UNDERSTANDING HOW CULTURAL VALUES INFLUENCE CAREER PROCESSES FOR MĀORI

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ATTESTATION OF AUTHORSHIP

"I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which is a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning"

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DEDICATION

This doctoral thesis is dedicated to the memory of my hard working, and loving grandparents, Taawai Te Purei (nee Hinaki) and Tuahae Te Purei (NZA 62626) Lieutenant Sergeant, D Company).

We did it Mum and Dad.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to contribute to career theory and practices by exploring the cultural specificity of Māori concepts, constructs and experiences to explain career processes. Previous career stories of Māori have typically been reported in biographies, interviews or other publications. In this study career processes have been included here as only one aspect of a person's life in the hope of illuminating common themes that could tell the audience something about being Māori. What authors have strived to preserve is the character of the voice (Diamond, 2003) and freedom in the information expressed (Moon, 2003). The New Zealand career's profession has been slow to develop a specific focus on the career stories of Māori. Commentary instead has been based on statistical placement of Māori in employment or a minimal inclusion of the Māori population in sampling numbers. There has been a growing movement among career theorists to apply career development principles to other cultures using indigenous practices. Such a focus requires identification and definition of constructs that are indigenous practices. One is cultural values. It has been suggested that cultural values, particularly social relationship values, play an important role in career development processes (Hartung et al., 1998; Ibrahim et al., 1994). Indigenous social relationships place the physical space between people as a forum for connections requiring time and mutual recognition (Durie, 2003).

Career stories of a sample of 22 Māori provide the source for an examination of the dynamic cultural contexts in which career processes occur. Selection of participants was made to span career life stages (Super, 1980). However, this concept was adapted to include an integration of age, life stages and Māori cultural responsibilities. Attention was given to the cultural contexts of three broad life stages: 'rangatahi' (youth),' pakeke' (adult), and 'kaumatua' (elder). The description 'career cultural stages' was coined for this sampling strategy. Data analyses found multiple overlapping constructions of identity used in specific cultural themes and settings to experience career by Māori participants. A new typology of cultural career identities was developed based on cultural and career features. There are three categories: the 'cloaked'; the 'seeker'; and the 'keeper'. Each possessed specific cultural and career characteristics and criteria for participants' inclusion in each category was based on them possessing these characteristics. For the cloaked, culture and career were seen as completely

separate entities, unless prompted by another person. The seekers on the other hand were able to express a range of career identities generated from an ability to place themselves easily into diverse stories and self characterizations. They were able to interweave these identities to create meaningful career themes finding it very easy to combine career and cultural themes. Finally, the keepers' career stories were often secondary to life stories, with cultural values consistently embedded and intertwined. Rich career themes were dominated by poetic 'life' stories, filled with people and their relationships to each other. This study indicates that relationships were, and are, the life blood of career for Māori. All participants raised the significance of relationships, and, in particular, the transmission of messages about being Māori. Relational practice provides a framework for understanding career and culture for Māori by acknowledging the role of others which extend beyond whanau and the living. Relationships with others have facilitated Māori to express personal experiences of being Māori which is inevitably enacted in career. This study expands the sparse knowledge base of career processes of Māori and has implications for understanding relationships and the impact of the inner experiences of being Māori. It makes a strong recommendation that career research should continue to reflect the diversity within Māori of cultural themes and settings and the wider realities of modern society in which Māori live. Awareness of these significant issues may help career theorists and practitioners to more effectively address career issues for Māori.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa, New Zealand. The first settlement of Māori was in the 13th century AD, during the widespread Polynesian ocean voyaging in the South Pacific (King, 2003). Māori had occupied the country for at least 800 years before the first European ship arrived from Holland in 1642 (Walker, 2004). It was not until 1769 that the British explorer, James Cook disembarked on New Zealand shores. Between 1792 and 1840, Māori engaged in commercial activity with mainly British settlers arriving into New Zealand. 'Pākehā' was used as a descriptive word to distinguish European from Māori, and probably came from the "pre-European word pakepākehā, meaning mythical light-skinned beings" (King, 2003, p. 169). In 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed enabling the relationship between the British Queen and Maori to be further enacted.   At the time of signing, Māori far outnumbered settlers, and continued to adapt their communal tribal organisations and economic production to take advantage of trading opportunities presented by the new arrivals. Because the British Crown had the mistaken belief that sovereignty was ceded by Māori, what followed was a turbulent period with both peaceful and warlike resistance from Māori in response to questionable land dealings with the new settlers and the Crown.

Māori are now a minority ethnic group at 14.9% (Statistics NZ, 2006) compared to the majority European and Other populations at 76.8% (Statistics NZ, 2006) in New Zealand. The New Zealand population also comprises of Asian at 9.7% (Statistics NZ, 2006) and Pasifika at 7.2% (Statistics NZ, 2006). Māori also remain disproportionately represented in lower levels of educational participation and attainment and in levels of unemployment. Census figures (Statistics, NZ, 2006) indicate that 11% Māori were unemployed compared with the average rate of 5.1%, and 39.9% Māori aged 15 years and over, have no formal qualifications. While it is not difficult to find examples of the growing disparity between Māori and European in New Zealand today, Māori continue to be proactive in determining a positive future while keeping a firm eye on the ill effects of past events. History indicates that Māori society and culture have been in a state of change, particularly in the transformation of traditional cultural values. The notion of being Māori in New Zealand today has many facets calling for a revaluation of Māori experiences.

This thesis aims to understand how cultural values influence career processes for Māori. There are three objectives; firstly to provide Māori with the opportunity to share how they make sense of their work life by placing cultural themes at the forefront; secondly, to identify specific cultural values enacted in career processes; and thirdly, to determine how cultural values can be employed in achieving effective and relevant career services for Māori.

The career industry supports a language which has excluded and alienated some sectors of the population, namely Māori. The most prevalent being the construct 'career'. It is the constructs of 'work' or 'job' that are more familiar to Māori than 'career'. The construction of career has been linked to specific workers such as the 'professionals' category, or those in limited and selective entry positions usually with a recognizable ascent of the organisational ladder. These people were not easily replaced as they were employed for more than their manual labour (Humphries & Gatenby, 1996, p. 255). Others might have a 'trade' or an 'occupation' (Inkson, 2007). Essentially career has been used to refer to the work experiences of some privileged groups of people and not others, and thus is considered by Māori to be an elitist term.

The very context of career is in constant flux and in more recent times, has been referred to as the patterns and sequences of occupations and positions occupied by people across their working lives (Young & Collin, 2000). Arthur, Hall, and Lawrence (1989) agreed to the definition as the evolving sequence of a person's work experiences over time. Hall (1976) added the dimension of personal learning to his definition. He defined this as a series of lifelong work-related experiences and personal learnings. This collection of descriptions and meanings continues to be debated among career theorists and researchers. But the question must be asked, whether career practitioners can release the fixation on abstract terms and single definitions of the construct 'career'? Enabling people to construct their own meaning rather than rely on terms that have restricted them may open up and validate a wider range of career processes used by some groups. Some modes of career by Maori may be considered deviant to societal norms, for example, Māori value the use of dreams and symbols as a form of career decision making. If people are able to generate their own meaning of work, then those in the career industry must remain open to wide-ranging conceptions of purpose and meaning built from a person's contextual influences. While most research directions are theory driven this research hopes to develop new knowledge for career practice. By focusing on how culture is enacted and expressed I hope to make explicate how career practice can respond to the specific needs of Māori.

Current career research and resulting models appear inadequate for Māori as a diverse group. For example, career research focuses on those in professional positions or within specific age groups. In addition, some career models limit their scope of applicability to Māori fluent in te reo or who have a high degree of confidence in tikanga Māori. The relationship between cultural context and career is in my opinion, dynamic. Further research is needed to examine how cultural diversity influences careers and how people respond to this.

I have been a career practitioner in the New Zealand career industry for over 20 years. It was a career that was by no means planned and was precipitated by a recent graduate simply looking for a job in a new city! I became interested in learning how people made decisions about work from my first 'real' job as a graduate. I found myself applying these to decisions and choices my own whānau were or were not making. I quickly realised that what my whānau experienced did not fit the career theories and models I was being trained in. I became self-conscious about these experiences because they did not conform to 'typical' career processes I was being exposed to. My experiences felt insignificant or worse still, a hindrance to furthering my working life. Typical career processes appeared organised and orderly, planned and detached, and a way of doing things that was different to what I had experienced. It was my experiences of being [1]Ngāti Porou, growing up in the small rural settlement, [2]Whangara, being the eldest mokopuna and raised by my grandparents, which were the key motivators for this study and what I had been seeking to integrate into my work as a career practitioner. It was not until later in my working life that I have felt proud of my experiences, even though they still ran counter to what was accepted and valued in the career industry.

While well-meaning government officials attempted to build a career service that was culturally sensitive, the intention of career theories and models appeared to restrict admission to 'career' ideas. Generic descriptions such as collectivism and individualism were proposed as evidence for the support of cultural values. Some Māori in the career industry began to respond to a lack of cultural resources to inform career practitioners by modifying Māori cultural values to match popular career constructs. Yet in my opinion, 'modification' was not

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[1]Ngāti Porou tribe derive their name from the ancestor Porourangi. Ngāti Porou homeland is in the most easterly region of the North Island of New Zealand from Pōtikirua in the north to Te Toka a Taiau in the south.

[2] Whangara is a small community in the northeast of NZ's North Island located between Gisborne and Tolaga Bay. It is said to be the home of Paikea and Porourangi.

going to address how *I* experienced cultural values. Cultural markers such as confidence in te reo, participation in cultural activities and knowledge of whakapapa were pushed as ways to measure what being Māori meant in contemporary New Zealand. For me these represented further obstacles for some Māori. Not only was access to being Māori denied in the career industry but also there was a disregard for a broad range of Māori experiences.

I embarked on my academic hīkoi sensitised to the lack of interest in my story as Ngāti Porou, but also with a strong sense of commitment to doing something about it. Career research literature on the influence of culture in general was increasing, but few empirical studies on Māori and careers existed. It was my belief that Māori could not rely on 'other' people to tell our story or to even get our story heard this was action that we, as Māori, had to undertake. To achieve this meant facing issues among Māori. Issues such as recognition of the diverse realities among Māori today and employing this diversity as a way forward for the New Zealand career industry. As one of few Māori career practitioners, it was a mantle I took up willingly albeit with some trepidation. I had no idea just how entrenched normative career processes had become as I battled with myself on being Ngāti Porou and a qualified and experienced Māori career practitioner. It was to be a dispute that would at times inspire and at other times dishearten me in this research process.

A major aim of this study was to provide Māori with the opportunity to share how they make sense of their work, life and career stories by placing personal cultural themes at the forefront. I was inspired to seek a diverse group of Māori represented in this study. Other writers (Durie, 1994; Williams, 2000) have recognised the diversity among Māori today, but these were less recognised in the career industry. A key result from this study was the recognition of how diverse cultural identity among Māori is enacted in career. To carry out this research, I collected and analysed the career life stories from 22 Māori. To encourage a mixed group of participants the main criterion for being involved in this study was simply self-identification as Māori. To ensure a diverse range of voices it was hoped participants would be from a range of occupations, tribal affiliations, rural or urban upbringing and cultural life stages. The study was featured in a free Māori newspaper known for its extensive circulation and readership and this was used as a vehicle for locating volunteers for the study.

During the collection of career life stories I focused on how being Māori was enacted throughout their working lives. The challenge of operationalising the construct of being

Māori must be acknowledged, nevertheless this aspect is crucial when trying to determine the impact of cultural values on career processes. To clarify the relationship between cultural values and career processes specific questions were raised such as significant people and events in participants' working lives and the meaning of being Māori in their working life.

During the initial analysis of career life stories I focused specifically on the differences in story content between three career cultural life stage groups: rangatahi, pakeke and kaumatua. Career cultural life stage groups were conceived from cultural responsibilities according to age and career life stages (Super, 1980). However, analysis revealed some overlapping across each group. In response to this a new typology was generated to more adequately reflect the diversity within Māori participants. The typology indicates three groups whereby participants have described variations in cultural and career identity. Groups were found not to be discrete categories and Māori could develop within each group as their context created opportunity for a dynamic and evolving cultural perspective.

The doctoral hīkoi has had an incredible impact on me, personally and professionally. The most revealing aspect has been my allegiance to career practice. Developing the results of this study for career practitioners was one of the most UNproblematic stages of this thesis. Where previously, I had set career theories and models as the tenor for my career practice, a new principle had been instilled as a consequence of this research. I now draw strength from being Ngāti Porou and place these cultural experiences as the pivotal influence on my professional life. Being Ngāti Porou and all this entails is the platform for providing interconnectedness with other aspects of my life. Savickas et al. (2009) succinctly describes this as, "how people construct their lives through their work" (p. 241). How I work and the ways in which I interact with clients, students and colleagues is a reflection of, and in reaction to, my experiences as Ngāti Porou. As I continue to learn more about myself and share these ideas with colleagues from within the career industry, I change and evolve. Within all of these experiences, I too seek a more meaningful construct of work which acknowledges stories about people from my past, new meanings in my present and the future aspirations of my whānau and hapū, all woven together within my space of being Ngāti Konohi, which will continue to design my working life. My long-held motivation for this research has been to assemble the experiences of 'everyday' Māori people in the hope that this authenticates their meaning of being Māori and the ways in which this continues to be expressed in their working lives.

Chapter Summaries

This thesis comprises ten chapters. Chapter one has introduced the thesis and provides an initial orientation to the motivation for this thesis topic.

Chapter two provides an historical overview of kinship as a core Māori value beginning from traditional Māori society to contemporary interpretations. How work was practised within this value is examined as a reflection on the past and how this may still impact the current world in which Māori now live.

Chapter three provides an historical overview of how the New Zealand career industry has evolved. The chapter highlights the importance of government influence on the extent of career services and the efforts of Māori to ensure an ongoing presence and voice in this development. The needs of Māori within the career industry continue to be defined by the majority voices and this chapter acknowledges the need for Māori to become more visible.

Chapter four provides the theoretical context for vocational theories by describing the early career theories and locating this study in the contemporary constructivist approach. Constructivist and, later, social constructionism provided a framework for the examination of culture within multiple realities. Chapter four concludes with a comparative conversation between the rise of career counselling and organisational career management.

Chapter five backgrounds the history of attempts made to account for culture in careers. Indigenous career research is reviewed as an important feature for how career theory and practice can respond to the needs of Māori. This historical context is identified as one which has prompted the momentum for this study.

Chapter six details and justifies the design and methodology used in the research. Throughout this chapter my own worldview is explained and the influence that this has had on the research process including choice of methodology, data-gathering techniques and the perspective through which the data is viewed and analysed. The use of a Māori -centred approach for this research is discussed in conjunction with shared principles of Kaupapa Māori research. The participants are introduced and their demographic characteristics are detailed. This chapter also explains the choice of story-telling, as a culturally appropriate process for sharing experiences by Māori.

Chapter seven presents the findings from using content analysis. Coding was based on commonality in words, phrases and incidents across all participants within each group of rangatahi, pakeke and kaumatua career life stage. The experiences of each group are considered against responses to Māori cultural values and career processes such as, being Māori and this influence on career processes; significant relationships and the influences on their working life; significant events during their working lives; and career processes.

Chapter eight presents the discussion and findings from the research of a new typology of cultural career identities. The typology is characterized according to three categories based on cultural and career features: first, the 'cloaked'; second, the 'seeker'; and third, the 'keeper'. Throughout Chapter eight, the themes from participants' stories within each group are linked to the relational context in which they operate and I point to the implications for cultural and career identity.

Chapter nine discusses the findings as a contribution to understanding the research question. The research question is described within three key arenas: how Māori are enacting career; how culture supports and shapes career processes for Māori; and how career practitioners can best support Māori.

Finally, Chapter 10 discusses the implications of this research for Māori career practitioners and Māori managers and the integration of the new typology into their work. It was imperative that non-Māori practitioners also be made aware of implications for their work with Māori given the small number of Māori career practitioners in the industry. Finally, the limitations of the study are discussed and recommendations for future research are indicated.

CHAPTER TWO

THE KINSHIP PRINCIPLE: MĀORI AND CAREER

This chapter provides a historical overview of work beginning from traditional Māori society. Key social and economic events in Māori history are featured to indicate the impact on the social organisation of Māori society and subsequent patterns of employment. Discussion follows on emerging Māori identities and the influencing hand of subsequent governments on Māori development leading to the present day. Finally, attention is given to efforts by Māori to being in charge of their own futures within a framework of economic activity. This is considered in light of the trend toward a shifting Māori population both within New Zealand and to Australia and recognition of an ever-increasing diversity among Māori today.

Social Structure

Traditional Māori society was based on the kinship principle (Best, 1952; Firth, 1959; Hiroa, 1950). The primary social unit was the whānau (family), or extended whānau, through which several families were blood relations. Whānau consisted of up to 30 people or more, and compromised of three or four generations at any one time (The New Zealand Royal Commission on Social Policy, 1988). Whānau and extended whānau epitomised the kinship principle as members were committed and responsible to and for each other. When kinship connections were affirmed, common aims and values were a means for binding people. As families increased in size they formed hapū (descendants of a common ancestor) and some of the members of these families again branched off and settled not far from the original hapū (Papakura, 1986). Whānau groups formed hapū, and different hapū made up iwi (nation). By the 1850's the largest kinship group was the iwi. While kinship groups have been placed within a hierarchical model of whānau – hapū – iwi, each were fluid political units under different circumstances and at different periods of history (Petrie, 2006, p. 12). Traditional Māori society was unified by whakapapa (genealogy) and collectivist values.

Whakapapa was intricately woven throughout the fabric of Māori society and functioned as the weave across all kinships. Not only did whakapapa connect people to each other but also particular people to particular lands and therefore mana over these lands. According to

Barlow (1991, p. 173) "whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time". Durie (1998, p. 1) also defined whakapapa as "descent from a shared ancestor". Te Rito (2007, p. 1), he was influenced by the works of Williams (2001), and describes whakapapa as "genealogical layer of ancestor upon ancestor up to the present day". The visualisation of layers inspired Māori to also focus on the spiritual and human stories which make up the sediment of each layer. More recently, Graham (2009, p. 2) described whakapapa as a "biological and kinship credential" signalling the connection to direct blood relationships and use of whakapapa for identity as Māori. Whakapapa enabled whānau to establish links with each other and hapū and iwi. Common ancestry and connected whakapapa gave birth to whānau stories and histories. Māori believed the traits and behaviour displayed in a person today could be traced back to ancestors through whakapapa. Such was the importance of whakapapa in determining past, present and future direction of descendants it was one of the most prized forms of knowledge (Graham, 2009). It was also the source and means by which Māori identity was established and identified as a place from which a person stands. Hoskins (2007) describes this as finding a place where people belong as opposed to having a place that belongs to the people. Together, these elements provided a sense of purpose and direction and gave rise to the complex relationships of whānau, hapū and iwi. Iwi, whānau and hapū remained connected and maintained constant interactions between each other through kinship (Te Rito, 2006).

Traditional Māori had roles performed by the different ranking systems of leaders. The ariki (paramount leader) of the iwi was the social and political leader, and played a part in the organisation of economic affairs; the rangatira (leader) of the hapū spanned between three to four generations; the kaumatua (elder) of the extended family; and the tohunga (expert) (Winiata, 1967). These positions were held based on ancestry determined by birth order or whakapapa (Walker, 1990; Winiata, 1967). Women were recognised as rangatira in their own right among the East Coast tribes, but elsewhere, only in outstanding cases (Metge, 1976, p. 205). The title "tohunga" meant an expert and provided another level of leadership. This could be applied to a range of activities, be it religion, medicine, crafts, knowledge and other significant professions (Hiroa, 1950). The function of traditional leadership was to maintain kinship systems and was reliant upon communal success and the collective action of each kinship entity. Traditional Māori social structure fell into two main categories, those with chiefly rank based on lineage and those without ranking. Those without chiefly lineage

could achieve leadership through the exercise of skills and other personal qualities (Winiata, 1967). Productivity was seen as a means to advance a social position bestowed by birth.

Nearly all aspects of modes of production were performed in a traditional mould (Firth, 1959). These were handed down by personal tuition and the mana in producing something of quality was connected to the quality of the tutorship and learner. This tutelage provided a type of interpersonal intimacy for all those involved leading to a strong sense of pride and dignity in possessing a skill or craft. Such special skills and knowledge were closely guarded and passed down within families (Firth, 1959). The teaching of the young was seen as the key to sustaining the tribe. It was expected that people who possessed certain skills would not let these decline but continue in the role of teacher. The process consisted of accompanying kaumatua to observe and learn about the proceedings taking place. Students were also encouraged to ask questions of kaumatua on the proceedings. Kaumatua offered advice and counsel across a range of issues and matters, including work. While the selection and approval of particular skills and knowledge contributed to the economic survival of the tribe, this process also held interest as a source of differentiation from others within their own iwi and hapū, as well as those from neighbouring iwi and hapū. For example, success and a reputation of being more skilful than others would greatly increase the chances of further personal endeavours such as choices of marriage partners, and selection for higher order activities.

Productivity

The recognition of kinship bonds and economic needs grew side by side (Firth, 1959). Modes of production were governed by seasonal rhythms and were co-operative activities within the kin group which drove all forms of economic productivity. Labour was regarded as honourable, and there was no class of persons able, from their wealth, to purchase indulgence and exemption from labour (Firth, 1959). According to traditional Māori, industriousness was an activity all participated in regardless of position as this ancient whakatauki (proverb) suggests:

> *"He iti te kopara kai te rerere ana I runga I te puhi o te kahika" (Although the bellbird is small it flies to the crown of the white pine" – achievement is not the result of stature, even a person of humble station can attain success)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 77)

The implication was that people could contribute regardless of social position within hapū and whānau as this whakatauki suggests:

> *"Ehara te toa patu tangata, he toa pahekeheke; apa he toa ahumwhenua, he toa pumau" (The future of the warrior is uncertain, unlike the reliability of the tiller of the soil)* (Mead & Gove, 2003, p. 25)

Māori worked together, side by side, whānau by whānau (Te Rito, 2006). Whānau provided their own workforce for its survival as hunters, fisher people and gatherers of wild plants (Walker, 2004). Historically Māori society offered few occupational choices and whānau were assigned work roles based on inherited skills and qualities, and age. The 'selection' of a type of work was non-existent and many assumed the roles their hapū or whānau had held over the generations. Women performed general whānau activities (Papakura, 1986) and also performed key activities essential to the shared social order such as the karanga (call of welcome), leading songs of welcome, supporting speakers with song, weaving, mourning the dead, the rituals of creativity and dance and the opening of a newly built whare (house) (Papakura, 1986). These activities were afforded to women of a particular age and were significant roles in transferring the oral history and identity of whānau, hapū and iwi. Clear-cut differentiation of roles on the basis of sex applied only in limited areas of social life, such as those connected with child-bearing and with formal ceremony on the marae (enclosed space in front of house) (Metge, 1995). The arts of carving and tattoing and the professions of canoe-builder and carpenter were rated highly, (Firth 1959) and were tasks men performed.

Modes of production provided the collective social system with a method for maintaining cultural values. 'Success' for traditional Māori appeared to be drawn from the processes of planning to complete a set task, rather than based solely on the position a person was afforded within the hapū or whānau. The way in which a task was completed was recognised as having an impact on the final outcome of the task. It was expected that, with careful planning tasks could be completed within a timeframe and provide satisfaction to all involved as described by these ancient whakatauki:

> *"Kaua e whakaarohia te mahinga engari te otinga" (Think not of the labour, rather reflect on the completion)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 194)

> *"He ika kai ake I raro, he rapaki ake I raro" (As a fish nibbles from below so an ascent begins from the bottom – successful completion depends on planning and necessary ground work)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 73)

It was stressed that planning was an activity that required thought, and not just physical prowess. This highlighted the value of skills such as judgement and consideration, as these whakatauki express:

> *"He mahi te ata noho, e ki ana a Wheke"(There is work in remaining quiet according to Wheke)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 93)

> *"Kia ata mahi, kia oti ai; kia ngawari te riri, kia hinga ai te hoariri" (Work methodically so that the job is finished, move lightly and attack swiftly so that the enemy will be vanquished)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 209)

Once again, a steady 'routine' of work was rewarded with the completion of a task. This was contrasted with simply 'looking' busy which could lead to unproductive efforts as this whakatauki suggests:

> *"Kai ana nga kaka, noho ana nga kereru" (The kaka are eating while the wood pigeon is sitting quietly" – the kaka is a noisy and busy bird; the pigeon takes its time and is calmer in disposition)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 157)

Purpose of productivity. According to traditional Māori thought, being industrious meant provision of basic necessities such as food, for whānau as described in this whakatauki, "*Ko mahi, ko kai; ko noho, ko iri" (Industry is food, idleness is hunger)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 233). Industriousness was a quality that exemplified good character and would reflect across all whānau and hapū members. Industriousness was often compared to idleness, as in this whakatauki illustrates:*"Mauri mahi, mauri ora; mauri noho, mauri mate" (Industry brings well being; idleness produces insecurity)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 290). Productivity established a shared identity of contribution to the overall social and economic welfare of the hapū and mutual benefit was the key motivator (Petrie, 2006). It was important that people understood that their own efforts contributed to the collective while also building their own sense of character as described in these whakatauki:

> *"Ehara ta te tangata kai, he kai titongai kaki, e kore e rite ki tana ake, tino kai, tino makona" (Food provided by another merely tickles the throat, it never equals that gained by one's own exertions, which is the best and the most satisfying)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 24)

> *"Mahia e tona ringa, tino kai, tino makona" (Subsistence gained by one's own hand is the best and the most enjoyable)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 278)

Success was measured against a person's ability and commitment to sustaining their whānau group with the basic necessities of life.

A person's hands became a metaphor for industriousness as described by these whakatauki:

> *"E moe i te tangata ringa raupa" (Marry a man with blistered hands)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 38)

> *"Kaua e tirohia te pai ahua, engari te raupa o te ringa" (Look not for attractive appearance but for the roughness of the hands)* (Mead & Grove, 2003, p. 193)

Once again the value of industriousness far exceeded that of physical attributes.

A desire to uphold hapū mana (prestige), admiration of others, the visible exercise of their particular skill, the strong forces of custom and tradition, and the welfare of the community, were all factors that motivated work. Communal modes of production were performed by all and were often reported as "lively banter of conversations and song" (Firth, 1959, p. 239). The task was often enjoyed more with the presence of others. Economic activity, while providing a source of survival was also a means to advancing one's social position and as a connection to the larger communal group.

Impacts on social and economic activity

    Pākehā settlers. Encounters with early Pākehā (Anglo-European) settlers brought many effects but early on the greatest impact was on the organisation of Māori life. Increasing needs of the settlers provided Māori with new commodities for trading, such as wheat, and domestic pigs (Petrie, 2006). In certain districts Māori provided whole townships with a regular supply of foodstuffs Firth (1959). Māori were eager to extend their own competence in the use and understanding of the new technology bought by the settlers and economic activity shifted to supporting the needs of the settlers. Bush clearing, farms, roads, and townships were all areas where Māori labour was utilized. In many cases Māori were still able to construct, manage and own their own economic ventures. Māori retained their own social and political structures while utilizing the commercial practices of the settlers to their own social ends. Despite their contributions to the productivity of the colony, Māori were not valued for their own initiative but their labour was measured in terms of how they might benefit Pākehā (Petrie, 2006). The somewhat impersonal economic activities of the settlers challenged kinship values with the use of machinery to perform tasks that communal groups once had. Māori had engaged in work as a communal activity but new technologies such as the plough and teams of working bullocks reduced the need for large groups to cultivate the land. Modes of production were intimately connected to non-economic activities occurring within the hapū such as enjoying time together. The hapū, once such a

focal piece of economic activity began to lose cohesion (Firth, 1959). A transition from the communal to the individual economy looked likely.

A few Māori began to be more involved in 'paid' work, attracting individual wealth and possessions (Moon, 1993), however this form of income was barely enough to sustain them. With the advent of new skills and techniques, productive roles expanded for Māori men into occupations such as carpenters, joiners, sawyers, blacksmiths, storemen and other trades and professions (Firth, 1959). Kinship structures supported the pleasure in members being involved in the completion of tasks. For Māori the advent of new technology saw this disappear as people were involved in specific activities which did not always involve connection with the completed product. This severely limited the practice of traditional and inherited attributes to instead serve a more standardised way of doing things. Previously, working life depended on communal communication, sharing and decision making. The divide between kinship work identity which so often encompassed much more than economic exchange, soon turned to that of a personal quest for work activities. The substitute of collective decision making across aspects of Māori life included decisions around occupations and modes of production.

Land. For Māori, land was a shared resource producing benefits for the common good. Access to these benefits was an outcome of whakapapa as stated earlier. It was not only a source of economic sustenance but also held emotional and spiritual significance. However, the early settlers quickly saw land as a commodity from which to build their own status and wealth. Māori were discouraged from diversification and had unequal access to government assistance, two significant contributors to a decline in commercial opportunities (Petrie, 2006). Land continued to be a controversial nexus between Māori and non-Māori and land policy from as early as 1840 served to advance only the interests of the settlers. The Crown was under immense pressure to provide land for the new settlers from which to launch new settlements, economies and livelihoods. As the subsequent deadlock between Māori refusing to sell and settler's growing anger escalated, pressure was placed on the Crown to act, and act quickly. Māori continued to voice their concern at the Crown's lack of non-compliance to the provisions of [3]Te Tiriti o Waitangi (1840) a document expected to protect lands and fisheries (Keenan, 2009). Opportunity to stem the flow of settlers and provide boundaries from which land attainment could be managed were key issues for Māori. The

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[3] In 1840 Maori representatives signed Te Tiriti o Waitangi with the British Crown. This version refers to the Māori document.

Crown understood the significance of land for Māori, not only as an economic resource but as a connection to cultural identity. The offer of monetary exchange by the Crown was never the issue for Māori.

The culmination of land sales, Pākehā settlement and legislation saw Māori alienated and isolated from the growing prosperity of New Zealand as a colonial settlement. Māori were soon squeezed out of their own economic self-determination and economic opportunities previously found from the production of their land and quickly became an underclass, frequently employed to do menial or unpleasant work for their Pākehā masters (Moon, 1993). The pursuit of work to benefit character and social values rapidly turned to one of individualism, isolation and disorientation. The settlers comprehensively controlled most areas of productive Māori land (Firth, 1959) with the most significant step being the shift toward the establishment of individualised titles of Māori land, enforced by the Native Land Acts of 1863, 1865 and 1873. The Native Land Court was seen by Māori as an instrument whereby customary law could be asserted. However, settlers continued to bear pressure on their rights to obtain Māori land by focusing on issues such as communal ownership and ownership of unoccupied and uninhabitable land. By 1900, the belief was held that Māori were on the verge of disappearing as a race (King, 2003; Moon, 1993; Walker, 2004).

War Time. Ironically World War I was seen by some as a catalyst for the revival of Māori. This renaissance period was to come from Māori articulate in the ways of the Pākehā and dedicated to vastly improving Māori health, education and the attainment of equal status alongside the Pākehā (Gardiner, 1995). Criteria for selection of senior officers were based on tribal leadership patterns rather than military guidelines (Gardiner, 1995). This was an attempt to maintain the kinship principles of Māori and to restore communal connections. Unlike the early remnants of vocational guidance by Parsons (1909) of profiling aptitudes and ability levels for military classification of armed forces personnel, Māori were still utilising tribal kinship and connections. Gardiner (1995) went on to report that it was as if all previous perceptions of Māori as second-class citizens and un-trainable for military service were put aside, albeit reluctantly. By the advent of World War II in 1939 a precedent had been set with established structures for Māori involvement in war based on tribal leadership. With more time to train new recruits, Māori were seen with renewed respect and appreciation. Military skill saw a return to the value of inherited abilities and attributes and an opportunity to once again generate mana and pride for iwi, hapū and whānau.

The end of the Second World War served as a vehicle for encouraging Māori to abandon rural poverty and sell their labour to the emerging factories in the cities (Walker, 2004). Those who left their rural dwellings possessed few qualifications and training, the most common skill acquired was an ability to drive (Metge, 2004). Men were therefore attracted to manual labouring, road maintenance, freezing works and factory work. Women were employed in service occupations, with factory work also a popular choice.

Urban Shift. Historically, Māori communities for 1,000 years were increasing in size as population growth was maintained as a result of vibrant economies. The dramatic decline in the Māori population between 1850-1890 was due to, widespread disease; loss of engagement in the economy; military intervention by the Crown; alienation from land; and the loss of land as the main means of production. An emergent urbanised living developed over time and colonisation was an additional impetus for this. Kinship remained important in the new cities although not all members were active in attending social functions and activities. Māori still preferred to spend any leisure time with other Māori and work life included similar social patterns in an attempt to reduce the fragmentation of communal experiences that urban living had created. For the growing number of urbanized Māori, identity began to be built from their local community and urban environment. Māori were confronted with a society that demanded and promoted expressive individualism. The barrage of unrelated and discrete activities led to unstable traditional kinship ties but local urban communities began to engender feelings of security, belonging and connection that their rural marae-based cousins were experiencing. However, the new urbanized Māori identity was still not enough to halt the many other social issues being experienced by Māori in the cities especially among Māori rangatahi (youth). A visible increase in social issues generated a need for measures to address the social and economic plight experienced by Māori. Māori in key government positions expressed a strong desire to address these issues in their own ways without Crown interference.

New leaders emerged from these dramatic social and economic times. These leaders included Apirana Ngata, Maui Pomare and Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), all members of the Young Māori Party, who acted as interpreters of one culture to another (Schwimmer, 1968). These leaders were convinced that the survival of Māori lay in utilizing the power of government to advance Māori people. Tribal leaders also continued to work for tribal autonomy and the protection of traditional ways of life. Kaumatua were now the most recognisable and universal form of leadership (Metge, 1967; Te Rito, 2006). Tribal Māori

leaders in the rural areas and newly emergent leaders in the cities both sought to maximize the official system's usefulness for Māori (Hill, 2005). What was always emphasised was the freedom for both traditional and urban leaders to fully participate in their own chosen ways. Of common concern to rural and urban leadership was that a distinctive Māori identity be asserted. What was becoming evident was a demand for Māori to adapt their identity to the new situation and context of urban life. The response from Māori was to continue to demand a future shaped by the core values of kinship.

Crown Interference. In response to increasing social issues in the cities, government gathered key members of the Māori War Effort Organisation who had underpinned the Māori contribution to the war efforts of World Wars I and II. Members of the Māori War Effort Organisation had witnessed soldiers returning to mundane routine labouring positions on their return home (Gardiner 1995). The government hoped the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act, 1945 embodied the wishes of the Māori War Effort Organisation for improvement in all aspects of Māori social life, and those who remained at home during World War II. The legislation was designed to meet equality imperatives through focusing on promoting rapid and socio-economic development of Māori, by Māori (Hill, 2004). Tribal executive committees and welfare officers, "experts in branches of Māori culture" (Gilling, 2008, p. 33), were appointed under the Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act and intentions were for Māori to exercise their own control, direction and form of self expression. Māori Welfare Officer appointees were those who had held high rankings in the war and their core activities focused on housing, permanent employment, health and education (Gilling, 2008). It was hoped that the committees would maintain a degree of autonomy and while they did not get this officially, unofficially they operated more or less independently (Hill, 2005). Committees targeted building an urban community for Māori whereby traditional knowledge, arts and craft and communal decision making could not only be reformed but also flourish. Unfortunately the large majority of Māori were unfamiliar with the functions, powers and personnel of the Tribal Committees (Metge, 2004).

Just as quickly as Māori attempted to utilize government initiatives and policy to advance traditional cultural values in a new setting, significant bureaucratic limitations continued to be imposed (Gilling, 2008). Additional efforts were asked of welfare officers within the Education, Labour and Employment departments. Apprenticeships were seen as appropriate for Māori men due to the perception of them being adept at stereotyped skills such as carpentry (Gilling, 2008) and were often brokered by welfare officers. Young Māori women

were typically directed to nursing, or office and factory jobs. Such schemes were also tied to hostel accommodation in the cities which provided stability and a sense of whānau created by ongoing support from welfare officers. This style of employment resembled the tutelage traditional Māori valued and the idea of a craftsperson dedicated to serve one craft for life. But in a society of city centres and large numbers of workers, the focus was soon to be on a sequence of occupations and how people developed these.

During this time, work was defined by the Crown and was introduced alongside a growing need by the economy for more skilled workers. With the expansion of New Zealand's industrial sector, skills such as technicians trained at a level between that of a tradesperson and university-educated technologists, were expected (Abbott, 2000). A by-product of this shift in skill base was the need for greater education of young workers, and support for choices and decisions about their vocational futures. Secondary schools began to focus on vocational training and guidance determined by what type of vocational skills were *needed.* "Vocational Guidance" (Savickas, 2008) emerged as systematic guidance procedures for matching people to suitable occupations.

The 1980's signalled a new direction for the New Zealand economy. The New Zealand economy also saw the growth of national and multinational corporations. These hierarchical structures created the metaphor synonymously regarded as climbing the corporate ladder (Savickas, 2008). One job for life was quickly replaced with advancement and progression up the ladder and beyond the corporation that employed them. Attention turned away from occupations to a focus on careers and how people could progress, advance and develop their career (Savickas, 2008). Deregulation in key sectors such as manufacturing and the state sector impacted heavily on Māori as these were traditional employers of Māori. Because Māori were concentrated in semi to unskilled positions in this sector, opportunities to move up were limited. Placed outside of the guises of 'career' meant that what processes Māori were experiencing received very little attention.

By 1991 Māori born and raised in the urban areas made up more than half the Māori population (Metge, 1995) many of whom were second, and third, generation urban dwellers. Yet many Māori practices remained unmodified in the city, with the need to maintain social contact with other Māori the most enduring. Urban Māori soon established sports clubs formed on a kinship basis as one vehicle for social interaction. From urban residents emerged a group of politicised Māori surging ahead with protest movements against the loss

of land and self-determination in response to the demise of the rights of Māori (Metge, 1995). Urban-based Māori experienced different sets of cultural activities impacted by a newly acquired sense of self, refined and re-transmitted through collective interactions. These types of collective membership fused new Māori identities. Today, connections include similarities in history, experiences, ideals, services, interests and practices (Graham, 2009). One such example is the pan-tribal institutions typically found in urban settings established in the 1980's for people outside of traditional rohe (boundaries) and more recently for those who were not familiar with their own tribal backgrounds (Keiha & Moon, 2008). Within these institutions kaumatua were commonly seen as advisors and whose influence was dependent on personal affection and respect (Metge, 1967; Te Rito, 2006).

