiple job holding is one. At the same time, as these broader structural reforms were occurring in New Zealand, Māori leadership took the opportunities these changes offered to advance Māori aspirations in areas such as health and social services provision.

On the one hand because of labour market reforms Māori were in a precarious position. Yet on the other hand the reforms offered Māori opportunity of occupational diversity. The development of Māori social service provision, health and education may have created a supply and demand problem so that the few trained Māori in this sector had to stretch their skill base to accommodate the demand for Māori skilled people.

Multiple job holding, a form of non-standard work, may have been used during this period as a buffer to counter the loss of full-time jobs by Māori families as shown by the sharp increase in the rate of multiple job holding up to 1996 which then fell away through to 2001. Those Māori people continuing to hold multiple jobs in 2001 may reflect the lack of skill and the persistence of Māori unemployment rates above 15% or it may also be that some Māori find multiple job holding fits their lifestyle choices. However, the evidence suggests that the nature of the labour market, post-reform, has changed to provide more part-time work, thus more opportunities for multiple job holding for Māori where they adopt this work strategy.

Chapter 3: Method and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1 the question that informs this study asks how Māori whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding. In order to answer this question it was necessary to find participants who were Māori and who were multiple job holding and had dependants. This chapter gives an overview of the methods used to gather data from those who fitted this description. The form of the data is qualitative and taken from interviews held with each individual whānau. A Kaupapa Māori approach underpins the design of the study and sets cultural and ethical considerations for interaction between whānau participants and researcher. In addition the chapter includes an explanation of how the informants' information is analysed through a model of family resilience.

Ethics Approval

Ethics approval was given by The Human Ethics Committee at the University of Canterbury on 29 August 2003. This enabled the researcher to begin interviews with Māori multiple job holders. Each of the whānau contacted agreed to participate in the study. The consent forms included a statement that the whānau participants' anonymity and confidentiality would be protected. This has been adhered to as far as possible with the exception of information given to those who supervised the thesis. The consent form was signed by all the participants and has been provided in the appendices of this thesis.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Research

The research was guided by a Kaupapa Māori approach. Kaupapa Māori research takes account of cultural-ethical considerations for working with Māori and in Māori communities. Kaupapa Māori approaches to research are based on the idea that research should have positive outcomes for the communities that are being researched. An integral aspect of a Kaupapa Māori approach is implementing cultural processes, and having an awareness of past histories that have created contemporary Māori realities. Kaupapa Māori therefore is a culturally specific approach. Smith (1999: 193) states with regard to this approach "Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, and people participate on different terms".

There are a number of views that Kaupapa Māori researchers take. Cram and Pipi (2001) refers to Kaupapa Māori research as facilitating social change. Bishop (1996) refers to the letting go of control of the research and sharing the control with the participants. This is linked to the idea of empowerment. Smith (1999: 193) argues that Kaupapa Māori research is about finding a voice and about "answering our own questions, and helping us as communities to solve our own problems and develop ourselves".

The Initial Design

The initial design of this study was influenced by the work of Russell Bishop (1996). Bishop identified the importance for the researcher of letting go of control in the research by using a "process that facilitates the development in people of a sense of themselves as agentic and of having an authoritative voice" (Ibid: 222). Bishop's use of a story telling method is an example of how the researcher and participants could arrive at meanings together.

The design of this study aimed to capture the complexities of the participants' experience of multiple job holding. So a series of interviews was seen as the best way to accommodate this. These interviews would provide data and once the data were analysed this would be taken back to the participants. The process of ongoing interviews would generate further discussion and this information would be added to the existing data or the existing data reduced until the major aspects of multiple job holding for each whānau were identified. Simply, the analysed data were to be fed back to the participants for clarification and any further information arising from that discussion added to or deleted from the overall analysis. This was to be a process that would allow for full participation and some control of the research by whānau members.

The Limitations and Practical Experience of the Research Approach

Problems occurred in implementing the initial research design. On a visit to the home of one of the whānau, the researcher observed that whānau members were tired and their energy levels seemed low. Once the interview data was transcribed this observation was confirmed in that whānau members had frequently noted in their interview how exhausted the multiple job holder was after work. With this clarity a decision was made by the researcher to reduce the number of interviews and to put forward an alternative. This would mean that ongoing interviews would cease and instead the final analysis of the initial data would be taken back to the whānau and presented for their critique. No whānau disagreed with this decision.

The decision to make this change by the researcher was in itself taking back control from the participants. However, the decision was made because of the researchers' increased

awareness of the demands these whānau were dealing with as multiple job holders and it was apparent that ongoing interviews may eventually become an added stressor on some whānau members.

Transcripts

There were visits to each home with regard to confirmation and corrections of transcripts. This was in accordance with an agreement made between the researcher and each of the whānau on the first visit that all transcripts would be taken back for the whānau critique. On the second visit the transcripts were handed over and left with the whānau to read; if there were changes to be made these would be identified. On the third visit the researcher collected the transcripts. In all cases participants viewed the finished transcripts; all transcripts were accepted as correct by whānau members[3].

3.3 Selection of Sample

The researcher did not formally ask the participants on the first visit if they identified as Māori whānau, but neither did they dispute the reference of being referred to as a Māori multiple job holding whānau. Secondly, all whānau participants (except in one case) were sourced through an informal referral system known as the Māori kumara vine (word of mouth) in the Māori community of Christchurch City. Given that the names came from the Māori community and that this community has knowledge of its own members, it was accepted by the researcher as a reliable source of identification of Māori whānau. In one case a potential participant decided not to take part but referred the researcher to his brother who met these criteria and who was willing to be interviewed.

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[3] A fourth visit was made to the whānau once the thesis was complete. The update on this visit is provided in Appendix 3.

Income, Occupation and Deciles

At first, this study proposed interviews with four whānau: two from lower income deciles and two from the higher income deciles, as research had shown that there seemed to be a polarisation of multiple job holders in lower and higher income deciles (Baines and Newell, 2003: 17).

Occupation was used as an indicator of income decile to select the sample for this study. Those whose names were forwarded by members of the Māori community were from more highly skilled or lower skilled occupations. This fitted well as the researcher wanted to investigate the influence of occupation, educational achievement or skills on multiple job holding.

Problems with Whānau Selection

Those whānau willing to participate were difficult to find, and of the list generated, only three were identified as employed in higher decile occupations and who were multiple job holders. Another seven were employed in lower decile occupations. Although all three upper decile whānau were approached by the researcher, only one was interviewed for the study.

Of those from upper decile occupations one whānau had indicated that they would like to be interviewed but found keeping an interview time difficult because of constraints on whānau time. In this situation getting the whānau together in one place at the same time was difficult. This was due to the fact that its members had various activities they were

involved in outside of the home. As well, both the multiple job holder and his wife found it hard to get time off work.

In another case the researcher made contact by phone to make a time to meet and to discuss the research proposal. Unfortunately the researcher had no response to these calls at all. Thus, no further contact was initiated by the researcher. The assumption made here was that they were too busy.

Of the seven whānau generated from the list that came from lower decile occupations the first three contacted showed an interest almost immediately towards the research. Because the researcher had so much trouble finding willing participants from the upper decile group it was decided to interview these three whānau immediately before they changed their minds. This group of participants proved to be diverse in terms of the types of occupations they held, their qualifications or lack of qualifications and financial flexibility.

3.4 Interview Procedures

The study took an unstructured interview approach. That is to say there were no standard questions prepared prior to the interview. Burns (1998: 329) suggests that the unstructured interview approach is a major tool of the qualitative researcher that supplies illustrative data and that allows for the data to be studied by themes. Its form is narrative, providing "a sense of reality, describing exactly what the informant feels, perceives, and how they behave".

Of importance to the Kaupapa Māori approach used in this study, the unstructured interview was not just about access to data that describe a sense of reality. It is about

culturally appropriate methods of interviewing Māori people. As an evolving Māori researcher it was important to find research methods that fitted comfortably with those who were being researched. In this case the interviews were held face to face with the participants. Within Māori society a face to face approach is referred to as *kanohi ki te kanohi* which in practice implies integrity of intention. This point is vital with regard to developing trust between the researcher and participants. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) in her book *Decolonising Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples* highlights the reasons for distrust of research in indigenous communities.

To gain and retain trust, an unstructured interview seemed to be an appropriate method that would allow the participants to freely interact with the research question so the complexities of the whānau experience with multiple job holding could be identified and explained. Previously conceived questions or a questionnaire were deemed to be less effective as a method as they may be perceived as a barrier and place limitations on the participants' sense of feeling comfortable enough to speak without constraint and to open up on the topic.

The technique used in the unstructured approach was to place the research question (How do Māori whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding?) in written form on a table in front of each participant whānau. The research question then became the central focus of the discussion. The researcher gave a clear explanation of the question and asked if any clarification was needed. The idea was to keep the interview simple and as unthreatening as possible and to retain the mana of the whānau as they discussed their experiences. If a set of questions was on hand this may have acted as a barrier to free discussion, but instead, the lack of pre-designed questions or questionnaires provoked a

story telling session, which generated a rich supply of data from the perspective of each whānau member[4].

Problems and Opportunities

The interviews were shaped by the participants' willingness to share their experience of multiple job holding. In one case the interview became a problem solving platform that opened up positive discussion between a husband and wife to explore options about their continuation of multiple job holding as a whānau. In another case dialogue was held by the participants as if the researcher was not present indicating that the interview process provoked some reflection on their present situation. However, in other cases the researcher had to use questions to prompt a response. The questions that were asked stemmed from the dialogue that was held prior to a lapse in discussion. This technique was used as sparingly as possible and only to keep the talk flowing. The data indicate that the freedom of the unstructured interview process allowed the participants to reflect, to critique and to explore their present situations, past experiences, and option for change.

These interviews were held with individual whānau units and not a focus group of multiple job holding whānau. The study took for granted that a whānau interview was exactly that and would include all whānau members, including children. It was also taken for granted that at any given time the shape of the whānau may change to include extended whānau members who may want to contribute to the discussion. This is in keeping with the whānau definition used in this study and how it is manifested among Māori people. It is based on a "we orientation" rather than an "I orientation" thus, it is generally inclusive but can be exclusive, if the whānau chooses.

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[4] All interviews were audio taped

Contacting the Whānau for the Interviews

Of the ten whānau contacted to be interviewed only four whānau participated in the research. The initial contact with the prospective whānau was made by phone and a verbal invitation to contribute. A time was made to meet to discuss what the research would entail and from there an interview time was arranged.

Where the Interviews were held

Three of the interviews were held in the homes of the whānau participants and one was held at the residence of the researcher. The decision to have this interview at the home of the researcher was made for practical reasons. In this case the multiple job holder had only one night off and that night was set aside for activities with his son. The son's activity was in the same area where the researcher lived so it was decided that the participants (father and son) would drop in for their interview on their way home. This caused no problems and alleviated the difficulty of time constraints on the multiple job holder.

Problems with the Interview

Using a copy of the research question and locating it in front of the participants did help to provoke discussion. This was a simple approach but it manifested a rich supply of data as participants would look at the research question and from their perspective talk to the question.

However, it became apparent to the researcher that a question was needed at times to prompt further discussion. When this occurred the questions were as brief as possible and at other times when the flow of discussion digressed or there were distractions the

researcher would redirect the participants to that aspect of the research question being discussed. These strategies were only used when the participants had stopped talking and the discussion was not picked up by another whānau member.

Furthermore, in whānau where there were young children the parents would be distracted by the children. This was a natural result of having young children present in the interview as their attention span was limited and of course the tape cassette and the microphone were far too much of a temptation for small people. During these periods the researcher would have to use the same strategies as noted above to refocus the discussion. In one case the children had to be cared for by another adult to allow the interview to progress.

In whānau where older children were members there was difficulty getting everyone together at one time for the interview. Young adults were busy out and about with friends and participating in activities outside of the home. In only one whānau interview a teenager was present, but even in this case he did not actively participate but seemed happy to answer a question if asked.

The data produced through the research could have been strengthened and enhanced by the contribution of children, teenagers and young adults and their experience of having parents who are multiple job holders. However, the onus of responsibility for the invitation of the children to be part of the interview was given to the parents and at no time was any child in this study pressured to take part either by the researcher or the parents. However, further research with children of multiple job holding parents would enlarge our understanding of the experience of multiple job holding through the eyes of a child. Such a contribution

may give adults a better understanding of ways to balance work and family life from the perspective of a child.

3.5 Description of Whānau Backgrounds

The life stage of each of the whānau differed and so did the home context within which they live. Differences include the number of children, ages of the children, occupations, resources available to them, types of stresses and strains they are dealing with. These all contribute to the whānau's ability to cope. A description of each whānau case study is provided below. The names of the whānau members have been changed to provide anonymity.

Danny and Haraina

Danny and Haraina are a young couple in their early to mid twenties. They have one child of pre-school age. Both are in good health and live in a Housing New Zealand home with low-cost rent. At the time of the interview they did not own a vehicle of their own but had access to a vehicle belonging to a member of their extended whānau. Danny and Haraina function along the lines of the breadwinner/caregiver model although they are flexible in that either one will change roles as the major income earner or the caregiver if necessary. This is dependant on who can find employment.

Danny's focal point for doing multiple jobs is for entry into the entertainment industry. Through multiple job holding he hopes to develop skills and networks as well as to get his name out into the community to enable him to establish his own business in this industry. Danny estimates that his entertainment work is around 24 hours a week although this varies substantially. He also takes on additional work on top of these hours. Most jobs are

also in the same field and using the same skills. These extra jobs are for private functions that are paid under the table. He receives income from the unemployment benefit regularly each week.

In the past both Danny and Haraina have received Māori tertiary scholarships. Yet skills developed through these programs have not turned into full-time secure employment. It seems, Danny's strategy is self employment through multiple job holding to counter the effects of unemployment. This case study is more fully discussed in the following chapter.

Bill

Bill is a single dad who lives alone in his own home. He shares the care of his son with his ex wife who has full custody of their son. He has been working multiple jobs for three years. At night he is self employed as a musician and has his own band. During the day he works as a truck driver. He estimates that he works about 68 to 70 hours a week in both jobs. Bill's passion is his music. He sees his primary occupation as a musician even though the hours on this job average less than the hours as a truck driver. Bill is in good health, he has indicated his home is nearly paid off and he has his own vehicle.

In the 1980s, Bill was made redundant from the New Zealand Railways. Being made redundant forced Bill to consider another way of earning a living. Bill loved music and always wanted his own band so he formed a band and lived primarily off this income until about three years ago when he became a truck driver. Bill states that he holds multiple jobs to provide for extra luxuries that he enjoys and also to buy his teenage son the things he needs.

Jason and Andrea

Andrea and Jason at the time of the interview had three children in their care. Two were preschoolers and one was a teenager who was from Andrea's first relationship. Jason is in his thirties, Andrea did not indicate her age at the time of the interview. Jason is Māori and Andrea is a European New Zealander.

This whānau works along the lines of the bread winner/caregiver model, Jason is the multiple job holder, while Andrea stays at home to care for the children. This is a low-income whānau. Jason estimates that he works at least 70 to 72 hours a week in labouring positions. Jason has no formal qualifications but has had previous experience as a chef. Andrea however, has qualifications as a nurse but feels that her qualifications are outdated. Both are in reasonably good health and have a car which they share for work or whānau business.

Andrea and Jason were very open at the interview with regard to their situation and the reasons why Jason was multiple job holding. When the researcher first met with Andrea and Jason they had serious financial debts. This instigated a move from living in a private property to a caravan park and then to a Housing New Zealand house. Living with their children in a caravan placed them as a high priority to be eligible for a Housing New Zealand house. Even with the reduction in rent this whānau still could not afford basic essentials such as clothing for the children. Having no extended whānau support Andrea and Jason turned to social support agencies for assistance. Their situation is an extreme case of a whānau in financial crisis who have turned to multiple job holding as a way of coping with their financial demands. This decision has had negative and positive effects on the whānau.

Terehia and Derek

Terehia and Derek are an older more mature couple, both working full-time. They have five children; two of these have children of their own while the other three still live at home with them. Of these, two are teenagers and one is a young adult.

Both Terehia and Derek are in reasonably good health although Derek has been seriously ill in the past. Their household has one vehicle used mostly by Derek. Neither indicated whether the home they lived in was rented or privately owned. However, they did say they wanted to buy a new home at some stage.

Terehia is the multiple job holder in the whānau and has been multiple job holding for thirteen years on and off. Both are employed in what the study has defined as upper decile occupations. Both are extremely busy people due to the type of occupations they are employed in. This work is demanding and is in the social services area. As well, Terehia does community research on occasion and volunteers her time to a women's organisation, which is sometimes paid work depending on funding, but at other times unpaid work. Terehia has not given the number of hours a week she works but has indicated that she no longer goes to meetings in the evening nor does she allow work to intrude on whānau time during the weekend.

In the 1980s Terehia and Derek went through a change. Derek worked, at the time, for the New Zealand Railways. When the New Zealand Government sold the railways to private investors Derek along with other workers lost his job. Unemployment as already noted in the previous chapters was so high during this period Derek found it hard to find work and that is when Terehia went out to work. This brought about a change in roles in the home. Derek became the major care giver of the children and Terehia the major bread winner.

The effect of this change over time on the whānau and Terehia's multiple job holding activity is explained in Chapter Five.

3.6 Process of Analysis of Māori Whānau Interviews

The Interview Data

Because it was thought necessary to gather the data when the opportunity presented itself, the interview data were obtained before a model for its analysis was identified. As noted above the researcher had difficulty in finding willing participants and therefore interviews had to be done when the whānau were able to be interviewed.

Assumptions

The initial assumptions made by the researcher were influenced by the multiple job holding literature and statistics on Māori. At the time this study commenced, most of the literature available focused on motivations for multiple job holding. Motivations that the literature identified tended to be categorised as either financial or non-financial. However, these blanket terms did not convey the complexity of the experience with holding multiple jobs at the level of the family and did not ask how families in general were coping with multiple jobs. Literature on multiple job holding families was sparse to say the least. Literature on Māori multiple job holding whānau was non-existent at the time. This was a gap that needed to be filled.

But more important as a Māori person I wanted to understand why Māori whānau used multiple job holding. Was it a survival strategy? Did they hold multiple jobs because their

primary jobs were lowly paid and therefore the extra job helped maintain basics in the home such as food, clothing, power and rent, or were there other reasons?

The assumption that Māori whānau may be more likely to have lower skilled jobs and therefore were lower paid, was made by reading Māori statistics such as those found in *Progress Towards Closing Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and non-Māori* (Te Puni Kokiri, Ministry of Māori Development, 2000). This report signalled to the researcher significant gaps between Māori and non-Māori. The report also reinforces that there are large gaps in our knowledge about coping strategies at the grass-root or household level of Māori society. Most developments for Māori whānau are made at policy level which subsumes whānau into the broader politics of iwi and hapu development. To say that these initiatives are not purposeful would be incorrect. Development directed towards increasing Māori employment opportunities and reducing Māori disparity should be viewed as positive given this statistical evidence and this should be encouraged. However, if these developments are not impacting Māori whānau at household level then something is not happening that should be. Durie (2003: 98) notes that "The whānau is the gateway" for the "full realisation of Māori talent over the next twenty- five years". For whānau to reach their full potential there needs to be a shift in focus to a whānau development model where instead of focusing on Māori whānau deficits such as those shown in the Closing the Gaps Report, the focus should shift to finding those strengths within whānau that keep them strong, and healthy even when extreme difficulties arise.

3.7 The Model

This thesis took a Kaupapa Māori approach and thus there was a sense of responsibility to find a model or theory to analyse the data that would not compromise the whānau participants' world view. It was also important that what was chosen should be a useful tool to understand family coping. Thus, the study adopted *A Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation* (1998) specific to the work of Hamilton McCubbin and colleagues to guide the analysis. There were two significant reasons for pursuing this model. Firstly, this model is not a deficit model, in that resiliency research focuses on the identification of attributes and characteristics that make the individual or family resilient in the face of extreme difficulty. Also, McCubbin et al have a specific focus on "…an examination of resiliency as it is experienced in families" (Daly, in McCubbin et al. 1999. 6). Secondly, the model has the capacity to look beyond families in general to Māori whānau specifically because the model has a component that identifies how culture and ethnicity play a fundamental role in determining the whānau response and supporting its resiliency when difficult situations arise. As McCubbin notes, the family is the site which mediates critical social and cultural beliefs and these practices greatly influence the resilience of families to cope in times of stress and change (McCubbin, et al, 1998: 10). The model is not used in its full psychological complexity in this analysis, but is used in a sociological manner to try and draw out themes and relationships from the interview data to identify factors that inhibit or enable whānau coping under the circumstance of multiple job holding.

The appendices provide detailed diagrams of the components of the model as outlined in *Resiliency in Native American and Immigrant Families A Conceptual Model for Predicting family Adjustment and Adaptation* (1998). Through these components, the analysis will

focus on factors that promote the use of multiple job holding, the differing reasons for using multiple job holding and the identification of different whānau contexts including the wider contexts in which the whānau operate. This thesis also seeks to identify the indicators of resilience (coping) that emerge from the data before and after the decision the whānau make to multiple job hold.

Usage of the words Family and Whānau

There is a distinction between the usage of the words 'family' and 'whānau' in the following analysis. Simply, when referring to the components of McCubbin et al model the word 'family' will be used, when referring to the whānau participants and the whānau data the word 'whānau' is used.

3.8 Conclusion

Employment at the whānau level of Māori society has huge social and economic potential in reducing inequalities. Thus, it is important to understand what motivates the choice whānau make to take up multiple job holding. The motives identify whether the decision for multiple job holding is induced by external factors, wider broader political decisions or internal whānau factors. These are some of the issues that this research will explore.

The model of family resilience reinforces the Kaupapa Māori approach through the recognition that ethnicity and culture does have an influence on the resiliency of the whānau their coping and problem solving capabilities. Qualitative unstructured interviews fitted well with a kaupapa Māori approach allowing the participants to describe their experience of multiple job holding without the constraints of a formal set of questions. Without such constraints the interviews have functioned as story telling sessions.

Problems with the initial research approach were encountered and it was decided to forfeit ongoing interviews and to return the final analysis of the data to the whānau concerned, for their perusal. There were also problems finding upper decile whānau. However, the sample range of participants was still varied enough to indicate useful information.

Chapters 4 and 5 contain the analysis of the whānau data. Chapter 4 uses components of the adjustment phase of McCubbin et al (1998) model to analyse each of the whānau's interviews. Chapter 5 uses the components of the adaptation phase to analyse two whānau, one of which has successfully adapted to multiple jobholding while the other has found adaptation difficult.

Chapter 4: Adjustment in Māori Multiple Job Holding Whānau

4.1 Introduction

As noted in Chapters 1 and 3 of this thesis a model of Family Resiliency Adjustment and Adaptation is used to analyse, investigate and understand the interview data from Māori whānau in multiple job holding situations. This chapter uses one aspect of the model, the adjustment phase, to understand what factors enable or inhibit whānau to cope successfully with multiple job holding. It is through the components of the adjustment phase that the study is able to identify the whānau's process of problem solving and coping under the circumstance of multiple job holding. These components include the initial stressor, whānau vulnerability to the stressor, the whānau appraisal of the stressor, and the resources whānau draw on to address the stressor they face.