Māori Agency

Walker (2004) identified two key phases in Māori economic development since colonisation. The first phase was between 1840 and 1860 when Māori were active in producing, processing and transporting primary products. The second phase was characterized by the compensation for trauma, land loss and cultural displacement; devolution of funds to Māori organizations, and the growing divergence of Māori in the cities engaged in the market economy. Conditions such as high unemployment and poor statistics on Māori health and participation in education were used as catalysts for new ventures for some Māori. A combination of the necessity to survive, the surge in cultural renaissance, and political pressure to 'close the gap' between Māori and Pākehā forced new perspectives on work--Māori began to pervade all manner of sectors and industries. Work for some became a vehicle from which to express cultural pride, to connect with others and to invest in the greater social structures of a culture. While career guidance was developing vocational self in theory and practice, Māori tuned in to developing their own form of cultural identity.

Perhaps a third phase is characterised by Māori knowledge becoming a legitimate form of sustained employment within areas such as the performing arts and teaching. Such sectors have grown out of whānau-based values which went on to support whānau discussions and decision making. Urbanisation had already orientated Māori towards employment opportunities with other Māori in factories, and construction sites. This new phase has seen the establishment of different sectors for Māori to thrive and succeed in using familiar cultural values of kinship connections and relationships. What was also apparent was the

view that cultural practices and behaviours could flourish within a workplace that supported relationships beyond the corporate tables. This demand for new skills and knowledge in the workforce was being met by institutions based on traditional places of learning known as wānanga (Zepke, 2009). Modern wānanga reflected Māori knowledge, customs and traditions while conceptually being framed in the western tradition of a modern tertiary institution. Those generations driven to the cities saw the benefit of gaining new skills, not only for greater economic rewards, but also the benefit of engaging in social relationships with other Māori. The feeling of isolation, lost pride and self confidence was supported and nurtured in environments with others who were 'like them' and understood their perspective. During this phase Māori, through work, were embracing the core kinship values.

This phase is also characterised by tribal areas which had been compensated for land grievances beginning the process of identifying suitable structures and business approaches to reap ongoing dividends from their reparations. Tribal regions took a dual approach of developing commercial structures while simultaneously improving the welfare of their tribal members. Only certain people were gainfully employed within the corporate structures created, while other tribal members benefitted from education, health and cultural projects and grants. Criticism was levelled at iwi who had been afforded compensation which not all tribal members were benefiting from. This brought to bear a 'clash' between traditional Māori leadership who had successfully negotiated with the Crown, and a newly emerging pan-tribal and urban based leadership who worked on a daily basis with alienated and disempowered Māori families. What was becoming apparent was that not all Māori were in a position to access and participate in some of the expanding opportunities. McIntosh (2005) confirms that many Māori live lives that are at the margins of both mainstream and Māori society. Borrell (2005) supports this view by claiming Māori who may not be actively engaged in recognized cultural activities can become invisible, misunderstood and doubly marginalized.

While a cultural revival had contributed to addressing some social injustices, for other Māori there was still a focus on day-to-day struggles and isolation. Targeted interventions initiated by government policy and Māori organizations had been based on concepts and paradigms not always shared by all Māori, yet such interventions were still employed. The recognition of a diverse Māori identity appeared to be paid only by lip service, with those at the 'coal face' primarily youth and urban Māori, asked that support be given to acknowledging, encompassing and embracing a broad range of cultural identities. As an emerging identity

this group demanded recognition of how they saw themselves which was constructed from their own language, history and culture. This was a generation propelled into the digital age, multiculturalism and migration.

Another potential group of Māori absent from expanding opportunities in New Zealand were those migrating to Australia. New Zealand Māori have been settling in Australia and other parts of the world for over two centuries (Bedford & Pool, 2004). A recent survey conducted by [4]Te Puni Kokiri, (2006), highlighted possibly for the first time, contemporary issues faced by those Māori who had left New Zealand for Australia. The overwhelming motivation for the shift was found to be better economic opportunities such as better wages or working conditions. Another key motivator was reported as opportunity for career advancement (Hamer, 2007). Māori who remained in the type of jobs they held in New Zealand, found wages were significantly higher in Australia providing an ability to afford homes, cars, education and up-skilling. Respondents felt they would not have had access to such opportunities had they stayed in New Zealand. Māori in more advanced positions such as management and supervisory roles believed they could not have had the same positions in New Zealand. While better economic and career opportunities were reported to be factors, others were personal belief and freedom. Hamer (2007, p. 53) reported respondents were "freed from an environment in which Māori were not encouraged or expected to do well, including by their own people and a perceived racist system".

A significant feature about the Māori population residing in Australia was the demographic characteristics. Respondents described 30 to 40 members of their own whānau moving to Australia in a kind of chain migration (Hamer, 2007), to keep whānau together and then grandparents followed to be with their Australian-born mokopuna.

This survey also raised issues pertinent for Māori in New Zealand. Respondents spoke of the negative aspects of life in New Zealand such as, negative news stories on Māori, the perpetuation of stereotyping, and prejudice (Hamer, 2007). Some respondents also commented on Māori in New Zealand limiting the potential of other Māori through accusations such as being "too Pākehā" or "not Māori enough" (Hamer, 2007). Respondents felt this created a climate whereby Māori were unable or unwilling to step out of this imposed limits and preferred to remain "stuck in the past" (Hamer, 2008). What this survey began to

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[4] Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development) is the Crown's principal adviser on Crown-Māori relationships.

highlight was yet another group of the Māori population who were searching for a new sense of identity.

While Māori identity has been linked to traditional cultural content such as knowledge of whakapapa, te reo and tikanga, there is a growing awareness and acceptance of more fluid identities as Māori move into a new century and further cultural discovery. The urban shift has created one such identity with a focus on geographical settings as opposed to tribal settings, and mixed whakapapa (McIntosh, 2005). Another challenge, now comes from Māori living in Australia. This group has rejected the notion of being lost or inauthentic, and are shifting the boundaries of identifying as Māori recognizing that people not places, make and are culture (McIntosh, 2005). McIntosh (2005, p. 50) describes a "forced identity" in New Zealand, whereby Māori are burdened with media profiles and stereotypes. It is this very identity that Māori now in Australia feel that they have escaped from.

Māori diversity. For Māori, diverse identities were emerging that were greatly influenced by a social context still haunted by state endorsement and pressures for full assimilation. The Crown continued to focus on 'incorporating' Māori issues into broader policy, albeit at a superficial level. On the other hand, Māori struggled to sustain unique identifiers for complete independence from the Crown. Contemporary issues for Māori such as urbanization and migration, have bought to the forefront the urgent need for a *range* of markers and identifiers for being Māori. Traditional definitions and settings are pertinent to only a narrow range of the Māori population on which legislation and structures have been based. The continued failure to recognise broader realities, contexts and surroundings only serve to halt progress for all Māori. Māori must be mindful of not pursuing a similar path to the Crown whereby Māori issues were 'incorporated' into policy and traditional markers and identifiers, simply 'implanted' into a contemporary milieu.

Opportunities continue to arise through Māori redefining their identity in new cultural contexts. The once distinctive Māori social entities are today not all essentially connected through blood ties. A contemporary view of whakapapa may support relationships built on biological and non-biological connections. Māori today define new ways of connecting to each other. Graham (2009) describes these as not only hapū, land and Māori connections but also physical interactions across generations known as whānaungatanga or connections established from common experiences. Metge (1995) described whanuangatanga as kinship in its widest sense and reminds members of the commitment and responsibility they have to

each other. Cleave (2009) suggests that these institutions are examples of responses to urbanisation *within* the model of whānau, hapū and iwi.

In modern times, whānau have undergone change in parallel with the changes in broader Māori society (Durie, 2001). When considering Māori health, Durie (2001) has described whānau as being more closely related to the lives and experiences of people in their everyday pursuits, unlike to a tribal or regional-level emphasis which are led by the state or economic experts. Durie (2001) identified five other models of whānau which extend beyond the more conservative definition of common ancestry and descendants. They include whānau as shareholders who share a common interest in family land (Durie, 2001 p. 191); whānau as friends who share a common mission (Durie, 2001, p. 192); whānau as a model for interaction (Durie, 2001, p. 192); whānau as households who share a common location, i.e., suburb and the virtual whānau (Durie, 2001, p. 194). Although no blood ties occur, each whānau group adopt behaviours of mutuality, reciprocity and shared responsibility within a Māori cultural context. Metge (1993) made a similar statement regarding the use of whānau by those not linked by descent, for her the mere fact that this word was chosen is a symbolic statement of modelling structures on the whānau and adopting the same values. Durie (2001) continues to support the healthy development of whānau by claiming that, while all Māori can claim descent from hapū and iwi, not all have close affiliations with these organisations. He therefore supports 'whanuangatanga' as the future for Māori social relationships rather than 'iwitanga'. For Durie (2001), whānau development touches the lives more directly of individuals rather than broader issues such as iwi politics and Treaty settlements.

The process of defining one's place in whānau, hapū and iwi is both intimate and public. Public and private expressions of this identity exist across many layers and in many forms. External and internal manifestations of identity and self-definition are dynamic and evolving (Winitana, 2008). All have evolved and adapted to contemporary social structures and organisations. For example, in a study of Māori entrepreneurs, Warriner (2007) found a range of opinions on the expression of traditional Māori values. While all acknowledged their importance, one participant believed that how they are interpreted by other Māori may not be in the best interest of their business. Business processes and outcomes were cited as aspects that needed to be balanced alongside traditional values.

Summary of chapter

Historically Māori have maintained a kinship principle which has driven all aspects of social and economic activity. Despite numerous attempts to destroy the core value of kinship, Māori have continued to be proactive and innovative in the continuity of kinship throughout key periods in New Zealand history. In more recent times attention is being paid to the diversity which exists among Māori and new identities are beginning to emerge and be affirmed. To understand culture, a person must first interpret this culture in terms of what particular values, practices and behaviours mean to them (Marsden, 2003). The meaning that people ascribe to values, practices and behaviours exists in a range of cultural settings and themes. Feelings of identification to being Māori are a result of history and values which existed within whatever Māori cultural context people were engaged in. The following chapter illustrates the development of career in New Zealand, once again outlining an historical process which influenced Māori career development and processes.

CHAPTER THREE

'CAREER' IN NEW ZEALAND

This chapter provides an historical overview of 'career' in New Zealand. The chapter outlines the vocational guidance service progression through the Department of Education, Department of Labour and eventually evolving into a government organisation, 'Career Services' that provides all New Zealanders with access to career information, advice and guidance. Following this is a discussion on the development of professionalization in the career industry with the establishment of a professional association and the development of specialist qualifications at tertiary institutes. Both initiatives have led to a demand for New Zealand-based career research which is outlined in the final part of this chapter.

History of Vocational Guidance

In 1928 with youth unemployment becoming an issue, conferences involving the departments of Labour and Education amongst others, recommended that vocational guidance officers be employed in schools. This move heralded the first involvement of the state in vocational guidance in New Zealand (Martin, 1996). Initially-part time vocational guidance officers, who were also part-time teachers, were appointed in the technical high schools in the metropolitan centres. The joint administration by the Education and Labour departments was an acknowledgement that vocational guidance was a bridge between school and work (Hesketh & Kennedy, 1991).

In 1943 the government of the day decided that vocational guidance was first and foremost an educational function and made the Education Department solely responsible for vocational guidance (Hesketh & Kennedy, 1991). Vocational Guidance Service centres were to be found in the main centres and were set up to provide vocational guidance to intending school leavers. Staff visited schools in outlying areas for consultations with intending leavers, principals and career staff. Such visits also included maintaining accurate information on careers and post-education requirements (Hermansson & Webb, 1993). In 1948 the government approved regulations covering the appointment of careers advisors to all secondary schools with a roll of 200 students. New careers advisors were required to

undertake a week of induction training in their holidays. This training was provided by the Vocational Guidance Service.

Meanwhile changes were also occurring within the Department of Labour in 1936. In an innovative move, an Employment Division was established with placement services in 18 centres. The department would run fully fledged labour exchanges covering a wide range of occupations and seeking the most suitable candidate for each job. During the recession of 1967–1968 for the first time since the 1930's depression unemployment suddenly became significant. The Department of Labour's employment service found it difficult to cope with the much greater demands suddenly made on it, especially in Auckland. The recession exposed disadvantaged groups in the community and the employment service needed to be upgraded to deal with them. It was proposed that the New Zealand service be remodelled on the British approach (Martin, 1996). The key requirement was that a modernised service be provided such as a shop front for service. This approach was approved by cabinet and in 1972 the service was operational in Auckland. Services such as a job self-service, careers information, a wider placement service with specialist placement for specific client groups, vocational guidance counselling and specialist employment officers (Martin, 1996).

As a consequence of the increasing overlapping of functions in the employment field the new employment service was created. There had been discussions over the long-term place of the Education Department's vocational guidance service since the early 1970's (Martin, 1996). In 1976 the government decided to transfer it to the Department of Labour in order to form a combined employment and vocational guidance service (Hermansson & Webb, 1993). This shift was seen as a direct response by government to rising unemployment. The move took place in April 1978 and a five-year plan to extend guidance from the existing seven centres to 16 servicing all the department's districts, was approved.

The key government instrument for resolving unemployment was to be the Employment and Vocational Guidance Service (Martin, 1996). An early criticism of the vocational guidance service was the delivery of services to mainly middle and upper-income brackets or those aspiring to further education (Hesketh & Kennedy, 1991). The shift to the Department of Labour saw the service address the needs of the unemployed and those referred with special needs arising from disability.

In New Zealand during the 1980's major organisational changes were made, firstly to the public service. An open market was preferred as it was assumed that this model would be

more efficient for identifying needs and allocating resources from the state. For the Employment Service the emphasis moved towards training and skill development and integrating individuals back into the workforce. As a result the department's vocational guidance role was reviewed, eventually within a wider review of the entire Employment and Vocational Guidance Service in 1986 (Martin, 1996).

The reorganisation of the Department of Labour saw the formation of four separate services: Employment; Occupational Safety & Health; Industrial Relations and Immigration. The Employment Service would bring together the existing dual management structure of employment and vocational guidance, and more clearly identify its clients and their needs. Part of this transition was a change in the name of the service from vocational to career guidance. What this name change signalled to the New Zealand public was a service that would replicate that of the school 'career advisor'. This function was viewed as suitable for younger people, i.e., secondary school students, and only for those transitioning from school to further training.

On 1 July 1990, legislative changes came into effect which once again changed the face of vocational guidance in New Zealand (Hesketh & Kennedy, 1991). Three new services were created: (i) the Career Education Service which had been the subject of a separate working party, became part of the Career Development and Transition Education Service, also known as Quest and later, Quest rapuara, and what is known today as Career Services; (ii) Access, (introduced in 1987 and consolidated by legislation in 1988) was designed to provide better training opportunities for those leaving school later to become the Education and Training Support Agency and then, later again Skill New Zealand which is now a function of the Tertiary Education Commission; and (iii) The New Zealand Employment Service (NZES). About a third of vocational guidance staff from the Employment & Vocational Guidance Service were either absorbed into The NZ Employment Service or left for other jobs (Martin, 1996). Vocational guidance eventually disappeared from NZES within a year or two. However, NZES and later the Department of Work & Income, the then Ministry of Social Development recognised a continuing need for their clients to have access to a guidance service by purchasing such a service from outside providers.

Another key development for career guidance in New Zealand was the newly changed education administration (Martin, 1996). All state schools were to be managed by an elected Board of Trustees which included secondary school staff and parents, who would be

responsible for drawing up the charter of aims and goals for their schools. It would be in their hands to determine whether the needs of the school are best served by continuing to fund the training of school guidance counsellors and careers advisors.

The deregulation of the New Zealand economy since 1985 has provided a unique context in which the notion of 'career' was seriously destabilised (Inkson, Furbish & Parker, 2002). As a result of a change in government, within six months of its establishment in July 1990, Career Development and Transition Education Service, was downsized from a $13 million fully funded public service to a $5 million plus revenue-generating business. The careers industry drew government support by a partially funded government agency responsible for providing careers information, advice and guidance to New Zealanders. As a Crown agency Career Services, formerly known as the Career Development and Transition Education Service, had an implicit role in meeting the Crown's obligations to support and enhance the efforts of Māori to manage their own affairs as far as practicable. This meant that Career Services was required to consider the needs and aspirations of Māori in order to improve outcomes and to consider the priorities of Māori communities. Career Services responded by initiating a designated Māori career consultant position in each of the 11 branches. In July 2000 they introduced a Māori traineeship to address the difficulty of attracting qualified and experienced Māori staff. However, retention of Māori staff remained a high concern. The focus for the new agency may have seen very little support for Māori staff. Further, career models and approaches being offered may have seemed ill-equipped to work with Māori clients.

Since its inception in 1990, Career Services has developed key resources that have a sole focus on Māori clients and their career needs. Examples include:

- Junior and senior Māori student career days
- Parent as career educators' seminars for Māori parents
- Māori teacher update days
- KiwiCareers – a career information website. Job titles and descriptions are translated into te reo Māori and there are Māori design elements on most pages
- The use of Māori role models in publications

These resources may indicate a process which seeks to merely 'fit' Māori into standardised models of Westernised career services.

In 2003 the New Zealand government took a renewed interest in developing the field of careers by stating that properly managed careers will help build the skills of New Zealanders. The aim was to ensure New Zealanders could compete in the global knowledge economy. Career Services continues to receive funding for new career initiatives based on this aim. Two major projects are: 'Creating Pathways and Building Lives' (CPaBL); and 'The Better Tertiary and Trade Training Decision Making' (BTATTDM) (Career Services Annual Reports 2006; 2007; 2008). CPaBL aims to support secondary schools to develop a school-wide approach to career education and BTATTDM aims to further develop career services as a 'one-stop-shop' for young New Zealanders (Career Services Annual Report, 2007, p. 7). Both initiatives make important contributions to the Tertiary Education Strategy and indicate government focus on increased career support for young people.

Professionalism in the New Zealand career industry

In 1997 the Career Practitioners Association of New Zealand (CPANZ) was chartered. The New Zealand Association of Counsellors, previously known as the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association had previously acknowledged and addressed the particular needs of members of their association who were career counsellors (Hermansson & Webb, 1993). This established a professional identity for career practitioners in New Zealand and an association solely dedicated to career practitioners. An increase in people identifying themselves as career practitioners was partially due to the growing number of staff employed by Career Services and the increased number of government initiatives being promoted. The career industry was attracting people who had different pathways from the old vocational guidance service--for example, those providing career services in a private capacity and newly established organisations working with specific client groups such as those needing vocational rehabilitation services.

New Zealand career practitioners are a diverse group (McCowan, McKenzie, Medford & Smith, 2001). A survey of members conducted by the Executive Committee of the Career Practitioners Association (2007) revealed members located in self employment, tertiary institutes, private companies and government agencies. Demographic results revealed that

83.1% described themselves as European, 7.2% as Māori, 1.9% Asian, 1.6% as Pasifika and 6.3% as other. When these figures are compared to the New Zealand ethnic composition of 14.6% Māori, 9.2% Asian, 14.7% Pacific peoples, (Statistics New Zealand, 2006), these ethnic groups are seriously under-represented among career practitioners in New Zealand.

Historically there has been no specialised qualification or training for people who have established themselves in a career services practice. Until 1996 formal education in career development was embedded in other disciplines such as psychology, education and business. Students from both education (school counsellors) and employment (vocational counsellors) provided a regular supply to such programmes. Much of the practical consideration for delivery of career services was provided by the organisations that employed career practitioners (McCowan et al., 2001). In 1996 two formal training programmes specifically designed for career practitioners were offered at AUT University and Wellington Institute of Technology as a direct result of the increase in career services being provided and the diversity of backgrounds and formal qualifications of those involved in the careers industry. AUT University began by offering a Graduate Certificate in Career Development which expanded in 2000, to the Graduate Diploma in Career Development. As a result of students continuing post-graduate study off-shore, AUT University offered the Master of Career Development in 2007 for the first time. Another recent provider, Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology, also offered a Diploma in Career Guidance for the first time in 2006/2007.

Career research. The demand for professionalism within the career industry has instigated a call for research specific to the New Zealand career industry. An inaugural conference of New Zealand career researchers was held in 2001. Participants numbered 22 and were primarily academics from university business schools. In 2002, the International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance in co-operation with Career Services, National Office, Wellington, hosted an international conference. Professor Mason Durie, a well known Māori academic and researcher was the keynote speaker for this conference. Professor Durie focused on the need for indigenous models of practice in careers. He proposed what is believed to be the first, Māori-relevant framework for career planning, with the underlying emphasis being an indigenous world view. Such a model would reflect Māori understandings; values and attitudes about work, life and the environment (Durie, 2002). At the same conference, a paper was presented using a model designed by Professor Durie, Te Whare Tapa Wha (1994, 1996) initially for the health sector. With this model Māori health

was recognised as having four cornerstones of well-being: te taha wairua; te taha hinengaro; te taha tinana; and te taha whānau (Durie, 1994, 1996). The presenters used this model, as a template for career development from a Māori perspective (Koligi-Wade, Pohe, Reid, Rewi and Stirling-Hawkins, 2002). While this model began to utilise models from other sectors, career practitioners have questioned its relevance based on the notion that career was not in a state of 'un-wellness'. In 2009, Career Services once again hosted an international conference. One of the keynote speakers was another eminent Māori educationalist and researcher, Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith. Professor Smith shared her personal career life story and the challenges Māori face in career planning. The shift in the focus of keynote speakers from 2002 to 2009 is perhaps indicative of the New Zealand careers industry as a whole shifting to the valuing of personal career stories as a process for creating meaning and understanding. What is encouraging too, is the position Career Services places on a Māori worldview, as signalled by the choices of keynote speakers. However, while local and international career conferences continue to be hosted by Career Services and other organisations, workshops and presentations with a specific focus on cultural world views remains inconsistent.

In 2008 a career research conference was convened at AUT University in conjunction with the Career Practitioners Association of New Zealand (CPANZ). Due to the popularity of the event, numbers were restricted both for presenters and attendees. From the broad call for workshop presentations topics focused on specific client group populations such as New Zealand elite athletes, parents of school students, vocational rehabilitation clients and mid-life career women to name a few. Research with a focus on specific ethnic groups was also building. This recent career research conference saw three presenters (Humphries & McNicholas, 2008; Pio, 2008; Tharmaseelan, 2008) discuss their research on new immigrant populations and Māori. This was in contrast to a review of research topics in New Zealand by Inkson et al., (2002) which identified a primary focus on organisational issues related to career. Another interesting research project presented at this conference was a longitudinal study of 114 young people's pathways and career-related experiences and perspectives (Vaughan, 2007, 2008). Participant demographics included a total of 30 participants identifying as Māori. Of further interest is that participants from the 2001 conference were still actively involved in career research as they appeared once again as presenters for the 2008 conference. A testament to the length of time career research in New Zealand is taking

to be concluded and the ongoing commitment by academics and practitioners in making New Zealand-based career research available.

Due to the popularity of the conference in 2008, Otago Polytechnic in Dunedin agreed to host another event for 2009. The career research conference in 2009 saw a much broader range of topics being presented and by an increasing number of current career practitioners. This feature was in contrast to the inaugural conference in 2001 where presenters were mainly academics. Unfortunately, the number of topics with a focus on Māori and other ethnic groups had decreased from the 2008 conference. The opportunity to highlight career research to a broader audience, namely those practising in the field of careers continues to be vital to the New Zealand career industry. Yet it must be noted that matters of relevance to Māori have been either sporadic and lacking empirical data.

In 2009 Career Services National Office in Wellington hosted three international career events: an international careers conference, an international symposium on career development and public policy and an international meeting of representatives from countries using a particular career resource. The evaluation report for the international careers conference (Career Services rapuara, 2009) found only two New Zealand presentations ranked in the top 10 workshops. The observation was that perhaps New Zealand topics did not have the broad international appeal to delegates from other countries. This perhaps indicates to New Zealand career researchers the need to ensure material has an international relevance and application.

Summary of chapter

This chapter demonstrates how governments of the day continue to influence the direction of the career industry. Today, Career Services as a Crown agent describe their role as the leading provider of career information, advice and guidance services to all New Zealanders (Career Services 2006 Annual Report). Alongside organisational mandates, individual career practitioners and academics have driven the demand for professionalization of the career industry. Career research has become mandatory as an increasing number of conferences are calling for presentations with an empirical base. Regrettably responses from the career industry to the needs of Māori remain patchy. Career Services continue to develop models of practice relevant to Māori needs, including designated positions for Māori staff.

But professional issues such as career research on a Māori perspective of career still lag behind. In order to reflect more carefully on the place of Māori in the New Zealand career industry, cultural-experiences may be a place to begin. The purpose of the following chapter is to place vocational theories into an historical framework. This may offer a source of data on 'why' indigenous peoples continue to feel disengaged and disconnected from career services.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF VOCATIONAL THEORIES

This chapter provides a history of vocational theories from the founding father, Frank Parsons (1909) to contemporary theorists. Contemporary vocational theories such as the constructivist approach are discussed as avenues for exploring indigenous worldviews. Feminist theorists also provide another approach known as the relational perspective. This is discussed to draw attention to its relevance for Māori as it supports connectedness and integration within relationships. Finally, the chapter closes with a discussion on how career theory has embraced the relational perspective.

Early History

The seeds of vocational guidance germinated in the Vocational Bureau of Boston in 1908 (Miller-Tiedeman, 1999). The Vocational Bureau grew substantially during World War I and concentrated on helping to recruit and train employment managers for the shipping industry. The work of the bureau was conducted by counsellors. Psychologists from the bureau conducted large-scale selection and assignment of abilities of men selected for military service. As the war continued countries realised that discharged military also needed to be helped back into civilian life. Others had to change occupational fields, get further education and start to build a new life. This shifted emphasis from job requirements to individual characteristics (Miller-Tiedeman, 1999). Early vocational guidance tended to fall into two categories: developing effective ways for organisations to place individuals productively into positions and working with individuals to determine what type of position would suit them (Moore, Gunz, & Hall, 2007, p. 22). The work of psychologists created industrial psychology and vocational psychology.

Trait-factor theories. Frank Parsons (1909) is generally acknowledged to have been the originator of "vocational guidance" and the founder of modern career guidance (McMahon & Patton, 2000). Parsons (1909) has been credited with the transition of 'getting a job' to choosing a vocation. This approach has come to be known as 'trait and factor'

theory, where understanding particular traits, i.e., aptitude, ability and interests and 'matching' these to different lines of work.

A lawyer by training, Frank Parsons (1909) became concerned about the effects of industrialisation on workers, especially those most vulnerable such as the young, the poor and new immigrants. It was important to find a way to channel people into occupations that they would find satisfying. Once an individual found such a suitable occupation, the normal expectation was that she or he would remain in it for life. On May 1, 1908 Parsons presented a lecture that described systematic guidance procedures used to counsel 80 men and women who had come to the vocational bureau for help. He outlined a three part formula:

- A clear understanding of yourself, aptitudes, interests, resources, limitations and other qualities.

- Knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages, and disadvantages, compensations, opportunities, and prospects in different lines of work.

- True reasoning on the relations of these two groups of facts (Parsons, 1909).

Paterson took up the mantle of Parsons, followed then by Paterson's protégé, Darley, who developed this into trait-factor theory.   Holland (1973) a protégé of Darley, transformed personality trait and ability into person-environment fit. The central theme was that vocational satisfaction, stability and achievement depended on the congruence between one's personality and the environment in which one works. A personality structure by which both people and environments could be characterized from the clustering of vocational interests was developed. Occupations were grouped into six categories: realistic, investigative, artistic, social, conventional; and enterprising. Holland's (1973) personality structure went some way to addressing the tension between enabling individuals to continue to develop while also 'fit' individuals to jobs (Moore, Gunz & Hall, 2007).

Despite the advantages of this approach, the trait-factor approach was called into question for dealing with growing complexities in times of both economic growth and downturn, work environment and the responses and reaction of people to such turmoil. Neglecting relationships and client self-direction in favour of administering sterile assessments framed the trait-factor approach as a problem-solving process rather than one that worked with people. Vocational assessment results were focused on 'scores' rather than finding out about the person and their aspirations. Further, while there had been a tendency towards 'outcome'

within the careers profession with the trait-factor approach (Pope, 2003), attention began to be diverted to more process-orientated approaches (Emmett, 2001; Jepsen, 1994; Savickas, 1993). Career process had been described as continuous, uninterrupted and progressive and one that accompanied a person's entire life. Rather than a single match between the person and a job at one time in their lives, developmental approaches recognised not only the personalities of people but also the lives they lead.

Developmental theories. As vocational theory took on a new cloak of describing individual sequences of experiences, roles and relationships in work, it began to take on the connotation of progression or development. Super (1953) stated that occupational choice was a lengthy process and should not focus on the single act of choosing an occupation. Consequently, assessment material changed from quantitative measures to qualitative measures such as historical developmental stages, recurring themes and underlying patterns. Super (1953) claimed that the process of choice was continuous and summed it up as life stages. Super (1957) pictured career development as proceeding through five life stages: growth; exploratory; establishment; maintenance; and decline. The developmental theory of Donald Super (1953) has been one of the most influential vocational theories of the 20th century. For Super (1980) career represented a sequence of positions held during the course of a lifetime. Perhaps the most influential contribution from Super's theory (1990) was that of life--space approach to career. A person was likely to cycle through the life stages over a period of time rather than being 'assessed' at one point in time for career choices and decisions. The interaction between individuals and the environment implied a career 'pathway' focus rather than the earlier, more rigid process of 'matching'. He encouraged clients to view themselves as actors guided by their own purposes, and to focus on their own view of themselves, named by Super as 'self concept'. The self concept represented the internal 'I' or 'me' that one develops over the course of a life span. This notion derived from developmental psychology was built into ideas about work in the occupational structure. According to Super (1990) an individual's self concept system included vocational self-identity. The role of work became embedded into a more coherent and expansive set of assumptions about human development and identity.   The consideration of the sequence of jobs and positions over time gave birth to the study of careers as they emerged and developed over the life span in the occupational structure (Osipow, 1994).

Ginzberg (1984) added that career had the following characteristics: it was across one's total lifeline; it is a changing process rather than a static state--a person is an active agent building

bridges between self and work life environments. Career issues were no longer a singular process focused on a job choice; career decisions become part of an emerging career developmental process. Miller-Tiedeman (1988) put forward the concept of 'life career' to illustrate this. In a person's lifetime there may be many 'careers', within which there are various 'jobs'. Within the contemporary career industry emphasis is increasingly placed on the evolving meaning of 'work' in a person's life.

Theories of development appear to rest on the notion of development as a process of separation from others and examination of self-concept at the expense of self in relation to others. For cultural groups supported by kinship cultural values that ultimately shape their meaning of who they are, the developmental theory may appear incongruent with their worldview. Further there is the implication that age relates to discrete developmental tasks-- stages resembling a rather linear career approach. Movement through developmental tasks are based on individual independence and assertiveness (Leong & Gupta, 2008), which are incongruent values to some cultural groups such as Māori.

Social cognitive theories. Following on from the developmental approaches and the introduction of self-concept, people began to understand that they could be more active in determining career choices and decisions. Krumboltz (1979) described how learning experiences combine to shape people's career path as developed from social learning theory. Such learning experiences are unique to each person and draw on the social, cultural, economic, geographic and political circumstances that surround us. People learn from these experiences and from their self-observation and skills. Within this theory, the main task of the career counsellor was to assess the client's belief about themselves and the world (Krumboltz, 1990).

Betz and Hackett (1981) were the first to apply social cognitive theory with its emphasis on the role of self-efficacy in relation to the career development of women (Swanson & Fouad, 1999). Self-efficacy as a construct of social cognitive theory involves an accurate appraisal and judgement of one's own capabilities and competencies to execute a course of action despite obstacles or aversive experiences (Bandura, 1982). Women reported more self- efficacy for occupations traditionally held by women than for those that are male-dominated (Betz & Hackett, 1981). Self efficacy may play a role in a variety of career-related behaviours and has received the most attention of the three central variables from social cognitive theory. The remaining two constructs are outcome expectations and personal goals

and provide strong links to career development. Lent, Brown and Hackett (1994) proposed a social cognitive framework that purports to predict career behaviour. Their view was of people as self-conscious agents who strive for career attainment by examining outcome expectations, establishing personal goals and possessing and exercising self-efficacy (Betz, 2001; Lent, Brown & Hackett, 1996).

Just as self-efficacy has been applied to the career development of women (Betz & Hackett, 1981), the same issue has been explored with culturally diverse populations (Fouad & Smith, 1996; Gainor & Lent, 1998; Hackett & Byars, 1996), in particular, how culturally based learning experiences corresponded to the sources of efficacy information (Lent, Brown & Hackett, 2002). For Māori, little research has been conducted to determine similar correspondences. However, the learning experience of what it means to be Māori, i.e., encouraging experience or negative experience, could certainly impact on career efficacy--for example a desire to work in a Māori organisation as a result of learning experiences built from a traditional Māori worldview. Much more work is required on the relevance of self-efficacy among Māori and its impact on career development.

Contemporary theories

Contemporary theorists have proposed that it was impossible to study people outside the contexts in which they exist. This school of thought purported that to understand career we need to understand people from their internal frames of reference (Amundson, 2005; Chen, 2003; Young & Collin, 2004). This critique had been raised in an attempt to determine a more holistic understanding of the person. A progression from these debates has been the emerging trend toward the use of constructivist approaches.

Constructivism points to the need to account for the historicity and the cultural relativity of all human phenomena, while drawing attention to the contextually embodied nature of human activity, through daily social interaction, that both fabricates and sustains our versions of knowledge (Tatar & Bekerman, 2002). Constructivism holds that knowledge is not an objective reflection of reality but, rather is the result of subjective cognitive processes. Absolute reality does not exist 'out there' to be found or discovered but is constructed by humans in their interactions, interpretations, and strivings to understand information, contexts, situations, and other humans (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). These constructions are

rooted in the experience, belief systems, and values of the constructor and of the social context in which they exist. Simply put, all human belief systems are constructions, and to know is to construct, not to find (McAuliffe & Eriksen, 1999). This position contrasts with an 'objective view' where there is one reality or one fit as found in the early trait-factor approach.

The constructivist school of thought is the foundation of current and emerging theoretical models in career counselling (Chen, 2003). However, rather than competing with traditional career approaches, constructivism focused on integrating the developmental and trait-factor approaches (Chen, 2003). Grier-Reed, Skaar & Conkel-Ziebell (2009) agreed with the integration of career approaches and models of developmental and trait-factor. Metz and Guichard (2009) perhaps provide an apt summary of the value of constructivism by describing the approach as a way in which to understand the meaning of work while also attending to cultural, economic and social influences. Significantly, the lens of constructivism allowed the view of career not as a lifetime employment on an organizational ladder but as a carrier of personal meaning that defines and structures significant events in a life (Carlsen, 1988). Constructionists envision how work fits into people's lives rather than just looking at how people fit into occupational structures (Richardson, 1993). For those in organisational careers, constructivism provides a bridge for personal meaning and self-management, rather than a path through an organisation (Savickas, 2000).

Social Constructionism. Social constructionism is a development from within constructivism arising mainly in the United Sates originating in the field of social psychology. Gergen (1994) stated that from a social constructionist view, knowledge is the result of an active, cooperative enterprise of persons in relationship thereby, adding to the tenets of constructivism by subjectively moving through the world and building up ideas about it in conversation with other people. People provide knowledge and understanding from multiple perspectives made within an interpersonal and cultural context. Human beings are always in the language of their culture, time and place in history (McAuliffe & Eriksen, 1999). Consequently, such a construction is never static and change is constantly occurring as we actively create and re-create meaning with others.

Core constructs of career theory and development were called into question by social constructionism asking whose core constructs are they? Constructs were often those of the majority or mainstream voices. What was puzzling to the social constructionist was the

search for a universal description of career behaviour and decisions. Social constructionists challenged career theorists to pay more attention to the various meanings of actions across cultures and the variation of such meanings within cultures believing that career theory remained wedded to stability, security and order of a singular reality (O'Doherty & Roberts, 2000).

In summary, the social constructionism perspective views career as a socially constructed process that reflects both individual actions and the person's interactions with others (Chen 2003). If relationships with others are a major source of creating and recreating meaning contributing to a dynamic process of knowledge, then understanding relational practices are very important. A relational perspective was already a major focus for other disciplines. although the nature of relationships remained complex. People are capable of many complex and varied forms of being with each other and relationships do not stand still, people change within relationships and over time as they mature. Each relationship has its own 'recipe' and there is a need to study the constitutive ingredients to know them better (Josselson, 1992).

  Relational approaches. Relational theory originated from feminist theory (Schultheiss, 2003). It was important to describe the actual life activities and values of women and strengthen the new scholarship on women (Miller, 1978). Women tend to frame much of their lives in the language and affect of relationships (Josselson 1992; Wachtel, 1993). Because women had been driven to the realms of life concerned with building relationships, especially relationships that foster development of children and others, a study of their lives meant a greater understanding of growth-enhancing interactions (Miller, 1978). From here the focus became the relational contexts and relational modes which foster and impact on psychological development (Miller, 1978). For women the primary experience of self is relational, that is the self is organised and developed in the context of important relationships (Jordan, Kaplan, Baker-Miller, Stiver & Surrey, 1991). Relationships have been defined as the "ongoing, intrinsic inner awareness and responsiveness to the continuous existence of the other or others and the expectation of mutuality in this regard" (Jordan et al., 1991, p. 61). This definition did not imply "continuous physical or emotional contact, a lessening of the relationship as individuals get older or externally defined patterns for the relationship" (Jordan et al., 1991, p. 61). What it *did* imply was a process of "mutual relational interaction over time and space and a continuous psychological connection whereby the process of interaction, interconnection and readiness to respond are maintained" (Jordan et al., 1991).