The outcome of successful coping can be distinguished through the concept of bon adjustment. Bon-adjustment is a state in which whānau problem solving efforts are reflected in harmony and balance within the whānau system. Simply, whānau stresses and strains have been reduced enabling more successful coping. Mal-adjustment on the other hand is a state in which imbalances in the system continue to exist and more radical changes need to occur in the whānau to resolve these imbalances. Each whānau interviewed can be identified as experiencing bon-adjustment or mal-adjustment to multiple job holding.

4.2 Stressor Component

Each whānau has been identified as having a stressor that induces the need to multiple job hold. A stressor is a demand placed on the family that has the potential to threaten the stability of family life. Examples of a stressor may include a lack of finances, poor health of a family member or the actions of a teenager transitioning through adolescence who may show indifference to family rules and boundaries causing conflict in the family unit (McCubbin et al, 1998: 6).

The degree to which the stressor poses a threat is determined by the family's resource capability and the potential of the stressor to exhaust these resources. For example unemployment may cause financial hardship, but family savings may counter this effect. In cases such as this it is the family's forecast of the inadequacy or adequacy of access to finance that defines whether the stressor is a threat or not. Thus, a stressor is any demand that is viewed by the family as threatening to family stability.

There is a difference between the threat a stressor poses and a state of stress. In the example above the stressor is unemployment; in the absence of adequate finances the stressor (unemployment) poses a threat. The threat posed is the potential of the stressor to cause a crisis. A crisis is a state of severe disruption or disorganisation in the family system (McCubbin et al, 1998: 10). A family may have adequate savings to get them by for a period of time but will need to find employment before their savings run out. This is a state of stress when there is an actual or perceived imbalance between the demands placed on the family and the family's resources. The factors that mediate between a crisis (unemployment) and a state of stress are the provision of adequate finances and the time the family has to explore future employment options. It is these factors present in the

system that function as a resource and reduce the potential for severe disruption and disorganisation.

Whānau Experience of a Stressor

Through the identification of a stressor the study is able to understand why a whānau may make the decision to multiple job hold. In the case of Danny and Haraina the threat of long term unemployment appears to have prompted multiple job holding. However, while holding two jobs Danny and Haraina are also receiving an unemployment benefit. The unemployment benefit seems to act as a buffer that provides financial security for weekly essentials such as housing costs, electricity payments and food. The meeting of these costs is important to the whānau's sense of security. Their efforts towards full employment have not been realised as Danny and Haraina have also experienced long term underemployment. These efforts include training courses as well as casual, temporary employment. They are constantly straddling between being employed for a period of time and being unemployed and on a benefit. As well as aiding the whānau sense of security, being in receipt of a benefit seems to allow the whānau time to think beyond immediate concerns of payment for basic essentials to employment strategies for the future.

The experience of unemployment has forced the whānau to consider an alternative option to formal employment pathways. In this case Danny is utilising a multiple job holding strategy to access networks and develop skills to further his employment options and to secure the whānau's future through self employment. The two jobs he has are paid under the table. Danny explains his reasons for taking on two jobs.

Danny: so I can get my name out there and get picked up by someone that

works there, so I can get paid some decent money.

Through one job he is getting on-the-job training. As well as this, he uses the skills he has

acquired in the primary job to do the odd job for people he knows at a lower-cost than the

price they might normally pay. Danny considers that self employment will give his

whānau future opportunities and income stability.

Danny: I'm just trying to up skill myself so I can get off the benefit and just do

something I enjoy. I may as well.

From a resiliency perspective it may be argued that creating self employment through self

directed training using multiple jobs to gain skills and networks is a resilience effort. This

effort is driven by a future orientation. Daly (1999. 31) notes, that the "central role in any

process of resilience is to maintain hope and continue moving through the obstacles along

the way, it is critical to have a future orientation that justifies the efforts, sacrifices and

hardships encountered". Unstable employment places the whānau in a vulnerable position

thus a future orientation is a crucial resilience response. When work is unpredictable and

people cannot rely on regular stable hours a future orientation may consist of the option of

self employment.

4.3 Family Vulnerability and Pile-up Components

Within the study of resilience, family vulnerability is understood as the degree to which the

family is susceptible to the risk of instability (Kalil, 2003, McCubbin et al, 1998). Such a

condition is influenced by pre-existing stresses and strains that have occurred as a result of

previous stressors (McCubbin et al, 1998: 6-7). If pre-existing stresses and strains are left unresolved, these are carried over in the family system and interact with the family's ability to control the new stressor. The new stressor may also have accompanying stresses and strains. It is the interaction of a new stressor with any pre-existing stresses and strains that intensifies the degree of susceptibility to family vulnerability and instability. In McCubbin et al, (1998) pre-existing stresses and strains are referred to as "pileup".

Pileup is the accumulation of demands such as financial debt, health problems, changes in patterns of work, and relocating. It is argued here that long term underemployment also adds to the pile-up of stresses and strains on families. As well, pile-up occurs from normal transitions of the family life cycle. For example, the stage of growth of family members such as the difference between toddlers and adolescents whose normal stages of development may bring about quite different stresses and strains on the family system.

Whānau Experience of Vulnerability and Pile-up

We can see the influence of pileup on whānau stability in Jason and Andrea's case. In this case the stressor is debt, which resulted in the whānau moving out of their home to a caravan park. This was a strategy used as a means to gain eligibility for a State house with cheaper rent. The degree of vulnerability brought on by the stressor (debt), is shown in the measures that were taken to obtain cheaper accommodation. This did not solve the long term financial problem but minimised the stresses and strain of housing costs during their adjustment.

Andrea: It was just at a camping ground. We actually had an accommodation

crisis, it was only for a couple of weeks. So where we are now [State House]

compared to where we were then it's actually quite a good place, but it's just
the price we pay for it and there's still things, that it's still hard.

The reference to "the price we pay" is not in relation to the cost of State housing but the culmination of stresses and strains that have come about through the loss of a home and the long hours Jason works multiple job holding. Winstanley et al. (2002: 829) note that households construct their sense of identity around their houses or "social and place specific interrelationships" and that housing and social needs are interlinked. As well, such interconnections are not isolated from cultural, political and economic contexts. This insight into the importance of a home helps in understanding the stresses and strains that Jason and Andrea experienced when they had to make the decision to leave their home and move to a caravan park and then again to a State house.

As well as access to State housing, Jason and Andrea were provided with a special benefit from Work and Income New Zealand (WINZ) for a time. They received this for about six months then forfeited it in favour of multiple job holding. They explain their feelings about the benefit and why they made the decision to multiple job hold.

> Andrea: It doesn't seem really fair, like we don't like going on benefits or
> collecting anything and we are doing this [multiple job holding] of our own
> efforts. [Jason] feels very strongly about that, we are not asking for a handout,
> no we don't want a hand out, we just want for it to be worthwhile if we are
> making such a sacrifice for our family it should be more worthwhile in some
> ways I think.

For Andrea there seems to be a conflict in the rationale of working an extra job to pay off the whānau debt when the secondary tax that they pay is the same amount as they would have received on a special benefit. It is their strong feelings about the benefit that is the reason they have taken on an extra job. Danny and Haraina have continued to be on a benefit because it is part of their strategy to eventually be in full time employment. Different whānau views contribute to different strategies being used.

However, in Jason and Andrea's case taking on an extra job which was supposed to be a solution to reduce the stress of debt has contributed to further whānau stresses and strains. A further analysis of Jason and Andrea's case and how a whānau view can cause additional stresses in the home is contained in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

4.4 Established Patterns of Functioning

The family's established patterns of functioning are recognizable patterns of behaviour. These patterns explain how the family system operates and behaves. According to McCubbin et al (1998: 8), the family's patterns of functioning have a dual role, firstly, as protective factors and secondly as recovery factors.

As protective factors in the adjustment phase they maintain predictability in the family system. It is predictability that gives balance and harmony to family life and as such aids a family's sense of security and wellbeing. For example, eating dinner regularly together is a family routine that shows predictability. A family which has a regular and predictable routine despite experiencing the stresses and strains of a stressor is more able to cope.

Integral to maintaining balance and harmony in family life is cohesiveness and flexibility in patterns of functioning. According to McCubbin et al (1998: 8), cohesiveness and flexibility are characteristics of "balanced families". Flexibility in patterns of functioning is a necessity in today's world as research shows that family living arrangements have changed. For example, many parents no longer live in the same household and are required to communicate with each other around the day-to day care of their children, and this necessitates flexibility (Smart and Neal, 1999. 58).

Whānau Established Patterns of Functioning

A flexible and cohesive relationship is strengthened by amicable communication, and can be identified in Bill's whānau. He is a single parent who has shared care of his son with his son's mother. Bill has indicated that this arrangements works for all members.

> Bill: Usually I have Wednesday to myself, and then Thursday, Friday and
> Saturday nights I'm working sometimes even Sunday so we both worked it out
> so that it's flexible for all of us.

These arrangements allow Bill flexibility to work multiple jobs as a truck driver and as a musician. The additional income enables him to provide for the luxuries he enjoys and the extras his teenage son needs.

> Bill: One [job] is because that's what I always wanted to be, a musician, and
> the other is basically to help me get by but with a bit more style.

According to McCubbin et al (1997. 7), patterns of family communication that convey support and caring have a calming influence in families. However, patterns of functioning such as yelling and screaming exacerbate a stressful situation. Amicable communication, flexibility and a cohesive strategy seem to be aspects of the shared care arrangements that Bill and the mother of his son have. These arrangements may function as a type of resource for both parents. Of note, Smart and Neale (1999: 60) observe that parents in such situations of amicable communication are no less likely to feel negatively about each other but have been able to put aside differences in their own interpersonal relationship in the interest of collaboration.

Bill's patterns of functioning allow him the flexibility to integrate his day jobs with his night job, his passion. Bill identifies his primary job as a self- employed musician and his secondary job as a truck driver. He works between 40 to 50 hrs a week at his day job and anywhere between three to four hours at his night job as a musician; this varies but can involve three to four nights a week. Bill also gives his reason for identifying himself as a self employed musician.

> Bill: Well, music is my life. Music to me is like my number one money earner. My day job is just like pocket money. Because I have always lived off my band income; my daily wage is, just goes into another bank account I don't really bother about it unless I need it.

In identifying his day job as pocket money Bill may earn more from his work as a musician than as a truck driver, despite the difference in hours. As well Bill is mortgage

free and has most of the necessities he needs. These financial assets are resources and the additional income earned he uses for his son.

> Bill: If my son needs something or wants something I just go and get some money out of the bank. Because you know I'm at an age now when I'm free-hold and you know I've most of the necessities in life that I want so basically I'm just cruising along a bit and trying to give my son the best that I can.

Bill regards himself as having a successful work-whānau balance. Each aspect of work and whānau life is balanced by the presence of factors that function as resources and therefore contribute to a cohesive work life strategy. Firstly, there is the sharing of childcare between Bill and his son's mother. Secondly, through multiple job holding, the day job may be used as a financial buffer when available work in the night job declines. As well, Bill is able to bank his earnings from his day job because he has few financial demands. Just as a stressor or a pile up of stresses and strains can cause crisis in a whānau, the presence of resources may reduce the possibility of this happening.

4.5 Family Resistance Resources

McCubbin et al (1998: 8) notes that the most critical of family resources are "economic stability, cohesiveness, flexibility, hardiness, shared spiritual beliefs, open communication, traditions, celebrations, routines, and organisation". These are resistance resources that enable the whānau to counter the threat or impact of the stressor. As such, resources function as protective factors that facilitate between the hardship the family faces and restoring or maintaining balance and harmony in the system. Potential resources are

numerous and can be as simple as the advice of a good friend or access to broader social supports such as community agencies or government departments.

Whānau Example of Resources

Derek and Terehia are a more mature couple than the other three participating whānau. Terehia has been doing multiple job holding on and off for over 13 years. One of the major resources that Terehia identified as an influence on her ability to have multiple jobs and care for her children was her primary employer.

> Terehia: my job was pretty good and I would negotiate with them because it is a Kaupapa Māori service and they support the collective work I do so it was never a problem. But if I went to mainstream I'd never do it.

Terehia identifies that her employer supported her in the multiple jobs she held. The reason seems to be associated with the type of work that Terehia does. Terehia's primary job is for a Kaupapa Māori organisation and her second job is also working with Māori. Although some of these jobs have a different focus the underlying focus is underpinned by collective Māori aspirations towards Māori empowering Māori people or Tino Rangatiratanga (self determination). This is what Terehia meant by "A Kaupapa Māori service and they support the collective work I do".

As well, Terehia states that when she had to be at a hui she felt she could take her children with her. The children also benefited from the experience. Hearing the stories of the people Terehia worked with, they learned to appreciate the importance of their mother's work.

Terehia: We took our children with us. That was the good thing about it we could take them, so if there were national hui the kids always came. They were brought up around it, so they were hearing, they were all involved and they know about the ……. It made them more aware of issues all the time because sitting and listening in the hui when all the women are talking they would be there.

Terehia also had the support of her extended whānau while she was multiple job holding.

Terehia: If I needed to get to……… I would ring up my sister or my mum who would come and help us. It was a real extended whānau job. You always go with others and they would always support me as well, everyone helped out, (daughter) would help me. So it became a real whānau thing.

Terehia credits being able to hold multiple jobs, as well as being successful developing her career, to the skills and many supports she has. Besides whānau support her work in a Kaupapa Māori environment provided a space where whānau are welcome, are able to participate and learn as a whānau. Derek explains how his involvement in supporting Terehia has provided him with employment opportunities working in the same field.

Derek: Like Terehia works for a Māori organisation and I've just flipped straight over from that to working in a pakeha tauiwi organisation. So all my learning and relearning and education I suppose [has been] through the relationship [Terehia and Derek's relationship].

4.6 Family Appraisal of the Stressor

In the adjustment phase, the family's appraisal process is based on the family's definition of the "seriousness of the stressor and its related hardships" (McCubbin et al, 1998: 9). Family appraisal includes consideration of resources, sources of support or the lack of support. Further to this, the attitude of the family towards the stressor can act as a resource in itself and has an influence on the family's perception and response to the stressor demands. McCubbin et al (1998) suggests that the family's appraisal "may range from interpreting it as being uncontrollable and forecasting the family's disintegration to viewing it as "no big thing" and as a challenge to be met with growth-producing outcomes" (ibid).

Whānau Appraisal of the Stressor and Multiple Job Holding

In each whānau case the appraisal of the stressor is integral to the decision to multiple job hold. Each of the whānau interviewed have differing contexts for the reason for taking up an extra job. But they have chosen multiple job holding as the best means to reduce the demands of the stressor.

For example, Danny and Haraina live in a State house and they both have strong extended whānau supports. Although their situation is difficult, they have had opportunities to develop skills on training programmes as well as receive Māori scholarships to increase their employability through education. Danny and Haraina have used what they have learned on these courses to provide employment opportunity in the past. Their efforts have been to gain casual and temporary work (underemployment), but not full-time stable work which is their goal.

Their appraisal of the potential effect of unstable employment resulted in a long term strategy to offset unemployment and underemployment. Their experience of underemployment and unemployment shaped Danny and Haraina's response. Multiple job holding is the vehicle to achieve these long-term goals. Danny envisaged that on- the-job training would help him develop the necessary skills that he would need to pursue self employment in an area for which he has a passion. He is also gaining networks in this job and in his other job that he can use to further his opportunities towards his objective.

In Jason and Andrea's case the stressor is adequately tempered for a time by the presence of more affordable housing and the assistance of the benefit. As an aspect of the whānau's appraisal of the stressor the potential of Andrea's employability was considered before the decision that Jason would take on an extra job.

The appraisal process was shaped by the following factors. Their main concern was suitable childcare. This couple do not have extended whānau that they could turn to for support with the children. Child-care costs for two pre-schoolers, and suitable employment that paid enough to make the effort financially worthwhile after payment of these childcare costs also formed part of their appraisal. As well, Andrea considered that the jobs she could get were not flexible or as Andrea put it "not family oriented" in hours. In short the whānau opted for outside intervention by government agencies as a means to reduce whānau outgoings and to increase whānau income.

According to Bill, he holds multiple jobs for the additional income to provide what he feels his son needs, and his own extra luxuries. Bill's perceptions of his parental obligations

may cause some stress and strain which seems to compel him as a parent to respond. His appraisal is influenced by the normal transition of his son to adolescence and the parental need to contribute financially.

Olson and DeFrain (2000: 463) looked at families across all life stages were found to experience financial strains; however, for families with adolescents money was the greatest concern with the cost of children and education seen as a major stressor.

In Terehia and Derek's case, appraisal is reflected in the response to wider Māori collective aspirations. Lack of funding and a lack of trained Māori individuals who are skilled in Terehia's field of work create a demand and supply situation for organisations such as hers. This shortfall is then subsidised by workers who are willing to multiple job hold. Terehia is placed in the position where her skill is fully utilised by the community she works for. This functions to satisfy the demand and the desires of the collective as well as the individual. It is a collective world view that justifies the rationale for multiple jobs.

4.7 Family Problem Solving and Coping

Problem solving is the outcome of the appraisal process. Problem solving is defined as the family's ability to organise the stressor into manageable components (McCubbin et al, 1998: 9). To manage the stressor involves locating and utilising resources. Families use a wide range of problem solving strategies. Each strategy adopted is dependant on the types of resources available.

Coping is defined as the family's strategies, patterns and behaviours that maintain family stability (McCubbin et al, 1998: 9). Crucial to family stability in the adjustment phase is the continued persistence in the family's established patterns of functioning. The positive effect of coping is shown in the maintenance of the emotional stability and wellbeing of the family members (ibid: 15).

Because a stressor has the potential to produce changes in the whānau system the family's response to the stressor provides an indicator of the degree of stress or distress being experienced. A non-urgent response indicates a stressful situation is being experienced and only minimal change is needed to bring balance back into the system. An urgent response indicates a state of distress and that greater changes are needed to bring about stability. According to McCubbin et al (1998: 9) distress is described as a "negative state in which the family defines the demand-resources imbalance as unpleasant or even destabilizing". The outcome for families who find themselves in a state of stress as opposed to those who may be experiencing distress is explained through the concepts of bon and maladjustment.

Bonadjustment

Bonadjustment indicates whānau coping which is manifest in the family's movement through a stressful situation with relative ease, and in the continuity of the family's established patterns of functioning. In this state the family's resources have been adequate to manage the threat of the stressor and the changes they have made have not intensified existing stresses and strains.

Maladjustment

In the absence of adequate resources the whānau experience a state of distress wherein the whānau's patterns of functioning are disrupted and minimal change is not sufficient to maintain balance in the system. This occurrence forces the whānau to make more adaptive changes by establishing new patterns of functioning to restore the imbalance. In a case such as this the model identifies that the family is experiencing maladjustment.

Maladjustment is a continuous condition of disruption (a crisis) evident when the "… family system-in its roles, goals, values, rules, priorities, boundaries, and patterns of functioning" is out of balance (McCubbin et al, 1998: 10).

In the case of Jason and Andrea the data indicates mal-adjustment to multiple job holding. There is a state of disorganisation present in the system but this state is not solely related to multiple job holding. However, multiple job holding and its demands increase the severity of pre-existing hardships. Their experience indicates that a lack of resources and the whānau's established patterns of functioning are not adequate to meet these demands and so new patterns of functioning are called for. When this occurs the whānau are forced into a phase of adaptation. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Bill, Danny and Haraina have moved through their situations without adverse effects on the whānau patterns of functioning. In both whānau minimal changes have been sufficient to reduce the severity of the stressor. In Bill's case he is resource rich in that his housing situation is stable and he has enough finances to cope if he ever needs additional funds. As well as these resources, having shared care of his son allows him flexibility to cope with two jobs. Bill's active participation in his passion as a musician may also act as a resource in that his sense of wellbeing is met through his music. In Danny and Haraina's situation

the money earned from doing two jobs helps with additional necessities by supplementing the amount of money they receive on the benefit, although it is not much. As well, the extra jobs provide on the job training which increases a sense of hope that they will be able to rise above their present circumstances and provide a better future for their whānau. In both whānau bon-adjustment is the outcome.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how multiple job holding is used by the participating whānau as a resource to achieve or facilitate their goals and to reduce financial demands such as debt. However, the study has identified that what enables or inhibits successful coping with multiple jobs in adjustment is dependant on the type of stressor, any pile-up of prior stresses and strains, and access to multiple resources.

Pile-up can be categorised into two types of stresses and strains, those that exist prior to the appearance of the stressor and those stresses and strains that occur as a result of the stressor. Stresses that appear as a result of the stressor have the potential to interact with prior stresses and strains, inhibiting successful coping. Resources function to increase the whānau resistance to the stressor's impact by providing support. Resources include childcare, employer flexibility in the workplace, good communication between parents who share the care of children, stable housing, support networks such as community organisations, and support from extended family members. All of these assist the whānau to maintain its own integrity.

The resiliency model offered by McCubbin et al (1998) identifies interacting components that enabled the thesis to more deeply penetrate the data to show how the participating

whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding. Those whānau who have stresses and strains but have access to resources are enabled by the presence of these to manage the situation and to maintain their established patterns of functioning. This is the case with Bill's whānau and Danny and Haraina's whānau. Because their established patterns of functioning remain relatively well balanced and holding multiple jobs facilitates their whānau goals, it can be said that these whānau are coping. This state of balance and harmony in the whānau system is referred to as bonadjustment in which problem solving efforts and the use of resources have resulted in an outcome where the whānau move through the situation with relative ease.

However, maladjustment is a state in which imbalances continue to prevail despite the effort to manage the stressor. It also identifies that whānau resources may be insufficient to meet the demands of holding multiple jobs. Such a situation is identifiable in the case of Andrea and Jason who at the time of the interviews had experienced maladjustment. Maladjustment signifies a movement from a phase of adjustment to a phase of adaptation. Adaptation occurs when the whānau are forced to make more radical changes in the system to regain some stability and to resolve imbalances in the home. Only in Andrea and Jason's case out of the four cases analysed has maladjustment occurred. An analysis of their adaptation to multiple job holding is given in the next chapter along with Terehia and Derek's case, which shows how adequate resources and a Māori world view have facilitated their coping with multiple jobs.

Chapter 5:   Adaptation in Māori Multiple Job Holding Whānau

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the Adjustment phase of the model shows the process of problem solving and coping used by the whānau in response to a stressor. McCubbin et al (1996) explains that at the family level, coping may be viewed as "coordinated problem solving behaviour of the whole system (Klein and Hill, 1979)" and may "involve the complementary efforts of individual family members, which fit together in a synergistic whole" (McCubbin et al 1996: 32). These efforts create a balance between the demands of the stressor and resources, eliminating the potential of the stressor to cause a crisis in the home.