Feminist researchers from the Stone Centre for Development Studies and Services at Wellesley College referred to the outcome of their work as the Stone Centre Relational model (1991, 1997, 2004). The basic assumption of the Stone Centre model was that connection is a basic human need, and that this need is especially strong in women (Jordan et al., 1991). An important tenet is that growth and development occur best in a context of connection through specific kinds of relational interactions (Jordan et al., 1991). Both parties enter the interaction with the expectation of growth and feel a responsibility to contribute to the growth of the other, much like the career counselling process. Growth-fostering interactions are characterised by mutual empathy and mutual empowerment (Miller, 1986). The ability to develop relationally requires the following strengths: empathy, vulnerability, the ability to experience and express emotion, the ability to participate in the development of another and an expectation that relational interactions can yield mutual growth (Miller, 1986). To determine if growth had occurred five positive outcomes were associated with such growth. These included: increased zest and vitality, empowered action, increased self-esteem, new knowledge and a desire for more connection (Miller, 1986).

Building from the work of the Stone Centre, Josselson's (1992) work focused specifically on ways women experience themselves in relationships. Interviews were held with 55 women to explore their experience in relationships. A model was developed which referred to modes of human connection with eight relational dimensions in which women transcend or reach through space to connect with others (Josselson, 1992). This model represented a combination of physical and psychological connections which featured the following: attachment to others; eye-to-eye validation; identification and idealisation; mutuality; embeddedness; holding; tending; and passion. Although each dimension is present to some extent in everyone's life, people will often develop along particular relational pathways that highlight one or two relational themes in favour of others. Josselson (1992) argued relatedness and individuality are not dichotomous. Action takes place within the relational context and the self is realised through others. This has strong links to Māori values of kinship. Self-identity emerges from relationships with others at either a whānau, hapū or iwi level. What takes place is a search for commonality, whether this be a common history, ancestral link, or place to name some potential sources of relational context. As the searching evolves, a person learns more about themselves in relation to others. Development occurs with both maintaining ties to others *and* differentiating from them (Josselson, 1992). We know and realise ourselves only in, through and with others, a concept also shared by Māori.

Fletcher (1998) perhaps one of the first to focus on relational practice and behaviours in the workplace, was motivated to expand the gendered definition of work by giving voice to relational practices and ways of working. She focused on issues of work, family and gender equity over a period of four years in a major high-technology company based in the North Eastern United States. The relational practice portion of the study was conducted as an independent piece of the overall project in which six female engineers were shadowed, each for one day. Key research questions guiding this inquiry were as follows: do relational practices exist?; what behaviours characterise it?; what beliefs, assumptions and values do these behaviours reflect?; and what brings such experiences into the dominant discourse? (Fletcher, 1998, p. 168). Data was used to induce a set of categories of specific behaviours associated with relational activity as a way of working. This was described as behaviours motivated by a belief in the pre-eminence of connection and highlighted the relational skills required to enact them (Fletcher, 1998, p. 174). What was also highlighted was the strategic intention of the behaviour, that is, a belief that operating in a context of connection was more effective (Fletcher, 1998, p. 174). Four themes were revealed that constituted relational practices. These were preserving; mutual empowering, achieving and creating team (Fletcher, 1998). Within each, work practices and strategies differed markedly from conventional strategies for success.

What relational theory and approaches have re-awakened in researchers and theorists is that the desire for human connection and relatedness is a central feature of life. People all have an inherent tendency to seek out connection, support and intimacy with others and this is a positive, natural and adaptive aspect of human experience (Blustein, 2001). This assumption has become part of a larger landscape that seeks to explain human behaviour across cultures, time frames and life spans.

Relationships and Career Research

The central role of relational experiences is the most recent contextual factor to gain serious attention in the career theory literature. The relational component of these works has contributed to the expansion of career theory by exploring the intersections of working and relationships. A mapping process has been provided by relational theorists to begin to charter the space shared by career and relationships. Key career theorists (Flum, 2001; Inkson, 2007) concur that when we think back over our career what we often see is not a succession of jobs

but a succession of people with whom we worked. Blustein et al., (2001) explored case vignettes from the *Career Development Quarterly* between 1986 and 1993. The cases were considered reflections of contemporary work-related issues. The most common theme in more than 50% of the cases was the discussion of the relationships in the lives of the clients. Relational functioning here was defined as reference to any material that described interpersonal relationships. Four categories were identified: relational support; the motivational and conflictual nature of the work-relationship; recapitulation of family roles; and the social and economic frame for the relationship.

Phillips, Christopher-Sisk and Gravino (2001) using a relational focus, explored the specific role of relationships in career decision making. Transcripts were examined for ways in which 'others' were involved or not in the participants' decision-making environment. Findings implicated relationships as a source of support and underscored the multifaceted nature of that support. Such studies begin to alert career theorists and researchers to a web of relational connections overlooked in traditional career development theory and research.

Another study (Schultheiss, Kress, Manzi & Glasscock, 2001) confirmed similar results of relationships as a 'support' role. However, other relational factors did not fit neatly into the social support provisions suggesting, from this study, that relational influences are indeed complex, extending beyond a socially supportive function.

A major argument to emerge from these works is that relationships are the most important source of social support, defined as the fulfilment by others ongoing social needs (Cutrona, 1996). Studies seem to indicate people's deepest connections with others can no longer be ignored or extracted from career development. While some evidence exists for the support role of others in career decision-making, the theorising of relationships still seems very much in its infancy. Results acknowledge the importance of relationships as a support role but do not extend into research questions already raised by Fletcher (1998). For example, what beliefs, assumptions and values do relational behaviours reflect? Or as Josselson (1992) described, what are the ingredients of a relationship? An investigation of these questions may go some way toward greater recognition of the cultural context of relationships. Career behaviour motivated by a relational belief system could lead to an understanding of how and why people engage in relational practices. The idea of career merging with past and present relationships between individuals and their social contexts provides a diverse and captivating array of experiences from which to continue to elaborate and extend our understanding of

relationships in career. This should continue to generate debate on how relational values are being enacted in career processes.

Summary of section

The literature review in this chapter illustrates the history of vocational theory from 'test and tell' or trait-factor to 'ages and stages' or developmental theories. While these theories have attempted to account for context, contemporary theories have gone one step further by supporting and encouraging multiple realities and perspectives. The constructivist and subsequent social constructivism approaches valued social interaction as a process of growth not only for the exchange of ideas but also for the importance of the relationships being developed and maintained. The phrase, 'self-in-relation to others' drew reaction from career theorists. To fully understand the intricate nature of relational influences there was a need to establish a knowledge base that could investigate both the career and relational domains. Culture, age, socio-economic background, gender and family structures are needed to identify the role relationships play as careers unfold. Although research on the career development of racial and ethnic minorities supports the importance of relationships, little attention has been given to this in career theory, research or practice. Furthermore, the notion of relationships has also been extended to the relationships people form with a career counsellor as expressed in the constructivist approach, and with the organisation which employs them. The following section addresses how the divide between career counselling and organisational management could be explained by focusing on the relational practices within each. While exploring the importance of relational influence is a step forward, other aspects of relational behaviours and practices appear to exist that have not yet been explored and developed.

Applying Career Knowledge: Career Counselling and Organisational Management

As outlined previously, early vocational guidance tended to fall into two categories: developing effective ways for organisations to place individuals productively into positions and working with individuals to determine what type of position would suit them (Moore, Gunz, & Hall, 2007, p. 22). Historically this division in vocational guidance has led to two schools of thought, career counselling and organisational career management, each with their

own models, approaches and techniques for working with people. Moore, Gunz and Hall (2007) described this split as those using self-awareness to determine what occupations suited people (career counselling) and others who used 'scientific methods' to determine what occupations people were best suited to (organisational career management). This section is concerned with establishing a discussion on the impacts of this split on the career industry and how the call for convergence of ideas and an integrated theory of career could emerge (Arthur, 2008).

Emergence of career counselling

Vocational guidance was tied to the provision of and client understanding of, vocational information (Bedi, 2004). As outlined in previous chapters, shifts occurred in the vocational guidance field from *why* occupational choices were being made, to *how* those choices were made (Miller-Tiedeman, 1999). For example, how people were engaging and acting on vocational information within their life circumstances, became a focus. Broader concerns beyond choice were also being considered at times masked by deeper emotional issues providing exploration of personal *and* vocational issues. This shift was conducive to career counselling and was markedly different from early vocational guidance which had paid little attention to the therapeutic alliance between a person and the practitioner as a space to discuss broader concerns. When considered within vocational theory, career counselling drew attention to the stark contrast between objective models and the more personalised models in vocational theory. The objective models would have individualised measures for success and the personalised models would focus measures on issues such as personal fit, integrity and balance. McMahon and Patton (2000) saw this as the first challenge to the functionality of the trait-factor approach, and the debate about the fusion of career counselling and personal counselling. The juncture between personal issues and career issues further increased the need to consider subjective and emotional processes experienced by clients, an area that received little attention from the trait-factor approach. A role that was once one of vocational guidance became focused on issues of contextual importance rather than solely content, for example, attempting to understand the contextual influences present in a person's life rather than providing people only with career information. Zunker (1981) defined career counselling as all counselling activities associated with career choices over a life span. As the boundaries between work and life began to merge the complexities of work

roles and what they mean to people and their significant others required career counsellors to have a framework from which to explore this with people.

Therapeutic counselling perspectives provided this framework when they were applied to vocational guidance. The most important included person or client-centred and psychodynamic approaches (Kidd, 2007). This link with counselling did however continue the debate on the place of vocational concerns as another personal issue and therefore the status of career counselling in its own right. This was perhaps echoed by some career theorists (Osipow & Fitzgerald 1996; Savickas, 1996) contending that there is no career counselling theory, only models for conducting career counselling. Theoretical orientations such as client-centred were being applied to career counselling yet the field itself still needed to establish its own parameters.

Carl Rogers (1951) first spoke of his method of non-directive counselling or client-centred counselling which was to have a huge influence on counselling processes. Attention shifted to the client and counselling techniques with less emphasis given to testing, cumulative records and the counsellor as the authority figure. Rogers (1951) made it conceivable that vocational guidance could focus on a client's internal constructs across time. His work was pivotal to providing vocational guidance counsellors with both technique and a philosophy for their work. Client-centred career counselling sought to seek, support and celebrate client efforts to set their own goals in the area of work and career and to assist them in balancing those goals with their needs in other life roles. Client-centred career counselling encouraged the use of the counselling processes to access a person's life rather than quantitative assessments. As previously mentioned, vocational guidance was already dominated by an overreliance on measurement instruments and structured interventions. However, entering the foray of counselling bought new challenges to the career counsellor. Key constructs from the client-centred approach such as using a non-judgemental and empathetic attitude when working with clients meant that the career counsellor had to be very aware of their own prejudices and biases. These behaviours had not been considered when using objective models. With more detail and depth being found within the client's context, career counsellors were faced with differing views and perspectives to their own. Some client populations, including Māori who did not 'fit' the more traditional constructs now found their expression of career goals and decisions interpreted as un-ambitious, or resistant to the career counselling process. This contrasting view of work and career created uncertainty and mystification as to how career counselling could be of benefit to Māori.

In more recent times, Andersen and Vandehey (2006) have defined career counselling as facilitating self-awareness and the integration of information so the client has a realistic view of options available in the world of work. In the career counselling process all aspects of individual needs (including family, work and leisure) are recognised as integral parts of career decision making and planning. The career counsellor needed to possess all the skills of a counsellor as well as know employment trends, methods of preparing for various work roles, career assessments and methods for changing work-related behaviour, and emotions. As some vocational theorists were focused on individuals making productive career choices, other vocational theorists paid attention to the structure of careers within and between organisations.

Emergence of Organisational Careers

The University of Chicago sociologists first used career as a lens in 1937 for peering into larger social processes known as institutions according to Barley (1989) but the recognition of career as a formal concept was not present in sociology until work from 1937–1961 of Everett C. Hughes almost a half a century later. Hughes (1937) saw career in a broad framework as the sequencing of an individual's life roles and experiences in a specified social environment over time. Using the institution as the central level of analysis allowed Hughes to focus on the structural forces that constrain and shape human behaviour, while remaining attuned to how individuals continually create the meaning and norms within those institutions. A key insight of Hughes was that careers and institutions were intimately connected and mutually reinforcing. In contrast career counselling centred on changes in people as they develop within their life context, and not solely within an organisation.

During the 1940's and 1950's students of Hughes investigated the careers of individuals in a wide variety of occupations and organisations. For Hughes and his students, careers developed in simultaneous directions. On one hand, career pointed to those institutional forms of participation which constituted the objective face of career. On the other hand, career referred to the individual's experience of the career unfolding, the so-called subjective face of career. Hughes insisted that these two faces of career were inseparable. As a result of the work of Hughes and his students, four themes on the objective and subjective faces of career were established. Firstly, careers fuse the objective and the subjective; secondly, careers entail passages into and through different status positions; thirdly careers are

properties of collective institutions and lastly, careers link individuals to the social structures (Barley, 1989, p. 49). The simultaneous direction of subjective and objective faces of career began to bear some resemblance to career counselling with the focus on changes which occur within people.

For sociologist Hughes and his students, the notion of organisational career structures continued to dominate models of analysis during the 1950's and 1960's resulting in conceptions of organisational and occupational careers (Evetts, 1992). Hughes (1938) first drew attention to the objective conditions of career, i.e., macro, institutional and external realm and this frame has dominated career as a route through organisational hierarchy that could eventuate in high-level position such as management.

Gunz (1989) elaborated on this early description of Hughes (1938) with the intention to further understand the complexities of the career construct. Firstly, organisational career is viewed as structures and routes for the organisation to renew itself. Secondly, individuals have subjective careers which are a series of choices and negotiations made by people between different opportunities presented to them.

Beginning in the 1960's, scholars began to observe the impact of changing environments on the organisations hosting people's careers (Khapova, Arthur & Wilderom, 2007). Weick (1996) proposed that, as the organisation grew weaker and lost control over the design of individual's careers, the new order required that people rely more on internal and self-generated guides for advancement and strive to meet their own personal goals, instead of those of the organisation. As organisations changed (Inkson & Kolb, 1998), so did their expectation that people take charge of directing their own careers. Organisational careers had been profoundly affected by the growth of the large organisations with well developed and complex managerial systems enabling people to develop their careers throughout the firm. Once the trend reversed, workers could no longer count on the stability of the firm to develop their careers. Economic and competitive pressures saw organisations strip bare the layers of managerial structures and so it became apparent that organisations could no longer provide careers for life.

During the 1970's a further transition evolved concerned with developing a richer understanding of the relationship between the individual and the organisation. The focus was not on initial job choice but on how organisations and individuals interact with one another over time. Careers were viewed from the perspective of either the organisation or the

employee (Gunz, 1989). Careers could show the movement of people across offices and roles, while institutions revealed how individuals in various roles are interdependent in their actions. A period of concerted effort in the late 1970's toward the development of career theory as a discipline in its own right (Adamson, Doherty & Viney, 1998) began with the emergence of the career management perspective within organisational studies and management (Inkson, Furbish & Parker, 2002). During the 1980's the focus was on organisational practices and human resources systems. Career management became part of a developing model of human resource management (Inkson et al., 2002). The most obvious result of the change in organisations was enhancing conditions that allowed them to attract and retain the best employees (Parker & Inkson, 1999). However the strategy of staff retention was usually reserved for those in senior management positions. In a time of rapid change, human capital was recognised as a key asset and the means of maintaining an organisational career and a signal of competitive advantage (Parker & Inkson, 1999). Because of the link between career and organisation strategy, some staff could have been perceived as un-committed to the organisational goals, if they did not pursue promotions or take up opportunities for up-skilling.

Continued environmental turbulence and organisational change in the early 1990's bought about the need for much broader definitions of career, ones which embrace both what organisations want and are able to deliver and which recognises the growing importance of individual career and self-management (Adamson, Doherty & Viney, 1998). Organisations too have altered from the bureaucratic structures in which the modern construct of career took root. The flatness, and strong lateral emphasis of organisational structures no longer provided scope for the traditional onward and upward career, nor for the differentiation of roles and the clustering of skills for rewards. As a result of emerging organisational change, the "boundaryless" career shifted form. Arthur & Rousseau (1996) connected inter-organisational careers to new types of networked organisations and industries and the boundaryless career emerged. A boundaryless career was determined as the "opposite to careers unfolding in a single employment setting" (Arthur & Rousseau, 1996, p. 5). This concept proposed that careers are no longer constrained by organisational boundaries, people in the so-called new order move freely between firms relying on competencies that are transferable, rather than staying with one firm and expecting loyalty to be rewarded. While this type of career may have suited the shifting form of organisations, for Māori, relationships built with organisations sometimes over generations, it was *expected* to be reciprocated.

Transferring allegiances that had been built over a long period of time, possibly among other family members, was more than a matter of organisational boundaries for Māori.

Another popular contemporary perspective influencing organisational career theory has been the protean career (Hall and Associates, 1996). Hall and Associates (1996) focused on individual career management driven by the internal values of a person, encompassing the whole life space or perspective. During a time of rapid organisational change, the protean career provided individuals within organisations with a self-initiated and self-empowering platform from which to respond to change. This type of career probably matches the perspective of career counselling and the construct of self-concept. While developing self-concept requires reflective self- awareness (Savickas, 2002) and could be assisted by a career counsellor, little is known about who would assist the protean career to evolve in an organisation.

The call for individuals to be more adaptive to changing professional and personal roles has resulted in identity development becoming a strong research topic. The decisions people make about what values to embrace and what paths to pursue in love and work indicated a growing strength of relational influences that can occur from within a broad spectrum of social situations, work being only one. The integration of work and family needs in order to provide greater productivity and greater career satisfaction has created a greater respect for individual agency in determining one's own life and career direction. In a response to this new founded recognition of individual's contextual situation, the Kaleidoscope Career Model (Mainiero & Sullivan, 2005) was developed. Like a kaleidoscope, patterns in career shift as people rotate their lives to arrange new relationships and roles (Sullivan & Baruch, 2009). The attention to broader relationships such as community members and career choice within the kaleidoscope model continued the departure from a dominance of the needs of the organisations and how people could contribute to this, to the needs of the individual outside of the organisation. The focus on relationships by the kaleidoscope model provides some congruence for Māori in organisations. Māori value connections with others in the workplace and rather than 'use' networks to further career progression, see these relationships as important in defining who they are and have become in the workplace. While contextual issues were being explored in organisational career theory, empirical evidence was still being collected from a limited population base, namely those in management positions within organisations. Little data was made available as to the cultural context from which such people originated.

Organisational scholars have been generating new career constructs for close to 30 years. The career forms have encouraged individuals to consider themselves as 'self-employed' marketing their 'business' to a wider audience beyond the single organisational boundary. Yet some populations such as Māori, did not and could not view themselves in such a way. Models such as kaleidoscope shift the focus from self to self in relation to others. By doing so, this approach provides a context which supports and values career action that is dependent on, and shaped by, a larger context beyond the organisation.

Summary of chapter

The literature review in this section illustrates healthy and robust development among theorists within career counselling and organisational management. Each discipline has had to contend with internal and external demands and shifts, with the responses from each laying the platform for role definition and purpose of those working in the disciplines. While each share early beginnings in an objective and measurable view of people, both have acknowledged the necessity of understanding the context in which people operate. However, simply acknowledging the importance of context only pays lip service if it cannot be supported by approaches, techniques and strategies. Career counselling has possibly surpassed organisational management in its attention to inclusiveness and contextual issues. One major reason for this is the diversity in client base, i.e., from a range of positions, while organisational management still persists with an emphasis on those in management and senior positions. A diverse client base means a range of contextual influences and therefore demands for new strategies and approaches from which to assist people. One area of commonality still exists between career counselling and organisational management, and that is a *lack* of ongoing attention and empirical evidence to culture as a contextual factor. The following chapter will focus on just how culture is being addressed in the area of careers.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAREER AND CULTURE

This chapter will highlight the history of attempts made to account for culture in careers. Indigenous career research is reviewed providing compelling argumenst for indigenous voices and perspectives to be a major concentration for career research. The final task will be to illustrate how career theory and practice in New Zealand has responded to the needs of Māori.

Culture 'in' career

Early attention and investigation examining career theories and models and their applicability to culturally diverse groups produced four strong critiques for applying career processes to diverse groups (Leong & Brown, 1995, p. 146 cited in Walsh & Osipow, 1995). They are: (i) theories based on a restricted range of persons; (ii) theories based on assumptions of limited scope; (iii) terms such as race, ethnicity, and minority being confused or inappropriately defined and; (iv) theories ignoring socio-political, socio-economic, social psychological and socio-cultural realities. For instance, career models being based on white, male, under- graduate college students (Leong & Gupta, 2008). In addition to this the use of terms which place universal laws of behaviour across all cultural groups'. For example, social constructionism is suspicious of dichotomies used for cultures, such as individualistic and collective. They contend that this reduces culture to personality traits and generalised descriptions and have proposed a both/and, rather than either/or approach. From the social constructionist perspective, culture puts a person in interpretable space. Individuals are not governed by culture, they act, think and feel in relation to culture (Wentworth & Wentworth, 1997), and to internalized social origins and present structural locations. As individuals act and react, an emerging version of culture is negotiated with others. Consequently culture is not a static phenomenon but alters and adjusts to increasing contact with people from other cultures.

Career theorists (Blustein, 2006; Peterson & Gonzalez, 2005; Richardson, 1993) continue to support early critiques reiterating that career is deeply embedded in a socio-cultural

framework that is relevant to only a minority of individuals. As noted in the previous chapter, contemporary definitions and changing terminology have shifted the parameters of concepts such as 'work' and 'career'. Young and Collin (2000) recognised that career itself is a term loaded with cultural specificity. Of particular concern is the universal application of the construct career to all people, regardless of ethnicity. These perspectives have once again raised the issue of whether career theory is appropriate for all populations.

Adapting culture. The major approach among some career theorists towards creating more inclusive careers has been to 'adapt' Western models, in an attempt to become inclusive and thereby understand everyday meaning, experience and action of culturally different clients. Some efforts have been made to extend existing theories of the career development to cultural minorities (Arbona, 1995; Picou & Campbell, 1975; Smith, 1983; Leong & Serafica, 1995). These works primarily focused on applying race as an independent vocational variable. The effects of race/ethnicity have also been acknowledged earlier (Holland, 1959; Roe, 1956; Super, 1957) but have generally not been fully integrated into career development theories, or received further inquiry.

Integrative reviews and conceptual proposals offer hope for future career theory to become more relevant to ethnic groups. Work here falls into two categories:

- A focus on the concept of racial/ethnic identity (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 1995; Cheatham, 1990; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Thomas & Alderfer, 1989; Tinsley, 1994), which leads to the process of implementing self-concept in a career identity.
- Identification of salient variables affecting career development of *specific* ethnic groups, i.e., Asian American (Leong, 1986; Tang, Fouad & Smith, 1999), African American (Cheatham, 1990), Hispanic (Arbona, 1990), Mexican American (Bullington & Arbona, 2001)

Specific ethnic groups. Career research with specific ethnic groups continued through the investigation of past career patterns of highly achieving African American Blacks (Ritchie et al., 1997). A sense of interconnectedness is what was significant in the career patterns of participants from this study. Characteristics such as a relational orientation and the view that their current lives are part of their past experiences have been identified. The recognition of support from others in their career successes was also another important

feature. This study began to support insights into career success and satisfaction based on cultural factors and therefore provided a platform for this research to build from.

Other specific ethnic groups who have received attention in career research include people from locations in India (Nath, 2000), the Middle East (Ozbilgin & Healey, 2003), China (Granrose, 2007), and Russia (Khapova & Korotov, 2007). What is of interest to this research is the exploration of career perceptions across traditional and more contemporary cultural values within these countries. For example, within modern day China, four Chinese-heritage values were identified, integration; Confucian work dynamism; human heartedness; and moral discipline (Granrose, 2007). A key message across each study was the need to recognise that culture and people are dynamic and constantly changing. This is important for the current study as some schools of thought present culture as time bound and locked into a traditional worldview. What is important for this study is the recognition of multiple realities and meanings to cultural values and practices. Finally, utilising localised and specific cultural values promotes relevance to each cultural group rather than a reliance on current Western constructs of career.

   Indigenous communities. In a move towards a focus on the perspective of indigenous communities, a culturally relevant career-life planning model for First Nations peoples in Canada, i.e., the indigenous people of Canada was developed (McCormick & Amundson, 1997). They turned their attention to culturally unique constructs specific to the experiences of indigenous populations. This model is built from the worldview of the people and the importance they place on connectedness, balance, roles and responsibilities, gifts, aptitudes and skills and values and meaning. Connectedness was used to include a series of relationships, starting with family but reaching beyond this and encompassing the universe (McCormick & Amundson, 1997). It is notable that this model supports the specific inclusion of family and community members and collective sources of meaning in the career decision-making process. Other common values across indigenous peoples such as the Australian Aboriginal, Hawaiian, Native American and Canadian Inuit have also been identified (Penetito & Sanga, 2002). As indigenous people they share ideas and values of inclusiveness, connectedness of all things, collective life over individualistic, an attachment to the land of their ancestors, place the spiritual domain as part of everyday life, prioritise particular over universal, subjective over objective and relativist over the absolutist.

The First National Career-Life Planning Model (McCormick & Amundson, 1997) was applied to 13 first nation's young people, their family and community members in career counselling sessions (Neumann, McCormick, Amundson & McLean, 2000). Feedback from participants reported how different the model was to career programmes they had been exposed to at school as the model focused more on them as people, their personal experiences and community and family relationships, not just on occupational options (Neumann et al., 2000). Much of the focus on careers for Mâori has been measured by outcomes, i.e., the type of jobs Mâori hold or career advancement, rather than the journey. Perhaps with more attention to the journey, outcomes may become more meaningful to indigenous communities.

In another similar study of indigenous communities, Juntunen et al. (2001) has recorded the voice of Native American Indians on the meaning of career. As a result they recommended that issues researched should be meaningful to the specific cultural groups, rather than indulge in comparative work, namely comparing minority groups to the dominant culture. An important focus that emerged was on the exploration of the participant's role as a member of the community and the expression of that role reflected in career choice.

Lirio et al., (2007) continued the theme of uncovering the meaning of careers reporting on the experiences of women in Canada, Argentina and Mexico. A commonality was that women here saw career on their own terms rather than conforming to existing social assumptions (Tams & Arthur, 2007). Researchers also began to see differences in the women's responses across their cultural contexts (Tams & Arthur, 2007), adding some critique to attempts that place cultural groups under broad categories such as individualistic and collective. Both this study and the previous study indicate a resolute belief that an indigenous voice and perspective must be the sole focus when considering career constructs and meanings.

In the same year White (2007) explored indigenous women in Australia and their experiences in employment, careers, education and leadership. Her work was influenced by earlier studies by Gool, 1997 and Arthur, 1999 (White, 2007) of indigenous communities in Australia and Torres Strait. Once again the significant aspect to this research was the opportunity for participants to express and explore their own meanings of the construct 'career' and the process of career choice within an indigenous framework. The indigenous framework was depicted as circular, connecting people through indigenous kinship systems permeating through all aspects of Aboriginal life (White, 2007). This was presented in stark contrast to a Western framework depicted as a "neat, square box" (White, 2007, p. 221). The

kinship system is also the cornerstone for Māori cultural values as expressed in previous chapters.

Work still continues (Leong & Gupta, 2008) on exploring diverse groups and then applying this knowledge to current career theories and models. While this is not ideal, career theorists seem to have little option without the availability of clearly defined indigenous career research. Reviews of published career journals (Chope, 2008; Patton & McIlveen, 2009) showed a decrease in research focusing on multicultural practice in the literature between 2007 and 2008. Journal articles on multicultural practices declined from 19 in 2007, to nine in 2008. What is particularly sobering in relation to the current study is the continued lack of attention to the needs of indigenous populations world-wide. It would appear that interest in cultural research receives a major impetus when large international associations introduce conference and symposium themes which promote international perspectives and partnerships. The International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance is one such example, hosting two conferences, one in 2004 and the other in 2007, generating commentary and opinion on a range of culturally relevant issues such as the use of career theory in different cultural environments and the need for new culturally relevant paradigms, culminating in a 'special issue' for a leading career journal. However, once again this did not include specific indigenous career research and still favours a comparative study of cultural issues.

In contrast to a generalised perspective of culture in career, The Aboriginal Human Resources Council, formed in 1998 (Aboriginal Human Resource Council, 2007) was one of the strategies put forward by the government of Canada in response to Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan recommendations of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in the same year. The council is made up of representatives from Aboriginal groups, government and the private sector and the goal is full participation of Aboriginal people in Canada's labour market. The council's foundation programme *Guiding Circles* began in 2002 and is an approach to career development which fuses Aboriginal worldview and contemporary career development strategies. They have partnered with leading career theorists and researchers Dr. Norman Amundson, Dr. Rod McCormick and Dr. Gray Poehnell to bring *Guiding Circles* to a national level through a booklet of holistic self-assessment exercises for career exploration and decision-making. *Guiding Circles* brings together Aboriginal perspectives. The success of this career assessment tool has been acknowledged as the most recognisable Aboriginal tool for career development in Canada, and in 2006 a further resource was

developed. The focus for the second booklet is the community a person exists in and their role in a holistic career support model.

These developments represent an innovative course of action between career researchers and indigenous communities to establish and deliver a model built from within a specific cultural perspective. While there are certainly some similarities for Māori and other indigenous populations, such as storytelling and a sense of community connections when exploring career, it is vital that Māori too have a voice in shaping their own career strategies and direction in New Zealand. The collective of career researchers and indigenous community leaders involved in the production of *Guiding Circles* is another strong way forward for career as a whole in New Zealand when addressing a Māori perspective, rather than lone expressions from career researchers or government organisations. For example, in 2008 the Aboriginal Human Resource Council gathered together career and personal development experts within the process of 'National Aboriginal Career Development Dialogue', to discuss the challenges and components necessary to support a healthy and productive Aboriginal workforce. The following issues were raised that are specifically relevant to this research:

- Support Aboriginal institutional career research

- The need to step back and ask what career development looks like from a First Nation's worldview

Ongoing research confirms a commitment to broadening our understanding of careers beyond established Western career concepts (Tams & Arthur, 2007). The next step is to understand *how* specific cultural influences are enacted in career-related behaviours and processes. Work continues on career theory and models that can provide ethnic groups with an appropriate framework in which to consider the many influences on career processes such as work within the Aboriginal Human Resource Council and *Guiding Circles* (2002, 2008). Another move forward within career research for indigenous populations could be the focus on 'within-group' differences. This action goes some way to addressing the diverse cultural realities and is an area from which career theory and research could be utilized for Māori and other indigenous communities.

Maori 'in' career

In New Zealand, issues relating to Māori and 'career' investigations have occurred in other sectors. Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare based at the Wellington School of Medicine has a focus on improving Māori health outcomes (1995). Cram, Keefe, Ormsby and Ormsby (1997) have contributed to this research with an investigation into the effects of the closure of the Whakatu Freezing Works in 1986. Here, 2, 500 people were made redundant, approximately 70% (1,750) of whom were Māori. This study began to question assumptions on the impact of unemployment on Māori. One such assumption was how much employment is a major component of an individual's sense of self and well-being. The study aims were to influence policies concerning economic, social and health inequalities and equitable access to health care (Cram et al.,1997).

The career issues of lower socio-economic, and other disadvantaged groups have been of concern to the career industry since the widespread economic restructuring in 1985. Down-sizing, lay-offs and redundancies as a result of free-market economies impacted strongly on the manufacturing sector which employed mainly Māori, Pacific Islanders and women (Statistics New Zealand, 1990). The impact on these groups raised further questions about the relevance of 'career' to such groups. The focus here was on class and equity issues, which relate to 'minority' groups such as Māori, Pacific Island and women. The focus does not appear to be on cultural behaviour and practices but culturally stereotyped 'positions' in the labour market. Rather than a focus on the meanings and constructs such groups have for work, accusations focused on their inability to 'compete' in a free-market economy.

Tomlins Jahnke (2001) is one of the few researchers to have investigated the experiences of Māori women working in educational organisations. Tomlins Jahnke (2001) confirms that while there is a burgeoning body of research on Māori in education, there are few studies that focus on the education and schooling experiences specific to Māori women and girls. Five strategies were discovered to confront and overcome negative experiences in the education system by the participants. These were defined as: communal effort; individual approach; forming networks; application of prior knowledge; and education and training. Significantly this study focused on the voices of six Māori women who have successful used their own cultural references to strategise and deal with career success and dissatisfaction. These were similar to those employed by African American Black women (Ritchie et al. 1997).

Another study with some links to career research was conducted by Grooby (2002) who surveyed 225 Māori to determine educational, occupational and income aspirations. Māori parents appear to have an important influence on educational and occupational aspirations. It was also stressed that Māori surveyed had very strong educational and occupational aspirations "they were clearly concerned to advance themselves and Māori in general" (Grooby, 2002, p. 26). An explanation on the use of the term 'aspiration' and the meaning participants placed on it would have provided more depth to this research.

Research by the author (Reid, 2000) was perhaps one of the first to focus solely on the issue of careers and Māori by examining personal history and the influences on the career choice of the (then), Māori politicians. Results revealed key personal influences such as birth order and role modelling of working caregivers for female respondents on career choice.

In a similar study, McNicholas (2003) also focused on Māori women within a specific occupation, accountancy. A major contrast to the previous study was the use of face-to-face interviewing of participants by McNicholas (2003). McNicholas (2003) explored the self-perception of their identity as Māori within the accountancy firms they were employed in also has major implications for the current study. Results revealed a lack of valuing of Māori identity within their profession, and recognition that *they* would need to take an active part in transforming the organisation and their profession (McNicholas & Humphries, 2005). Results perhaps signal an element of mistrust among Māori in some professions of the capability and motivation of organisations to value Māori knowledge and practices.

Relational context. Data from these studies begin to inform the career body of knowledge and to develop an understanding of broader career issues for Māori. Each supports the importance of a Māori worldview, cultural standpoint and frame of reference. However, a question remains: what Māori cultural values are relevant to careers in a contemporary context? The focus on the nature and extent of the relational context may provide one way in which to integrate culture and career for Māori. Relational identity is a key component to Māori well-being at all levels: individual, whānau, hapū and iwi. Connections, interaction and participation across these levels are integral to a Māori worldview. Marae encounters conceptualise relationships within a context of ways of doing things that have both historical and contemporary significance (Durie, 2007). Five recurring themes related to marae encounters have provided a basis for understanding distinctive ways of knowing, behaving and relating. Firstly, Māori acknowledge the relationship between the

individual, group and the wider natural and super- natural environment. Attempts to locate meaning in bigger pictures and higher-order relationships are always present. Secondly, boundaries will, and do, exist in relationships. For example, while relationships continue with those who have passed, it is stressed that the living must not continue to mourn for those who have passed. Thirdly, orderliness reduces opportunities for misinterpretation. A fourth theme concerns meaning. Rather than locating meaning in speech and behaviour, it can be found in imagery, higher-order comparisons and long memories. The fifth theme is identity. Māori identity is linked to people and the natural environment and is a function of conscious and unconscious connections. From Western theorising the centrality of self, self-awareness, self-reliance, self-expression and self- fulfilment continue to deny Māori their essential dependency on each other and interrelationships have extended beyond blood relationships. While psychology has focused on separation of self, Māori cultural values appear diametrically opposed. For Māori, from birth, connections are made, developed and maintained.   While the umbilical cord that ties a baby to their mother is cut at birth, physical relatedness with the environment is immediately strengthened when the placenta is returned to the land. While Josselson (1992) speaks of the "space between us", Māori view blood connections as the vehicle for contact and connectedness with each other. There is no space to overcome, only connections to confirm. It is this connectedness that draws many people together, like an in-built radar Māori seek others to create meaning and purpose in their lives.

Summary of chapter

Early critique of the place of culture and career has been directed toward the universal application of career and specific vocation to all people, regardless of ethnicity. In a response to this critique, career models were revised to include culture. However, the revisions at times, appeared to simply re-label major constructs using cultural terminology such as 'collective cultures' as a substitute for 'Westernised cultures'. Another uneasy shift was the focus on generalising cultural groups for example, using categories such as individualism versus collectivism. The most recent trend is toward a more local and culture-specific perspective and following from this, a detailed investigation of within group differences. In this way constructs are relevant and have meaning in a specific context. Once again the constructivist approach has laid the groundwork for supporting within-group differences by stating culture is a dynamic phenomenon, altering and adjusting to increasing contact with

people from other cultures. Diversity among Māori has long since had its supporters and protagonists as Māori contribute to their own understanding of what it means to be Māori today. Career for Māori is entering the fray alongside the meaning of Māori culture and it is the hope of this writer that the ultimate winners of such promising debates, will be career models and approaches built from the myriad of Māori voices. The following chapter provides a rationale and justification for the overall research design used for this study.

<center>**CHAPTER SIX**</center>

<center>**RESEARCH DESIGN**</center>

As researchers we are expected to be challenged by the wider academic community on issues of reliability and validity. As a Māori researcher, the challenge from the academic fraternity appears to focus on the fundamental aspects of legitimising a Māori worldview. As a Māori researcher and career counsellor, the challenges are as primary as recognizing that career theories have little applicability to some populations. This chapter describes the synergy needed across each challenge to generate research that has come to know and understand theory and research from a Māori perspective and for a Māori purpose. This chapter also discusses the process of data collection. I begin with an outline of the sampling procedures used, followed by justification of the use of semi-structured story-based interviews. How the interviews were conducted follows next and finally an introduction of the participants and key characteristics in table form.

Research Problem

When asked the question as to how I became a career counsellor, I often answer, "By accident"! Hindsight and self-knowledge are great levelers as I am reminded of two significant events in my life and people involved. One, with the school guidance counsellor and the other, a vocational guidance counsellor. Each event was significant because my parents attended the former meeting, and not my grandmother who had raised me; the latter meeting was significant because I was to become a colleague of the vocational guidance counsellor who had kept a record of this interview. He returned the interview notes to me and had highlighted my comment about wanting to become a vocational guidance counsellor. On some subconscious level, a pathway had already been laid down and set in place.

My own working life has been greatly influenced by my first job as a public servant. As previously noted, conditions here provided opportunity for advancement and further study if you were Māori and had a degree. This was an environment where there was encouragement by mentors to move forward in one's career, something which, at the time, had not even crossed my mind! What was also significant was the experience of working with other

cultures while also being in an environment that valued and supported Māori as tangata whenua.

Working in a government department that was required to place people into employment, I recognised that some clients had little choice over employment. Their lack of particular skills and qualifications significantly reduced available positions. Resistance to some positions was initially based on pay levels and location. However, the motivation of some clients to work was regularly called into question, reducing choices and opportunities even more. Changing my job to a Vocational Guidance Counsellor afforded me more time to work with clients in a process that supported getting to know clients and attempting to understand what they sought in employment. There was a distinct shift from matching jobs to people to understanding what people wanted in employment and the introduction of long-term planning towards a vocation. At the same time, I was able to work in local communities and schools and to view vocational guidance from different perspectives, namely the delivery of vocational services to groups and the impact of their environment on vocational choices and decisions. An opportunity to train to become a qualified counsellor as part of my vocational guidance training added yet another dimension to my work. I could now focus on wider contextual issues for my clients and provide an environment where the expression of their experiences was the groundwork for considering vocational choices. The introduction of counselling as a skill base in vocational guidance meant a recognition of the expertise and professional status required to undertake the role (Savickas, 2008). The 1980's saw government restructuring change the face of vocational guidance as I knew it, and launch a new organisation. The term *vocation* was replaced by *career*, the organisation provided a *career* service and those who worked within this field were *career consultants*.

As a career consultant I detected disquiet over perceptions in the field as to the apparent lack of involvement and engagement by Māori in career processes. Questions were raised by some career consultants about the apparent lack of career planning by Māori and concerns that career decision-making would not maximize long-term opportunities. As a result, Māori were perceived as invisible, resistant, even reluctant, to be concerned and involved in their career. I have always held the view that Māori were just as engaged in career processes as any other group and that the terminology or context may not have matched current models and approaches. What was of utmost importance was to provide a Māori worldview of career, and give it the legitimacy it deserved. Career research was to provide the podium from which to address such critics.

Research question. While other forms of counselling (such as personal and psychosocial) have an extended history of considering cultural issues, career counselling appears to lag behind. A major reason for this is the lack of current career theories and models for diverse populations (Leong & Gupta, 2008). Career counselling has begun to focus on the needs of indigenous communities, initially by modifying career models to accommodate cultural variables. Recently, culturally appropriate career counselling models (Foud & Bingham, 1995; Hartung et al.,1998; Leong & Hartung, 1997, 2003) as discussed in earlier chapters, have been developed with a focus on cultural variables and issues. While such developments are signs of progressive career research and theory, there is still a desperate need for more systematic empirical studies of the career processes and experiences encountered by specific ethnic groups.

Issues of importance to me both personally and professionally, seemed to be converging into a pivotal focal point. I had become acutely aware of my own need to create synergy within my work, being Ngāti Porou and a career consultant. I looked to my own experiences and those of my whānau to find the synergy I was seeking. My instincts took me toward a Māori framework. What was mandatory was the confidence to speak about my experiences as a justifiable centre from which to explore career issues. While considering my 'Māoriness' and career issues within my own microcosm was extremely rewarding, my experiences were just that, mine.

A culmination of these experiences contributed to the creation of my research question for this thesis. Career theory was beginning to detect difference 'within' indigenous communities. I was motivated to create the opportunity to listen carefully to how being Māori influenced our career processes. This study aimed to address the question: 'How do cultural values influence career processes of Māori'?

The search for research design

I have been directed by two crucial considerations in this research. Firstly, being Ngāti Porou and secondly, working in the career industry in New Zealand. I have employed both experiences in the search for an appropriate research design.

Qualitative research is used to explore substantive areas about which little is known and to obtain intricate details about phenomena such as feelings, thought processes, and emotions

(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Little research exists on career from a Māori worldview and even less exists on the experiences of Māori in careers. Qualitative researchers use words in their analysis and often collect or construct stories about those they are studying (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). All people experience their stories in different ways, and it is a person's interpretation of their own experience that matters.

Morgan and Smircich (1980) ask researchers to be more explicit about the nature of beliefs they bring to research in order to unequivocally link theory and method. At times, researchers are distracted by the tools for collecting knowledge, or the methods. Morgan and Smircich (1980) continue by stating that this can give the illusion that it is the method, rather than the orientation of the researcher, that generates particular forms of knowledge. Indigenous research as a field has developed indigenous concerns, practices and participation as researchers and researched (Smith, 1999). Once again, very little of this approach is evident in career research.

In research, the fusion of theory and method is a manifestation of the researcher's assumptions regarding human nature and the nature of knowledge. This section seeks to identify categories that helped me to organise systems of consciousness which create meaning from my experiences. My assumptions of the world emerged from the world I came from, the world I live in now and the world I am yet to find out about. I have used three categories to organise the following discussion: Ways of Being or beliefs about human nature; Ways of Knowing or what counts as knowledge and; Ways of Doing or the lens used to view the world.

Ways of Being: Ways of Being in Career

As a professional counsellor I was trained solely in the client-centred (Rogers, 1957), framework and its related theories (Carkhuff, 1969). A key principle of this counselling theory was a fundamental belief, rather than a technique. In other words, how to practise as a client-centred counsellor could not be easily taught, but needed to be part of your personal beliefs about human nature. The philosophy was, people were the experts on their own story and had the resources to find solutions to what they were experiencing. The very notion of 'client-centred' meant that what the client described, and how they viewed their situation, was their reality. The counsellor takes the sphere of immediate human experience as the first

and most fundamental reality people have (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Immediate human experience is in contrast to a Māori worldview which traditionally has a distinct focus on past experiences. It was important that the counsellor focused on the language clients used, to describe their experiences. This required an ability to listen for words clients used to describe their experiences, or words that left an imprint on my own senses as a client-centred counsellor, and to present these patterns and impressions back to the client. Listening also meant 'feeling' the importance of the choice of words clients used in my own bodily reactions and senses. Often these words for me would be repeated and be presented with a distinctive sound such as a lift in voice tone.

As I became more experienced as a career counsellor, I described my practice as Ngāti Porou-centred. I used this description with a growing awareness and consciousness of the impact my personal experiences and meanings were having on what I was reflecting back to clients. As I moved into the field of teaching and research, still more approaches were added to my repertoire. I was lecturing on a programme for career practitioners in New Zealand with a responsibility to educate colleagues on new paradigms and shifts. Internationally, calls were being made for training opportunities, policies and standards for career counseling to be based on agreed quality standards (Niles & Karajic, 2008). In New Zealand many different professionals were offering career assistance without having had any formal and specific training in career development and education. As noted earlier, AUT University was one of the first tertiary institutions in New Zealand to develop programmes designed to specifically prepare career practitioners. This was where I was drawn to as a stepping stone in my own career.

Career theorists began to advocate a contextualist worldview of ongoing interaction between individuals and their environment (Patton & McMahon, 2006). Constructivism is derived from the contextualist worldview in that reality of world events is constructed or made real through an individual's own thinking and processing (Patton & McMahon, 2006). People cannot know for certain if their constructions correspond to an independent reality, but they can know if their constructions will work for them because their world becomes intelligible to them and for others around them. Savickas (1993) urged career counselling to move from a goal of seeking 'truth', to participating in conversations on the meaning of the place of work in our clients' lives.

My own approach to counselling had emerged from the belief that people all experience a unique history which contributes to viewing the world in a very personal way. This shift was a direct result of a personal process determining how being Māori impacted on how and why I practised. People construct personal representations of themselves and of the world which serve as maps for our everyday actions and decisions, yet the world I was currently living in was incredibly different to the world in which I had grown up. My personal constructions had not been generated by me alone, but through interactions with significant people throughout my past and present.

The shift to constructivism within career counselling paid increasing attention to the importance of relationships and heralded the rise of social constructionism. The value placed on relationships appeared to fit within indigenous worldviews. As I considered this further, I questioned how important it was as to who were involved in the relationships? For example, I was interested in how those I socially interacted with differed from, say, my sister, who still lived in rural Whangara? Aside from the background of people we were interacting with, when we spoke of being Māori, what type of conversations were occurring, and what meanings were created?

Social constructionists view interactive relationships between people as central to the construction of knowledge. Shared and co-operative interactions with others create space for discussion, meaning-making and self-reflection. All knowledge is considered local and fleeting (Raskin, 2002) and is capable of disappearing as soon as members cease to sustain it. As we move through the world, we build up our ideas about it in conversation and interaction with other people. What is negotiated between people one day may change the next, based on shifts in social surroundings and currently accepted interpersonal boundaries (Raskin, 2002). Living in Auckland I had a larger pool of potential social interactions, would this make a difference in respect of a smaller pool of people, for instance, my sister living in rural New Zealand? For Gergen (1994), meaning does not reside in the minds of individuals but is located in, and is the product of, interaction within the context of continuing relationships. Realities, therefore, are both shared and multiple. Because people have been socialised in different ways and whose backgrounds differ, they may see the same matter but see it according to different aspects (Liebrucks, 2001).

Ways of Being: Being Ngāti Porou.

Growing up in a small rural Māori community, being raised by my grandparents and being the eldest mokopuna, all informed my place in the world. I was exposed to the message that people were significant, particularly those within our whānau and hapū. How we were connected and attached was constantly reinforced and repeated.

A respect for the spiritual realm was also valued, with my great-grandfather playing a major role in guiding both our whānau, and hapū, on what this entailed. He achieved this with constant attention to the ebb and flow between two dichotomies, Te Ao Māori and the Pākehā world. He believed the Pākehā world was not about to go away and it was imperative that we utilised opportunities such as education for our survival as a whānau.

My own experiences changed as did those of other members of my whānau. As our elders, known as kuia and kaumatua, passed away, whānau gatherings at home were more difficult to maintain as we all sought employment in major cities and overseas. The close-knit whānau way of life was replaced by new types of relationships and influences we built away from our rohe and hapū.

As a newly trained career counsellor I was introduced to the client-centred approach. While it focused on individualistic processes, this approach did feel connected to some of my earlier experiences. In particular, the 'art' of listening which I interpreted as listening to every utterance a person made and was not making. The ability to detect very subtle shifts and turns in the human spirit was a method used by my great-grandfather as he would discuss whānau matters. I was reminded of the powerfulness of this ability in assisting people reach new levels of understanding in their lives. Career counselling seemed to provide me with a place to value and express these early skills.

Ways of Knowing: Ways of Knowing in Career Counselling

There is a growing call for career counselling to include the constructivist movement that individuals or groups create realities and that there is no universal law of human functioning. Stories speak of the place, context and situation in which knowledge has been constructed. Clients will tell their story and the counsellor will assist clients in re-narrating these stories for the purpose of healing (Hansen, 2004). Clients possess their own knowledge

base, primarily knowledge of their own story. The nature of the counselling relationship is a particular kind of story sharing with mutual, collaborative and interactive sharing of knowledge through slow and deliberate dialogue. What we seek as career counsellors is the significance of this knowledge to the story teller, not the determination of whether this constitutes truth. The focus is on the different meanings people attach to the events in their lives. It is not only a description of the experience, but also acknowledges that this description adds meaning to the experience--thus narrating our experience provides an ongoing contribution to sense-making. The constructivist approach enables counsellors to appreciate the uniqueness of every client and ensures the counsellor becomes part of a wider social group facilitating meaning-making.

Ways of Knowing: As Ngāti Porou

Ngāti Porou te iwi

[5]*Ngāti Konohi te hapū*

The place Māori come from and grow up in contextualises knowledge. It is the key which turns the door inward to reflect how this space has shaped a person. Being Ngāti Porou, my ways of knowing the world are influenced by the oral histories of how I whakapapa to Whangara and the East Coast of the North Island in Aotearoa. According to Metge (1995), whakapapa acts as a funnel of the relation between past, present and future and ties everything together. This knowledge differs from that of other iwi and their interpretation of Ngāti Porou. Social constructionism focuses on the relationships between people and their co-construction of culture in a changing environment (Stead, 2004). This can be seen in the different meanings and perspectives held by Ngāti Porou who still live in their rohe, and those who reside outside of the region. As Whangara was the home of [6]Paikea, thereby the birthplace of Ngāti Porou, we were taught the special significance of this place we called home. This relationship provided me with a history of how I came into existence in this place, at this time, and to this whānau.

This 'space' has shaped me to value certain things and see relationships as knowledge, achieved and exchanged through conversation. It was a space where my great- grandfather

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[5] Ngāti Konohi is a hapu of Ngāti Porou located within the tribal territory of Whangara
[6] Paikea is a key ancestor who came to Aotearoa on the back of a whale, landing and settling in Whangara.

held regular hui with adult whānau members. Hui were used to discuss activities of the day or week and how and why these activities may have affected the whānau, and were shared and analysed. Activities of daily life become imbued with meaning when they are articulated in a narrative way, because only then can one locate particular actions within a specific plot (Andrews, Sclater, Squire & Treacher, 2000). The purpose of hui was to maintain and strengthen our ability to link knowledge and knowing. That is, what we had directly experienced in our daily lives and the information this had generated contributed to making sense of life and perceptions. My great-grandfather would also hold regular hui with others from our hapū as another medium for the transmission of his knowledge base. Those present were carefully selected by him and were only those who were direct descendants of significant female rangatira from Whangara to ensure accuracy, accountability and correct usage of the shared knowledge. My great-grandfather was extremely cautious about the misuse of this knowledge and utilised hui as a way of maintaining close checks on what was occurring. As descendants of female rangatira in Whangara, women in my whānau were very forthright and domineering, qualities my great-grandfather encouraged by elevating their korero at whānau hui. This is confirmed by Jahnke and Taiapa (2003), who claim that certain types of knowledge were restricted to those who, as a result of whakapapa, possessed individual relationships, rights and credibility.

As a whānau and hapū we quickly learnt that some knowledge my great-grandfather possessed was tightly regulated. In order to protect us, he would speak in Māori as a form of secrecy and protection of this particular knowledge. Whānau members were expected to speak in a careful and considerate manner, ensuring that each member had carefully thought about what each was saying and why. Whānau were taught that thoughts were just as destructive as actions. It was enough that a person had negative thoughts about a whānau member for a reaction to occur, such as an illness or accident. As a result of the instruction on the connections between people and events and knowing and knowledge, we learnt that connections existed for a purpose. Whānau were reminded to look after themselves by being mindful of what was said and thought. Nevertheless, interpretation of this knowledge varied among whānau. For example, some members embraced the Pākehā world and others chose to pursue the pathway of Te Ao Māori. Yet in my own generation, we interpreted this knowledge in a very different way. Generational variations are determined by particular historical times and contexts.

My great-grandfather respected knowledge from the two worlds, Māori and Pākehā and he believed education to be the intermediary for both worlds. A rangatira, from Ngāti Porou, Apirana Ngata, was also very influential in advocating the importance of pursuing a Pākehā education while retaining Te Ao Māori. Our ways of knowing were to be created from formal learning as well as from Te Ao Māori; both were highly valued.

I remember clearly the day my great-grandfather passed away. As a whānau there were concerns as to what our future would entail without his guidance. Within the same year, marriages broke up and negative influences were evident amongst the younger generations. As I grew older, I viewed these changes as people breaking free of tradition and a controlling patriarch. While I assumed it was an abandonment of one way of doing things, I now see it as the acquisition of new ways of knowing and doing things. While my great-grandfather had the solitary role of leader, after his passing, as a whānau, we struggled to define what we needed in a leader and of course, who could replace my great- grandfather? As Bauman (1999) explains, culture is an ambivalent concept that involves inventing, and preserving, continuity and discontinuity, routine and breaking the mould.

On the surface practical realities took precedence. As a whānau now scattered all over the world it became inconceivable that we could travel home regularly. As we became parents of children in a changing social environment and location, their immediate needs took priority. We adapted to our current surroundings, and we took some old and new values, what worked for us here and now and discarded what did not. The surroundings we found ourselves in were all so different. Some whānau remained in Whangara, others moved overseas, yet more to the larger cities. In each context we appeared to reinvent ourselves and with it, our meaning of whānau and of being Māori.

My own experiences of leaving home saw me removed from a familiar social and historical context. I had to constantly recreate and reproduce these experiences, alongside others with their own worldview. As discussed by Gergen (2006) a person is simultaneously in multiple contexts, some of which are likely to be contradictory. It is these contradictions which open up spaces for personal and cultural innovation to occur.

Ways of Doing: A Māori lens of the world

Viewing the world means 'experiencing' the world *with* people, ancestors, environment and the cosmos. This lens is projected through events, people, and places, and continual connections to these experiences. What adds clarity and precision to this lens are relationships with others and an innate need to understand this intimate connection in order to add to my own knowing. As a Māori, growing up talking about and sharing experiences is the vehicle for viewing the world. Experiences were expressed verbally, but there was also the capacity to create visual and symbolic images. Māori utilize forms which highlight relationships with others, the most prominent example being whakapapa.

Kaupapa Māori. According to Smith (1999), Kaupapa Māori asserts the validity of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture (Smith, 1999). Kaupapa Māori is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over Māori cultural wellbeing and connected to Māori philosophy and principles (Smith, 1999). Such principles are based on pre-existing patterns of customary obligations and practices. It is these patterns which have been suppressed in order for the interests of the dominant group to be validated and accepted as the norm. For Henry and Pene (2001), ontology for Kaupapa Māori is traditional Māori ethics and philosophy. Henry and Pene (2001) outline the growing assertion that tribal knowledge is a property of that tribe only and those who belong to that particular kinship group. This departure points to the question: is Māori knowledge a universal knowledge for all Māori? For Henry and Pene (2001) epistemology is to live according to tikanga Māori, that which is tika and 'true'. However, in my opinion, Kaupapa Māori has already established a rigid base of what being Māori 'is', rather than understanding what meanings others may attach to this phenomenon. Kaupapa Māori desires to return participants to particular pre-colonial cultural truths and beliefs. The Māori researcher is believed to already have an understanding of Māori participants' experiences and explanations of it. However, Māori have many different kinds of experiences which are not always heralded. It would appear that the Kaupapa Māori researcher believes they have insights into the 'truth' of participants' experiences that they may not, due to years of colonial domination. Despite these critiques, Kaupapa Māori still represents a philosophy that is drawn from Te Ao Māori and provides all Māori researchers with authenticity through principles and guidelines at the centre of Te Ao Māori. Social constructionism may provide a type of framework from which to debate Kaupapa Māori by challenging conventional understandings, and to understand the process by which these have come to be seen as natural or true. Kaupapa Māori advocates a Māori worldview fixed on

traditional notions and concepts. Social constructionism sees the world as changing and developing across time and space and suggests that the phrase 'traditional cultures' is a debatable one (Raskin, 2002). Within this changing milieu, people are creating and recreating their own versions of reality through social practice. Māori who live in the cities or live in Australia, have recreated being Māori through empathic relationships with other Māori and immigrants to Australia (Hamer, 2008). The healing potential of such relationships enabled the emergence of new intentions by those who had suffered oppressive and constraining personal conditions. This version is far removed from the reality that some Māori still residing in New Zealand may have. Social constructionism views people who share meaning-making in their relationships as being part of a culture, they could also be in other cultures, so race, ethnicity, and language need not be the only ways to conceive culture (Stead, 2004). There is an increasing sense that culture is a constructed character and that what were once unquestionable verities and values are now seen as products of particular people in particular contexts (Gergen, 2006). Social constructionism focuses on the relationships between people and their co-construction of culture in changing environments (Stead, 2004). Culture is not a static phenomenon but alters and adjusts to increasing contact with people from other cultures.

Māori-centred research. Mason Durie (1996) has proposed a Māori-centred approach which does not ignore the range of research methods but deliberately places Māori people and their experiences at the centre of the research activity. Durie (1997) has expanded this approach to three key principles. The first is whakapiki tangata, or enhance the position of Māori; second, whakatuia, or make links between a complex range of factors including past and present and body, mind and soul; and thirdly Mana Māori, or to involve Māori participants fully in the research process. Durie (1997) succinctly summarises this approach as 'for Māori, as Māori'. What is appealing about this approach is the choice implied in 'as Māori'. There are no restrictions or caveats on how this should be represented. As elaborated by Jahnke and Taipa (2003) the emphasis of this approach is not only on where the locus of control is placed but on the real gains for positive Māori development.

While I had my own way of gaining knowledge of the world, the notion of understanding the world through the perspective of others, became extremely important to me. Growing up in Whangara, what was important was our likeness and connection to those around us. However, outside of this context I became aware that there were all manner of experiences

and meanings, some vastly different to my own. As a career counsellor I was faced with these differences on a regular basis.

Differences were also evident in my own whānau. As adults we shared our early experiences of when we were younger by interpreting and focusing on quite different aspects. These experiences, coupled by our own individual journeys in the world, had made our own views unique. I never disputed this difference but was attracted to 'how' this had happened. Rather than a single meaning being attached to an experience, the meaning appeared to depend on the window that I was looking through when considering the experience. I was motivated to explore a range of experiences of being Māori and this expression in career processes.

Ways of Doing: A career counselling lens of the world

I view my role as a career counsellor as listening to a client's story and assisting to locate patterns to connect and link significant aspects of their story. I understood that this would assist clients with self-knowledge and career knowledge and how the two are, or could be, integrated. It is a type of listening that Reid (2005) describes as believing that clients' understanding of the meaning of events, and how they construe the impact on their lives, is the most important meaning.

Career counselling has moved from a search for objective approaches to explain career processes, to more subjective approaches. This is confirmed by Howard (1991) who describes career in the latter half of the 20th century as being a shift from notions of truth, to notions of significance or meaning. Savickas (1997) agrees, and suggests the move to narrative approaches reflects a 21st century preoccupation with meaning, in contrast to a 20th century focus on facts. Phrases such as "too many lists and not enough stories" (Law, 2003, p. 25), "stories rather than scores" (Savickas, 1993, p. 213) and narrated self rather than "psychometric self" (Peavy, 1993, p. 5) all speak to this shift in the career field.

The most popular approach in career counselling is the narrative approach, or a story about career, (Grant & Johnston, 2006). This is supported by Amundson (2003), who claims that one of the gifts a career counsellor can offer clients is an opportunity to tell their story and in so doing, develop new stories of confidence, optimism and hope. A career 'problem' is embedded in a life history and current life structure (Cochran, 1997). People try to make sense of the 'problem', and resulting interpretations can sometimes become part of the

problem, hence the desire to consult a career counsellor. A career counsellor may have a repertoire of strategies that can be selected, flexibly ordered, and co-ordinated to resolve career problems (Cochran, 1997). However, the ultimate decision for change and suitable strategies rest with the client. Narratives cannot be understood without the active collaboration of the narrator. This implies that people act in the context of, rather than merely react to, their circumstances. The story will speak using a language that is culturally determined, original, and creates connections and meaning. It is not simply listening to the client's story but *believing* that the client's understanding of the meaning of events, how they feel, think and construe the impact on their lives is where meaning is found. Narrative approaches enable context and idiosyncratic meaning to come to the fore, rather than using a theory concerned with applying general laws of behaviour.

Career counselling research has also moved from the search for objective measures to more subjective phenomena. A career is recognised as the course of a person's life (Cochran, 1991) and as such, the pursuit of a career as lived meaning and experiences. Within career there exists a narratable, intelligent and coherent career life story. Much of the research on career has been focused on objective measures rather than meaning created by the individual as they construct it in a social context (Young & Collin, 1992). Career research has also been criticized for not asking and investigating fundamental questions that could contribute to enhancing and informing the practice of career counselling (Cochran, 1990). Career researchers are being challenged by career counsellors and practitioners to question conventional definitions of career. They have been asked to consider what constitutes viable career paths and notions of career behaviour, thereby directly challenging meaning. Methods are needed that can bring contradictions and struggles over meaning to the surface. Narrative inquiry is seen as offering possibilities to expand the scope for relevant questions directly to career practice.

Narrative inquiry requires the researcher to 'experience' the experiences of the story-teller in four ways and to ask questions which provide a platform for this to occur. Connelly and Clandinin (1994) identify the four directions of inquiry as inward and outward, and backward and forward. Inward refers to internal emotions and reactions; outward refers to the environment; and backward and forward refers to past, present and future. From the very early years of career research, the Chicago School of sociologists saw the benefits in collecting stories. Chicago School sociologists collected life histories and other personal documents during the 1920's and 1930's. These sociologists had an interest in explaining the

individual's behaviour as an interactive process between the individual and their socio-cultural environment (Chase, 2005). However, interest in the life-story approach became marginalized when survey research became the dominant paradigm (Bertaux, 1984).

Cohen and Mallon (2001) identify four key benefits of using stories in career research. First, stories establish a sequence; second, stories reveal inconsistencies and contradictions; third, individuals provide meaning for both the past and present; and fourth, they provide insight into a person's relationship with their social structure. What was crucial in the study by Cohen and Mallon (2001) was the need to provide insights into the evolving processes in participant's social context and settings. By reflecting on career, participants could describe features of their social worlds that they saw as most relevant to them in their career endeavours and express their actions and behaviours to transform, challenge, negotiate or resist these existing structures (Cohen & Mallon, 2001).

My early experiences have informed me of the powerfulness of stories, and in particular, attention to intricate facets occurring within the story. Every minute detail was what drew connections between my-self and what was occurring around me, because every action and reaction had a purpose. Career counselling also supports story-telling and the role of the career counsellor is crucial in 'un-packing' significant events, and people.

This study was to provide me with the ability to combine a way of doing things that felt recognizable both professionally and personally. For this study I wanted to construct individual stories by Māori and their experiences of career. It was necessary to interview each person in depth to gather rich descriptive accounts of how they personally experienced career. Story-based career research allowed for a more rounded, deep, and multifaceted exploration of career that recognises its dynamic, evolving, ambiguous and sometimes contradictory character (Cohen & Mallon, 2001). Techniques and strategies to understand the meaning of the events to each person could be found in career counselling and research. However, I was hesitant on the appropriateness of these approaches for Māori and hoped that both the participant and my own knowledge of being Māori *and* a career practitioner would provide contextually-located meanings and understandings. I was conscious of the position of 'expert' placed on career researchers and career counsellors and my aim was to enable Māori to be active participants, curious and interested in responses and reactions to their own questions about influences on their career. Story-telling was a method that would enable

Māori to be heard, recognized, and acknowledged in an integrated view of their career life story.

Method

Māori researchers continue to develop culturally appropriate research practices that benefit and are sensitive to the needs of Māori. However, such practices have received very little attention in the New Zealand career literature.

Certain kinds of qualitative research methods such as interviews and focus groups fit more comfortably within a Māori worldview as the process supports and actively involves and includes whānau as a collective identity (Walker, Eketone, & Gibbs, 2006). Māori experiences were to be the sole focus of this research and the method of story-telling was ideal to enable Māori to take control of their own lives, by giving a voice to their unique experiences. Ruwhiu (2008) advocates the use of narrative inquiry as a culturally situated research strategy capable of capturing the complex detail of Māori tradition and practice. This is also supported by Bishop (1996, 2005) claiming that story- telling as a research tool is a culturally appropriate way of representing the diversities of truth in which the story-teller rather than the researcher retains control. Life stories mirror the culture wherein the story is made and told (McAdams, 2001). Narrating also provides insights into the meaning-making of others involved in the story. For this research, I chose stories as a means of generating accounts of Māori careers. Carter (1993) distinguishes between narration and story by claiming story as a special kind of narrative characterized by events, characters, and settings arranged in a temporal sequence. It was hoped that career stories would elicit information on the why and how of career processes each person experienced. Story-based research offers opportunities for researchers to uncover questions about meaning, enactment, and change.

Kaupapa Māori has re-framed and re-shaped particular methods within a Māori worldview. One example is the concept and practice of kanohi i kitea or the seen face; that is, present yourself to people face to face (Smith, 1999). Further examples include proverbs, focus groups (hui) and story-telling. For many indigenous researchers, stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further (Smith, 1999). Being present alongside the participants and their whānau, sharing and discussing their career life stories would give me the opportunity to

make and affirm connections and relationships. Getting to know each other in an environment of trust, comfortableness and openness it was hoped would alleviate a legacy of mistrust and suspicion by Māori communities of research.

Jones, Crengle and McCreanor (2006) remind researchers of extending an invitation to people into our projects, and therefore need to uphold two further key principles of Kaupapa Māori research. These are aroha, or a respect for people, and manāki. This requires consideration of a number of processes, including location of the interviews and initial encounters. Pipi et al. (2004) discuss allowing people to define their own space and meet on their own terms, as an expression of aroha.

The final stage was to obtain ethics approval from AUTEC (AUT Ethics Committee) for this study. This was sought and gained on 30.3.06.

The following section describes the processes of sampling and procedures for how the interviews were conducted.

Sampling

     Locating participants. To locate participants the researcher contacted the editorial team at *Kokiri Paetae* (now *Kokiri*), a newspaper published by the Ministry of Māori Development. The researcher was already familiar with this publication as an editorial had run previously on the results of my earlier quantitative Master's research which also had a focus on career and Māori. The editorial team agreed to run a feature about the study and requested a picture of the researcher and cultural identification information such as iwi and hapū affiliations. This is an example of the practice kanohi i kitea, ensuring that my 'face' could be associated with the research and would be known and seen by Māori communities who viewed this newspaper. Tribal affiliations provided another layer of kanohi i kitea, ensuring my cultural 'face' was also as recognizable as the photograph of myself. Interested participants were directed to contact the researcher by email or telephone. Within a short time of the publication being released, interested people began to make contact with the researcher. Those who were interested in participating made contact mainly via email with fewer making contact by telephone. A quick response was made to emails to determine if prospective participant's had further questions about the research and to determine suitable dates, locations and times for the interviews to take place. Telephone messages were also

replied to using the same pattern of further inquiry and availability for interviews. It was always a priority that the researcher would travel to a location determined by the participant. As a result interviews often took place in the participant's own home, workplace or in a nearby public space such as a cafe. This involved some travel out of the Auckland region generating a wait time of, on average, a month between initial contact and the interview. The response rate was highly successful with ongoing contact by people interested in finding out more about the study continuing long after the editorial had been printed. The response to the editorial had drawn mainly women from the pakeke group and younger males. It was difficult to locate kaumatua male participants for the study and as a result five male participants were selected purposively through established networks.

Criteria. The only criterion for participation in this research was self identification as Māori. Participants were invited to share their working life experiences and it was emphasized that this could be work in any area. Participants could be in full time or part time work and in paid or un-paid work. It was hoped that this would encourage Māori from a variety of occupations.

Selection of participants. Participants were initially selected in the order in which they made direct contact with the researcher indicating a random sampling. With this initial sample, each participant was to be considered alongside career life stages (Super, 1980). However, this concept was adapted to include an integration of age, life stages and Māori cultural responsibilities. Three broad life stages were identified: 'rangatahi' (youth), 'pakeke' (adult), and 'kaumatua' (elder). Each stage was based broadly on age associated to particular cultural responsibilities within a whānau, i.e., whānau head and advisor on Māori values, spokesperson for siblings and cousins or a learning role, seeking knowledge on behalf of the whānau. For example, rangatahi would be aged aged between 20 and 35 years old, pakeke between 36 and 49 years old and kaumatua 50 years old and older. The description 'career cultural stages' was prepared by the researcher for the sampling strategy. To ensure a range of participants across each career cultural stage, the next stage of selection was made using a stratified sampling strategy.

Number of participants. 22 participants were interviewed for this study. I based the number of interviewees at 22 in agreement with my supervisor because there was very little new material emerging from the related experiences. Glaser and Strauss (1967) referred to

this as saturation. Once 22 participants had been interviewed I considered that I had sufficient information to illustrate differences across the career cultural stages.

Method for individual interviews

All participants were sent participant information sheets (see Appendix 1) and asked to sign consent forms (see Appendix 2). Participants were also asked for permission to have the interview recorded. All written information was translated into Māori and made available to participants who requested them. The consent forms could be returned to me prior to the interview or at our first meeting. The majority of participants preferred email as a form of regular contact prior to the interview.

The interviews were to occur in three stages. Stage One was the initial interview; Stage Two was the return of transcribed verbatim interviews for feedback, comments and amendments; Stage Three was further contact with each participant confirming the agreed version of the verbatim transcript.

Interview questions. The interview questions were semi-structured and open ended to allow for stories to emerge and develop. Careful attention was paid to inviting participants to tell their story with the request: "Tell me about your experiences". Three, grand 'tour questions' (McCraken, 1988), were asked to invite participants to share their story:

- How has being Māori affected or influenced your working life?
- Tell me about significant events and relationships in your life that have influenced your working life
- What does the word 'career' mean to you?

These questions were asked during the middle stages of the interview. Each participant's story was different hence the interviews did not always follow the same sequence of questions. The need to fit each participant and their story was important so as to capture the idiosyncrasies of each person allowing characteristics and themes to emerge naturally from the story, rather than applying a pre-established set of categories.

The semi-structured questions were focused on the previously mentioned four directions of narrative inquiry (Connelly & Clandinin, 1994) which discusses how experiencing an

experience can occur in four ways. The four directions of narrative inquiry support what Durie (1994) termed a complex range of factors such as the interaction between past and present and people and their environment. For example the direction of backward was presented to participants as "When you were younger, where did you think you would end up?" The direction of inward was expressed in asking participants to describe their experiences of being Māori. Finally, participants were asked about whānau, their community and how their career story was shaped by their relationship with others, the environment and cultural setting. This created direction and movement between the past, present and future. Each direction contained questions designed to elicit information on specific career processes such as career choices, decisions and behaviours.

   Beginning the interview. Smith (1997) reminds us that story-telling has a focus on dialogue and conversation amongst ourselves as indigenous people, to ourselves and for ourselves. Stories employ the familiar and can be used to invoke a set of shared understandings and histories. Participants were each asked if there was any particular way they would like to begin the interview. Some chose a karakia (prayer), while others, a mihi. Often we would also be sharing food throughout the interview. Connections and links were made on multiple levels prior to any research questions being asked, which later added detail and texture to each participant's story. A common method for locating connections between the researcher and participant was whakapapa. Beyond this, special events and people we may have in common were also identified. Being Māori, we connected with each other by sharing our own threads of relationships and stories to people and places. This process enabled us to make sense of our worlds, together and to establish rapport through connection.

While I was able to structure questions to enable participants to ease into their story with a warm-up question: "Tell me about your working life". I began to sense a particular style emerging which re-lived and revived relationships with people alive and dead, and places acted as a compass for their story. Rather than a chronological outline of dates and positions held over a working life, career was often interspersed within connections and relationships of significant people and events. They were life-career stories, lived through people and their connection to the story-teller. The art of locating each person alongside such people was critical for the story-teller. It created a story with shape, form and meaning unique to them. It also created a window for others, namely my-self, to be included in their world through their story. The story-teller focused on the importance of a story being shared thereby continuing to give life to significant people in their lives.

Throughout the interview I invited participants to elaborate on their actions, thoughts and feelings of the events they were describing. I used the technique of paraphrasing both the content and feelings expressed on a particular aspect of their story. This is a primary counselling skill whereby the client's unique frame of reference is understood and is communicated back to the client. If the counsellor's paraphrasing is accurate and has focused into the client's frame of reference, the client will feel encouraged to continue their story in an environment of active listening and attention. Smith (1997) agrees with the use of this technique within Kaupapa Māori research by claiming that the researcher needs to be listening to their own listening as they attend to the whole person speaking.

Other imagery. Oral dialogue was only one form used by participants to narrate their stories. Other strong features presented by participants were through family photographs and taonga such as sports trophies, and adornments. Such collections mark a special memory in time, a memory around which people construct stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The collections tell their own meaning about the particular event and person, the story of the actual taking of the photograph, the feelings that led to the shot, the feelings the photograph elicits today and the relationships caught at that moment in time. Bach (2007) discusses visual narratives which see time collapse as the participant holds the photograph in their hands. Participants would often hold the photographs and speak not only of the moment when it was taken, but also other moments when they last viewed it, and others with whom they were viewed with. Items were displayed in prominent positions in their home or workplace but it was particular photographs that were eloquently framed and put on view.

Conclusion of individual interviews. Once participants had covered all the semi-structured questions they were invited to share any other issues of importance or if they had further questions. Some took this opportunity to reiterate and clarify earlier points they had made. Others chose to ask the researcher about her position as a career counsellor. The opportunity to speak to an experienced career counsellor was revealed by some participants as a motivator for volunteering for the study. These participants were open about their own questions and their lack of clarity on career decisions they had made in the past and some sought my professional opinion at the conclusion of the interview. Interviews were from an hour and a half to two and a half hours in length.

As each interview was completed, the recording of each interview was given to a research assistant to transcribe verbatim. The research assistant had signed a confidentiality agreement prior to receiving any material from this study. Transcripts from interviews ranged from 11 to 37 pages in length (single space). The participants' experiential stories gathered during the interviews I viewed as taonga (Matthews & Jenkins, 1999), placed in my care and responsibility. As the kaitiaki I needed to ensure each story was treated with dignity and respect. Out of respect for each transcript as taonga, on returning the first draft of each participant's transcript to be reviewed by them, I printed copies onto good quality paper and had each professionally bound. A short letter was also included thanking participants for the opportunity to share in some of their personal memories and that the enclosed copy was theirs to keep. All 22 participants were sent copies of their transcripts. Two made contact with me by letter pointing out errors and to ensure certain names would not be appearing in any material from the research. One of these participants was very interested in her use of colloquial phrases during her interview. To assist her further I sent an audio copy of the interview.

Summary of section

The experience of story gathering was both humbling and gratifying. Being a guest in the homes of most participants, and listening to some of their most personal thoughts and memories has also been an honour and a privilege. Participants seemed to enjoy sharing their story and many realized that a lot of the events and happenings that they were recalling from their life story had been all but forgotten! It was therefore with amusement and amazement that many of these recollections were made and recounted. Narrative inquiry encourages the researcher and participant to come together as the story is relived and retold. What is told, as well as the meaning of what is told, is shaped by this relationship (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Researchers are asked to be vigilant about thinking they know more about the participants' ongoing lives than is warranted by the relationship with them. However, when engaging in research that is for Māori and by Māori, there is a reliance on personal narratives but also family stories, family artifacts such as photographs and items, whakatauuki and whakapapa. A Māori researcher conducting research in a Māori-centred way seeks connections in order to build a relationship with the story-teller. Relationships enable the

Māori researcher to experience the experience, and gain a sense of the imagery about to be shared in the telling of the story.

Introducing the participants

From the outset of this research I wanted to ensure that participants would be from a broad section of the Māori population. What was important to me was a representation of multiple influences of Māori cultural values on each participant's career process. Expressions of being Māori were not to be seen as a given, handed down authoritatively, but an expression of what it means to be Māori. I was keen to embrace variation and nuances whereby individuals expressed characteristics from different contexts and settings.