When such a balance occurs the whānau experience what is termed bonadjustment. Bonadjustment is found in the case of Bill, Danny and Haraina's whānau. In these whānau the demands of the stressor have been balanced by resources. Multiple job holding is also viewed by these whānau as a resource. The minimal changes that these whānau have made to accommodate their new employment situation did not adversely affect their established patterns of functioning (practices, routines, and behaviour). It is the presence of multiple resources that play a major factor in the ability of these whānau to adjust to holding multiple jobs.

In Jason and Andrea's case maladjustment has occurred. Maladjustment is the term used to indicate that further changes must take place in the whānau system to regain balance and harmony. In this case as in the case of the other whānau interviewed, multiple job holding

was initially viewed as a resource to counter the demands of a stressor. However, the excessive demands of the stressor and lack of resources has created imbalances in the system. These in turn are exacerbated by the demands of multiple job holding causing the whānau to engage in a more direct response to restore this balance. This response is called adaptation and requires "changes in rules, boundaries, and patterns of functioning".

Not all changes made by the whānau will work to their benefit as problem solving and coping is often a process of trial and error. In cases such as this the whānau may go through a process of re-assessment in order to regain balance within the system. According to McCubbin et al (1998) if a satisfactory level of adaptation is not achieved maladaptation may occur in which the family return to a state of crisis and must find new ways to adapt. Where there is a successful adaptation to the changes the whānau have instituted, balance and harmony are felt in the system. This state is called bonadaptation.

It has been difficult to delineate the boundary between Jason and Andrea's movement from the adjustment phase to the adaptation phase. However, their case does show that their effort to adapt to multiple jobs has caused further stresses and strains on the whānau.

Noted below is an analysis of Jason and Andrea's discussion on their experience with coping while holding multiple jobs. As well, Terehia and Derek's whānau experience is also discussed. In the latter case multiple resources are identified as having a positive effect on whānau bonadaptation. The terms bonadaptation and maladaptation will also be further explained along with an explanation of components of the adaptation phase and how these function towards the adaptation of both whānau to holding multiple jobs.

Because family adaptation is more complex than family adjustment, the adaptation phase of the model consists of more components than those outlined in the adjustments phase. In the *Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation* (1998) the focus is on components that have an influence on shaping the family's adaptation. The major task for any family who find that they must make adaptive changes is the management of the situation. This is critical, because rather than making adjustments to appease the stressor, adaptation requires radical change in whānau behaviour to bring about stability in the home.

5.2 Components of the Adaptation Phase of the Model

The components of the adaptation phase help explain how the family's practical day to day and psychological considerations interact to shape the family's appraisal of their situation and form the problem solving and coping strategies they implement. The family's appraisal will include the assessment of prior stresses and strains that have accumulated over time and that contribute to a pileup of family demands. In addition to this, families will assess the demands of the stressor, their access to family resources, strengths and capabilities and social support and community resources[5].

5.3 Family Stressor in Adaptation and Pile-up of Demands

Adaptation in families becomes necessary when the impact of the stressor and any prior stresses and strains create multiple demands that require more than a minor tweaking to bring about balance in the system. The presence of multiple demands has the potential to

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[5] See Appendix 2 for a diagram of the Adaptation Phase of the model.

interact in the family exacerbating the situation and "spinning" the family out of control (McCubbin et al 1998: 14-15).

New patterns of functioning are required when working multiple jobs. However, families are not always able to make a fit between the demands of home life and working two jobs. McCubbin et al (1998: 16) find that successful coping is often the result of trial and error and "it is not unusual for families to find that the short term benefits of some coping strategies may lead to long term difficulties". The components of the adaptation phase of the model are used below to understand the whānau behaviour and what enables or inhibits coping with multiple job holding.

Whānau Examples of Stressors and Pile-up of Demands

As has been noted, family demands may be experienced as practical (day to day concerns) or through tensions that are influenced by the family's values and beliefs, ethnicity and culture. Either type can sway the way whānau institute coping strategies. In the previous Chapter Jason and Andrea's decision to multiple job hold was made because of the debt they had incurred. To adjust to having less money for basics they accessed government support through a special weekly benefit payment. This was used for a period of six months. However, it seems that being in receipt of the benefit may have added to stresses and strains on the whānau and thus they forfeited the benefit in favour of multiple jobs. It was Jason and Andrea's strong negative feelings towards the benefit that prompted their response to take on an extra job.

Andrea: We were on a benefit for a little while but we didn't like being on it; it only lasted for about six months. That's when Jason went out and got an extra job and that's about equal to the amount we were receiving on a benefit.

The data do not identify whether Jason and Andrea's decision to multiple job hold was forced because of WINZ assessment and eligibility criteria. However, the data have shown that the shift from the benefit to holding multiple jobs has highlighted for Jason and Andrea that having an extra job is more difficult to cope with than receiving support from the government, as income earned from their second job is equal to the amount they were receiving on a benefit. Never the less Andrea's statement expresses a feeling that they did not like being on a benefit. This feeling is an aspect of their worldview. To understand how such a feeling can influence decision making we turn to the schema appraisal.

5.4 Family Schema

The family schema is a general framework of information that the family draws upon to legitimise change in patterns of functioning (McCubbin et al 1998: 23). The schema is called into action to guide the family's response in very difficult situations. The schema is shaped over time by the family's values, convictions, and beliefs. As noted, the family's schema is also influenced by the family's world view, ethnicity, culture, and spiritual orientation. This view is informed by prior experiences. The world view acts as a framework through which incoming stimuli are sifted and processed (McCubbin et al 1998: 22) and evaluated against the family's existing situation. From this process the long term consequences, personal relationships and the family's community relationships are appraised (McCubbin et al 1998: 23). The strength of a world view is in its potential to

transcend the existing situation by placing it a wider context of understanding, enabling the family to cultivate compliance towards the establishment of new patterns of functioning.

As noted, the family's appraisal is influenced by the family's values and beliefs. These in turn are reflected in the family's behavioural patterns. In order for the family to adapt to their new situation members will need to change their behaviour and establish new patterns of functioning, such as new family routines, rules, roles and boundaries. Schema appraisal involves elements that have an influence on legitimising these changes. Culture and ethnicity have an influence at the schema level of appraisal. The schema operates by assisting the family to "value, accept, and affirm changes over time" facilitating a positive adaptation (ibid: 23).

Whānau Examples of Schema

The effect of ethnicity at the schema level of appraisal is observable in Terehia and Derek's shared values and convictions towards collective Māori and social economic wellbeing, which in turn has an influence on the reasons for Terehia's holding additional jobs. As mentioned in Chapter 2 the advancement of Māori Development at a time when the majority of Māori people were in low skilled occupation, created a demand for skilled Māori to work in the field of Māori social services and in other areas. The impact on Terehia has resulted in 13 years of working multiple jobs on and off.

Terehia and Derek's ethnic schema identifies strongly with the importance of the group as opposed to the individual. McCubbin et al (1998: 26) refer to this type of ethnic influence as a "we" orientation. The values and beliefs associated with such an orientation seem to

have had an influence on the reasons Terehia gives for the necessity of working multiple jobs.

The schema is shaped by prior experience and by observations. At the individual level Terehia and Derek have observed first-hand the hardship within the Māori community with families they work with.

> Terehia: The whānau now is so disconnected from our areas [tribal] we come from. We are living in the city, we are disconnected from our economic base, the land from where our ancestors came from, [and] so we are all living here. So for me the last bastion is the whānau. If we are not connected we have got problems. To do the multiple job thing we need each other, we need each other. What we are seeing in our work is our families don't have that support and that's because they have broken down and they are isolated.

Derek's reminiscences of being a young Māori boy growing up in an extended Māori whānau are in support of Terehia's statement about the break down in Māori whānau today. But his comments also expose the development of his world view, in that it was a natural part of his childhood experience to take responsibility for others. He also indicates that he had a sense of limitation in career options growing up. The changes that took place in the 1980s offered Derek an alternative employment option that he felt he was not confident enough to do, prior to this period. The new work opportunity fitted Derek's world view.

Derek: All my life in learning it was about being part of a whānau and being fifteenth of the eighteen tamariki [children] and then looking after my nephews and nieces and that sort of work wasn't available [working with Māori families]. I didn't feel as confident to do that work outside in the pakeha world. So you just went along and you got a certificate then they said you were a fitter welder so I said okay I'll be one of those and away you went.

Derek: But when I found out that the social area working for social services area and that our people were the main sort of like the main users of the services. Well [it] seemed to be more apparent that they were, so the opportunity came. We started looking after foster children. I didn't look back at the trades again. But there must be more to life than that, there were other things that I liked to sort of [wanted to] achieve and that was sort of closer to my culture to our people and being there for people that may be there for future generations.

Within the wider Māori community such a world view influenced through the ethnic schema may also function to legitimise change such as Māori Development strategies if those changes are culturally underpinned and in harmony with the aspirations of the collective. Acceptance of Māori Development within New Zealand society may also have an effect on Māori individuals in that such developments encourage, foster, legitimise, and normalise a Māori ethnic and cultural view. At the level of the individual as with the case of Terehia, such developments have encouraged her to work in a Kaupapa Māori organisation where Māori cultural and traditional ways of caring for others are invaluable to successful outcomes.

As it applies to multiple job holding the idea of "being there for people that they may be there for future generations" seems to transcend the demand of the numbers of hours working multiple jobs and the financial rewards gained. Holding multiple jobs enables Terehia and Derek to contribute to Māori wellbeing by sharing their skills and knowledge and empowering others to do the same.

> Terehia: So what I've done I trained a whole lot of other women up. Now I sit back and they do it. It's basically what knowledge and skill I have, I passed on to others so they can do it. So it's not like I'm doing it alone. I think that's the key.

As noted, at the schema level of appraisal, adaptation to multiple job holding is justified by the world view that Terehia and Derek share as Māori. This world view also functions to legitimise the children's acceptance of their mother working two jobs. This acceptance is aided in this case by the stories the children have heard.

Terehia has been able to attend hui (large gatherings) in her job with her children. In these gatherings the children have heard the stories and struggles of the people their mother works with. These stories have aided the children in their development of meaning that the work she does has relevance to them as Māori and to other Māori people in need. An understanding of the reason their mother is working two jobs and is away from home and busy is strengthened by the children's inclusion in their mother's work. In turn, the changes made in the whānau patterns of functioning in the home (routines and roles) to accommodate Terehia's schedule, are justified by the meaning derived. From a cultural

and ethnic perspective McCubbin et al (1998: 34) explain with regard to Native Hawaiian peoples that a state of wellbeing is achieved through seeking a balance "at the family and community level, the family emphasizes altruism and helping others, and contributing to the common good in a situation in which the group gains higher importance or over one's individual and more self-centered goals" (ibid: 34). These values have relevance to Terehia and Derek's whānau. The understanding the children have grown up with around their mother's work schedule generates a positive sense of coherence in the whānau.

5.5 Family Coherence

Influenced by the schema, coherence is a "dispositional world view" which aids the family with a sense of order and lifts the family's feelings of confidence and wellbeing (McCubbin et al 1998: 23). The family's sense of coherence plays an important role in family adaptation.

One important aspect which coherence plays in a family is through the development of family meanings about the experience they are facing. Coherence is the outcome of a psychological evaluation of the situation and thus makes the situation more "constructive, manageable, and acceptable" (ibid: 33). From the meaning the family derive of these experiences the potential of the family to cope is strengthened by contributing to a more optimistic view of the family's circumstance.

Whānau Examples of Coherence

As noted Terehia and Derek's children show a strong sense of coherence around the reason for their mother holding multiple jobs. Whānau coherence is shown in the support they give to one another strengthened by the flexibility allowed through Terehia's employment

in a Kaupapa Māori organisation. This organisation is also underpinned by cultural markers. Terehia explains how flexibility in her employment has broadened her children's understanding of their own people.