Ko wai koe? The total number of participants was 22, 13 female and nine male. This section introduces the participants providing some personal details on their age and which iwi they affiliate to. Participants who 'looked' over 60, were not asked their age, respecting their status as kuia or kaumatua. Some had identified their age voluntarily within their stories usually in reference to the participant's birth order. The two youngest participants were aged 22. Participants resided in places as far north as Kaitaia and as far south as Christchurch. The most identified iwi were also the three largest in New Zealand, Ngāpuhi; Ngāti Porou; and Ngāti Kahungunu (Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

The names used here are not the real participants' name, so as to protect their privacy. I used the first letter of their names to select a pseudonym for each participant. In the cases in which a participant's age is known, this is included after their statement. To emphasise the dialogue between myself and the participant I also included my own remarks during the conversation denoted by the use of the initials LR. As each transcribed transcript was returned to the participants, they were invited to make any changes, amendments and deletions from their stories.

"Ana" is 23 and is Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou and Tūwharetoa

"Bill" is 29 and Ngāti Kahu, Cook Island and European

"Dee" is 59 and Rangitane

"Eddie" is 34 and Tairoa, Ngāti Kahungunu, and Ngai Tahu

"Hariata" is 41 and Whānau Apanui

"Jean" is 37 and Tainui

"John" is 50 and Te Arawa and Ngāti Whakaue

"Jay" is 33 and Paparangi in Wanganui, Te Rarawa, Kahungunu and "Pretty much everywhere"

"Joan" is 35 and Maniapoto

"Kiri" is Tainui and Ngāti Porou

"Kirk" is 26 and Nga Tahui and Ngāti Kahungunu

"Liz" is 23 and Ngāpuhi

"Lee" is 63 and Tanui and Maniapoto

"Lou" is 27 and Whānau Apanui and Ngāti Porou

"Matt" is 29 and Ngāpuhi

"Mike" is 56 and Ngāti Kahungunu

"Mihi" is 55 and Ngāpuhi

"Ned" is 35 and Ngāti Porou and Ngai Tai

"Olive" is Ngāti Awa

"Rick" is 38 and Ngāti Whatua and Ngāpuhi

"Rewa" is Ngāti Porou

"Rose" is Ngāti Kahu and Te Rarawa

Table 1 illustrates the number of participants based on career cultural stages as determined by the researcher. Three females and three males were 'rangatahi', four females and four males were 'pakeke' and six females and two males were 'kaumatua'.

Table 1   Participant Career Cultural Stages according to Gender

| | Cultural Life Stage | | | |
	Rangatahi	Pakeke	Kaumatua	**Total**
Gender				
Female	3	4	6	**13**
Male	3	4	2	**9**
Total	**6**	**8**	**8**	**22**

Table 2 describes the highest level of education participants had completed, organised by gender. Descriptions include completion of secondary school qualifications, vocational qualification gained from a technical institute or polytechnic, certificate or diploma also gained from a technical institute or polytechnic and University Bachelor degree and postgraduate qualifications.

Table 2   Highest Qualification according to Gender

| | Highest Qualification | | | | |
Secondary school	Vocational	Cert/Diploma	Degree	Postgraduate	Total
Gender					
Female	1	0	7	3	2	**13**
Male	2	1	1	4	1	**9**
Total	**3**	**1**	**8**	**7**	**3**	**22**

The majority of female participants (seven) had their highest qualification at certificate or diploma level. A total of five participants have qualifications at degree and post-graduate level. Four of the male participants possess a degree.

Table 3 describes the highest qualifications according to career cultural stage. Rangatahi were more likely to have pursued qualifications because of the economic climate of the 1990's in which they grew up. They may have witnessed parents affected by redundancy and the gradual decline of some sectors. While at school, qualifications would have been highly recommended and the opportunity for gaining these more readily available compared to the experience of their parents. Pakeke on the other hand are likely to have grown up during the 1960's when jobs were plentiful. Leaving school at an early age was not discouraged due to the widespread availability of employment in New Zealand. Kaumatua completed their qualifications at a mature age while 'in' employment, from an era where qualifications were not necessary to enter employment. However, as they continued in employment, they would have been encouraged and supported to complete a qualification to substantiate their years of work experience. Many of the kaumatua participants spoke of a strong interest in pursuing further education as encouraged by significant people in their lives when younger.

Table 3   Highest Qualification according to Career Cultural Stage

		Highest Qualification			
Secondary school	Vocational	Cert/Diploma	Degree	Postgraduate	Total
Career Cultural Stage					
Rangatahi		2	2	2	**6**
Pakeke	3	1	4		**8**
Kaumatua	1	5	1	1	**8**
Total **3**	**1**	**8**	**7**	**3**	**22**

All six rangatahi participants had completed secondary school and continued on to gain a qualification, with four completing degrees and post-graduate study at university.

Three of the eight pakeke had also completed secondary school and each of these had 'attempted' tertiary qualifications but did not complete the qualification. However, pakeke had built extensive industry-based work experience.

Five of the eight kaumatua had completed study at either a certificate or diploma level. Qualifications in fields such as social work, nursing and counselling were only attainable to diploma level. Each profession now requires a degree as a minimum entry-level qualification. One kaumatua had completed a certificate-based course as a requirement by a current employer. Another kaumatua had also completed a trade or vocational-related qualification.

Rural and urban identity. Participants were asked to describe themselves as possessing either a 'rural' or 'urban' identity. As noted earlier, the 1950's and 1960's saw the migration of Māori from rural tribal areas to inner city locations (King, 2003; Walker, 1990). This movement saw a shift in cultural identity and functioning changes in cultural values. Participants need not have been residing in a rural or urban location when questioned. Rather, what was captured was their sense of identity with cultural values demarcated as rural or urban.

Table 4 illustrates rural and urban identity chosen by participants according to gender.

Table 4   Rural and Urban Identity according to Gender

	Rural and Urban Identity			
	Rural	Urban	Both	**Total**
Female	7	5	1	**13**
Male	3	5	1	**9**
Total	**10**	**10**	**2**	**22**

Seven female participants described themselves as possessing a 'rural' identity, while only five male participants described themselves as having an 'urban' identity. One of each sex could not distinguish themselves as one or the other and chose to be described as both.

Table 5 illustrates choices of rural or urban identity according to career cultural stages. The breakdown is reflective of the urban migration by some Māori during the 1950's and 1960's. Rangatahi are more likely to have been born and raised in urban centres, or to have moved to urban areas at a very young age. Kaumatua on the other hand, are more likely to still have maintained very rural cultural values irrespective of whether they resided in an urban location. Pakeke were likely to identify in both as they were raised rurally, possibly while parents sought employment in the centres. Many pakeke may now reside in urban centres, nevertheless the connection with rural cultural values remains.

Table 5   Rural and Urban Identity according to Career Cultural Stage

	Rural and Urban Identity			
	Rural	Urban	Both	**Total**
Career Cultural Stage				
Rangatahi	1	4		**5**
Pakeke	3	5	1	**9**
Kaumatua	5	2	1	**8**
Total	**9**	**11**	**2**	**22**

Most of the rangatahi and pakeke participants described themselves as 'urban'. Kaumatua in contrast described themselves as 'rural'. One from each cultural life stage of pakeke and kaumatua were unable to choose and chose dual identities of rural and urban.

Occupational groupings. The 2006 Australian and New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (ANZSCO) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2006) has been used to classify participants. This particular coding was selected as it was used for the analysis of results from the NZ Census, 2006. The scope of ANZSCO includes all occupations and jobs in the Australian and New Zealand labour markets undertaken for pay or profit, including jobs occupied by people working for themselves. The structure of ANZSCO has five hierarchical levels – major group, sub-major group, minor group, unit group and occupation. Each major group comprises a different number of sub-major, minor and unit groups and occupations. ANZSCO uses a combination of skill level and skill specialisation as criteria to design each group. Skill level is defined as a function of the range and complexity of the set of tasks performed in a particular occupation. The greater the range and complexity of the set of tasks, the greater the skill level of an occupation and the greater the amount of formal education and training, previous experience and on-the-job training required.

There are eight major groups of occupation classifications: Managers; Professionals; Technicians and trade workers; Community and personal service workers; Clerical and administrative workers; Sales worker; Machinery operators and drivers; and Labourers.

According to the 2006 NZ Census for Māori aged 15 years and over and who were employed, the four most common occupational groupings were: Labourers, 21.2%; Professionals, 14%; Technicians and Trade workers, 12.4%; and Managers, 11.6%. In comparison the most common occupational group in New Zealand is Professionals, 20%, followed by Managers, 17% (Census NZ, 2006).

Each participant was classified according to their current position at the time of being interviewed and were asked during the interview to explain their current position.

Table 6 illustrates the number of participants based on the eight major groups of ANZSCO and gender.

Table 6 Occupational Grouping according to Gender

Occupational Grouping

	Managers	Professional	Technician and Trade	Community and Personal	Clerical and Administrative	Total
Female	1	6	0	4	2	**13**
Male	2	2	2	3	0	**9**
Total	**3**	**8**	**2**	**7**	**2**	22

The two most common major occupational groupings were professionals, and community and personal workers. The three least common major occupational groupings were managers, technician and trade workers and clerical and administrative workers. No participants were represented from the sales workers, machinery operators and drivers or labourers occupational groupings.

Male participants were evenly spread across all major occupational groupings with the exception of clerical and administrative workers where no male participants were represented. A similar result was shown in the NZ Census, 2006 where only 4% of Māori males were represented in this occupational grouping.

The majority of female participants were in the professional major occupational grouping. This result was also found in the NZ Census, 2006 where 18%, the highest occupational group overall for Māori women, was shown. This was followed by community and personal workers. No female participants were represented in the technician and trade major occupational grouping.

The only female from the major group Managers, appeared under the sub-major group, 'specialist manager' and minor group, 'health services manager'. The two male participants are from the same sub-major group and minor group, 'business administration managers'.

Professional grouping. Female participants from the Professional occupational grouping fall within three sub- major groups. Two from the 'education professionals' were from the sub-major group, education professionals' and the minor group, 'miscellaneous education professionals' and the unit group 'education advisers'. Another two are from the 'health professionals', and the sub-major group, health professionals and the minor group, 'midwifery and nursing professionals', unit group nurse 'educators and researchers'. The final two participants' from the 'social and welfare professionals' are from the sub-major group social and welfare professionals, and the minor group of the same name, unit group, 'counsellor' and the other, unit group, 'social professionals'. These sectors have traditionally been popular career choices among women.

One male participant is from the sub-major group 'education professional', minor group, 'school teacher' and unit group, 'primary school teacher'. The other male participant is from the sub-major group 'design, engineering, science and transport', minor group, 'natural and physical science', unit group, 'environmental scientist'.

Technician and Trade. There are only two male participants from the major group 'technician and trade workers'. One is from the sub-major group 'engineering, ICT and science technicians', minor group, 'ICT and telecommunications technician'. While the other is from the sub- major group, 'construction trade workers', minor group 'builder'.

Community and personal service. The four female participants' from the major group 'community and personal service workers', all fall under the sub-major group 'health and welfare support workers'. One is from the minor group with the same name, unit group 'indigenous worker'. The remaining three are from the same minor group, unit group, 'welfare support workers'.

The three male participants from the major group 'community and personal service' have a similar breakdown. One participant is from the minor group with the same name, unit group 'indigenous worker'. The remaining two are from the same minor group, unit group, 'welfare support workers'.

Clerical and administrative. The final group are the female participants from the major group 'clerical and administrative workers'. One is from the sub-major group 'other clerical and administrative workers', minor group 'miscellaneous clerical and administrative workers', unit group, 'court and legal clerk'. The other participant is from the sub-major group 'numerical clerks', minor group 'financial and insurance clerks', unit group 'bank workers'.

Describing the data

As discussed earlier in this chapter, qualitative research has a focus on meaning, therefore each narrative gathered contains an opportunity to cover a range of possible meanings (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The most common analytical tools in qualitative research are questions and words, phrases and sentences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) and content analysis (Babbie, 1983; Davidson & Tolich, 2003) was a method used for analysing these types of messages. Content analysis provided the researcher with a framework to begin to consider categories, or themes that occur within the narratives.

For the narrative researcher the stories are returned to again and again, bringing new re-storied meaning, new puzzles and re-searching of the texts (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Elo & Kyngas, 2007). Each story continues to provide a space to learn more and more from, while remaining unchanged, each time they are revisited, the researcher's understanding has evolved and more of the story re-emerges. The story continues to have a life and is reinvented each time it is heard and read in different ways, long after it was first shared. The narrative researcher is also encouraged to understand their unique style and preference of representing stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) as a platform for beginning to analyse and interpret the narratives.

I chose to analyse each story in four stages, some of which resembled that of content analysis processes (Elo & Kyngas, 2007):

- Stage one involved re-listening to the recording of each story.
- Stage two involved re-reading each transcript to identify expressions in response to the major domains of experience under which I had clustered the questions. Narrative content included time orientation, significant people and events that shaped their

career stories and how they interpreted what it meant to be Māori and how this shaped their career stories. From this stage a summary of each story was written.

- Stage three involved comparing the data of each story using the demographic features such as sex, education, cultural life stage, rural and urban identity and occupational groupings.

- Stage four involved consulting with a whānau research group made up of Māori career practitioners and whānau to share and discuss emerging themes and my experiences during the research. This group provided cultural integrity and safety to my practice as a researcher. I felt nurtured and drew strength from their guidance and support. I consulted with this group, based in Gisborne, on two occasions.

The qualitative data analysis software NVivo 7 was used to manage the data and nodes were created for data according to a theme. A node acts as a 'filing cabinet' for ideas, and as related data emerges it can be stored in that particular file. Themes were identified using words and related phrases, and the frequency with which they were expressed by each participant.

Listening to the story. Narrative inquiry typically involves listening to the stories for trends, themes, insights and significant patterns that express the experience. Narrative analysis provides a framework for reducing stories to a set of understandings (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Listening to each story assisted me to uncover what other senses were evoked for me as I interviewed each participant in person. Listening to the recordings meant I could be transported back to the moment we shared the story, recalling why a pause occurred or what prompted a joke. Listening reminded me that this was a living story. Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber (1998) remind narrative researchers to believe in their ability to detect meaning and it will 'speak' to you.

I returned to my own experiences of listening to stories and focused on all the sensory reactions present while hearing a story. While 'telling' a story was important, what was equally important was 'how' the story was being heard. Listening for story threads is a little like listening for the melody of a song, rather than following the story's content, (Rogers, 2007). As a career counsellor, listening to a client's story is an essential aspect of the work. Career counsellors listen to the client's story, seeking the connection of one human being to another, a shared experience, understanding or awareness. The career counsellor is observing non-verbal behaviour and attempting to connect what clients are saying, with what is being

observed in their behaviour. As the story unfolds, what are the thoughts and feelings behind what is being expressed? I recalled times when I had listened to stories by Māori, often the audience would close their eyes and nod in agreement with the story-teller, appearing to tune in to voice tones, the lilt of the speech, the pauses all signaling the unique style of the story-teller. The audience, inspired by images that the story-teller had portrayed, sought a language of familiarity and connection with what they were hearing and feeling. This was to me, a vital phase when listening to a story.

The rekindling of my own memories of listening to stories and the professional experience I have of active listening provided me with a platform from which to understand what I was listening to. I developed my own stages as to how I would comprehend the stories I had gathered. This included:

- listening to the story;
- locating and sensing the shared connections;
- listening for cultural expressions, and
- listening for career expressions.

Rogers (2007) has similar layers of what she describes as interpretive poetic analysis. These are listening for story threads; the divided 'I'; the address; the un-sayable; and the unconscious. What interested me in this process of analysis was the attention paid to addressing 'others' and the strategies for detecting the unspoken and unconscious. For example, the uses of pauses, silences, the recurring words, sounds and phrases. Rogers (2007) believes that these provide a direct path to the unconscious and the threshold of the un-sayable.

As I re-listened to the stories I had gathered I found myself immediately involved and absorbed in the story. I searched for ways and means to 'place' myself and my story alongside the story-teller, to embrace them and their life story. Jarvinen (2004) agrees, claiming that it is the "correspondence between our own story and the stories of others that makes the story real" (p. 55). The relationship with the story-teller and the listener develops based on shared knowledge of particular people and places, to people with shared whakapapa links but whom neither may know very well. Narrative inquiry offers interpretive activities with both researcher and participant as a circular way of understanding experience (Barton,

2004). One such activity is termed 'co-narrators', yet it was a term I felt did not adequately describe what occurs with Māori. The term I would use is 'relational-narrators'.

For Māori exploring a connected sense with an historical past and recent and present life events, a circular process of relational understanding develops. Together we build an image similar to whakapapa, by 'placing' this person and place with another to create the links. Sometimes these links were shared with the story-teller, other times not. It is from these 'feelings' that Māori begin to construct meaning, what does this life story mean for and to me, and my whānau? Benham (2007) agrees, claiming that active listening to stories, knowing how they are told, to whom and why, means we can learn much about who we are, and where we might journey. Beyond this were questions: Is there a reason or a purpose that I am present in this story? and, Is there a reason why this person and I have come together in this time and in this place? The need to be placed inside the story was quite compelling; as a 'listener' I sought my own place, sometimes claiming it quickly and with ease. This is the practice of relational-narration. The need to belong in the story was to be the foundation to understanding the story and recognising links and connections being made. The links and connections were not always clear and this air of uncertainty was acceptable too, and it felt like the complexity of the unknown was completely acceptable and normal. Many uncertainties still remain with half-conscious links not quite meeting the target. There is a reliance on a level of understanding and clarity and this is shared with whānau to help enhance clarification. Understanding remains a dynamic ongoing process to which new meaning is added and created. The 'interpretation' can be 'therapeutic' as there is an attempt to build a bridge between the physical and immaterial worlds, the here and the now, the past and the present. This occurs for both the listener and story-teller. How do I know when understanding has occurred for me as listener? The links become clearer, I 'understand' or at least continue to work at understanding, the significance and importance of this story for me now and for whatever is occurring in my life. For the story-teller, the act of sharing their story enables the process of looking back to look forward, to serve as a tool for ongoing clarity, understanding and meaning of their own life story.

Reading the text. For reading, interpreting and analysing life stories, one particular mode, holistic content (Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach & Zilber, 1998), takes into consideration the entire story and focuses on content. Re-reading each transcript verbatim was daunting because they were in their pure form with the natural flow of nuances and story lines. Part of this fear comes from knowing and caring for each participant, and for considering the special

relationships already established with each person. I realised that taking transcripts into a research paradigm that people are never only notions, categories and themes but are people living in storied lives on storied landscapes (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). I was comfortable that I had permission to record each story and then transcribe, verbatim, what they had told me. Beyond this it felt like a journey in uncharted territory. I now needed to focus on what the stories were saying to me first and foremost as Māori, and then as a career practitioner. Determining what the stories and the tellers *were saying to me* felt more considered than an 'analysis' of each story. What was needed was a way in which to write about the issues of meaning and significance across all the narratives.

A written document, in this case, the full verbatim of each interview, appears to stand still and is a finished prose with real people, places and events and meaning expressed for all to see (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Yet as narrative researchers our own story is about to begin as we tell and re-live the story in new ways. I decided to summarise each narrative as a forum for this stage of analysis. I was seeking the 'essence' of each story and references to the research question, and believed I could only find these by separating out, in the summaries, the essence of being Māori and then the essence of a career story.

I was guided by the following structure as I re-read each transcript:

- What was each story saying about the past, present and future?
- What experiences did participants relate in response to the major domains of experiences?
- How was I being told the story, what text was used, what words were chosen, catch phrases, proverbs, jokes?

When telling a story my great-grandfather believed that every word, phrase and utterance contained meaning. What was of even greater interest to him was the context or background to a story; what was happening before, during and after the story being told?; was the story based on a dream or an unusual occurrence? He would interpret symbols and imagery to add relevance to what was occurring in our whānau or hapū at that point in time. He used time orientation, constantly checking against past, present and future events and significance for meaning and placement within a particular frame of reference.

I have spent many years as a careers counsellor writing stories on behalf of other people. Part of this role was to listen to people's stories and write them down emphasising the career aspects. As a counsellor, I wrote about their social context and the impact of this on their career processes. Career stories I listened to enabled me to draw out themes, understandings, and the patterns of career processes my clients were expressing and experiencing. These findings mirrored broader social change. Narrative analysis illuminates not only individual lives but also broader social processes (Rustin, 2000).

As I read through each transcript, I realised it was not the use of specific words as is often found in career counselling when a client uses either an emotive or subjective word but the collection of stories within stories. These stories were of descriptions of places and relationships with people, culminating in and being sourced from whakapapa.

Summary of chapter

The research design for this study has been presented within two important and initially inseparable, frameworks for the researcher: being Māori and being a career counsellor. Knowledge and experiences from both have been shared as an acknowledgement of the strong influence both have had on this study. For the researcher, being Ngāti Porou, the eldest mokopuna and being raised by grandparents, has meant the establishment of particular meanings and understandings. These experiences have sometimes functioned in contrast to normative practices and theory within the career industry. However, recent developments within career theory have supported some similarities to the researcher's cultural worldview. These have included the constructivist approach, social constructivism and relational approaches. Career research unfortunately, lags behind theory and practice in the use of indigenous research models. A borrowing from other sectors such as Health and Education has seen the researcher significantly informed by Kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred approaches for this research. The rivalry between the researcher's cultural self and role as a career practitioner continues throughout this chapter and perhaps converges in the methodology for this study as evidenced by the use of career counselling skills and attitudes and cultural values and practices. Career and cultural identities continued to join forces in the analysis stage of this research whereby the researcher retuned to familiar methods of story-telling and story-listening as a model for beginning to develop new understandings from the interviews with participants. Twenty-two participants volunteered for this study and were a

sample based on a new description entitled 'career cultural stages'. This chapter has summarized the key demographic information of participants in table form.

The following chapter will discuss these findings within each career cultural stage group according to the semi-structured questions asked during each participant's interview.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EXPERIENCES OF MĀORI CULTURAL VALUES AND CAREER PROCESSES

The overall aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the differences found between each career cultural stage and experiences relating to Māori cultural values and career processes. Themes were extrapolated from responses to questions and identified by commonality in words, phrases and incidents across all participants within each group of kaumatua, pakeke and rangatahi. These groupings operated as discrete categories. In this chapter excerpts from participant career life stories are presented to illustrate themes from each group.

This chapter organises different experiences within each career cultural stage of Māori cultural values and career processes. Four key factors were identified:

1. Being Māori and influences on career processes. Being Māori referred to specific cultural values that participants expressed as being important to them and of having the most influence on their working life. Cultural values were expressed using Māori words and phrases or the translation of these into the English language.

2. Significant relationships defined as specific individuals who had the most influence on their working life and how they had influenced them.

3. Significant events described as turning points in their working lives.

4. Career processes which referred to each participant's working life story, their career goals when younger and messages about work.

New themes emerged from each of the four factors based on participants' responses. The structure of each new theme was ordered according to the responses of each group: kaumatua, pakeke and rangatahi.

Being Māori

Kaumatua: Rural and Urban Identities

The kaumatua group comprised of six females and two males, ranging in age from 50 to early 70's. Some participants were not asked for their age as it was deemed too disrespectful to this group.

The question of a preference for a rural or urban identity was also difficult to ask. It felt intrusive and impertinent for me to be asking this group to 'stake a claim' to being Māori. Four were directly asked and four were not. The older the participant, the more I felt out of respect, that I should *not* ask the question directly, it felt like an interruption and intrusion on the flow of their narrative. Instead, I identified within their stories, images and specific references each made to a rural or urban setting and location.

All four participants who *were not* asked the question directly were female and identified a rural identity. All were raised in small, rural communities and currently reside in small to medium-sized towns in New Zealand rather than in the large metropolitan cities.

The four who *were* asked, were two male and two female participants. One male and one female when asked, immediately nominated an urban identity. The other remaining participants, like other groups, had more to say about why they made the decision to choose that identity.

The following participant felt comfortable within either identity and decided to choose both:

> *I would say a bit of both. I would say I'm always comfortable going home. But living here [Auckland] is that I think you learn I mean our parents brought us up here to find jobs. I married and I moved on but the rest of the family and that, they sold, but they didn't, they leased out the land down at Tauranga and moved up here and brought a home up here so that, there was more opportunities for the kids. But they, we always went home, we, Mum said for us, it was always important to go home and keep our feet on the ground by going home (Lee, 63)*

Another participant felt strongly enough to make a comparison between being considered an 'urbanised Māori' and possessing a rural identity. He had had personal contact with people he considered to be urbanized and firmly believed they were at a distinct disadvantage, and that being involved in typical rural activities could make a difference for them:

> *I still consider myself very rural. I don't want to get caught up in entrapment of being urbanised only because I've seen the downfalls of being urbanised and a lot of our kids today, half the problem is because they're urbanised. If they got out there and played on their bikes and slid down the bloody hills, I mean eeling down the creeks and fishing down the rivers (Mike, 56)*

The use of the term 'urban' has been raised by two participants, both male, one pakeke and the other kaumatua. The pakeke participant saw it as a title to be proud of, while the kaumatua participant believed it was at the centre of problems experienced by Māori youth.

Most influential cultural value in working life. What was significant about the participants in this group was how each recalled values that were verbally expressed or observed from parents and grandparents. Stories were often told about specific people, incidents and events to illustrate how embedded the value was within whānau stories. At times, the value was buried within the incident or person that generated meaning, rather than the actual message or value. Kaumatua participants always told very detailed and descriptive stories about their past and the people and places of importance. Bringing the stories into the present day provided opportunities to reminisce. Cultural values were also associated with the 'Pākehā' world and the importance of being prepared to fit into and, in some cases, be accepted in, this 'new' world.

He Tangata, he tangata, he tangata. Kaumatua participants were inspired by the people and places that surrounded them. Their stories were often imbued with people, events and places all used as a canvas for cultural values and messages. For example, this participant describes a value instilled in her by observing her koro and Nan as embracing others:

My parents were or my nan and my koro, they weren't racist people, they were very embracing towards pākehā cause you see my dad was English and French and it was on my mum's side that you know that I was raised by my koro and nan and so I was able to you know to socialise with Pākehā people, so I think they must have been good values because we were able to build good relationships with people you know, who lived there (Dee, 59)

For Dee the message was interpreted as, any issue of difference could be overcome by building good relationships with people. Dee went on to narrate a working life that involved rapport-building with a wide range of people and places.

Difference continues as an issue captured by another participant who was raised believing people were all the same regardless of race, and should be treated as such. It was not until he became an adult that he was confronted with the fact that people *did* treat him differently because he was Māori. This participant had worked in small towns and on moving to the city for employment, first encountered what he believed was racism:

*In the beginning, it didn't really appeal to me. I didn't really recognise, I didn't recognise that I was Māori. I knew I was Māori, but there was no differentiation between the two. Until I hit [*name of city provided*] and I ran into racism and then I realised*

LR: I'm different.

*I'm different. First time ever I'd encountered that was in [*name of city provided*] and then that made me realise oh shit I'm Māori so I have to fight for every crumb I got (Mike, 56)*

"Mike" also recalled observing his parents' work ethic as a strong influence for him during his working life:

My Dad says to me, or my Mum says to me, oh you're working too hard and I said whose fault's that? I said it's your fellas' fault. You showed us how to work (Mike, 56)

Education was another very strong message from parents and grandparents to successfully secure employment and as a vehicle for surviving in a 'Pākehā' world. This was evident from the following excerpts:

I can remember our grandmother saying to us, always remember, you are as good as the Pākehā if not better. And I always thought I wasn't cause I used to get tongue-tied you know trying to explain and express myself, and I thought yes now nanny must have meant that I go back and learn English. So I did. I did English. I loved it aye. Yeah, but anyway you know when I think back to my childhood, it was always about education. Dad always used to say to us, you know what, there's going to come a day the Pākehā's going to want to see some papers. You won't get a job unless you got a little bit of piece of bloody paper (Rewa, kaumatua)

I was brought up like with grandparents and had you know about six or eight nanny's around me and when I reflect back my grandmother had a, very much a powerful influence over me and like she always said you know I was of the generation where you know go the Pākehā way, go get educated. So I was of that era (Mihi, 55)

The value of education was expressed alongside the importance of being an equal to Pākehā and being a success in the 'Pākehā' world which included the working world. Participants of this career cultural stage have perhaps summarized the social context in which they were growing up in, one in which 'the Pākehā' were expected to dominate. Education for their caregivers was seen as the vehicle that could guarantee participation in the new mileu, rather than be excluded from it.

As with other groups of participants' whānau and where a person was from, were very strong indicators of cultural identification. The support of whānau for decisions and when feeling home-sick were some examples. The following excerpts illustrate the significance of whānau:

And she [Mum] always said to me though. Never ever forget your whānau. She said now when you went to Auckland, and this is true, she said I gave you two addresses. One was this Aunty of ours, Aunty ... and the other one was …. She said you go to them. I stay here, they stay there, you introduce yourself and you tell them. And that's my cousin, you tell them who you are (Rewa, kaumatua)

I know there have been times when I have made decisions just for myself but I've always had to review those ones. And when I've made the decisions with a wider whānau in mind, things have been more right (Olive, kaumatua)

Sacrifices whānau made inspired participants who saw this as a sign of strength. One participant laments being taken away from what he considered to be typical male,

outdoor activities but is pragmatic about the need to do this due to his mother's chosen field of work and location of training:

> *I think I was taken away from it really early. So I missed out on a lot of those things that the males do like pig hunting and fishing.*
>
> *LR: And do you think your parents made a specific decision to pull you out at that time?*
>
> *Because she [Mum] had to get to, to work herself up and to get, you know to do her training she had to move to Tauranga which is the only place, the closest place that did midwifery. So that's why we shifted there. And so they took us away from all our whānau (John, 50)*

John's narrative focuses on being very proud of his mother's credentials in the midwifery area, a field where she was perhaps one of the very few qualified Māori. He strongly identifies with his maternal whakapapa.

Relocating whānau was an issue for the next participant. She had whānau who moved away from their iwi into a new rohe:

> *Very much a tight-knit whānau because they'd moved from Ngāpuhi down here so there wasn't very many Māori families actually living in city (Mihi, 55)*

While the shift alone was a challenge, Mihi spoke of there being very few other Māori in town and the reliance on support from each other.

Another participant was motivated by the educational pursuits of her father and the adversities he faced while pursuing his goals:

> *And then he [Dad] wanted to work in a post office and when he got, he passed all his exams and that was through hard work, he got the job and then he got claustrophobia and couldn't work inside. So he had to go back and do some more courses and that to become a boilermaker and work outside. So watching all that too and saying that he wanted to be still part of the, of the land (Lee, 63)*

Lee attributes her own motivation to pursue higher learning to her father. Her father's continued search for job suitability alongside a desire to be part of the land, illustrates the dual role some Māori tried to sustain.

Whānau members were also exemplars for pursuing community-focused positions as participants were growing up. For kaumatua participants whakapapa served as a guide to a person's natural talents and abilities. It stands to reason that they would continue in the same sectors as their parents or grandparents as this excerpt illustrates:

> *She [grandmother] was also, when I reflect and I have reflected at different times, she was very much a community person so in some ways now when I reflect, I can see why I've come out to work in the community (Mihi, 55)*

This participant summarises expressions of the previous participant by claiming whakapapa as an overall influence on choices she made in her working life. Here she uses her own whakapapa as an example:

> *It's in our whakapapa, Maniapoto kaumatua is a rongowai, it's no surprise hauora is in our whakapapa, destiny, see you can strategically plan, goals 1, 2, 3 4, but something comes along, Dad gets sick so we come home, get a kura starting right there, a dream so vivid, my kids have dreams too, and it was one of my aunties who passed away, she said you're going to do research and it's about children, I don't fight it, offered me a project and where does it lead me back to? Education, healers and peace makers, another whakapapa (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Kiri refers to the health and education sectors as her whānau and hapu having a long involvement with and the likelihood of her 'destiny' already predetermined as a result. Kiri also alludes to another aspect of whakapapa and that is dreams as a guide for career decision-making.

This participant sums up her most influential cultural value succinctly as, reliving and relearning Te Ao Māori:

> *Te Ao Māori believe it too and they say never give up your dream, your dream that came to you, but then I'm into looking for signs that double rainbow I saw the other day, every little factor, smell, colour, they are all around us and you are well if you know what those signs are. Resource, with schools, need a wide variety of choices not just limit it to whakapapa,… and we all can dream we just have to relive it, relearn it, trust it as real ways of locating pathways that are valid, we have to relive it relearn it, trust it (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Kiri believes this is a process that could be utilised when locating pathways for employment. Suggestions by previous participants of dreams and unseen forces at

play as guides for career decisions are continued with particular attention to 'wairua' as a process for understanding events by this participant:

> *Yeah that's what it's all about. So you know that's supporting manāki, awhi yeah and very much the wairua from my grandmother. As I say there was a lot of things that she dropped into me as a child that I've never forgotten you know. I've never forgotten those things so.*

> *LR: Like what?*

> *Like for instance she would say to me, never forget you're Māori, always remember it's there, things may happen to you that you can't explain.   And that's precisely what's happened over my time. Things have happened that I haven't been able to give a logical you know, evidence and all that kind of stuff you know so there was always that openness and, and we always had karakia. They were very strong, she was very strong Ratana (Mihi, 55)*

In contrast, the next participant also makes reference to unexplained events but did not use a Māori word or phrase to identify this feeling:

> *There's a reason for why things happen. There's a reason why things unfold as they do and my, as I look back and I see how it's unfolded for me, it was meant to because everything had its place for me (Mike, 56)*

It is enough that Mike was aware of the significance of such events and the emotional reaction such events can create.

Summary of section

Being Māori for the kaumatua group was part of their core being, making the question of rural and urban identity difficult to ask. All participants from the kaumatua group made specific reference to Māori cultural values when asked the question as to the most influential cultural value in their working life. As already noted, values were expressed within stories of significant people and memorable events and messages participants were inspired and motivated by.

Pakeke: Rural and Urban Identities

The pakeke group comprised four males and four females, aged between 33 and 38 years old. Three claimed a rural identity, one male and two female. Four claimed an urban identity, two male and two female. One participant declared himself with both identities, rural and urban.

The participant here expressed a strong sense of pride and was the only one in this group to identify himself as 'urban' Māori. Again reference was made to the intersection of looking inward, place and the past, "*I'm urban Māori proud of it, it was where I was born and raised*" *(Eddie, 34).*

Identity was not always declared directly as either rural or urban but instead by a specific place name. This participant expresses her identity as "*In south Auckland it was no big deal you were just from Mangere, who cares, that was our tribe*" *(Joan, 35).* The emotional reaction to being from south Auckland came with a sense of inevitability of possessing an imposed identity. This particular place was referred to as a 'tribe', highlighting the contemporary urban identities which now exist.

Another participant also had place as an experience of cultural values. It was interesting to note how a rural identity was considered preferable over an urban identity. However, even with this preference, because of where he grew up, the belief was he could only be urban. This may indicate that determination of identity for some cannot be based on personal preferences or interpretation. There appears to be an acceptance that selection of a rural or urban identity is based on issues pertaining to place of birth and where a person was raised as described in this excerpt:

> *I'd like to say rural, but I'm not.*
>
> *LR: So what does that mean being urban?*
>
> *Grew up in the city, Tauranga*
>
> *(Jay, 33)*

Here, in contrast to the previous participant, personal emotional reactions are more overpowering than a location from his past for this participant:

> *I actually think I'm a country, I actually think I'm the kid from Kaeo, but urban in my heart (Rick, 38)*

The comment does hint of torn loyalties between what Rick feels in his heart and what is an expected consideration for a Māori identity.

Emotional reaction linked with a rural identity is also evident for this participant, "*Rural girl. Love the city but always want to go back to the heart. The heart land*" *(Rose, 41).* Once again, emotional attachment is the determinant for identity. Heartfelt attachments continue to be a strong gauge for these two participants, whereas for others, the place they were born took precedence for identity regardless of their present home location.

The only participant in this group to identify with both a rural and urban identity still identified more strongly with an urban identity. Ned 'measured' the inclusion of a rural identity nevertheless, still chose to identify both, "*Urban with a country, a slight country*" *(Ned, 35).*

Most influential cultural value in working life. Pakeke participants' emotional reactions coupled with their external environment often generated a strong perception of cultural identity. For three male participants reference was made to their physical appearance as Māori as having the most significant influence rather than cultural values. The perception of others was at times reacted to by directly challenging and defying stereotyped perceptions.

Perceptions and attributes of being Māori – Male pakeke. One participant talked about being Māori as a key influencing factor. The environment he found himself in intensified his feeling of being the only Māori in his chosen field of the sciences, a fact he thrived on. This participant continued by using the analogy of a good and bad statistic as an external measure of being Māori:

> *Being Māori, I know there aren't many Māori who do science. There's not a lot.*

> *Yeah, not being a statistic. I want to be a statistic, but I don't want to be a bad statistic (Eddie, 34)*

Eddie was prepared to be labeled as a statistic but emphasised not a 'bad' statistic making reference to reports in the media of the high proportion of Māori represented in the prison system and low levels of achievement in the education system in New Zealand, to use two examples of 'bad' statistics.

Another participant was also preoccupied with the physical presence of being Māori and how this alone created instant barriers to what he could do and achieve in the workplace. In his current management position there are very few other Māori, he claims a sense of achievement from having shattered the barriers he speaks of:

> *It's who I am. What I am. I suppose its barriers. When I see something where there's bugger all people in a managerial type role, Māori. Perception was if you're Māori the highest you could ever be is a supervisor on a filleting line (Jay, 33)*

Other peoples' perceptions of Māori continue as an influential cultural value, as this participant references here:

> *I'm not sure about influences. I've certainly noticed other people's perceptions.*
>
> *LR: It influences other people?*
>
> *I was working in the other jobs but they were more conscious and I suppose PC about things more. In fact I found it to be a bit more, it became ultra-sensitive, Yeah the other jobs have predominantly been working developing strategies relating to Māori, so immediately all of the other staff in the organisation would turn to you and say well, what's the answer? Oh, I don't know (Ned, 35)*

Ned believes that, like the previous participant, being Māori creates a particular reaction and perception from others that he works with, rather than from himself. Expectations from work colleagues were such that, because he is Māori, he should know about all things pertaining to Māori. It could be that this pressure created a sense of personal animosity and irritation that he could not just focus on the job he was hired for.

Being judged by family in the home on being Māori was also felt. This participant spoke about his father who belittled him for being Māori as this excerpt illustrates:

> *Yeah, well my Dad, he you know, there's quite a lot of I suppose psychological trauma by saying that we were Māoris so we were dumb. You know, that sort of stuff. That influenced me you know, it inhibited me, it had quite a psychological effect (Rick, 38)*

Whanaungatanga – Female pakeke. Four female pakeke participants made more specific reference to Māori cultural values than their male counterparts. The cultural values of whānau and whanungatanga were referenced and related to tipuna. For two female participants the cultural value of whanungatanga was a significant influence.

One participant chose to focus on a family reunion she had organised for extended whānau as a vehicle for teaching them about whānau stories and whakapapa, as the following excerpt illustrates:

> *Whanaungatanga probably. So yeah, it took me two years, thank god it was two years because I created, I wrote the reunion book for the Whānau and because it, I spent so many hours with her [*Grandmother*], that I know, and getting conversations with other people too about her [*Grandmother*] stories, her history, her knowledge and stuff and some of the scary stories and some of the you know fun stories and things like that where I took the book initially about her but then I wrote small stories about her father, her mother and then her children and then just added the names to the kids you know, our generation. It was about that, all of that generation and for many of the Whānau, they didn't know a lot of the stories so they really enjoyed, and it's not a big one, but it was significant for people to know (Hariata, 41)*

The reunion served as a tangible and practical way to inform whānau and was a major incentive to Hariata. It was an event that shifted her working life more closely towards the needs of her whānau, rather than to iwi and hapu.

Honouring whānau continues to be an important issue for another participant. She believed that her own personal actions were one way of doing this:

> *Whānau and giving back. I talked largely about giving back to my ancestors because I realised that they've done so much. We have so much today because they worked so hard.*

> *LR: Yeah, so honouring that?*

> *Yeah in my own personal life, I don't mean save the whole iwi but cause I think it's just, there's so many different people doing so many different things these days to benefit an iwi but for me, if they've done so much, then I need to do better than just be complacent with what I've got and I really feel quite strongly about I need to do my best because they did so much for us and I guess yeah, I think, when I read about them I think wow, they've suffered quite a lot. I'm probably going to cry about it but, and so they knew that that was*

> *what they were doing it for, was for us. So I don't want to make their efforts in vain (Jean, 37)*

Specific reference to cultural values was how the next participant shared the most influential cultural values in her working life. She identifies at least three cultural values in this excerpt:

> *Whanaungatanga, manākitanga and the aroha the whole concept of what Māori are all about, I believe is right here in this building with all these people. Yeah and I mean I never knew what they were till I came here. Well I did but (Rose, 41)*

Rose had experienced these in her current position and admitted to not knowing too much about cultural values from within her own whānau. A major influence on cultural identity for Rose was place.

The issue of being raised in an environment with little knowledge of Māori cultural values was revealed by this participant:

> *I'm open to it, allowed myself to be vulnerable enough to go there, it's a big step for people who haven't been raised that way, it means my horizons have expanded, open minded, Te Ao Hurihuri, I'm that person, one of those, I don't fit in either world really well I have optimism I did not before, I was working by rote, adrenalin and now there's more optimism, feel released, wairua thing is huge, I don't need to satisfy anyone anymore, I don't need to be that people pleaser, stuff them, I don't care, I have skills to distance myself, Because I trust myself only, instinct*

> *LR: Is that wairua?*

> *Yeah I think it is, whatumanawa, tipuna thing, how did I end up doing ataarangi, all those things, I don't believe in coincidence (Joan, 35)*

Joan has moved from a remembered past in one place, to a present moment in another, all the while imaginatively constructing a Māori identity for now and into the future. A sense of wairua has freed "Joan" from a rigid working style that focused on the expectations of others. While she claims to not fit into either a Māori world or Pākehā world very easily, there is more of an emphasis on the Māori world evident by her choice of phrases and words. Again like previous participants, there is particular mention of tūpuna.

Summary of section

Being Māori for the pakeke group drew various descriptions and perceptions. For example, declarations of a rural or urban identity were often voiced with strong sentiments and explanations about why they felt so compelled to answer as they did. At times these responses implied a 'defence' of their own decision which could be viewed as counter to the 'expected' responses from other Māori. Most influential cultural values also presented a divide amongst male and female pakeke participants. The male participants described reactions from others based on stereotyped perceptions of Māori as having an influence on their working life. These explanations may provide some background to responses from this group to a rural or urban identity. In contrast to the kaumatua group, male pakeke participants were more likely to feel challenged and self-protective about their cultural identity in the workplace. The female pakeke participants used the specific term of whanaungantanga as their most influential cultural value signaling a reliance on belonging and relational identity within their working lives.

Rangatahi: Rural and Urban Identities

The 'rangatahi' group comprised three females and three males. Participants were aged between 23 and 29 years old. All three males and two female identified themselves as 'urban'. Only one female identified herself as 'rural'.

Two participants felt they 'adapted' to their situation, as described by these participants:

> *I'd pick myself as, like when I go home, I'm more country. I like fit in, adapt to the people I'm around (Ana, 23)*

> *I like to say the best of both worlds really because you know, where I come from, [*place name provided*], rural focused and you know that's where I'm from and those are my roots. But also you know, I do like the city. Yeah I like to say more city than rural (Kirk, 26)*

Kirk enjoyed both worlds, but, when pressed, chose an urban identity. Throughout their narratives participants used their present location as a source of a rural or urban identity but were willing to traverse back in time to the places they grew up.

Four participants simply stated they were either urban or rural, without the need for further reflection or consideration.

All rangatahi participants used the places they grew up in as a source of determining their identity. Their present location, namely towns or cities, remained the basis for construction of themselves, as declared by this participant, "*Probably urban, yeah. Just sort of grew up in Papakura*" *(Bill, 29).*

This was in contrast to one other participant who now lives in a city, but still chose to maintain a rural identity.

Most influential cultural value in working life. The emotional reaction of 'giving back' and 'remembering people and places' provided an intersection between looking inward to emotional reactions and a place of significance to rangatahi. Iwi, hapu and whānau appeared to be the most influential cultural value for this group.

Giving back. This participant described how he would not forget people and where he had come from even if his job afforded him several opportunities:

> *I think it's because of my culture. You just don't forget where you're from, who you are and people. Don't forget everyone else out there you know. Yes, you do have a great job and you do have fantastic opportunities (Kirk, 26)*

Giving back to those who had helped another participant succeed was also a driving force. She refers to her future work goals at 'home' and utilizing her current skills as a means of giving back:

> *I eventually want to take it to help benefit my iwi and hapu. I know a lot of the people back home aren't very qualified and don't know what they're really doing but they need people that do have that knowledge (Ana, 23)*

A similar feeling of being able to help others from a current position motivated by personal experiences in their own life is expressed by this participant:

Just talking about issues that come up for that person like there are some things, there are, knowing their culture and who they are. There's so much about being whakamā, there are some issues that I find are related to me that I can relate to with that person (Lou, 27)

Experiences of giving back were also seen as based on external conditions, for example, financial assistance for Māori, as a potential influence on working life. This participant describes her main cultural influence as scholarships given to Māori, but with little reference made to any type of personal reaction, place or temporality "*Some things like scholarships and stuff that they give Māoris but other than that, I don't think so*" (Liz, 23).

Summary of section

The rangatahi participants were very exact about their responses to a rural or urban identity. Almost all of these participants claimed an urban identity, with only one claiming a rural identity. The most influential cultural value was an ability to give back to whānau, hapu and iwi based on what they had received from these sources. What participants had received ranged from financial assistance to more intrinsic ideals such as feelings of belonging and security.

Significant Relationships

Significant people were identified as a key domain of experience based on the collective identity of Māori. In order to place contextual factors around a participant's career, each was asked if they could identify significant people in their working life. Relationships with significant people contributed to a sense of accuracy and comfortableness with decisions made.

Who

Participants made specific reference to the following significant people involved in their career decisions. The order of the list begins with significant people most identified to those with fewer participants citing their influence:

- Family members – parents, siblings, grandparents
- Partners
- Friends – school friends
- Employers – supervisors, bosses
- Work colleagues
- Career Advisor
- Counsellor

Parents were the most significant people influencing their working lives for kaumatua. In contrast the pakeke participants nominated grandparents, followed by parents and then friends and people within their working lives. Parents were again one of the most significant people for rangatahi, followed by a similar list to pakeke of friends and grandparents. Rangatahi were the only group to identify siblings and a school career advisor as further influential people in their working lives.

Kaumatua career cultural group

In the kaumatua group, five participants identified parental influence as being the most significant. Two participants, one male and one female, made particular mention of their mothers as significant people in their working lives. Another chose his father. Two participants, both female, made equal mention of both parents. A further two participants chose grandparents as they were raised by them.

The second most significant people identified by all in the group were grandparents and third, people met over their working lives. Finally, one female participant had a narrative so full of significant people that it was difficult to determine a weighting of who was the most influential. These people ranged from school friends, siblings, employers and whānau members.

Pakeke career cultural group

For two pakeke participants, one male and one female, grandparents were the most significant people in their working lives. Both participants were raised by their

grandparents, hence the level of significance. A further two participants, again one male, and one female, chose friends as the most significant people. Another three, two female and one male chose parents. From this group, two participants, one male and one female, singled out their fathers. The final participant, a male, spoke of people within his field of employment as significant to his working life. In summary, the pakeke group identified the most diverse range of significant people than any other group.

Rangatahi career cultural group

All rangatahi participants nominated parents as the main significant people in their working life followed by friends, siblings, grandparents and in one case, the school careers advisor. Some participants had never met their grandparents or spent time with them as a result of leaving the area where most whānau resided.

Ways Significant People Influenced

Participants identified three areas in which their significant people impacted on them during their working life:

1. Being role models
2. Being present in their lives
3. Imparting knowledge and wisdom

Participants used these as a source of information about themselves and the immediate applicability of life lessons from these people. The three areas will be outlined based on direct quotes from participants within the career cultural stage groups.

Being Role models

   Kaumatua. Kaumatua participants shared stories of whānau life as a way of expressing how grandparents served as role models, as this participant confirms, "*You know that support really is done and role modeling is done kind of earlier. The value is very much from my grandparents*" (Mihi, 56).

Parents were also identified as role models. The following participant spoke retrospectively about how his environment, the shearing sheds, created its own unique whānau working lifestyle, "*All of us kids that grew up in the shearing sheds. We were quite privileged to have parents like that*" (Mike, 56). This environment meant he, along with siblings and cousins, could share in the work environment of their parents.

Kaumatua participants also formed impressions of grandparents and the struggles of racism they had to overcome, as described here:

> *And yet her husband, my grandfather's all his side of the family, all looked down on her because they got the Scottish side. Half-Scottish so their Pākehā influence so she's on the full Māori. Just in those days they made her sit outside. She wasn't allowed to go inside. I think that's what made her strong. And all the others looked down on her. All the other brothers and sisters thought she was just a nothing. I think that was just the Pākehā influence (John, 50)*

We are left with the sense that, rather than deter John's grandmother, this experience only made her stronger and more determined. While he had not experienced a similar situation he admired his grandmother for both the dignity and restraint she exhibited.

   Pakeke. A strong feature for pakeke participants was the role modeling of a work ethic. Participants recalled their parents just simply working hard and raising a family. The image was of a very solid and pragmatic environment where actions contributed more than words. This group perhaps grew up in an era where parents worked hard and children were expected to be independent and self-sufficient, like their parents.

For Jay he describes a work ethic as 'survival':

> *The old man of course. And my mother. You know just looking after us, me and my siblings. Yeah, yeah, it's about being in a job and surviving (Jay, 33)*

The same participant experienced watching his grandfather go to work:

> *And even prior to that probably like my grandparents. The old grandfather who used to work at the works, used to work in the works and he had that philosophy of you know you're lucky to have a job, you know do your best at it and he used to go to work every day you know regardless (Jay, 33)*

His grandfather taught him to always take pride in a job, no matter what it was. This, coupled with the experience of seeing his parents work hard, would have had a significant influence on his own working life.

Another participant was influenced in how to work from her parents:

> *Parents yes, my father, I learnt how to work from my parents, my mother worked at TAB in weekends, my father was a self-taught welder, he got sent all over the world even though he left school at 12/13, bright man (Joan, 35)*

The personal achievement of success in the workplace by Joan's father was a particular feature for her.

Narratives of struggle and determination were also evident as participants described qualities their grandparents had gained knowledge of identity from whakapapa:

> *They were very strong people and if they... Yeah but my grandmother on my Dad's side was a very, she comes from a very strong line of people of trying to make things better for all of us. And I think I look at the same perspective, not just for me (Jean, 37)*

> *Yeah, she[*grandmother*] was inquisitive, she asked lots of questions. She talked about histories. She talked about whakapapa, she was really knowledgeable that way and that's the education stuff I understood (Hariata, 41)*

These stories presented participants with powerful role models beyond the living but also qualities actively passed down.

Rangatahi. For one rangatahi participant, she spoke of a work ethic role modeled by parents:

> *Probably just my parents. Having seen them, well having grown up being on the benefit and not having those opportunities. Like the other kids around us, they were always away on sports trips or going away for holidays and stuff like that and we, we never got to do that stuff and my Dad just used to work all the time so we didn't have any spare time with him. So I thought you know, getting work and that income (Liz, 23)*

The narrative is tinged with some sadness that her parents never had the opportunity to experience life in a different way. Liz appears to be expressing the disappointment of growing up missing out on some activities, and the working lives of her parents. However, I did detect an element of assurance and quiet determination that she could strive for a very different life. The same participant also spoke of her grandmother's life:

> *Oh just her life. What of her, she never actually told me, but she had a real hard life. From a young age she was married, had kids, her husband died and then she moved on and married again and it was just working her whole life*
>
> *LR: And bringing up kids.*
>
> *Yeah, or just experience what she wanted to do, her dreams and stuff like that (Liz, 23)*

Liz has interpreted the lives of her parents and grandmother as being an 'effort' and a seemingly endless feature of the harder people worked, the more difficult things became. The insight into the lives of Liz's parents and grandparents indicate how such role modeling has been passed down. Liz is focused on her motivation to lead a different kind of life by moving away from her home town and gaining qualifications.

Being Present in their lives

Kaumatua. For this kaumatua participant, she recalled whānau close by in the same city she had moved to:

> *We went to the Horouta meeting and cause she, they introduced me, oh most of these people are dead now but we were sitting there and she stood up, Auntie ... did and introduced me. She said I'd like to, you all to meet our you*

know our mokopuna, our niece here and mother is so and so her father's so and so .. and all this, and you know, I'll never forget the thrill of people saying kia ora dear I'm Uncle .... Oh kia ora, I'm your mother's cousin too you know. So I became very close to those people I met there. Cause just like that they acknowledged me. No questions asked you know. And I think that's where I first learnt and felt extreme power of Whānau was then. And then they all wanted to know where I was and I told them how I was working at Māori Affairs (Rewa, kaumatua)

Their presence served as a bond to home while Rewa was working away from home and her parents. Whānau were always close by and it was only a matter of reaching out for the feeling of unconditional acceptance of whakapapa.

Pakeke. While other groups reflected on the positive influence of having certain people close by in their lives, this pakeke participant recalled tension between his parents:

*I think with the marriage between my Mum and my Dad, it wasn't sort of fully accepted on both sides of our family so, in one way you know, every tangi there was we were dragged off to that and that was always with a fight between my Mum and Dad because he would say, and he actually said don't worry about, I suppose that's why I'm doing what I'm doing today [*position of cultural advisor*] he's always said that you know the Māori way is wrong (Rick, 38)*

Rick's narrative illustrates his own struggles with his Māori identity as a result. His current position as a cultural advisor has enabled him to reconcile issues of identity by assisting other Māori in generating a more positive image of being Māori.

Rangatahi. Rangatahi participants recognized that some significant people, while close by in their lives, did not play an active or decisive role in their lives. One participant described his mother as being 'there' for him but perhaps not being fully aware of what he was experiencing, as this excerpt reveals:

*Oh no like, well yeah I think I went through like all my School C exams and whatever and then she [*Mum*], I'm sure I remember her saying...do you have exams this year or something? And I'm like oh I've already had exams. You know, like she didn't worry about that but she was like, she enjoyed it when I went through and I did stuff like (Bill, 29)*

The presence of Bill's mother was taken as a sign of support regardless of how informed she may or may not have been on issues relating to his education. He was satisfied with this level of support.

For another participant the presence of his adopted brother was crucial:

> *I'm adopted. Fortunately for me they adopted another young boy of Samoan descent and so he's two or three years older than me so yeah, he had a huge influence on my life. Just really close because we're both of course adopted and of ethnic background and yeah basically learned from him yeah a lot of things, He is my big brother yeah (Matt, 29)*

For Matt this was a person who understood him and shared his search for identity from being adopted and was remembered as a positive influence.

For these rangatahi participants the roles significant people assumed were of an unspoken level of emotional support. This role is driven by the rangatahi participants and they appear to have created a self-supporting lifestyle.

Sharing Knowledge and Wisdom

While some participants had significant people central to their working lives, others recalled more vocal and assertive people in their lives. Significant people were identified as very active and involved in participants' lives and freely 'expressed' their views and opinions, unlike others who were simply seen or talked about in family stories. Their views and opinions were communicated to participants regularly, often without the invitation of participants! These significant people specifically sought out the participants, spent time with them and at times, lived with them, in order to impart their knowledge. Wisdom identified here was through whānau stories and events.

Kaumatua. For this kaumatua participant, a previous employer was someone from whom he learnt a lot about himself:

> *Yeah, he could see my deficiencies, he could see my weaknesses and he told me to try to build on my weaknesses. Which I did, but not to where he wanted me to be. Cause he wanted me to take on a managerial role but I was quite happy just to be the guy down below. I make my own way, I don't bloody wait*

for anyone else to make ways for me. Which is probably why I think that I've succeeded in the sense that I've done what I wanted to do, without the influence of anyone else (Mike, 56)

Perhaps for Mike, because he comes from a generation of Māori who left home at an early age to work and train in the cities, he was more willing and open to being taught by others.

Pakeke. Significant people for the pakeke group were vocal in their support of further education and awareness of cultural values as illustrated with the following participant:

I was raised with the thinking of an education is always important. So my grandparents always told me get an education, get an education, get an education. And it wasn't until my adult life how, late teens how important that was, because I never wanted to work in a factory, on a factory line. I never wanted to work in that, oh, a job that was limited, basically (Eddie, 34)

One of the participants recalled 'how' knowledge and wisdom was imparted:

Yeah, so that's how I learned from her because she just kept sharing, sharing information, and just through talk a lot of the time and even just into our spiritual, our wairua stuff, our rongoā, just lots of stuff (Hariata, 41)

This excerpt conjures up the image of an incessant grandmother, constantly talking, reminding and recalling whānau stories. The sharing between Hariata and her grandmother implies she was encouraged to question and contribute to the story telling.

Not all pakeke participants claimed whānau members as those people who shared knowledge and wisdom. For example, one cited the importance of personal knowledge of a friend's encouragement into a new field of employment:

You are coming to work, she didn't ask me, she told me. And she's like that, she's a good person. She said you're coming to work for me and I said no. She goes yes you are. Oh all right then. So I did yeah. And I never looked back. (Rose, 41)

This was a friend Rose trusted and appeared unwavering in getting her to take the position. The decision to move into this area of employment has been an extremely rewarding one for Rose giving her the confidence to be more involved in cultural practices and values.

Rangatahi. Rangatahi participants did not identify a significant person as sharing wisdom. They did not recall people who gifted them with lessons and insights from the past. This could be due to the limited contact some had with grandparents who had passed away or because they had moved away from whānau with their parents who were seeking employment or left after marrying.

Summary of section

A diverse range of significant people were pivotal in informing participants of who they were. What was unparalleled about these people was the insight and knowledge they held on each participant.   As participants recalled experiences each was very aware of how much these people were like them and how influential all were in shaping their sense of self. A sense of self was not always developed in a positive environment for some participants nevertheless the impact of this type of environment in the present was important.

Some significant people used korero about whakapapa to exemplify their identity by emphasizing traits that tipuna possessed. The continuous desire, availability and willingness to impart knowledge and share their own experiences were highlights for all participants. Some participants appreciated and strengthened their sense of cultural identity enabling a sense of confidence in their career decisions and vocational identity.

Significant Events

Significant events were another important domain of experience as they accentuated links Māori have to place, location and settings. Participants were asked to recall significant events which impacted on their working life and in particular, how these events shaped and influenced decisions made at the time. Significant events recalled by participants, in order of importance ranged from:

- Relationship with family members
- Activity of friends
- Marriage
- Marriage dissolved
- Death – family and friends
- Illness
- Birth of a child
- Needs of a child
- Religious journeys
- Dreams
- Personal goals
- Alcoholism

A common theme was the emotional content of each event. Participants recalled their own internal emotions and reactions and the effect on subsequent actions and behaviours. Examples are drawn from each of the career life stage groups to illustrate two dominant responses:

1. Responsibility
2. Personal motivation

Responsibility

Kaumatua. For two kaumatua female participants, events surrounding personal challenges of coping with grief and leaving home increased clarity and confidence in what they could do. For the following participant the event of a very close friend passing away from cancer became the motivation to enter the field of drug and alcohol counselling:

> *It was bereavement and loss that took me into the field of counselling although I work in alcohol and drugs but, which involves a lot of grief and loss actually. But yes my best friend … was diagnosed with cancer in her thirties and she's been dead ten years, eleven years now and our families had known each other since they were first married. So that was even before … and I were born but when I was a boarder at school, she was a day girl and I used to go out there*

on Sunday exits and stuff like that. We flatted together, we traveled overseas together (Olive, kaumatua)

Leaving home marked an event where another participant took responsibility for her life and became more independent:

*Yeah I missed them [*grandparents*] terribly and not having that, of being able to korero but I taught myself a lot of things from then on and I never really realised that until one of my sister in laws said to me one day. She said to me you lost mum and dad so young and yet you taught yourself a lot of things. You educated yourself. I did, I just used to go out and get books and you know, read and talk to people who I felt comfortable with that would you know, give me some guidance (Dee, 59)*

It was Dee's continued strong sense of independence and courage that saw her leave a marriage and travel with her children from the North Island to a very small rural community in the South Island:

So I decided to move down to this little place and I tell you I just, I had this little wee car it was, and I just put our suitcases, two suitcases in the back of it and put my kids in the car and we drove all the way down from the North Island and we got to [place name provided] and I just drove around, around and around trying to look for a house in this little rural community and I found a house. It was like little house on the prairie and I went in and asked the farmer if I could you know rent it and I told him what was going on and everything and actually the house was in a mess but he said you can have it he said if you can clean it up you can have it rent free for three weeks or whatever it was (Dee, 59)

Pakeke. This pakeke participant saw the event of successfully earning a place at Teachers College as a genuine turning point in her life. An event she describes as a 'second chance' to make something of her life after an unconstructive time at secondary school:

But it was like oh, when I got in I just was over the moon, it was just amazing and then I was walking around the Teachers College when I first made it in, I was walking around thinking oh my god, I've got another chance you know, because I had three years at high school you know, I've got three years at Teachers College (Hariata, 41)

Participants' own personal battles with alcohol, grief and family illness were revealed as events having an impact on career decisions. This participant describes the

consequences of behaviour associated with alcohol which he believes has restricted his employment options:

> *The first major interruption was why I ended up leaving varsity in the first place and going down a downhill path. I was a, my mother dying in my second year at varsity. Discovering booze after that and having, and then, fracturing one or two doors as a direct result of that. So because of that, I felt I couldn't apply for a number of jobs. To the point where if I was, if there was a point, if there was an opportunity that, where I could be asked if I had a conviction, I wouldn't even apply. So I got these other jobs. That's why I ended up working for these jobs because I didn't go through a, such a formal process (Ned, 35)*

Rangatahi. Rangatahi participants spoke of events which created a shift in perspective and a realization they had to now take responsibility for their own actions and opportunities. This participant described a moment where because of his mother's reaction to his income, he was able to consider personal struggles:

> *Mum, she saw what I was getting paid and she started to cry a little bit because you know, she'd been working like all her life and four kids and by herself, blah blah and I knew it was a bit of a struggle and she saw me come out and get a job and she saw what I was getting and it was more than her and you know I think she was, just that I kinda like glanced at her and thought shit, you know I didn't realise, you know I knew it was important to her, but I didn't realise. Yeah. So I was like you know, this [*place of work at the time*] is a good place (Bill, 29)*

This poignant event for Bill provided a glimpse into the hardship of his mother's working life. For Bill's mother a better working life for her son was a measure that her own efforts had been worthwhile.

In contrast, another participant's parents placed full responsibility on him for the consequences of events created as described in this excerpt:

> *I think I was undisciplined and unfocused at school and I think it got to a point when my parents provided me with an ultimatum you know. They said well if you don't buck your ideas up, in terms of what you are doing at school and what you are not doing at school, we're going to send you to a less desirable school than the one that you think you are going to and that scared me a lot. So I think that...That was one turning point. And I think the second turning point in my life was actually being, like I said I was scared that I was going to*

fail bursary...And get left behind. And all my friends were going to go off to university in another town (Kirk, 26)

Kirk's parents highlighted the consequences of bad behaviour on future goals he had established. This, coupled with peer pressure, was enough to get Kirk back on track.

A sense of responsibility to a parent saw Lou re-evaluate her career path to care for her father:

And so I did that [job] *for about a year and a half working full time, then my Dad got sick, he needed a heart, a triple bypass. It that had been a wee while before that while I was in placement with [employer's name provided] and I'd looked after him during that, but we'd found that after a while he couldn't get used to the cold winters there, so we made a change...I had to quit my job and re-apply for one here [place name provided]. Yep, yeah, so that's what happened with that. Last minute Dad didn't end up moving. He went to the Cook Islands instead. To live with one of his granddaughters and that was fine but I'd also, I'd decided that it was a really good idea to get...to move and to see what it's like in the bigger world but still close enough to home to be okay (Lou, 27)*

After her father's recovery, Lou decided to stay in the new city because new prospects had opened up for her. Lou recognized that she may not have made the decision to move had it not been for her father's illness.

The next participant also made sacrifices but in her own role as parent. Having her daughter as a young single parent created a need to be focused and responsible as a role model to her daughter:

I think my daughter.

LR: Having her?

Yeah having her. I don't think I would have been where I am now if I didn't have her cause it sort of you know encouraged me to go and get a better life and be successful to get the things that she needs and wants (Ana, 23)

A strong sense of personal responsibility was evident across each career life stage group. A range of events served as catalysts to realising the need for an increase in personal responsibility. All events involved other people.

Personal Motivation

      Kaumatua. One kaumatua participant recalled in great detail a childhood event which affected his siblings and extended whānau:

> *When we were at primary school, we had a very good cricket team and we were playing college teams because we were very cricket orientated. We had a very good team so we went off to trials in [place name provide] colts. Well there was eleven in the cricket team and eight of us went through. There was myself, my brother, cousin [name provided], cousin [name provided], cousin [name provided], cousin [name provided] and then three Pākehās. Nine of us went through. When they read the team out, he said so and so [name provided] so and so, so and so, [a cousin], [brother] captain, [a cousin] vice captain dadada and I'm sitting there and I'm going and I went up to him and went are there any more [family name] in there? He said no. And from there, I just wanted, it stuck in my head all these years and I just wondered whether that was part of my drive. I probably felt wild with them, I can do better than them (Mike, 56)*

Mike recalled his feeling of bitter disappointment in not being good enough to gain selection into a local sports team where other whānau members had. This event gave him the drive to succeed in his life.

      Pakeke. For two participants each had established personal time frames from an early age to determine when significant life events would occur.

One of these participants' gave up a lucrative sporting contract overseas by using his 31st birthday to coincide with returning to New Zealand:

> *Cause I always had in my mind that 31 was when I was going to stop playing football. And when I turned 31, I knew that was it. I wasn't sad or anything you know. I suppose my grandmother died in about 1989 and we came back for the funeral and, so I kept playing for another couple of years and just, I wanted to, actually I wanted to go back to where I came from [New Zealand] but...Yeah, get back to who I am (Rick, 38)*

For Rick, the emotional reaction of returning home appeared more important than money.

The second participant went so far as to calculate her years spent away from home as a gauge for when she would return home:

I met [current partner] and I said to him, there was a couple of things I wanted. One was to have some more kids and the other was to come home. Back to [place name provided]. I just so felt that I was meant to, I turned 17 down in [place name provided] and I was going to do the same amount of years that I did at home away and then I'd have to come home. I don't know, but after it was a strong thing that I know that I had in my body that I've got to go, I got to, I have to go from here (Hariata, 41)

Hariata's return home was something she felt was meant to be, again timing and place took precedence over all else. She was not going to ignore her own bodily reactions to this quest indicating emotional and physical reactions.

Rangatahi. This participant used leaving school as an event that would mark her also leaving where she was from:

I had nothing to do back up north. I mean I had finished school. My last year at school I was hardly ever there so you know it was better for me to just get out of there because I would just end up on benefit as well and I didn't want to do that. So I moved out of there, came down to [place name provided] with my sister (Liz, 23)

Liz saw this action as something that was expected as the alternative was being trapped on a benefit. For Liz, personal knowledge of other people was identified as a catalyst to being motivated to set future goals and act on career decisions.

Summary of section

Each career life stage group reflected on a range of events which contributed to personal motivation. The detail of particular past events for kaumatua and pakeke groups were very vivid and precise, with each group finding the events very easy to recall. The narration of events for these two groups always had themselves placed as active and purposeful contributors. In contrast, the rangatahi group described events and their reactions as following a pre-set pattern of behaviours. Rather than making choices, they were simply following the path others before them had created. Once again, for all groups, events were built around significant people.

<center>**Career Processes**</center>

Career processes have been described in previous chapters as early career ideas and career history and pathways. During each interview participants were asked to recall their earliest career ideas. This was followed up with the open-ended question, 'can you tell me about your working life'? Throughout this particular dialogue, messages participants had received about work, also surfaced.

Early Career Ideas

Kaumatua. Kaumatua participants expressed their early career ideas, which were career's they eventually pursued. Choice does not seem to be a feature and this participant referred to the fact that it did not matter what type of work it was so long as they were doing something:

> *Yeah, they worked hard and I guess back in them days it didn't really matter what you did, you know you just, when the opportunity came up you went to work so, I started doing that job until I went to high school, to college and then I decided to do, I was given an opportunity to do nurse aiding so I stepped up, so I suppose...*

> *Yes. So they said that you would be really good at you know, working with the people and would you like a part-time job as a nurse aid? So I did that and that led on to once I had finished high school I wanted to be a maternity nurse (Dee, 59)*

Dee speaks of the suggestion by others for her to pursue nursing rather than it being her own decision. Opportunity is perhaps another factor as Dee held a part-time job after school as a cleaner in the hospital.

Two other female kaumatua participants also identified nursing as their early career goals. Mihi has had this goal since around the age of eight and has spent her entire working career in this field:

I guess from an early age, round about the age of eight, I always knew what I was going to do and that was to be a nurse. And that's where my whole, what year are we? 37 years has been in the nursing profession (Mihi, 55)

Kiri, too, went into nursing from school and implies that the decision was a shared one, perhaps with whānau:

I went to Porirua hospital straight from school and umm into mental health. That was decisions made about my knowledge of Tokonui and the fact that a lot of Island whānau were there and so independently organised an interview, when I went to the interview as a nurse I said you have to locate me down in Wellington, a lot of whānau had a sister down Wellington who was a nurse (Kiri, kaumatua)

Whānau also had input into the next participant's career ideas:

Department of Māori Affairs and worked there with this, well I was going to train to be a social worker then and so I worked with the social. My Uncle was the head. He asked me to spend a year there to see if I liked it you know (Rewa, kaumatua)

The idea of social work was partially due to Rewa's Uncle being in a key position to support her and the apparent lack of other available options to women of her generation.

Church and cultural activities that participants were engaged in at an early age were further influences on early career goals. This participant describes her early career goals with a more generic description of serving others, rather than naming a career such as nursing or social work:

When I was about ten years old yeah. I think it came from the background of being around elders, also church, going to church and being a part of the group. Listening to some of the sad stories. I mean we were poor enough but there were people who were worse off you know and just being involved there you know like when I was twelve I served, I was a waitress for King Koriki at the marae and I mean I think that was all an influence as well, of serving other people you know and when I was quite, when I was ten I gave myself to God cause in a religion thing even though we were Catholics and I went to this Christian (non-Catholic) church and I got really involved and my Mum saw it and she said I couldn't go back to that church again. But it did something for me. It just made me believe that yeah, that people, I was there to help (Lee, 63)

Lee's experiences illustrate a raft of influences on early career ideas. Serving others, empathy for those in more dire circumstances to herself and a rebellious character contributed to the decision to be available to a range of positions in the helping sector.

In contrast to other female kaumatua participants, the next participant identified what seems to be a self-selected early career goal of writing children's books:

> *She [grandmother] sat me down and she said okay, now, what's going to happen next year? What are you going to do? I sort of had this idea in my mind that I was going to be a writer of children's books. Of children's books. Yes, she told me it was probably a good thing to entertain but it probably wouldn't keep me, food on the table. I thought, I thought about that yeah but no I had put some thought into it. I didn't want to be a teacher and I didn't want to be a nurse, which everyone at school was sort of going to be (Olive, kaumatua)*

This early career discussion was with Olive's kui who took the time to ask her about her goals. We later learn that Olive did not become a writer but continued her interest in books by working as a book buyer for a major book retailer. What is also evident from this extract is Olive's willingness to step outside of the norm of her peers who had considered teaching and nursing.

Both male kaumatua participants recalled early career goals. Once again this participant had an early career goal that was unusual among his peers. Important in this account was the influence of his mother who was a midwife:

> *A chemist. I wanted to be a chemist, I don't know, Mum...*
>
> *LR: You mean a pharmacist?*
>
> *Yeah. I didn't know what I want, Mum just said to me (John, 50)*

Interjection of parents is also evident for the next participant. However, this was made more compelling due to a need to leave school early:

> *Yeah and they used to come to the schools and offer to see like what's your career path and a lot of boys at that stage wanted to be firemen or whatever bullshit stuff but I sort of knew what I wanted to be. And that was a carpenter. So in the fourth form and in the fifth form I only lasted one term in the fifth form and then I had an accident and Dad came up and saw us at the school and he said look, him and Mum were both labourers all their lives. They said we can't afford to keep both of you at Te Aute College so one of you has to go.*

> *My brother excelled in academic stuff, I didn't so he said what do you want to do? I said be a carpenter so he found me an apprenticeship, I was going to go to the Māori trade training (Mike, 56)*

What are noticeable are the opportunities for exposure to career choices and options while at school, a prestigious Māori boarding school. Other secondary schools may not have provided Māori students with the same contact with relevant training providers and employers. While we can interpret that Mike was satisfied with this decision, his emphasis on 'academia' leads us to understand that he was fully aware of the differences between remaining at school to pursue an academic course and leaving school early to enter a trade.

Pakeke. More pakeke participants, a total of seven, *did* have early career ideas. Three female participants had specific ideas, and in this narrative we discover the potential influence of the media and personal interests for these ideas:

> *I was going to be either a nun or a vet. Why a nun, I have no idea but it looked like I guess, programmes I've seen on TV. You know they're out helping or you know they're doing, Oh and be a vet*
>
> *LR: Science*
>
> *No, because I loved animals and I loved working with animals and I had animals all the time but I also, I wasn't, I used to get awards for my work in science you know so, little awards and it became, it was an area that I quite liked but I didn't explore (Hariata, 41)*

Interestingly, Hariata saw these early ideas as only 'dreams' and ones she never actually considered pursuing.

Joan regrets a lack of career guidance on ways to pursue her ideas:

> *No, really haphazard, I'm annoyed at my success, I've never been rejected but not career wise, no guidance at all, only two things wanted to do, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and art curator (Joan, 35)*

Unlike the previous participant, she recognized that these career goals were indeed possible albeit with some guidance.

Another participant was the only one across all groups to identify being a mother as her early career goal:

> *A mother. When I was a mother, I didn't want to be a mother. Why did I want to be here when I had the one, I went oh no. I wanted like 10 kids. I always wanted lots of kids (Rose, 41)*

This could be interpreted as Rose's meaning of career not being attached to 'paid' employment.

For three male pakeke participants, each had specific early career ideas, with two claiming the ideas were established at an early age and at school, as also revealed previously by their female counterparts:

> *Oh just in high school IT, Yeah in IT (Eddie, 34)*

> *I was sort of encouraged to have [*career*] ideas, it was suggested to me that I should look at joining the airforce or something and becoming a pilot (Ned, 35)*

The final participant, in contrast, included a range of goals from an early age, two career- related goals and another connected to employment, owning a home:

> *I did set myself three goals at an early age and they were to own a home, join the police force and play in the Winfield Cup. So those were my three goals at an early age (Rick, 38)*

Rick's full narrative spoke of a strained relationship with his father, an issue that may have compelled him to set such specific goals at an early age as a way of escaping his family life. Rick was also proud to reveal that he achieved two of these goals, owning his own home and playing in the "Winfield Cup" league competition. He did gain entry to the Police force but turned it down to play league in Australia.

One female pakeke participant does not recall any early career ideas. Jean continued by linking this to her ongoing lack of career ideas as an adult:

> *I don't think I had, I don't actually didn't know what I was going to do and I'm still probably at that same point. You know what I mean, I'm like oh yeah, I'd like to do that. I mean your parent, my mother always said oh, it would be good to be this and that (Jean, 37)*

This male participant also did not have any particular early career goals. Jay's reasons were because he did not want to feel restricted and he focused instead on the 'doing', as a process for career ideas, rather than simply thinking about options:

Nah, I was of the opinion, how can I pigeonhole myself without trying it first.