> Terehia: …they were brought up around it so they were hearing…. It made them aware of the issues all the time because sitting and listening in the hui [large gathering] when all the women are talking they would be there. ……They saw the good things, the positive things they knew the stories.

As noted, McCubbin et al (1998: 23) find that family stories aid the family's sense of coherence through the meanings derived. These meanings are shared by family members and help the family to adapt and feel that the world is "comprehensible" and that "life's challenges are predictable, manageable and worthy of investment".

However, another aspect of coherence shown in Terehia and Derek's whānau is the view which Terehia and Derek share regarding the importance of putting the whānau first. Terehia suggests that to successfully work multiple jobs requires a balance between home life and employment demands and that no matter how much success she has in her career, her work with wider Māori community is meaningless if things are not right in her own home.

> Terehia: Because we can go off and do all this work and say we help. But really it's at home that matters. We could probably never do the multiple job thing if we as a whānau did not support each other.

This view of having a balance between whānau life and work is integral to successful multiple job holding. The meaning that Terehia and Derek have derived about the importance of balancing work and home life comes from prior experience. The view is then applied practically (establishment of new patterns of functioning) as a strategy in the home. Below Terehia states that she no longer works in the evening and that if she works on the weekend it is mostly at home around the children. It is the application of the strategy in the home that creates predictability increasing the whānau sense of coherence.

> Terehia: I do it mostly when the kids are settled, the kids always come first. The family always comes first, so, as long as everything is alright at home. Then on the weekends, that's when it (work) cuts into my time. Like the weekends, sometimes I will go off and do what I need to do on a Saturday morn. I've stopped going out in the evenings, like the evening's my time. But what I've had to do is do a lot of things on the weekends and always try and be around the family.

5.6 Situational Appraisal

The family's situational appraisal consists of "the family's shared assessment of the stressor, the hardships created by the stressor, the demands upon the family system to change some of its established patterns of functioning" (ibid: 24) as has been described in Terehia and Derek's case. Integral to this process of assessment by the family is consideration of resources that will enable the family to manage the situation.

Whānau Examples of Situational Appraisal

The analysis has noted in Chapter 4 aspects of Andrea and Jason's appraisal of their situation. Considerations in this process have included Andrea's employability, child care costs, and hours that will be spent away from home working, and travel costs. The lack of resources in this whānau makes it difficult for Jason and Andrea to establish new patterns of functioning. For example Jason and Andrea do not have extended whānau. The lack of this type resource has had critical implications for Andrea being able to take on employment. As a result changes in the possibility of long term multiple job holding are predicted by Jason.

> Andrea: Actually we know it has to be a long term thing to pay off our bills. At the end of this year we may be able to drop down to one but it's not a guarantee. It depends on how quickly things are getting paid off. I was going to find myself a job to take the two jobs off Jason. I haven't found one as yet. It's harder for me to find a job.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Andrea and Jason desire to pay their debts off as quickly as possible. Andrea has identified her reasons for not being able to find work. These include her age, types of occupation available, being out of workforce for a long period of time. There is a suggestion that Andrea percieves that her qualifications may no longer be relevant to secure a better paying job. She feels that the type of work she can do is low paid. As well, it seems that now Jason is multiple job holding there is a need to have someone in the home with the children to counter the effects of multiple job holding on the worker and the flow on effects to the whānau.

Andrea: Well I'm older; I've been out of work. I've got qualifications but some of the jobs I just don't want to go for again, like they're quite hard work. The pay isn't very high; the hours aren't very family orientated. I'm an enrolled nurse but I'm out of touch with that. That was long ago, so if I want to get back into that field it will be just something like nurse aiding. Its horrible work sometimes and the rate of pay are so bad.

On the one hand Andrea identifies reasons for not seeking paid work through identifying her role in the whānau, and feeling comfortable in this. But on the other hand there seems to be some tensions around the multiple job holder's work activities which take him away from responsibilities of home and whānau life by working two jobs.

Andrea: I don't really want to go out, start working a lot of hours out there. Like I really feel Jason being so tired we need one parent at home.

The whānau situational appraisal indicates that childcare, flexible hours of work, pay rate considerations, and travel costs have influence on whether the major caregiver works or whether the bread winner takes on an extra job. These are resources that if available to Andrea and Jason may have shifted their response to becoming a dual income whānau rather than Jason taking on an extra job.

5.7 Family Resources, Strengths and Capabilities

As noted resources are crucial to family problem solving and coping ability and function as protective factors. According to the model outlined in McCubbin et al (1998: 19-21)

resources are the strengths and capabilities of the family. In adaptation three types of resources are identified; personal resources, family system resources and social support resources.

Personal resources include the family members' abilities to comprehend the extent of the situation, the family's education, family members' individual personality traits, physical, emotional and spiritual health of family members to meet the demands of the situation, belief in one's self, self esteem and a positive judgement of one's worth (McCubbin et al 1998: 18-19).

Family system resources include cohesion and adaptability. The first functions through bonds of unity, trust, appreciation, support, integration, and respect for individuality. The second is family organisation, an integral resource which includes consistency, agreement, clarity, role structures, and rules which function to guide the family towards adaptation (ibid).

Social support resources are critical to families especially those who have limited personal and extended family support. These types of supports act as a primary buffer mediating between stress and family breakdown (ibid).

Whānau Examples of Resources, Strengths and Capabilities
As noted above the resources that have been integral to Jason and Andrea's adaptation have been internal resources; these are the ability to comprehend the extent of the situation, whānau cohesion through unity in purpose, stamina (hardiness) and family organisation.

As McCubbin et al note, resources "must be allocated to manage multiple goals and demands" (ibid: 30).

Jason and Andrea have accessed budget advisory help, a special benefit from Work and Income New Zealand, and Jason has found an extra job that brings in additional income. Yet these resources have their limitations in that even though Jason has two jobs their debt continues to drain them of the basic necessities.

> Andrea: Things that people give us like Early Start Workers are trying to get a grant from some trust so I can get ……. some clothes. He's got no jacket, no socks that fit him, his trousers are about up to there [pointing to trouser length] so she's [Early Start Worker] trying to get some clothes that will fit him. Those are the only sources we have. We have no cash if we need stuff like that [basics] because there's not enough [left over money].

As noted the ability to be able to comprehend the extent of the situation is in itself a resource. This is strengthened by amicable communication and a non-blaming attitude.

> Jason: I often ask myself if I'm going to go just to the end of the year.

> Andrea: A year's a long time though and when you're tired already to hold two job down.

> Jason: But there's only just eight more months till the end of the year.

Andrea: And there's no guarantee at the end of the year really anyway, really is

there?

Jason: Yeah and you add on two months and another five months so it's

another year and a half.

Stamina or whānau hardiness and organisation act as a resource enabling the whānau to be

consistent in their efforts. Jason's physical health even though he is extremely tired has

also been a resource to the whānau enabling him to have the physical stamina needed to

work a 72 hour week. But Andrea and Jason point out that it is mentally tiring as well.

Andrea: Jason doing two jobs, really your body's not designed to do 72 hours a

week, it's not designed to. It's good in a way where you can see an income

rise, but mentally no.

Jason explains that with such physical and mental demands on him it is difficult to focus

on full activity in whānau life. This indicates the importance of Andrea in that her

organisation in the home or keeping the home fires burning is an integral resource to Jason

and the children.

Jason: Well family life I suppose is different I suppose, for me anyway. I just

have to earn more really. I'm not really worried about that side of things really.

As noted, Jason and Andrea are resource poor. The types of resources they have accessed

are generated from their own strengths and capabilities as people. They have few external

resources and most help has been from social services. Yet despite this they have maintained their integrity of purpose, to pay off their debts honourably.

The types of resources that Terehia and Derek have accessed are flexibility in the workplace, provided through Terehia's employer in her primary job, whānau unity, extended whānau support, whānau coherence, and the whānau world view which functions through the schema to legitimise multiple job holding activities. In both whānau, resources have aided coping ability to manage multiple demands in the home and in the work place. Terehia and Derek's whānau are resource rich. Having multiple resources at hand does not automatically transfer to effective problem solving and coping, but does in this case.

5.8 Family Problem Solving and Coping

As noted at the beginning of this chapter McCubbin et al (1998) define family coping as "coordinated problem solving behaviour of the whole system" and may involve individual family members' efforts "which fit together in a synergistic whole" (ibid: 32).

Whānau Problem Solving and Coping

In this chapter we have found that coping is the whānau ability to locate and maximise resources in order to promote stability in patterns of functioning, the institution of proactive strategies that strengthen family relationships, maintaining a positive outlook, uplifting communication, and a non-blaming attitude.

5.9 Family Bonadaptation and Maladaptation

In adaptation bonadaptation is the term used to identify that the family has achieved balance and harmony in the system. To adapt to the demands of the situation and to gain stability the family changes existing patterns of function and establish new patterns of functioning. The need for change is complemented by these new patterns in that new patterns enable the family to cope with the demands of the situation.

Whānau Bonadaptation and Maladaptation

Integral to coping are resources. When resources are limited whānau discover that it is extremely difficult to change their existing patterns of functioning, even when they desire to do so. This is the case with Jason and Andrea who found that a lack of resources such as extended whānau to help with childcare, or finding the additional money to pay for childcare curtailed their ability to make radical changes through Andrea finding a job. The whānau patterns of functioning were retained in that roles in the home continued along the lines of the caregiver/breadwinner model. Changes that did occur were the expansion of role responsibilities. For Jason this expansion included working an extra job. For Andrea her role in the home expanded to take on those responsibilities that Jason previously did. The inability to make more radical change increased stresses and strains on both parents and these stresses interacted with other members of the whānau namely the children.

In cases such as this where the level of adaptation is not sufficient to enable the family to cope maladaptation occurs and the family will "return to a state of crisis" and "then must find a new way to adapt" (ibid: 33).

In Jason and Andrea's case the data identify that they are considering alternative options to multiple job holding. The alternative option is bankruptcy . This signals that adaptation to multiple job holding has not occurred and multiple job holding has become an added stressor on the whānau. The data identify that Jason and Andrea at the time of the interview began to re-appraise their situation. This process of re-appraisal is informed by their experience of working long hours, the length of time Jason will need to multiple job hold to pay off their debt, the effect on Jason of long hours of work and the influence of long hours on the inter-personal relationships in the whānau, namely the children.

As noted, the roles that Jason and Andrea play in their home have not changed since taking on multiple jobs. Instead their roles have expanded to try and adapt to the situation, but this has created added stresses and strains in the home. These stresses and strains coupled with the reality of holding multiple jobs have led to a new assessment of their situation.

> Jason: We could declare ourselves bankrupt at least the debts would be wiped but then there would be bad credit.

Andrea's statement below indicates that bankruptcy was not a consideration she and Jason had given previous thought to prior to multiple job holding. This indicates that there is an emerging doubt about whether multiple job holding is a legitimate coping strategy.

> Andrea: We have never really talked about [bankruptcy] it. Social services seem to think that our bills, we are making quite a bit of progress with our bills, but it's just the set back we have had over the last couple of months. I know where you're [Jason] coming from because sometimes it's just not worth it to

slave your guts out and you've only got to count the cost, sometimes it easier to

or smarter to go the other way.

The factors noted above have contributed to the whānau maladaptation. As noted above maladaptation is a state where the whānau must re-appraise their situation to find alternative strategies in order to cope. Given that adaptation is a process that takes place over time, Jason and Andrea may find they will make a number of changes before the whānau system experiences stability to a level that is satisfactory.

In contrast Terehia and Derek have achieved a balance and harmony in the whānau system that works for them. This state is called bonadaptation. However, it is important to be aware that the data do not identify how long it took this whānau to find this balance. Terehia has been working multiple jobs on and off for over 13 years. During that time Terehia has noted that she has had external whānau support and built up an array of resources that have worked to complement her ability to hold more than one job successfully. The ability of Terehia's whānau to accept her working multiple jobs is strengthened by a particular world view. This world view functions to transcend the potential of multiple job holding to become an added stressor, through the development of meaning attributed to the reason Terehia multiple job holds. The data show that this whānau is resource rich, not of money, but networks and internal strengths and capabilities that function to enable them to cope while working multiple jobs.

5.10 Conclusion

The adaptation phase of the model identifies the whānau process of problem solving and coping. This process is set in motion by the presence of additional stressors and strains

that have caused a situation that forces the whānau to respond. By making minimal changes to patterns of functioning in adjustment the whānau are able to maintain stability as is the case with those who experienced bonadjustment in the adjustment phase. The adaptation phase identifies a complex process where more radical changes are made in order to aid whānau coping.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The intention of this thesis has been to understand how Māori whānau cope under the circumstance of multiple job holding. This question was initially informed by the assumption that Māori who worked multiple jobs did so because they could not get by on one job only; that multiple job holding was used to supplement income from the primary job because the money earned was not enough to provide for basics such as day to day necessities. However, the study has found that this is not the case for all Māori multiple job holders and that there were differing reasons for the whānau participants in this study to undertake multiple job holding. A major finding of the study is that access to multiple resources increases the ability of whānau to cope with holding more than one job. In cases where whānau have limited resources the study finds that coping with multiple jobs is more difficult.

6.1 Whānau Participants and Reasons for Multiple Job Holding

Four Māori whānau took part in this study. Each of the whānau involved had a variety of circumstances that influenced taking on an extra job. All came from differing backgrounds and whānau household structures. The reasons given by the whānau for working multiple jobs ranged from having to pay off financial debt, up skilling for future employment, parental goals to provide for the needs of children and demands for extra luxuries. There were also those who enjoyed the work they did and would take on an extra job in the same field of work to fill a supply and demand employment gap. As well, the length of time each whānau worked doing multiple jobs differed. There were those who worked two part-time jobs, while others worked two full-time positions. The backgrounds of the

whānau differed in terms of education, the occupations they held, their level of skill, and participation in the Māori community.

The types of whānau structure among participants ranged from those who were married and living in the same household, to those living with a partner, living apart but having shared care of a child with the child's other parent. Most participants were renting their, except Bill who was almost freehold at the time the time of the interview. However, Terehia and Derek indicated that they wanted to own their own home in the future.

6.2 Reflections on Kaupapa Māori Approach and Limitations

The research was guided by a Kaupapa Māori approach (see Chapter 3) in which this study took heed of cultural-ethical considerations for working with Māori and in Māori communities. Participation and control by participants over the information given to researchers was a major factor for a Kaupapa Māori approach to be used.

The initial design of the study sought to follow Russell Bishop's (1996) example through the use of a story telling method. This was so the researcher and participants could arrive at meanings together to capture the complexities of the participants' experience of multiple job holding. The process of arriving at meanings together was to be facilitated through ongoing interviews where the data, after being analysed by the researcher, would be taken back to the whānau to be read and any additional information or clarification would be added or deleted until the major aspects of multiple job holding for each whānau were identified.

However, implementing the initial research design for on-going interviews became questionable ethically as the researcher came to realise that members of multiple job holding whānau were found to be physically and mentally exhausted from working two jobs and the interruption of ongoing interviews might cause additional stresses on some of the whānau participants. Thus, ongoing interviews were adapted in that the decision was made to take the final analysis of the data back to the participants rather than ongoing visits. This change was not so much about the inadequacy of the design of the research, but more the need to adapt the methodology when the potential effect that ongoing interviews would have on whānau members was recognised.

The interviews that were held were unstructured, to allow the participants to freely interact with the research question rather than having set questions that might restrict whānau participation. Using an unstructured approach assisted the story telling method and did enable the participants to freely share their thoughts and experiences of multiple job holding. Because all whānau members were encouraged to participate in the interviews the data include not only the multiple job holder's view of working two jobs, but also views of other whānau members, such as those who cared for the children and their experience within the home.

Opportunities and Limitations

As an evolving Kaupapa Māori researcher I was mindful of being an insider (Māori). As noted by Linda Smith (1999: 5), "There are a number of ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for indigenous researchers who, in their communities, work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose, and

partially as outsiders because of their Western education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and other boundaries".

Being Māori and participating in the Māori community in various ways I have come to understand the Māori community here in Otautahi (Christchurch). Thus, I understood how important it was to find solutions to Māori concerns rather than simply to identify a phenomenon and its cause. Such an understanding places one in a position of accountability even if the community does not require it. As well, one becomes aware that the research must be appropriate to those being researched in that the voices of those participating are heard. It was this awareness that led me to search for a framework that would take account of a Māori world view to help understand the contemporary realities of these multiple job holding whānau.

This approach was important to the research as a Māori world view includes an orientation that considers the wellbeing of the collective above that of the individual. Thus, such a world view may explain why some Māori whānau who work within a kaupapa Māori framework might work multiple jobs.

6.3 Model of Family Resilience

The framework used to analyse the participants' data is a model specific to the work of Hamilton McCubbin et al (1998) and colleagues and can be found in their book *Resiliency in Ethnic Families: A Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation*. The model is drawn from psychology, but was used here in a sociological manner to help understand the behaviour of Māori multiple job holding whānau and the way in which they cope. Of interest to the study was the identification of factors that either

inhibit or enable the whānau to cope with two jobs. As well, the model allowed an exploration of the influence of culture and ethnicity on reasons for Māori whānau multiple job holding.

The model was also chosen because it is not a deficit model, in that the model does not focus on the underperformance of the whānau (family) but seeks to identify attributes and characteristics that enable coping in the face of extreme difficulty. As well, the model supports the kaupapa Māori approach taken here by acknowledging the influence of a world view on shaping the whānau coping behaviour.

It is through the schema component of the model that the family's world view functions. The model identifies that the family's world view can act as an important strength when the family is faced with extreme difficulties. The strength of a world view is in its potential to transcend the immediate stressor by placing it in a broader context of understanding, thus acting as an additional resource to help alleviate further stresses and strains on the whānau.

However, the model is not easy to use in that there are so many components to it. As may be noted from the Adaptation Phase discussed in Chapter 5, the study has used only those components that were identified as relevant to the participants' experience of multiple job holding. This does not mean that researchers should not endeavour to utilise all the components of the model. The full benefits of using this model may be useful to a project where family behaviour and coping is assessed over time, rather than a short term project such as a Masters thesis.

6.4 What the Study Found

Multiple Job Holding as a Resource

The study has found that in all the whānau cases, multiple job holding is used as a resource to achieve or facilitate whānau goals. Some of these goals are financial. However, the degree of financial demand in each whānau differs. There are those who participated and were in serious financial debt at the time of the interview and had difficulty keeping up with basic living costs such as food, clothing for the children and rent. For others, the additional income from the second job was spent on the "luxuries" they felt they needed. The difference is that some whānau would have difficulty paying for basic essentials without the extra job. In other cases without the second job these basic living costs would not be affected.

What Enables and Inhibits Successful Multiple Job Holding

The study has found that what enables or inhibits successful coping while multiple job holding is dependant on the type of stressor that has impacted on the whānau, as well as any pile-up of prior stresses and strains. These stresses can accumulate creating vulnerability. When a stressor such as an additional financial demand occurs in the whānau, the interaction between the demands of this stressor and the accumulation of prior stresses and strains has the potential to generate a crisis situation in the home. To counter the instability that such a situation may pose a whānau member may take on an extra job. If the whānau member takes on the extra job and there is also access to multiple resources, these resources function to buffer the whānau while dealing with the pile-up of stresses and the stressor as well as enabling them to make a smoother adjustment to multiple job holding. But the contrary may occur if whānau have few resources to access.

Types of Whānau Stressors

Among the participating whānau types of stressors are diverse. These include financial demands, parental obligations to provide for children, the need to up-skill for future employment opportunities, and the impact of wider social changes such as Māori Development strategies and the associated demands for Māori who are professionally and culturally competent. As has been noted, in all whānau cases the ability to cope effectively with an additional job requires multiple resources which function to reduce or even alleviate further stresses and strains on the whānau.

Multiple Job Holding as a Stressor

Multiple job holding is viewed as a whānau resource when additional financial demands are present. However, as noted, this study has found that when there is a pile-up of prior stresses and strains in the system, when multiple job holding is taken on by the whānau, the effect of these stresses coupled with the demands of working two jobs interacts.

Multiple job holding becomes an additional stressor under such circumstance because it impacts on the whānau by forcing changes to the whānau established patterns of functioning. Changes may include in some cases the multiple job holder working long hours leading to physical and mental fatigue. Thus, time spent with members of the whānau in leisure activities are reduced and roles within home-life change. Roles that formally belonged to the multiple job holder may rest on other members of the whānau. Thus, the accumulative effect of these changes escalates making coping difficult. This study has found that when imbalances continue to prevail in the home despite the whānau efforts to manage the stressor, the whānau may be forced to consider other alternatives to resolve these imbalances. In one of the case studies the parents of the household discussed

the issue of bankruptcy (Chapter 5) as an alternative to continuing to hold multiple jobs. As noted, there is the potential for the goal that initially motivated taking on the extra job to be put aside in favour of another option, despite the fact that multiple job holding is full-filling its initial expectation, to pay off debt.

Resources

As has been stressed above, such pressures can be reduced by the presence of multiple resources. Resources function to increase the whānau resistance to adverse effects of the stressor and enable the whānau to cope better with the demands of multiple job holding. The types of resources that have been identified by the participants that have or might have aided whānau coping are, affordable childcare, employer flexibility, good communication between parents, stable housing, support networks such as community organisations, budgeting services and support from extended whānau members. It is access to multiple resources that support the whānau to move through the situation with confidence and with minimal adjustment to patterns of functioning, as compared to the difficulties that may arise as a result of having few resources and adapting by making more radical changes to these patterns.

Flexibility versus Rigidity

If new patterns are required it is important that whānau are willing to be flexible and allow change to occur. Within the home flexibility can be viewed as the ability of whānau to adjust and adapt when necessary their existing patterns of functioning. In practice this may mean that routines, roles, and expectations will be modified or altered to manage the new situation. Whatever changes are made it is essential that whānau have access to multiple types of resources in support of this change. As noted already, resources facilitate coping

by reducing the effect of existing stresses and strains, while inhibiting the emergence of more.

However, flexibility as a means to enable coping should not only be viewed as important within the home. Employers who allow staff some flexibility in hours of work, such as in the case outlined in Chapter 5, act as a resource that supports whānau with children.

Multiple Job Holding as a Resiliency Response to Wider Social and Political Change

The study has found that Māori development has had an influence on Māori multiple job holding. The demands of Māori development generated a supply shortage of Māori people who had professional skills and cultural expertise. The data from the participating whānau indicates that to meet this demand some Māori workers took on extra jobs within Māori communities in fields such as social services. To meet the demand or to shift the load on skilled Māori workers these workers seem to have up-skilled other Māori workers. Sometimes workers would be taken on in a voluntary capacity as well as in paid work depending on funding availability. Others may have received koha for the extra work they did within their community. This type of work lies outside the official definition of multiple job holding used by the New Zealand Census and so is not included in official statistics on multiple job holding. Thus, the true extent of multiple job holding by Māori workers may be under reported.