Cause I'm a do it. If I like it I'll keep doing it. Try before you buy. How can you say you want to drive a Mercedes Benz if you've never driven one? (Jay, 33)

Rangatahi. All three female rangatahi participants identified early career ideas. Some ideas were formulated from early childhood, while others during secondary school. This is evident from the following references:

Also contemporary theatre so I'd liked contemporary dancing (Ana, 23)

All through school it always changed. Like first I wanted to do tourism, then I wanted to do physiotherapy and then I wanted to work in the bank like my step- mum (Liz, 23)

I think from, because from an early age, in my family, my sister and her ex husband had a lot of issues and so there were custody battles and things like that that involved lawyers, and seeing the family law stuff made me want to be a family lawyer (Lou, 27)

In contrast, only one male rangatahi participant identified an early career goal at the nominated age of 10:

When I was younger, I basically looked at either, well in my heart I actually wanted to be a mechanic for some reason. I always went to school or to kindy or to wherever, basically up till about the age of 10 with a car in my pocket (Matt, 29)

Two male rangatahi participants recalled having no particular ideas at an early age. These following excerpts outline the reasoning behind this:

Well I didn't really have like a strong career goal when I was younger. When I was younger I was, just no, there wasn't one particular field. Yeah, I thought that was too narrow (Bill, 29)

As far as I can think back, when I was a child, the only thing that I really, it wasn't so much what I wanted to be it was what I wanted to have and I just remember I just wanted to have a car and obviously that changed (Kirk, 26)

Summary of section

Each career life stage group reported early career ideas. Differences appeared within each group between male and female participants. Female participants across each group were more likely to report early career ideas than their male counterparts. Kaumatua participants described how they eventually entered the fields they had identified from an early age with strong support and guidance from whānau. This is in contrast to the pakeke and rangatahi groups where only two, one from each group, went into fields identified from an early age.

Messages about work

Kaumatua. For two female kaumatua participants there was a story to the message of needing to work to contribute financially to the household. Participants were very aware of the need for an additional source of income and the priority of work to their whānau. Both participants quoted below worked to help their whānau:

> *Well my first job was, ironically to say, was actually cleaning out a nurses-home. I was brought up by my koroua and kuia and at the age of 13 I had a part-time job in the nurses-home after school and it was just cleaning so that's how I began to start my journey I suppose in working, and, cause I knew that, I had seven brothers and it was you know was really tough going for my koro and nan. Not very much in the way of materialistic things but we had a lot of love and you know and kai in our home. But there were some things that I saw from a female perspective I suppose that my nan needed so I decided to take on this job. Cleaning at the nurses-home in the weekends and after school and to help financially (Dee, 59)*

For Dee the responsibility of working to support her whānau was something she expected she would do. In fact she describes it as the beginning of a 'journey', her working life.

Lee also recalls beginning work at a young age to assist in supporting her whānau:

> *Till I had to go to [school name provided] college and yeah and then I left there when I was 14 in form five and went on a shearing gang to help my family out cause they were poor and that job was a job I will never forget too. Getting up at four, five o'clock in the morning and that and then they changed me to cook (Lee, 63)*

For the remaining female kaumatua participants, messages of financial need were not as prevalent. Instead, the message surrounding work was that it would be an important aspect of their future so needed to be planned and managed. Mihi speaks of the message of goal setting from an early age:

> *There were two things, one was to go nursing and one was to overseas and meet my Dad's family. He had no family in New Zealand and so I managed to achieve both. You know the goals were all ready. I had already set them without even realising that at the time (Mihi, 55)*

Goals and aspirations needed to be worked on to be attained. Some female kaumatua participants' were encouraged to be independent thinkers and were reassured that whānau would always be there for support if they needed it.

The following excerpt indicates that, while support clearly existed for this participant, there was still the expectation that she would have to make decisions and taking control of circumstances was her responsibility:

> *Yeah so you had to be taking people who were 15 years plus long term unemployable. They were really hard to motivate. It was exhausting. And I can remember coming home one weekend. Mum and Dad lived out on a block at Rotokiri at that stage and I remember Mum and I going for a walk one Saturday afternoon. I had taken a week off work cause I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown actually and I was talking to mum about all these things. And I remember she stopped me dead step in the middles of this country road, took my, tiny little thing she is, took my shoulders in her hand and said darling, I think you just need to make one decision and the rest might fall into place (Olive, kaumatua)*

The theme of independence and trust continues for the next participant:

> *Mum was more far-seeing than Dad but Mum could always talk Dad around you see, so we worked through Mum. So Mum said, well that was my choice, I was getting into a young lady now and they had taught me all the rights and wrongs and I've had good teachers from my nannies (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Rewa was encouraged by messages from her whānau to be independent and trust in the values she was bought up with.

Kiri succinctly summarises her messages as Te Ao Māori. This message was conveyed across all the senses and is still very much a part of life today:

> *I grew up with a love of karanga our sound, I feel sadness when that voice is not heard, so let's have a whakatau, cutting that voice out, hearing that sound, and the colour black, it's real comforting and the karanga, kept that, it's not something I've learnt, I just know, even if I couldn't speak the reo, that will always make me who I am, colour and sound, I love that, the sounds, I'm blessed, I got a phone call, from the Wiri centre, workforce for child and youth, nominating a new board and they are putting my name forward, I'm privileged, and they said we've heard you at a few hui and know you will be true to Te Ao Māori (Kiri, kaumatua)*

The two male kaumatua participants were also encouraged to be independent, while also being assured of parental support. For this participant, knowing he could rely on his mother's support and assistance are in the comments illustrated below:

> *All the time I kept ringing my Mum and kept in touch every week. She said look, there's a job I can get you up here, working for the city council in an office. Oh no, I thought oh [partner's name provided] pregnant. Mum said, you come and stay with us. You don't have to worry about a place to stay and anyway, I got up there, the job had fallen through, so I didn't have a job so I had to stay, I had to apply for the benefit and they wouldn't give me the benefit because there was stand down, because I left my other job of my own choice and the boss, I rang the boss and he said he wanted me back. He said you're such a good worker, I don't want to let you go. You come back. I was oh, I can't, it was just Mum and Dad supporting us at that time, because Mum was a midwife it was great because she delivered our children and brought us through that time (John, 50)*

The message of acceptance and practical support is clearly evident for this participant.

A message of work is illustrated in this excerpt by the example of this participant's own father still working at 80:

> *Yeah because he's 80 years old and he's still working. So you know, but we come from a working family and we work, living in a farming area (Mike, 56)*

Like previous participants, Mike continues to personify a self-reliant and self-determining spirit rather than a need for reassurance from his family. Work was a learning ground for life lessons as he describes, "*Once again I make my own way and I chose my own path" (Mike, 56).* The message of self-reliance was perhaps

particularly reinforced for Mike by working in the male-dominated construction sector and typical messages from employers of 'learning the hard way':

> *Yeah if you have a guy who's cruisey and he cruises through, he doesn't learn much, but if you give a guy a hard time then he'll learn. Like if he makes a mistake, make him fix it, don't you fix it, make him fix it. That's what my boss was like. From really barreling me and he'd make me get in there and you'd just about cry, but you've got to fix it, but you learn from him and yeah so he was fair (Mike, 56)*

Pakeke. Pakeke participants seemed to have messages which focused on 'what *not* to do'! For three participants each had whānau members in positions they did not wish to enter. The motivation was to *not* be like other whānau. Two male pakeke participants recall these messages in the excerpts:

> *They [*parents*] just worked until they retired. And my uncles went the same way, they became labourers and yeah. So I never wanted to do that (Eddie, 34)*

> *They [*parents*] were both labourers, grandparents before them so I could see, if I wanted to get ahead, instead of using my hands, use my head (Jay, 33)*

One female pakeke participant was also motivated to not be like other whānau, however, her motivation was fueled by wanting to be the only whānau member in a particular sector as this excerpt explains:

> *I had partly decided that I would go into health because I had other whānau now coming into education. So I'm thinking, I'm going the other way now, because everybody, you know people moving into this area and that's wonderful. But I like to go off on different tangents (Hariata, 41)*

While the previous pakeke participants saw messages as positive influences, others were less convinced and reported a negative effect on their working life based on the messages they received. For this participant she saw herself as on her own and unsupported, rather than forging a path of independence like previous participants:

> *Same with everything, I m always on my own, always on my own, not boo hoo, but had to forge the way all the time. When younger I resented it more, now I'm just weary, working for [employers name provided] I got really burnt out, great money, stupid hours impacted on my family life, became very angry, tired and stressed, I came to realization I am wasting best years of my life working my butt off for other people (Joan, 35)*

For Joan this spilt over into her working life leading to burn-out and a lack of trust.

For another female participant, there was little guidance from her parents who were both working, and perhaps this was a contributing factor to a lack of ambition to do better:

> *You got the food on the table and that was something that was like Mum's gotta go and work, Dad's at work. He was off, you know, and that was the thing. You've got to go and work to pay the bills, to eat. So yeah, there were no higher, there was no high achievements for me. I got one School C subject in English and that was it. I just scraped through that cause by the time you get to fifth form you know you found alcohol and boys (Rose, 41)*

A further message compounding Rose's message about work was her father and his 'chauvinistic' attitudes to the roles of women:

> *Dad always said women were there, and that's the real male chauvinist thing, old thing, women are there to have, to cook and make babies. That's what, you know they never did higher education (Rose, 41)*

Rick also shares negative messages from his father:

> *My Dad, he you know, there's quite a lot of I suppose psychological trauma by saying that we were Māoris so we were dumb. You know that sort of stuff. That influenced me you know, it inhibited me, it had quite a psychological effect (Rick, 38)*

Rick continues his narrative by attempting to overcome his father's influence by getting on with people, but having no qualifications is reminiscent for him of being a 'dumb Māori', a message he is still unable to shake:

> *Not always good and you know I got on with my cousins or other people you know other, and I tell you other Māori like me who don't have a qualification and I can, we can, we get on but I can see that is the influence of my Dad (Rick, 38)*

Rangatahi. The rangatahi participants had the most diverse range of messages in comparison to other groups. Messages focused on working to fund their own endeavours, working as a step toward maturity and having to find work in the cities.

For these rangatahi participants, messages focused on study and funding your own goals. The following excerpts demonstrate participants' ability to link work with the attainment of particular values:

> *It probably goes back to when I was studying at Waikato Uni. While I was down there, cause I'm from [place name provided]. While I was down there I worked in a halls of residence. While I was studying. Just like that kind of took care of my accommodation so I didn't have to pay for that (Bill, 29)*

> *I was working in seventh form at school. Dad encouraged all of us kids to work from an early age. So I'd had casual jobs before that doing things like cleaning and mail outs for banks and things. But when I got to seventeen I got my first full-time job as a waitress (Lou, 27)*

> *Yeah I gave it a shot and it was good and it basically made me learn about the work ethic and have those responsibilities and all of that kind of stuff. So moved on and yeah, went to work for [employer's name provided] (Matt, 29)*

For this female participant, her message was generated from growing up in the country.

> *It was just the idea to get out, well I was brought up in the country so I wanted to get out of there (Liz, 23)*

Summary of section

All kaumatua participants recalled messages encouraging them to be responsible and proactive about all aspects of their working lives. For example, all began work at a young age to contribute financially to their whānau, with some working alongside whānau members. Pakeke on the other hand, assumed that their messages pointed out what type of work they should not do as some whānau members were resolute about their expectations for them. A key difference did emerge between the kaumatua and pakeke group based on the ways in which the messages were communicated. Kaumatua participants recalled actual conversations with whānau members where messages about work were directly communicated to them. Pakeke on the other hand, acted on messages which were assumed rather than reinforced with dialogue. As a result, some of these messages have taken on a negative connotation for them. Rangatahi, like kaumatua, were encouraged to work hard for what they

wanted. There are some covert messages about how working would teach rangatahi some much needed life lessons.

Career History

Kaumatua. The majority of kaumatua participants have worked in the social services sectors of either teaching or nursing. Many received training on the job and continued on to pursue a degree or diploma qualification in these fields.

John entered community nursing:

> *It was what they call a community nurse in those days and I just did six weeks in each ward and then for one week, you would go back to Whangarei Hospital which was close. You could have done it there in Auckland. And I said I'll take the closest. I'll do a week block just the theory (John, 50)*

Mihi also pursued nursing and was still in the health sector at the time of this interview, *Thirty seven years has been in the nursing profession (Mihi, 55).*

Two female participants entered *both* nursing and social work, as described Kiri:

> *Completed nursing studies to see what nursing would be like, psych nurse, I was really young, some of the things you see in a hospital. Although I enjoyed the mahi, I applied for teaching college (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Dee entered maternity nursing as a young school leaver, and then later qualified with a Diploma in Social Work and was then 'snapped up' by the Children and Young Persons Service, "*Once I had finished high school I wanted to be a maternity nurse*" *(Dee, 59).*

Dee pursued a qualification at the suggestion of one of her children who was also studying at the time:

> *In social work, in children and young persons, or family protection and then I decided to go back home. They needed me to help over there at the Runanga because they were developing and so I went back there and then I think I might have been there for about five months and then a job came up in Palmerston North as a supervisor so I applied for that and I got it. So we moved there and I stayed in social welfare for 10 years, 11 years (Dee, 59)*

Rewa began in social work but left after a short time believing she was too young. After having her children she trained as a community nurse, only to return again to social work:

> *Still community nursing and then I told her, I'd better get back, I'd better start making tracks back to social work or working with our people, Māori people you know. Not so much the Ngāti Porou people now, Māori people. And so one time there she said oh, I was at a meeting and I heard, I met this man [name provided] and he was talking about this job going up there. They called it Whānau development. And I said, oh that's me (Rewa, kaumatua)*

The social services sector was of major interest to Lee as well. She did dabble in a range of positions as this excerpt shows:

> *I did the induction. Social Work induction course and then I did a lot of voluntary work for social work and that was quite different then in those days, but then I got this other job with the medical centre, Coopers I think it was. Then I went to Tip Top and got a job there in the office (Lee, 63)*

While Lee did not complete a specific qualification relevant to the social services, she talks about positions where she was given considerable responsibility for the care and assessment of people based on her years of experience in the sector.

Kaumatua participants' work histories are also peppered with other types of work prompted primarily by a shift in location and in the role of caregiver. The care and responsibility for children and other whānau significantly changed the positions they sought. For this group, whānau was a particularly strong factor in their career processes. Once again the drive to pursue any form of employment was based on financial necessity.

For Dee, working as a maternity nurse was not conducive to raising a young family, so she sought other options:

> *I had to look at other jobs you know while they were growing up because it just didn't, it just didn't work out you know, and so I had a lot of jobs actually from going back out into the shearing sheds while they were growing up and I worked at a college. A high school and worked in the kitchen and you know, prepared the food for boarders and things like that (Dee, 59)*

Dee continued to change her employment once her children had grown by securing a position with the flying doctors service in Australia:

> *Yeah they [children] were doing their own thing. Yeah, so we went over to have a holiday and we were in this small community you know, outback Australia and it was such a friendly little place and you know people got talking and they said look, we've got this job coming up you know. How about you apply for it and I said ooh I don't know whether I want to stay here, and they said, oh just try and just thought, well okay, why not, and ended up out of seven people getting the job and so then I designed and developed a 60's better healthy aging programme for that particular community (Dee, 59)*

Responsibility for vulnerable whānau members created a sense of urgency in job searching for this participant as she explains:

> *I had to say that I went through a little bit of depression because when I, this was the second time I'd been made redundant you know and I'm a widow and I look after my, I've got my moko, he's 10. Had him since he was a bubby. And my daughter, my youngest daughter and she works down at the [employer's name provided] and then I've got the mortgage you see, so yes, I have to say that I did go through a bit of a depressed time and that and then I think well you know and then what I'd do is I sit down and weigh up all the negatives and positives and then think now I've got to get myself going and get back on track. Then all of a sudden, I was looking in this paper and you never, and I think well I know where I'd love to go but I probably wouldn't have a chance of getting back in there and then I looked at the paper one morning, I was just looking and there's a position for Waitemata Health (Lee, 63)*

The volatile construction industry was not to blame for Mike's employment shift. It was to ensure his whānau were taken care of that was the most significant factor:

> *There's nothing wrong with the industry, it's the people that's running it. So we head back down to Hawkes Bay. My wife's from [place name provided] so we headed into [place name provided] for a little while and I said no, we can't live like this, we've gotta get ourselves back up. There's no work there. So I came to Auckland. Left her down there, borrowed 20 dollars off my mother in-law, got to Auckland, we had nothing. The next day I got a job delivering waterbeds so I was delivering waterbeds, it was just to turn a dollar but it wasn't sufficient so I applied for the job to try and sell encyclopedias (Mike, 56)*

Illness of a partner prompted a shift of location for another participant:

> *Dad got sick, had a stroke came back to Tainui and a time going into bilingual and kura kaupapa, I was senior teacher (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Kaumatua participants also spoke of feisty and often spirited actions taken against issues pertaining to the treatment of Māori in their workplace. This was projected towards tauiwi and Māori. This participant speaks about contact with other Māori in her professional capacity:

> *I think that not having, not understanding that there's a certain standard of behaviour that's expected of you when you're a professional person. I mean it's not you know like one for example rung up and said look I need to know this about this patient and blah,blah,blah and I said no, I'm sorry, you need to go and ask the whānau. Oh but you're there, you can, I said I don't have the authority to give you that information. It's those sorts of things you know and really trying it on you, trying things like, oh but you're Māori, you're an advocate for us as well and I said yes, it's not that I don't care but I've got to follow procedures. This is the system that works in this organisation (Dee, 59)*

Dee was attempting to change perceptions by improving accountability and systems to ensure ethical practices.

Challenging professional Māori educationalists on how the education system was letting Māori children down was a particular event this participant recalled from her working life:

> *I said to them okay, all you brain boxes sitting up there, I said I want one of you, cause they had the head of the RTLB's, the head of the principals, Ministry of Education, all Māoris. All sitting up there and I said okay you brain boxes, I said I had a little boy, nine years old, anyway to cut a long story short he told a teacher to [expletive]. We did a test on this little boy and they found out he's reading was of a five year old. She was giving him nine-year-old work and he just got hoha with her (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Challenging the lack of effective practices for Māori within the mainstream health system contributed to Mihi having to take time out after receiving little support for her efforts:

> *I mean if you talk about cultural conflict and cultural safety, it wasn't safe at that time for me. Because I was doing it in a very mainstream, very Pākehā, orientated organisation and suddenly I'm standing up and saying I want to go and do this when well I guess at the end of the day I was challenging their practices and what they were doing differently. And, so yeah, it was a, I got it in the neck from all areas really. However, I persevered and then I stopped*

and had a three-month break. Took a sabbatical basically. That's the key factor for me and looking at Māori health because you're wanting to bring improvement to, it's not, there's no one quick fix you know, it involves the organisation, it involves the system, it involves the professionals and it involves the individual (Mihi, 55)

Another participant challenged her employer on Māori issues by refusing to be involved with the project because it lacked credibility:

They were surveying the Wānanga and I looked at the hard copy and that and then I'd go and go and complain and they said to me you know, you shouldn't be you know complaining about, well I said I am okay. And I'll do nothing now to complain and know that you, your getting a person to brief the rest of their people on that and they can't even say te waananga. Te weinga or something like that you know, you'd do it properly. I just said that you know I just said my piece. Just keep all that away from me (Lee, 63)

Some participants found themselves in compromising work situations both professionally and personally. Dee shares her concern for a lack of professional supervision during a period of change and upheaval. Māori models were also not being recognized, an issue that was of equal concern to her:

I wasn't getting the supervision that I needed, you know the clinical supervision and at that time, there were lots of political stuff going on within the department and there didn't seem to be any recognition for Māori models of working you know. I identified them you know and so I decided to leave (Dee, 59)

Olive recalls a period of personal challenges in her position as a sales representative and the need to travel. Her ability to work and her safety while at work were severely compromised by her own actions:

And I was drinking. Increasingly drinking so, especially being on the road by myself. At night, I'd be hung-over the next day when I was meant to be doing my job. Anyway, I lost that job. They told me I was redundant but I think it was a nice way of saying that I really wasn't pulling my weight (Olive, kaumatua)

As a result Olive went on to seek help for her drinking:

I was just so desperate, in such a state really. I couldn't stop, yeah. So I went to [name of hospital provided] hospital down in [location of hospital provided] in July 89 and yeah I've been sober since. One day at a time with a great lot of support and hard work (Olive, kaumatua)

Mike recalls being at the mercy of political agendas during the late 1970's:

> *1977, the building industry in New Zealand took a big dive and because I'm residential, there's two types of building, there's residential and there's commercial and because I'm residential, 80 percent of the residential builders in New Zealand went out of work. Went to work this day and the next day it's gone, flat. Muldoon got into power and Muldoon axed all the housing corp loans and we all were out of work, the whole lot. We finished the house we had to finish and we were just gone (Mike, 56)*

As a result of the changes to the building industry Mike decided to secure employment in a completely new field:

> *I did a very quick course, three-week course on how to sell insurance. So it [his whole career] was diverse as anything (Mike, 56)*

In contrast, the next participant was at the mercy of an unscrupulous business partner:

> *I had a shop in [place name provided] for about eight years. A television shop. I was one of the co-directors for that and that was hard, hard work. But I got through it and my Dad was a sleeping partner and then we ended up suing the other Director because he stole about $25,000 out of the company and my Mum picked that up because I knew something was going on but I didn't know what it was (Lee, 63)*

Pakeke. Most in the pakeke group have worked in a variety of positions and entered study at a mature age after an established work history. Study choices and current positions were characterized as completely new directions as this participant outlines:

> *So I think like I worked for a year and a half. Saved up some money for uni, went back to uni. Changed to a completely different field. Went into health, oh science, instead and, but I had to start from high school. High school science (Eddie, 34)*

For other participants there was also the challenge of a shift to new organisational cultures:

> *I've been on up and down waves as well with the company because I came straight from the hapū and so your whole mind set about tikanga and kawa and you're just living it, to working in a mainstream (Hariata, 41)*

Coming from big private sector companies where systems and processes are very very strong. If you don't know how to do something or, like they have something written about it. And then coming to the public service I got a hell of a fright. Big cultural shift. I found myself walking around and going what the hell do these people do? It seems to me they are doing nothing. Yeah, so that took a bit of getting used to and I found myself asking I don't know, where do I find this, how is this done? What are the processes? (Ned, 35)

Further change was described by Jean when contemplating her career goals:

It's been lingering too long. So I did the same thing, I went through that process of studying and praying and thinking and writing in my journal and trying to study the whole thing out. And my end inspiration was, you should continue on that path of studying Chinese and that it will be useful to you later on in life. Especially in, not so much in business or making any money, but to be able to share the research in terms of spirituality. So I think I was at the age where I was like 20, maybe28 (Jean, 37)

Jean utilized prayer and journal writing as strategies to assist her in this decision. Previous participants spoke primarily about emotional reactions to change, while Jean shared how she dealt with her career decision.

This is in contrast to Rose, who used perseverance and the encouragement of a friend to move into a new field as she describes here:

Yeah I said, she goes I want you and I said no and she said yeah, you're going to come and work for me. I mean I worked at McDonalds and Kodak (Rose, 41).

Taking a chance on a new field of employment proved to be a worthwhile decision for Rick:

For the last seven years I've been working here at the [employer's name provided]. As you know, I suppose it's the national [type of unit provided] unit and I came here in 2000 and I started working as a psychiatric assistant. No experience in this sort of field of work before (Rick, 38)

At the time of this interview Rick was employed as a cultural advisor within the same organisation.

Only one male participant has remained in the same sector but within his time here he worked for a range of employers over a period of 10 plus years.

Rangatahi. All rangatahi participants shared a stable employment history, but, being younger, most have been in positions for only two to three years. Two participants, one male and one female, had been with the same employer longer than other participants and have moved within the organisation to new positions as explained in the following excerpts:

> *I thoroughly enjoy my job here. But, I've actually been at [employer's name provided] for seven years so I started as a receptionist and then went into administration jobs as a temp, and then got my first full-time job in the directorate at [employer's name provided] and then moved from there and got a full-time job at the [department name provided] and then that led me to here (Ana, 23)*

> *Honestly it just felt like I just blinked and then it was four years and I thought oh my gosh and so the job for [name of position provided] was advertised, and that was something that I'd also looked at, you know, during those times (Bill, 29)*

Three participants two female and one male, worked for government departments at the time of their interviews. An institution which perhaps represents stable and steady employment prospects to rangatahi participants.

Only one male participant in this group had a diverse work history whereby he obtained a degree, then sought employment in a variety of areas as shared here:

> *I had a huge problem finding jobs that related to social policy, cause I didn't have any experience and all of the, all the jobs that I went for, whether it was for the Ministry, I went for a few government jobs (Matt, 29)*

Matt eventually entered teaching and was at his first school after graduating at the time of this interview.

Summary of section

Kaumatua have had a stable work history mainly within the social services sector. Throughout their work history they have been strong advocates for Māori values and practices. Pakeke on the other hand, have worked during some turbulent economic and political times. As a result they have had the most diverse work history across every group. Rangatahi, like kaumatua, reported a stable work history. This is

shown by two participants who have worked for the same organisation and another two working in government departments. This signals the importance of stability and security to the rangatahi participants. This section illustrates the important influence of labour market conditions on job choices and changes for Māori.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter presented four themes across each career cultural stage group. Each group reported a range of perspectives on each theme and these were illustrated as sub-themes. The first theme, 'Being Māori', contained the sub-theme rural and urban identities and the most influential cultural value in participants' working life.

The identification of a rural or urban identity proved problematic for some career cultural stage groups and as a result yielded a range of responses. What was most telling was the insight participants provided about this measure of cultural identity. For the pakeke group this identity represented an imposed Māori identity. Stereotypical perceptions of Māori have had a marked affect on this group and this identity seemed to represent yet another assumption made about Māori. Yet at times, some pakeke participants struggled with rebelling against more traditional concepts as reported in the extracts from their interviews in this chapter. For contrasting reasons, a rural and urban identity for kaumatua participants seemed simply, inappropriate. This is a group who maintain being Māori wherever they reside.

The kaumatua group believed people and places to be the most influential cultural value for them. Female participants within the pakeke group shared the cultural value of whānaungatanga and whānau. While male participants made reference to the impact of perceptions and stereotypes of Māori, in their working lives. The pakeke group also shared a focus on people and, in particular, the act of giving back to others, as a sign of respect to these people from their past. These findings report an increasingly diverse perception of being Māori among participants signaling to career practitioners a need to be guided by their clients' perceptions of what it means to be Māori, rather than assume a universal view.

The second theme, 'significant people', had each group identity mainly whānau members as having the most influence on their working lives. Differences were noted across each group of which whānau members were most influential, such as parents and grandparents. Participants within each group also elaborated on the actions significant people took in their working lives. These were identified as acting as role models, being present in their lives and sharing knowledge and wisdom with them. Of significance here is the rangatahi group, who were the only group that did not share in the perception of significant people sharing knowledge and wisdom with them. Some in this group had very little contact with grandparents and extended whānau due to parents moving away from these sources of kinship.

The third theme, 'significant event' were remembered because of participants' emotional reactions to the context of events. Reactions such as an enhanced level of responsibility toward their working lives, and personal motivation within their working lives, were explained as the most important responses. While some participants recalled negative events, the reaction and response of personal motivation was still the same.

The final theme 'career processes' was described across early career ideas, messages about work and career history. More female participants' across all groups recalled early career ideas, while some male participant's were open about purposely *not* considering career ideas at all. Kaumatua were influenced by the support of whānau, while pakeke and rangatahi by contemporary avenues such as visual media. A startling difference across the career life stages was the delivery of messages about work. Kaumatua were engaged in conversation and dialogue while the two other groups seemed to have to make their own inferences on what was occurring around them.

This chapter has emphasized the complexity and contradictory nature within the career cultural stage groups, kaumatua, pakeke and rangatahi participants. The use of traditional measures of cultural responsibility and career life stages are often suggested as normative measures of being Māori and career processes. However, this study suggests overlapping divisions rather than discrete categories of being Māori and career processes.

In the next chapter, instead of assuming unity and similarity, career cultural stages will be put aside to develop a typology of cultural career identities which represents the multiple overlapping constructions of identity used in specific cultural themes and settings to experience career by Māori participants.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONSTRUCTING CULTURAL IDENTITY IN CAREER

This chapter provides a discussion on cross-case interpretations focusing on differences and similarities in each group. Career cultural stages have been put aside to develop a typology of cultural career identities and not to intersect across career cultural stages. The overall aim of this chapter is to set down a discussion of a new typology of cultural career identities.

In this chapter a typology was developed to best represent the multiple overlapping constructions of identity used in specific cultural themes and settings to experience career by Māori participants.

Career Identity Typology

The typology is characterised according to three categories based on cultural and career features. The first was the '**cloaked**'; second, the '**seeker**'; and third, the '**keeper**'. Each possessed specific cultural and career characteristics, which will be discussed in detail. Criteria for participants within each typology were based on them possessing these characteristics. Emerging themes are discussed and the meanings are illustrated by excerpts from participants under each sub-heading of cultural and career features. The typology is represented in the following table:

Table 7   Cultural and Career Themes according to typology

Typology

	Cloaked	Seeker	Keeper
Cultural themes	Cultural identity	Whānau dynamics	Teachers of Te Ao Māori
	Parents	Cultural identity	
		Māori institutions	
Career themes	The workplace: Skill development	Decision making	Te Ao Māori and work
	Friends	Career History	
	Other communities		Te Ao Māori decisions
			Te Ao Māori and career

The Cloaked

The '**cloaked**' was a description chosen for participants who could be concealed during attempts to locate a cultural identity which had meaning for them. 'Cloakers' were characterized by a desire to be in control of how, when, and to whom they reveal themselves. They have a preference for settings which minimise the need for uncloaking their identity, and can pull away from situations where they may have to describe their personal perspective or a Māori viewpoint.

Cultural themes

Essentially the cloaked were able to describe typical Māori cultural practices but unable to connect these to Māori cultural values. The cloaked do not lack information on cultural themes, but at times were unable or unwilling to connect themselves to their cultural identity. While these participants would rarely deny their identity as Māori, they would not make a public declaration of this identity. They claimed the life they have is in no way shaped by cultural values and beliefs, therefore being Māori was not a reason for events that had occurred in their lives. At times their own awareness of a Māori identity was awakened by other people.

While some participants were reluctant to reveal a cultural identity, for others it became a step towards self-discovery. Their main navigational point for identity began with aspects most familiar to them, such as the place they grew up and immediate family members. Yet it is here that their first awareness of cultural identity was sometimes compromised. The cloaked were often off-spring of mixed marriages living within the dominant culture. Their families may have attracted negative and derogatory perceptions from others for being Māori. It was therefore 'safer' for the cloaked to assume a detached identity and as a means of escape, to disguise their identity.

Cultural identity. The cloaked focused attention on a cultural identity generated from external sources often influenced by societal definitions from both non-Māori and Māori. For this participant, the description of 'statistic' was used to define Māori while growing up:

> *Māori side, yukky statistics I'm not that person, it touched a nerve, and I built my life around defiance, it saddens me that this drives me (Joan, 35)*

Joan continues to recall the term, 'potato' used to describe her identity by other Māori. The term 'potato' was used as a metaphor for someone who was considered brown on the outside but white on the inside.

> *I was raised Pākehā until I was 27, when I did make approaches to join kapahaka, atmosphere at the time was if you did not know where you were from don't even bother, you're a potato, another form of oppression I felt, don't speak Māori, so in limbo (Joan, 35)*

Like other participants the cloaked are familiar with a range of Māori cultural values and expressed these in response to the question on tribal affiliations and rural or urban identities. The location of place was often subscribed to by the name of a suburb, as opposed to a tribal identity. Jay chose to affiliate to a range of rohe and in fact claimed he was from 'everywhere'. This was similar to the idea of being 'worldly' and not 'of' one place, a notion that is in contrast to a traditional Māori view of the world:

> *Te ataranginui A Paparangi, that's in Wanganui, Te Rawara, Kahungunu pretty much everywhere (Jay, 33)*

The cloaked chose to articulate their Māori identity with a combination of traditional and more contemporary descriptors. Relationships and ongoing dialogue within their immediate whānau was also a matter of contention for the cloaked as they struggled for knowledge and understanding of cultural values and practices.

Parents. Participants in this group often recalled hard-working parents and grandparents. This created a sense of independence but also restricted opportunities for someone to teach and explain cultural values and career goals. While messages were not couched in cultural values and terms, a strong work ethic left a resounding impression for the following participant:

> *I actually never had any higher aspirations. I don't know why, it was just something I never thought about. All I wanted to do was, I guess it comes from not having a mother at home. Mum was always working, Dad was always working, we had to kind of basically look after ourselves. Like we all did. So there was never anyone at home when you went to school (Rose, 41)*

In contrast, another participant had 'absentee' parents due to a bitter separation but this experience propelled her into survival mode from an early age. For her, work could be her way out, a form of escape:

> *My life went haywire over high school period, my mother and father had an ugly, ugly separation, there was inklings that things weren't right, staring to brew up, which leads me to my first job at 14 and I lied, I said I was a 5th former, did after school work, filing, girl gofer, I was quite happy to do that, money was an issue because of my parents, for my family, not that they made it an issue, so ended up paying for all my own school fees and brothers and sisters, even Easter eggs, we use to get them and now we weren't, money was available, just parents in a different head space (Joan, 35)*

Other participants had families who did not voice any specific cultural beliefs or values. This participant looked to her great-grandmother as a source of cultural values, and recalls her as a woman of very few words:

> *No not really. I always looked up to my great-grandmother but she didn't talk that much. You know, she was just one of those people that had little to say (Liz, 23)*

An additional participant recalled with some sadness shared by her siblings, that there was very little input of Māori cultural values as they were growing up:

> *We have pōwhiri you know all the time. We have big hui for things and if I never had come to work here, and my brothers and sisters don't know what that's like. The biggest, the eldest one does but the rest are not really you know, and my sister she cries when she has to think of that because it's overwhelming for her (Rose, 41)*

Rose is describing experiences she has had with her current employer, and laments the fact that she and her siblings were unaware of experiences felt during some cultural practices.

Rick is quite frank about how the influence of his upbringing on cultural identity and expresses this as 'Pākehā narcissism', a very strongly worded phrase marking his conditioning:

> *I suppose my upbringing, I suppose, yeah, I suppose you could call it my Pākehā narcissism within, you know. A predominantly Māori class sort of, I sort of had to, keep down (Rick, 38)*

For Rick growing up in an environment where being Pākehā was to be completely respected and acclaimed, eventually felt like a personality disorder. Rick was forced to exclude all facets of being Māori because of the dominance of a Pākehā culture.

The cloaked participants were greatly influenced by immediate family and setting while growing up. Work was seen as an opportunity by some to create a new identity. Within some organisations the cloaked were able to re-establish their understanding and appreciation of Māori cultural values.

Career themes

Career stories by members of this group were well constructed, yet lacked personal meaning and connection to the participants. For example, they were readily able to describe positions and tasks they had held but did not immediately divulge a personal context to their employment. Being 'paid' for their skills was a strong motivator, as too, was job security and the opportunity to move within an organisation. For these participants, culture and career were seen as completely separate entities, unless prompted by another person.

The workplace. The cloaked continued to be confronted with issues of cultural identity in the workplace. The attainment of skills afforded opportunity for confidence and respect, with ongoing personal development encouraged and supported by friends and other communities, rather than family.

For this participant, a career where there were very few Māori was a novel experience rather than isolating one:

> *And then during that five-year period I went to conferences, fisheries conferences and I looked around. It's pretty much a white-dominated arena, environment. I looked around and there were no other Māoris, this is pretty unique (Jay, 33)*

Being the only Māori could have been an opportunity to create a new career image of Māori and something he could control, rather than culture. Cultural identity to some extent is already predetermined by whakapapa according to traditional Māori, whereas in an organisation with very few other Māori, there is a license to mould and shape a chosen identity.

In contrast, Joan was currently employed by a government department that works specifically for Māori and she sees divisions occurring among Māori in her workplace:

> *I realise there's divisions based on race and wealth, and now starting to see te reo coming a chasm between those who can and those who can't, in the office next door to [name of employer provided], I still don't know what they are all about, they speak Māori and talking to me, but the arrogance, it's all the nice words, I don't like that from us hearing it from us, probably like I was maybe cos I see myself in them hearing myself, trying to impress (Joan, 35)*

Joan is reminded of her own early cultural experiences and believes this is not the way forward for Māori.

Skill development. Participants in this group see work as an avenue to demonstrate skills and to be valued, recognised and paid for this skill base. This form of credibility is extremely important to cloaked participants as they claim a skill base as a personal achievement that enables control over their future. This is evident in the following excerpts:

> *Yeah right so, this is my career for the meantime and I know it's going to hold me in good set. I'm going to have really good skills and it's building a really good foundation base for the next step, the next level. Something else in the near future (Kirk, 26)*

> *It's just because I can move on from here. Oh if anything, move up or move out and still take the skills that I've learnt here to my next job or, if I get a promotion (Liz, 23)*

Early experiences for participants seemed to produce a sense of confidence and pride in their abilities. This confidence could have been inspired by hard-working parents and grandparents and recognition from the workplace for their efforts. There is a realisation that the development of skills can be the pathway to being respected, heard and listened to, aspects they lacked in their early years. Skill development is also something they are in control of and have choices with. These participants all expressed an air of confidence and defiance in their career decisions:

> *I was pretty confident in the common sense that I had and that I could adapt to whatever industry was there and it just so happened that I just fell into the fishing industry (Jay, 33)*

> *I've got the confidence to say right. Like working with my clients and my care workers give me the confidence to be a bit, you know, this is the line, this is, where we draw the line here (Rose, 41)*

> *I don't give a stuff about what other people are doing, huge issues, so don't trust many people, it's worked out alright, I'm happy (Joan, 35)*

Rick perhaps sums up the conflicting feelings of being Māori for this group and how this was expressed in their career:

I just think that I'm, just a Māori aye. It's all I feel you know. Although actually, externally I'm a Māori, but internally, I'm quite in conflict who I am (Rick, 38)

Friends. Friends were a strong influence for participants in this group, guiding more recent career decisions and pathways. For the following two male participants, where friends went, they went. The thought of being left behind was seen as a failure and as having a life without prospects:

Some of my friends were going down, well there was one guy that was going down to and then my friend [name provided] is like oh, I'll do the same as him and then he told me and bro, [name provided] is going down. I was like hey. Oh yeah that's us. So we went down and oh it was so funny like me and my friend anyway, we hitched down and we enrolled (Bill, 29)

It wasn't, there wasn't so much pressure, you know, if there was any pressure, I think there was a lot of pressure on myself to do well because there's a peer pressure probably with my peers at high school, but not so much from my parents (Kirk, 26)

A friend of this participant assisted her to find employment by encouraging her to apply for the same position:

*One of my friends, she saw it [*job advertised*]. She was on benefit at the time and she saw it [*job advertised*] and then her Case Manager referred her and so she said why don't you apply for this [*job*] as well. Yeah and she's still working here so (Liz, 23)*

Contact with friends was affectionately described as a 'road trip' by the following participant:

I would make, during my extended periods of not working, I would go on road trips. Go and visit all the old mates around the countryside. Yeah, getting out of Wellington and I'd always find myself back in Hamilton. Go and visit my mates up there and my mates all worked for a Māori based consultancy, a Māori owned consultancy. We'd always have a chat over a few beers about oh yeah, what are you doing? What are you doing dada? Maybe we could do something sometime and an opportunity presented itself again. The director asked me oh yeah, what are you doing? Maybe we could have some work for you and that happened earlier this year so pretty much another six months from leaving that other permanent job I was employed (Ned, 35)

Ned made use of the road trip as a way of maintaining social contact with friends while also deliberately seeking new job opportunities. Networking through friends meant he stayed within fields that were safe and familiar.