The Influence of a World View on Coping in the Home with Multiple Job Holding

According to McCubbin et al (1998: 27) the family's world view has an effect on the way in which the whānau appraise their situation and incorporate coping strategies within the home. McCubbin et al states that "One's culture and ethnicity has a formative effect" on

family appraisal "whether or not ethnicity is consciously and planfully incorporated into" the family's patterns of functioning and thus, "their effects can be observed".

The data indicate that there is a difference for those that work in jobs that have a kaupapa Māori focus. A kaupapa Māori focus derives from a Māori world view and its values and beliefs. When working in a kaupapa Māori service the worker, it seems, has the freedom to interact daily with the Māori community. However, for those who work in occupations that do not have this focus and where Māori values are not a critical aspect of the business or organisation's functioning, interaction with the Māori community is reduced. In such cases it is the long hours that isolate the worker and other whānau members from this support network. Terehia and Derek's case outlined in Chapter 5 indicate that where the broader concept of whānau was incorporated in a kaupapa Māori service children of the employees were welcomed and a space was provided for them. This inclusion gave the whānau the flexibility they needed to do their job without being concerned about alternatives for after school childcare. Children were also able to attend hui (gatherings) with their parent if the need arose.

6.5 Recommendations for Further Research

There are diverse ways in which an income is earned in today's world. This diversity is reflected in types of employment arrangements such as full-time, temporary, casual, and part time work and multiple job holding. Because of this diversity it becomes important to view employment and home life as "intertwined" (Crompton, 2002). The evidence suggests that whānau will be required to utilise many types of employment arrangements in their working life to provide living for their whānau.

Flexibility is an integral aspect of work life and family balance that assists whānau to cope with these new work arrangements. Flexibility can therefore be seen as a resiliency factor that enables employees who hold multiple jobs to cope. Thus, it would be advantageous to have a policy focus that works towards the identification of the characteristics of precarious work. These should be defined by the ability or capability of whānau to find a balance between work and whānau life.

As noted, flexibility is an essential factor when considering multiple job holding. Whānau flexibility is facilitated by resources. Thus, it would be beneficial to whānau to have educational information that will identify the types of factors, existing in their own situations that have the potential to inhibit their ability to cope with two jobs. Educational information should also include the types of resources that are available to the whānau such as benefit supplements, budgeting services, and childcare options to name a few. The point here is resources are diverse; some people have many, while others have few. However, some with few utilise them very well, while others with many may not. Educational information will increase problem solving capability in Māori multiple job holding whānau.

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Appendix 1: Adjustment Phase of the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation and the Relational Processes of Balance and Harmony
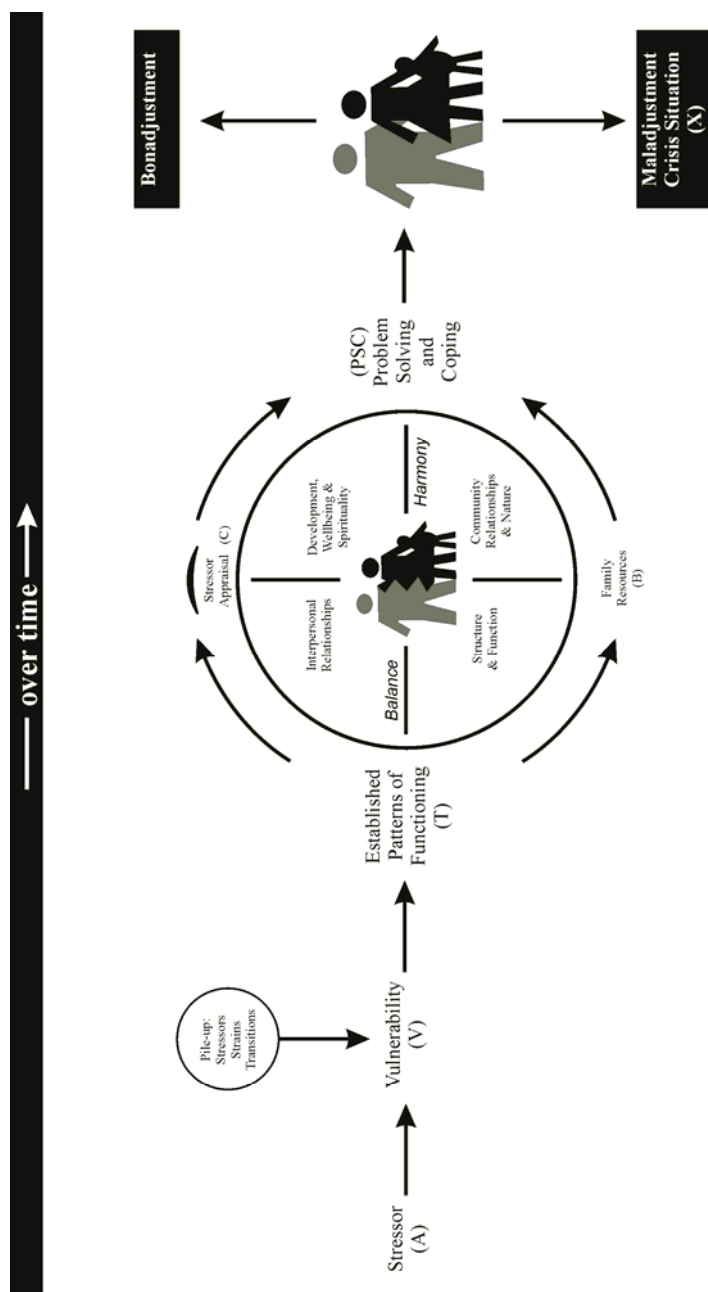
Source: McCubbin et al (1998). In: Resiliency in Native American and Immigrant Families. Chapter 1: Resiliency in Ethnic Families. A Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation

Appendix 2: Adaptation Phase of the Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment and Adaptation and the Relational Processes of Balance and Harmony
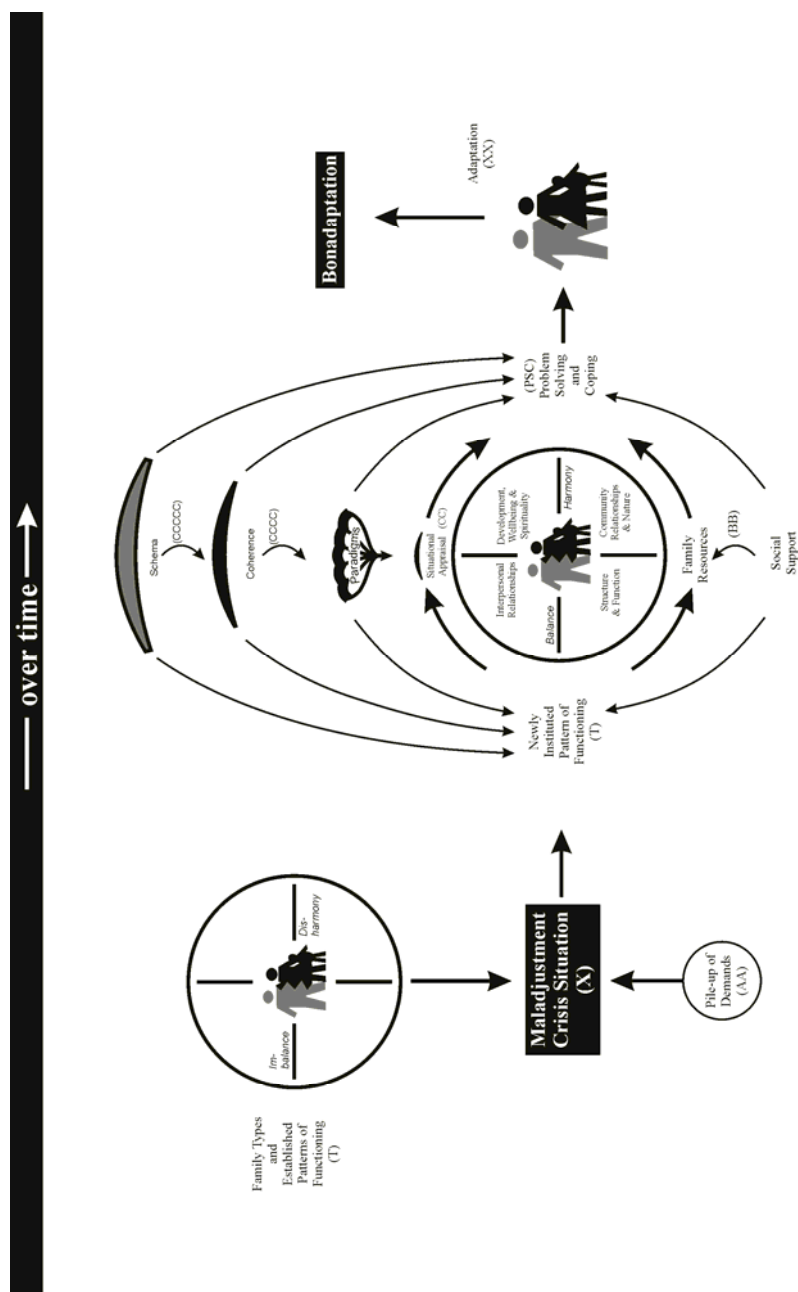
Source: McCubbin et al (1998).   In: Resiliency in Native American and Immigrant Families. Chapter 1: Resiliency in Ethnic Families. A Conceptual Model for Predicting Family Adjustment and Adaptation

Appendix 3:

Update on Whānau Participants

In keeping with the kaupapa Māori methodology found in Chapter 3 of this thesis the whānau participants were revisited. Three of the whānau were able to be located. They appreciated their stories had made a contribution to understanding the interaction between work and whānau life and they were happy to share updates on their life stories. The updates provide an illustration of the diverse ways in which these whānau have used and continued to use multiple job holding.

Danny and Haraina

At the initial interview with this whānau Danny was working multiple jobs as a means to gain entry into the entertainment industry and their main income was the unemployment benefit. At that time this couple did not own their home but lived in a state house. They used a vehicle that belonged to a member of their extended whānau to get to the entertainment industry extra jobs as they had no vehicle. Today Danny and Haraina are both employed, living in the same state house, but now they have a vehicle of their own.

Danny is still a multiple job holder. His primary income is earned in a job where he works with youth and his secondary job is in the entertainment field. Although his entertainment work has not become his major source of income he still has aspirations to achieve his goal to have his own business.

Jason and Andrea

Jason is no longer a multiple job holder but he still works at one of the jobs he worked in when the initial interview was done. Andrea is happier that he is not multiple job holding

any longer. One of the jobs Jason had when he was multiple job holding now provides the whānau with a sufficient income, as Jason has now been promoted. Andrea appears very proud of her husband's multiple job holding effort as these efforts have been beneficial. This whānau no longer have extreme financial pressures and they did not turn to bankruptcy to alleviate the stresses and strains of their financial obligations; instead they persevered and paid all their debts. The whānau are still living in the same house, and have surprised everyone by having another child. Because of this Andrea does not work outside the home and is still the major carer of the children, but she has said that if she was to find a job it would be one that she can do from home. Andrea stated that the New Zealand Government's "Working for Families" has worked for them in that the additional income received accelerated the payment of whānau debt and decreased the time Jason needed to work two jobs.

Terehia and Derek

Terehia is still working within the area of Māori social services in the same Kaupapa Māori service she worked in at the time of the initial interview. However, she is no longer multiple job holding, it is Derek who now holds three jobs. Both are still very busy people. As well, they have moved into a home they bought last year. They now have only one child living with them. Their whānau view on the importance of whānau life has not changed and it seems that their whānau life is well balanced with their work life.