Like the previous participant, Rose also recalled links and connections between friends and how they have stayed in touch with each other much more as adults:

> *From when we were babies, yeah, [name provided] and I went to school together, Mrs [name provided], her and I have only just found each other. We've known each other but only just become very close. Yes, she's my Aunty but like sisters and these two I've known forever. Not so much together, but her nana and my nana were like sisters and that's how we know each other (Rose, 41)*

Other communities. Rather than old friends, Rick identifies an Australian outback community as a strong influence:

> *I think the Australian community influenced and encouraged me to speak more. It had a huge influence on my personal development and growth. Yeah confidence well people just listened to you, you know (Rick, 38)*

This community seemed to be the first that took the time to listen and respect what Rick had to offer, which served as a powerful influence for him.

Who were the cloaked?

Nine participants were identified with the characteristics of this group, six male and three female. Five identified as having an urban identity, three rural and one claimed both identities. Identities from career cultural stages saw no kaumatua, five pakeke and four rangatahi found within the cloaked group.

Summary of section

The cloaked participants continue to strive for a cultural identity which measures up to their experiences of being Māori. Work to a great extent, has

contributed to a level of contentment surrounding cultural identity by providing the cloaked with a more positive image of being Māori. Yet despite a new frame of reference, the cloaked long for continued acceptance and support outside of their workplaces, among other Māori.

The Seeker

The '**seeker**' was a description chosen to represent a group forging their way through life intent on seeking and exploring new possibilities and discovering and re-discovering meaning to their lives. Being Māori was a key feature of their identity, and one they wore proudly. It was however, not the only identity they possessed and aspired to. Members of this group self-defined who they were using a number of sources and reference points. The majority had travelled widely overseas, and possessed a diverse network of friends and colleagues. This network of relationships was an expression of their strong interest in moving out of their own world to discover and learn new things. Relationships also represented the development of a broader identity and establishment of a liberal view of life. Participants here had also worked overseas with some being brought up in Australia, all contributing to their strong multicultural perspective and adaptability, plus a special regard for being tangata whenua.

Cultural themes

Participants with this identity recognised and accepted that their expression of being Māori would vary according to the situation they were in. They would control how much or how little they revealed about themselves as Māori, and believed in being in charge of their own destiny and fate. They moved in and out of a Māori and a non-Māori world.

Guidance and sage advice was a crucial factor for the majority of 'seekers' in their quest for purpose. Whakapapa served as the most significant marker for the seekers' identity and was the only place where the past was used as a platform for old

traditions and the creation of a new way of doing things. Whakapapa represented an immediate acknowledgement of the value and importance of a source of 'lived and real' knowledge, directly from their tipuna, and specifically for them. Participants here often had several photos at their home and workplace of significant tipuna. The pride expressed in being 'like them' (tipuna) was very evident during our interviews. Seekers were also highly motivated to share this knowledge with the younger generation in their whānau to ensure the memory of tipuna lived on.

The seekers' purpose was to ask how lessons from the past could be modified to benefit the present and the future. The seeker was typically a member of a contemporary family structure. Rather than adhering to traditional approaches, the impetus to create new structures was already the norm in such families.

Whānau dynamics. Participants in the seeker group were often raised with an awareness of cultural values and practices within a contemporary family structure. Families were non-conformist in their thinking and instilled a similar attitude in the seeker. The seeker would often find themselves in a variety of social settings, as Mike describes:

> *We were working on this sheep station, it was a big sheep station, they were very rich Pākehā people. They were always the same to us. They never treated us differently, they never treated Mum and Dad different. At the rugby club where Dad played, nothing was different there, the tennis club where they played, nothing was different there (Mike, 56)*

What is interesting to note in this excerpt is Mike's reference to a tennis club where his parents played. During this era, such an activity was usually the domain of Māori whānau who were asset 'rich'.

Another participant grew up in a non-conventional whānau. She was reminded that her kuia had 'left' their husbands and were maintaining a very independent lifestyle:

> *And she [participant's Aunty] said oh just think about it. You think about all those kuia that were around you and they were, women in the 50s that had left their husbands and were working so you had Māori women at that time who had left their husbands, were earning their own living and you know, there was about four or five of them. And so I was brought up, but at home I was always the centre, the central point you know. It was the community and so I*

was growing up amongst that. So Aunty said, oh is it any wonder you're like what you are (Mihi, 55)

Again, this was not the typical composition of a whānau during this era. Defying traditional practices was also echoed by this participant whose father was already 'promised' to marry someone else:

My Mum chased him around the country until he finally married her. But also because my Mum's European and my Dad was supposed to have an arranged marriage, they kind of said, okay, don't come back then (Lou, 27)

As a result of his defiance, he was prevented from returning to his iwi. An act which was to see Lou and her siblings estranged from her father's extended whānau.

Unlike other participants with parents and grandparents living under modern circumstances, the following participant created his own version of tribal identity:

Tairua and Ngati Kahungunu. And of late, Ngāi Tahu. I acknowledge them because they helped me financially. I'd like to acknowledge them even though the other two haven't. So I acknowledge Ngāi Tahu because of that. They've given me the support so I need to acknowledge that, the people. And I acknowledged Tairua and Ngati Kahungunu because that's where my parents are from (Eddie, 34)

In a realm which has traditionally been based on whakapapa, Eddie chose to affiliate to an iwi that provided him with tangible assistance. For Eddie his reality was the need for immediate financial assistance rather than a sense of 'belonging' to a particular iwi.

Cultural identity. The seeker would find personal ways to self-define being Māori. Seekers used descriptions they were comfortable with, regardless of already established traditional concepts, which reflected how they chose to be viewed by others.

This participant described his level of comfort, in particular clothing, symbolising for him, choice:

I would say that the first thing that comes out of my head is hori. Māori, casual as, hori, I mean I walk down the street, shirt inside out, pair of gumboots to the shop. Yeah, to me I like it. But to me that's Māori. But being able to do those hori things (Eddie, 34)

The use of the term 'hori' was interesting as some may view this as a negative stereotype of Māori, yet Eddie did not.

Another self-description was used by this participant as he fondly recalled his early experiences in the Hawkes Bay:

> *The job got done. So after that he was confident and he kept me with the*
>
> *company. It was a big company for a little Māori boy from Hawkes Bay. But I*
>
> *enjoyed the challenge (Mike, 56)*

Mike was referring to the fact that although he had grown up in a small town, he was still able to succeed in a bigger city or in this case, bigger company. He was a 'little' boy from a small community able to foot it in a 'large' company. Mike reveled in challenging the perception that being Māori and from a small town could make it and achieve success.

Lee questioned the disagreement among Māori of cultural issues that are either Māori-specific or iwi-specific:

> *Oh, we had a bunch of people who, Māoris, who came in the end thought they*
> *knew it all and changed everything and restructured my job because they*
> *wanted to take the kaupapa and it was part Ngāti Whātua and all that, but to*
> *me, to me it wasn't about that. It wasn't about iwi, it was about Māori (Lee,*
> *63)*

A clear demarcation was between Māori who saw issues as being iwi-specific while others believed in the concept of a Māori-specific worldview. Lee had experienced first-hand confrontation with those favouring an iwi-specific approach.

Comparisons also existed among Māori living in Australia.   Both of these participants grew up in Australia and became very aware of their differences from other Māori also residing in Australia. This example shows how disappointed Jean was with a perceived loss of cultural values by Māori living in Australia:

> *People found freedom in going to Australia. So voices came out and it was*
> *sometimes quite ugly in our Māori community in Australia. So my thoughts*
> *were, this is not how it is. And I never took that as, this might sound a bit*
> *disrespectful, but I never found any value in Māori who lived in Australia,*
> *cause I felt that we'd become materialistic and we'd forgotten some of the*

valuable attributes that we'd gained in our life, which is community. Yeah whanaungatanga, we lost that. I want to run over you because I need this. So I hold quite a strong net of feelings which is a grudge really. I see a lot of raruraru among our community. This is not what I know to be Māori (Jean, 37)

For another participant, her father's job meant that they were not like other Māori working in Australia:

I think cause we grew up in Australia, he was the only Māori person in a job [IT] like that. The rest of them were all in the factories (Ana, 23)

The need to maintain a distinctive identity was imperative as each participant experienced discontent among other Māori residing in Australia.

Challenges to their authenticity as Māori continued to be put to the seeker by other Māori. For example the following comment from this participant describes clashes she would have with people from her own rohe about not living in her tribal area:

Families say to you, oh, why don't you come home? You know, why don't you come home? But that's not what they're really saying. They're saying come home and support us in what we need to do and then you can go away you know you don't belong down here. We tried that so they tried that on us but they don't say that to us anymore because I just let them know that we have a right, we are entitled like you and anybody else. You are lucky because you have the benefits of having it here all the time and we are not so lucky. But you can't stop us from being here [tribal area] (Lee, 63)

Lee confronted this issue with an acceptance that those living in their tribal area are indeed more fortunate. However, this did not entitle those residing at home to exclude others who were living elsewhere.

Māori institutions. Seekers often recalled being a part of key historical periods in Māori history. This participant spoke of her father's allegiance to the [7]Kingitanga movement:

My Dad was never one for leaving, for leaving New Zealand. The reason being is we come from, had a very strong connection, we're from Huntly and obviously as a Māori, they have a great allegiance to the Kingitanga and my

---

[7] From its origins in the 1850's the Kingitanga movement was the first efforts to create a Māori nation with which to confront the onslaught of colonisation. Since the 1850's the role has been vested in the Tainui iwi.

> *Dad was a very strong Kingitanga person and my Mum never thought he would leave New Zealand. But we did, we went to Australia (Jean 37)*

Despite this connection, Jean's father still chose to leave his cultural stronghold for Australia and better employment opportunities.

For Ana, both sets of grandparents were involved in Māori institutions such as the Mormon church and were Māori wardens. Her cultural teachings could have included a broad interpretation of cultural values and practices:

> *And my grandmothers, like my Mum, cause my Mum's side are Mormon so they're very, you know family orientated and yep stayed at home with all their kids and did the odd catering for the church and all that sort of stuff and then my Dad's side of the family, they are based, more based on the Marae and helping out the iwi and hapū yeah, and they were Māori wardens so we used to go out, like out to the tangis and put the cones out and all that sort of stuff (Ana, 23)*

Another form of Māori institution was the shearing gangs. For rural Māori, shearing gangs were a key source of employment. At one time or another, participants with this typology recalled working in this area. Mike's experience was perhaps unusual in that his grandmother managed the shearing contract. The early experience of travelling far and wide and working alongside whānau perhaps contributed to an exploratory character:

> *It was handed to her by her first husband. So she ran it and so we were all brought up in the shearing sheds and in those days you went from shed to shed to shed, all around the bloody country. You'd leave, pack up our house in November, October and hit the road and hit the sheds and come back in about May and during that time we'd just be all over the place shearing and because, because there was, you were brought up really close with your cousins, all the cousins (Mike, 56)*

As a working whānau, children would have been allocated tasks, laying the foundation for early responsibility and self-confidence.

In contrast, the next participant recalls being told she could do better than working in the shearing sheds. This institution was used as a stark reminder of what Dee would not be doing when she grew up. Her grandparents also managed a shearing contract:

I did go on the shearing run, during the holidays on occasions with my koro and nan because they did have a shearing run. I used to go out and do rousing you know, wool, but they also encouraged me to do better things. They wanted me to do better things (Dee, 59)

Cultural identity was self-defined by the seeker. This self-assured style was affirmed by whānau who had made choices and decisions to better their own lifestyle and to create choices. The ability to seek new ways forward was often embedded in solid Māori institutions and experiences.

Career themes

Participants in this group were able to express a range of career identities generated from an ability to place themselves easily into diverse stories and self-characterisations. A multiplicity of identities, were what seekers used as sources of self-assurance and self- confidence. The range of career identities meant a range of contacts, and work opportunities available to them.

They were able to interweave these identities to create meaningful career themes finding it very easy to combine career and cultural themes. Being Māori was seen as an asset, and a means to a niche career pathway. They were bold and outspoken about their position in the workplace as tangata whenua (indigenous to New Zealand), and not afraid to utilise all aspects of their cultural identity. Participants were typically seen as campaigners against social injustices, and for affirmative ideologies.

When speaking about their career the seeker used descriptions such as, 'a passion'; 'something I enjoy' and, 'more than just a job'. Participants developed their career for their own purpose, and were willing to utilise their skills to help Māori, but viewed this as a long-term goal. Seekers had a respect for the organisation that employed them, and continued to be mindful of the need for organisational structures, and processes.

Participants from this group revealed a thirst for self-discovery throughout their career narratives. Career decisions were expected to be made by accessing people either through direct communication or looking back on stories of tipuna.

Seekers' view themselves as 'different' to other Māori and thrive on the challenge of placing themselves in two worlds, Māori and non-Māori. When considering Māori as a collective identity, seekers were very positive about their place there but did not want to be 'categorised' as 'only' Māori.

Decision-making. Whakapapa and cultural values were one source of guidance for their career journey. This participant utilised her whakapapa as a base from which to begin her search as a seeker:

> *A lot to do with my ancestors really and I look to them because I've learnt I've been doing a lot of whakapapa. It helps me to understand what sort of attributes I have and what sort of strengths and weaknesses that I draw from that. And that has given me some really strong direction, cause of what they have done. I think oh, you know I'm okay to do this, whatever I'm doing. So the actual job itself in terms of employment is probably secondary (Jean, 37)*

Jean's job was a vehicle for affirming the strength and importance of whakapapa.

Another participant was also very aware of her 'Māori side' but still needed to reconcile this with personal self-discovery to find clarity with her career goals, as she describes here:

> *When I started working for Māori health I've been in that since 89, 90. It, it's a bit of, it's a mixture of wairua and that practical of going out to find, and the interesting thing was I started to learn about myself first so I had to sort out my own values and beliefs and what did I really want you know? Very much looking at myself and what did I want and I guess to come out feeling strong in myself cause being Māori and this is what I want to work at and this is the pathway I want to take and yeah, it all fell into place. So finding myself as Māori and then the career side (Mihi, 55)*

The need to bring cultural identity, personal identity and career identity together was a key characteristic of this typology.

Unlike the cloaked group, career advice and decisions were verbally expressed to the participants in the seeker group. Advice and decisions were communicated directly by significant people and, for Dee, it was about being encouraged to get an education:

> *To look at the world and think you know, it's not going to be, you will need a Pākehā education and that's exactly what they used to say to me my nan and my koro. I was just very privileged in the way that I was raised and being encouraged you know to do better things in life (Dee, 59)*

For Lou it was not the message of education, but rather advice on goal-setting and decision-making. Lou describes how her father asked her what her plans were as she left school:

> *Dad was getting a lot more about come on, your finishing school do you know where you want to go? You don't know, what's gonna happen with exams and things so you need to do something in between time. So I just started looking for things and I think it was the first one that I'd applied for that I got an interview back for. He was the driving force (Lou, 27)*

The support and guidance of whānau extended, and was permissible, into adulthood for the seeker. While other groups were seeking independence from family, the seeker was still willing to have the involvement and input of whānau in their decision-making.

> **Career history.** Most participants in this typology had experienced a number of positions over their working life, including travelling and working overseas:

> *I went overseas for a couple of years and just did some agency nursing in England and then while I was there, this other friend of mine that came later, we decided we would do our mid-wifery and I was toying whether I would go to Scotland to do it or come back this way to do it (Mihi, 55)*

> *Because I had this old little whānau anyway you know, of friends. They were really close friends. So I spoke to Tess about this kibbutz business. She ended up going to Nahariya,, which was up near the Lebanese border where they've been so bombed in these recent months. Most beautiful kibbutz on the Mediterranean. They grew oranges and lots of citrus. It was a beautiful place. And I ended up being with Degania which was the nearest township to Degania was Tiberius which was an ancient town, on the sea of Galilee and across from us was Golan Heights and Syria (Olive, kaumatua)*

Travel was about seeking 'experiences' through work which seemed more important than status, or monetary gain.

Mike maintained his building skills even though he was teaching in a tertiary institute, by doing small jobs for people:

> *I have no-one to control, no-one to look after, no-one to give me direction, I just do it, cause it's there. And I just love it, absolutely love it. You get a real, I get a real pleasure out of it. Just do the small things like I'm doing a house up, where is it? Massey at the moment, I've got a job I'm starting over here in Mission Bay, but the job up here in Massey and I'm doing these things, I've*

got the owners up to meet me and when you see happiness on their face, makes my job worthwhile Mike, 56)

He saw this work as a personal project, rather than work, and as something he still got a lot of pleasure from.

Searching for experiences in work often contributed to a fierce sense of independence and adventure from seeker participants. Seekers took pleasure in autonomy and achievement, with a confident attitude that it was about taking a chance, and pursuing choices. Not taking on opportunities was seen as more of a failure than actual success or otherwise, as Mike purports here:

> *Working for myself, I didn't, wasn't successful at it but it was getting the opportunities. That was a learning, that was the start of the learning road for me as a self-employed person. For most of my life I've been self-employed (Mike, 56)*

Another female participant also took the opportunity of a position in a male-dominated field. For her generation, such positions would have been viewed as non-traditional occupations for women. This participant enjoyed the freedom from more traditional female roles:

> *I saw this ad in the paper and it was in a mill, a wood, timber mill so I applied for it. It was stacking timber and driving the forklifts.*
>
> *LR: So quite physical, quite different from maternity nursing.*
>
> *So I thought well why don't you ring? I'll just go and see them cause you know, they're probably going to think well a woman, I'm not going to give her a job. So I don't think I had to phone on anyone but I went to this mill and he just said yes, yeah you can have the job and I lied actually. I told him I could drive a forklift, I had never ever driven a forklift ever in my life but I said I'll give it a go. I promise you I'll be good by the end of the week. I'll be able to drive it you know and yeah so and that was a really good, it was actually a very good time. I learnt a lot (Dee, 59)*

While some participants took on opportunities, others declined them. Despite his parents' offer of support, John had a strong desire to make his own way forward, on his own terms. He declined an offer of attending Teachers College rather than borrow the money necessary from his parents:

Before I went to training college I thought okay, I got accepted the first year, I actually turned them down the first year because I thought well I haven't got any money and I didn't want to borrow any money off Mum and Dad to put myself there. But I was going to pass, I wanted to pass myself and if I failed, I wanted all my money, I didn't borrow money off them. So I worked just at 3 Guys, just pushing trolleys at the supermarket (John, 50)

Mike perhaps sums up the journey of the seeker participant by attributing this self-discovering spirit to being Māori:

Māoris are always looking for an opportunity (Mike, 56)

Because of this self-discovering attribute, participants within this group showed signs of an early awareness of being stereotyped into traditional career goals. One participant spoke of the limits for women and possibly for Māori too, while she was at school. While she accepted the traditional pathway of nursing, there was still an awareness of further options and avenues to pursue:

Unfortunately we didn't really have a person who came and spoke to us about careers when I was at school. I mean, particularly for Māori, you know there was I think someone from the Māori Affairs Department who came then but they didn't really talk to us about a career, it was more about working in the freezing works or going to work in the shearing sheds you know (Dee, 59)

The majority of participants in this group also had ideas for their future career goals. Statements about their future were characterised by explicit purposeful statements of goals and rationale for their decisions. Future goals were not only based on career aspirations but also lifestyle choices. Self-employment was one such example, as was further travel.

These following excerpts illustrate lifestyle considerations in relation to whānau needs:

Family is important to me in terms of, I'm not a person to want to stay at work 24/7. That's not important to me. But I know sometimes that that is necessary if you want to advance. There's a lot of hours and time (Jean, 37)

Both me and [partner's name provided] could apply for Management jobs at [employer's name provided] now but my family was it and now they've gone, they're at that age now where they can support themselves, we've got no need for money. And at our age, we're getting on. I'm 50 now, [partner's name

provided] is 53 and we're thinking, oh we just want to save up for a retirement now (John, 50)

Who were the Seekers?

Ten participants were identified with characteristics from this group for cultural identity expressed in career, seven female and three male. Six claimed an urban identity (four female and two male), three rural (two female and one male) and one female chose both identities. Identities from career cultural stages saw six from the kaumatua group, two pakeke and two rangatahi.

Summary of section

Seekers were extremely proud to be Māori, and firmly believed that this distinctive identity served their ability to be represented among other forms of identity. A multiplicity of identities could be found in cultural and career identities. The seeker was shaped and directed by whakapapa as a representation of their uniqueness, something they continue to seek within cultural *and* career themes.

The Keeper

The '**keeper**' was a description chosen for those who were vessels for cultural knowledge and traditions.

Cultural themes

Keepers were often raised in a 'traditional' Māori context, usually in a rural setting, which was reflected in their knowledge and expression of cultural traditions, practice and language. For the keepers descriptors of being Māori consisted of multiple levels of symbolism and a popular rhetoric of advice used by the keepers. Not only did they look through a Māori lens, but their expression of being Māori

indicated this was the only way they were accustomed to living. Early life experiences were paramount to the keepers' meaning of being Māori.

Teachers of Te Ao Māori. For the keepers, early life experiences were a key feature in their career narratives. The place and people who surrounded them were very significant to their identification with being Māori. This participant describes the isolated rural setting she grew up in:

> *Well we came from a whānau where we had a very tough Dad and so we didn't go here, we didn't go there and we lived way the devil away in the bush at [place name provided]. Used to come out once a year and, I mean we got, going to school we'd hear anybody coming on a horse or truck or something, we'd run and hide in scrub. There were 11 kids at our school and all Māori and we had one Pākehā teacher (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Participants in this group saw a key role for them as being the conduit for the transmission of knowledge to other whānau. Writing about whānau history and stories was one common vehicle that all had considered as a means to pass on knowledge. The following participant wanted to share what she was told by her grandmother as a sign of respect but also as a medium for others to learn Māori cultural values and practices:

> *Information about the rongoā because she [grandmother] was a healer and the spiritual knowledge that she had or, that she'd already told me lots and for the next generations because I intended to, I kept saying, that I'm going to write children's books for our whānau about her and every other thing so that future generations will know her but also it's a learning thing about tikanga, kawa (Hariata, 41)*

For another participant writing about her own life would serve as a platform for stories about her iwi:

> *I started thinking, oh I might write my life story, my things in my life you know. As I get older and remember things you know and of course these fellas in Ngāti Porou were so, so supportive. Well, I thought to myself, oh yeah and then I started thinking like this. But I can't muck around aye. Got to go all the way because these fellas are trusting me aye to do it. Do it properly (Rewa, kaumatua)*

In contrast, this participant laments how people were not taking up the challenge of learning from the great Māori leaders for models of practice in today's world. Her

focus is to write of examples where Māori knowledge has worked for these Māori leaders from the past:

> *It's been denied Māori knowledge, it's just the right time, I know it is, like when I'm writing, people say you're a romantic writer about your people, I said don't confuse romantic with passion, it's real, I've gone to the midlands regions there's a debate about due competency it's very clinical, rakau o nga Pākehā, Te Puea got the people in but stayed true to Kingitanga, I got to look through the regions there, she stayed true to Potatau and Tawhio, and buying in services, Ngata in Tairawhiti, use the knowledge of your time but embrace with pride the matauranga Māori, in Taranaki we had Pomare, his was about culturally effective services that's what I believe, he liaised with Te Puea, he worked along tribal leaders to get services in place (Kiri, kaumatua)*

What is interesting about the keeper is how being Māori was not made obvious in their narratives, it just simply 'is'. It was forever present in the eloquence of the language, the imagery in descriptions and in the admiration for people that meant so much to the keeper. The stories felt 'old' and centred on what now seems an idealised past. As this participant describes them, "*Oh, they're my happy memories. I call them my treasures" (Rewa, kaumatua).* The keeper was easily able to articulate how they felt throughout each experience in their story even though the event was some time ago. Rewa continues to describe her meaning of whānau:

> *So I became very close to those people I met there. Cause just like that they acknowledged me. No questions asked you know. And I think that's where I first learnt and felt the extreme power of whānau (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Other groups may have described the meaning as the translation, family, but Rewa used a description from the heart, as an unconditional acceptance of a person just because they were whānau.

Participants in this group had an incredible faith and trust in Te Ao Māori. Kiri firmly believes that all Māori possess Te Ao Māori, regardless of their background or upbringing:

> *If you start talking, they [other Māori] do know. They say I'm not Māori and then you start talking and it's all there, talking about a certain thing and they say I know that, it's never far away at some stage you've heard it or been around it (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Kiri affirms that what was needed was someone to listen to kōrero by Māori and provide support to locate connections with past or distant memories of Te Ao Māori. She is advocating that all Māori can be in touch with Te Ao Māori.

The keeper was always in touch with their inner selves and environment. Ensuring a balance between physical and spiritual well-being was ever present for the keeper. Paying attention to their own state of balance was something they were accustomed to from a young age. The keeper never had to rationalise or legitimise their actions or views. Hariata lovingly describes a cultural practice she engages in as, *"It's almost like, something like talking to the wairua, you know just doing it" (Hariata, 41).*

For Kiri, both the spiritual and physical realms have also provided her with information and guidance:

> *Te Ao Māori believe it too and they say, never give up your dream, your dream that came to you, but then I'm into looking for signs, that double rainbow I saw the other day, every little factor, smell, colour, they are all around us and you are well if you know what those signs are. That bird might be saying this or that, rainbow providing us the way (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Career themes

Career stories for this group were often secondary to life stories, with cultural values consistently embedded and intertwined. The construction of cultural values for participants in this group was reflected in their ability to articulate rich career themes. However, career themes were dominated by poetic 'life' stories, filled with people and their relationships to each other. The keepers' described a strong sense of responsibility toward helping Māori in their career stories, and referred to this as a sense of destiny or duty to lead and help Māori. Keepers were, or had been, actively involved in community work and work for their iwi and hapū. Their aspiration was to work specifically with, and for the benefit of, Māori. This hope was once again expressed as a responsibility where they had to give back to others as they had been taught. The keepers' career history typically involved working with Māori clients, within Māori organisations and using more traditional Māori values and beliefs in their day-to-day tasks. Participants were very proud of having the opportunity to share their wisdom and experiences in the workplace.

Te Ao Māori and work. In the workplace, keepers continued to use their knowledge and cultural perspective. The following participant recalls reminding a client that children belong to the iwi and not only to him:

> *I said these kids belong to [iwi name provided] the iwi can set up something. So anyway, we went into full swing with this boy and his children. Today boy he can read, he reads, just about every other week I get a letter. He worked it out with the in-laws. They were whakamā with what their daughter did. Oh but they wanted their mokopunas aye. They loved their mokopunas. So they take all the kids to [place name provided] in the holidays (Rewa, kaumatua)*

This same participant used her early experiences of plants as remedies, as an influence in becoming a community nurse to help kuia and kaumatua:

> *I come from an era where our grandmother used to take us in the bush and we get the rongoā. Suddenly we come to Auckland and it's all made up but what is it you know? And that worried me because feeding it to the old people and I was right to be worried. Didn't really know what the hang this medicine is about. Not know what medicine you have for what type of sickness. You know. So I thought that's what I'll do (Rewa, kaumatua)*

In contrast, another participant attempted to suppress her 'Māoriness' for the sake of fitting in:

> *I was in Christchurch with my partner at the time, I put my Māoriness into my back pocket because I went right, I'm going to learn how these people are, I'm going to learn what they do down in Christchurch. And I'm going to do it their way. So I put my Māori, this is you know, this is that talk that I had with that stuff and I felt that I did so I sort of lived the life that everybody lived. The way they were living, learned a lot about what it is that they were doing. Well two years later I couldn't help myself, but my pocket kept opening and then little clashes started to happen because my Māoriness had to be me, because it is me and a lot of the stuff, some of the stuff that was happening it was just going across my tikanga and kawa boundaries (Hariata, 41)*

Hariata soon learnt it was impossible to keep her 'Māoriness' hidden, as it went against what she had been taught as tika and kawa. Participants did not raise these examples in anger or antagonism. Instead, they demonstrated a self-assurance and strong conviction that the actions they had taken were appropriate and true to who they were.

This self-assurance emerged from an expectation to be actively involved and engaged in life. While assisting Māoridom was a strong focus, so was leaving their mark on the world. Kiri talks about going in a different direction to what her Nan had hoped, "*Nan always had this dream of wanting me to be a teacher, broke her heart*" *(Kiri, kaumatua).* Later, however, Kiri did end up in teaching.

Whānau would remain a critical part of the keeper's life, but so would the longing to be free. The challenge was how to balance the two.

> *I think it's because I knew that there was a whole world out there and this world I had at the hostel was exactly what I had been brought up to at home and on to college and come out here. Nothing's changed. I say it was a yearning to be free. It was, yeah, but I still wanted all that whānau stuff (Rewa, kaumatua)*

In contrast, this participant acknowledged wanting to assist whānau by sharing the knowledge she had received from her grandmother, but she was also adamant that she would stand out from other members of her whānau by being in a completely new sector:

> *I had partly decided that I would go into health because I had other whānau now coming into education. So I'm thinking, I'm going the other way now, because everybody, you know people moving into this area and that's wonderful. But I like to go off on different tangents (Hariata, 41)*

For the keeper, manifesting Te Ao Māori was vital to who they were. An important aspect of this was to be actively involved in their lives as a practice of Te Ao Māori. For the keeper it was unacceptable to simply sit back and wait for things to happen to them, and for them. It was the keeper's responsibility to enact, express and live Te Ao Māori.

For Hariata it was about signaling a faith in what you had been taught, even in the face of adversity:

> *Part of it is why do I expect wairua to do stuff for me and it's, so having a bit of faith in the spiritual knowledge that I have, been taught from my grandmother (Hariata, 41)*

It was this act of faith that would truly express the wishes of her grandmother and all she had taught Hariata.

Kiri also spoke of the challenges facing Māori today. She was unwavering in the belief that Māori had to take responsibility for change while facing her own challenges in mainstream government organisations:

> *Time of change and for some Māori and real challenge, we had to do something about our own development, I loved it, special Ed services, they were looking at developing mainstream, then went to SES, kinda not me, very pale environment, real pale and then govt services thinking of ways to better support Māori children, MOH given this region positions called consultant liaison, back to Hauora, continued with study, trained teacher higher diploma in bilingual education, in immersion situation and had opportunity to develop (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Hariata outlined similar experiences in both the education and health sectors where she faced her own personal challenges on behalf of Māori:

> *I don't like staff rooms mostly because you're the only Māori face so you must know every answer to every question about being Māori. "Oh, what about that guy? You know, the one that killed that...", and I'm going, "No I don't know that guy" and yeah, so that was a bit of a burden over the years cause it happened quite a few places that I worked ....*

> *I came straight from the hapū and so your whole mind set about tikanga and kawa and you're just living it, to working in a mainstream. Oh, what a change (Hariata, 41)*

Te Ao Māori decisions. Working lives were merely another aspect of the keeper's narrative with seamless expressions of their experiences melding together into a large map. As they traversed each feature within their narrative, the detail of the spiritual realm remained present.

For this participant, a dream signaled to her a shift in career focus:

> *In my dream, one of my Nannys was talking to me and she was talking about you know the fighting, the violence and she said, oh, we had it wrong because it starts from the kōhanga reo. Starts from the baby, the ingraining, the teaching. The old geezer, whenever I see her [Nanny] man you stand to attention because something's wrong (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Another participant also recalled a similar experience where a dream took her into a field that was evident in her whakapapa. For Kiri, dreaming knits together a purpose and direction and a way forward:

> *A dream so vivid, my kids have dreams too and it was one of my aunties who passed away, she said your going to do research and it's about children, I don't fight it, got offered a project and where does it lead me back to? Education, healers and peace makers, another whakapapa (Kiri, kaumatua)*

Te Ao Māori and career. Keepers have a career history that has progressed in a circular motion. Each, in one way or another, have returned to sectors they considered or had entered as young women. One participant in particular, began as a 17 year old in social work. She left and worked in a range of roles that enabled her, to use her terms, to be free and see the world. After becoming a community nurse, she made her way back to social work by starting in hospitals. Rewa's goal now is to teach others in the field about things Māori:

> *I was thinking to myself now that's what I'd like to do is to run classes of things Māori, really for social workers. When we had our hui, I asked, I said them now when I say to you if we talk about model of practice, I said I tell you all, I practised the dynamics of whanaungatanga and I say to them now, if I say to you the first thing I do is I tell myself every time when I'm called out to a whānau, remember the first step is you leave that whānau with their mana and tapu intact. If you can't think like that then your model approach is all shit. I say to them and they look at me and say, oh whaea, I said if you can't do that, leave them alone. Why go in there and strip them bare when they're already stripped and bleeding (Rewa, kaumatua)*

Such responsibility and legacy was common for the keeper.

Kiri had a similar journey where she began in health and then went in to teaching. She is now completing a PhD in health which combines both these experiences. For Kiri, the timing for Māori to produce academic work with a focus on Te Ao Māori is now:

> *Health Research Council were very supportive, maybe it was just the right time because I'm based in the clinical school at [university name provided] they have given me resources, it's pale, so I'm out there anyway and it's also the right time for institutions they have been told by whoever they need to awhi PhD students, so I'm conveniently placed for them, [lecturer's name provided]*

came in [iwi provided] just checking how supportive they are, what I thought they could do, I think I'm the first PhD student overall (Kiri, kaumatua)

Each participant had entered fields from the social services and progressed through mainstream to kaupapa Māori. Working with, and for, Māori was always to be the ultimate aim for the keeper.

Another participant began her career in teaching and is now in health experiencing the trials and tribulations of working across Māori and non-Māori organisations. Here she describes the expectation of Māori having to be generic in their roles. Hariata views this as being forced to *not* be Māori, something she personally experienced and knew was impossible:

> *There's a huge issue in regards to the organisation and who is spearheading the organisation and because I don't feel, and, all of my colleagues that are Māori, cause we've talked this for a long time, is that we're not valued as being Māori in the job. We're expected to be generic and assimilate into the fact of how the structure wants us to be (Hariata, 41)*

She went on to describe how she has come full circle by using her experience in health as a means to assisting the health of her whānau as she describes here:

> *Being in the health sector has also helped me because I know my father's side of the family are all very unwell people and nobody likes to live to 60. So I've been doing a whole lot of whānau development stuff and pushing and prodding and pulling whānau and we organised the reunion and I did a health programme with that reunion. I did a survey of the whānau that were there. We talked about drugs, alcohol the whole shebang and so starting developing other ideas about how to support the whānau (Hariata, 41)*

Perhaps for Hariata, she grows tired of the workplace imposing untenable demands on Māori and has decided that working within her own hapū and whānau while challenging, will provide a greater contribution to Te Ao Māori.

Who were the Keepers?

Three female participants were identified with the characteristics from this group for cultural identity expressed in career. All three claimed a rural identity.

Identities from career cultural stages saw two from the kaumatua group and one pakeke identified within this group.

Summary of section

Keepers live, breathe, think and act on Te Ao Māori. No other paradigm or framework exists for this group. From birth and throughout their adult years they have strived to improve and enhance the position of all Māori. The workplace is seen as another vehicle for supporting and voicing this position.

While this section has introduced a series of overlapping groups to analyse cultural and career themes, a unifying construct has been a relational context. Relationships were important, established and maintained and evidence shows that this shaped cultural and career identities. The following section focuses on relationship characteristics and how career has been enacted in a relational context.

Māori Career Development in a Relational Context

A common feature for all groups was the relational context in which they operated for cultural and career identity. Each group experienced relationships but ascribed various roles, purpose and meanings to them. Relationships ranged from antagonistic to intimate and shaped cultural and career identities. These identities coexisted with stark reminders of how different or how similar participants' relationships were with significant others. Māori live in a relational context where no individual focii exists, only a 'between'. Māori feel the need to find synergy, and reach back to their own history of relationships initially built from early memories. It is the early stages of life that locate Māori, to the essence of being in relation to others. Relationships are utilised as a navigational tool to the bigger picture of life purpose, and higher-order relationships. It is the continuous confirmation of such connections that draws many people together as Māori seek others to create meaning and purpose in their lives. Yet Māori have not been immune to the changing cultural milieu, and interrelationships have had to extend beyond blood ties.

Participants were continually assessing these relationships in the search for career. Not all relationships were based on traditional connections of whānau, hapū and iwi. Evidence exists of the impact of relationships on career processes. This ranged from the contribution and presence of others, to reporting on internalising the direct impact of the relationship on career processes. Participants used cultural identity at times to resist career processes and at other times, to explain consent and accommodation of career processes. A relational context may provide us with the juncture between career and cultural values.

Organisation of material

Throughout the analysis of material I have attempted to recognise how cultural identity formed within relationships can enhance our understanding of career processes of Māori. My argument is not that Māori culture may be variously perceived depending on a person's identity with being Māori, but that it is variously constituted by participants in terms of relationship issues, incidents, conversations and terms that have local meaning.

Relationships contribute to the understanding of how individuals construct career-related life themes by replacing the individual as the centre of career processes. In this study I found marked differences in the specific ways that relationships were accessed and utilised as resources in career processes between the groups of career and cultural identities. This next section provides a discussion on relational experiences and the key features which differentiated each group: the cloaked, the seeker and the keeper. Under each heading, relationship characteristics will be described and then considered in a context of career.

The Cloaked

Relationship characteristics

The overarching feature about this group is the initially strong social relationships formed with friends in non-threatening settings. Work provided a common ground of similarity in building and sustaining friendships. One participant described his friendships as 'like bros', another emphasised how exceptionally 'close' he was to a good friend. For another participant he describes his friendships as 'extensive social networks'. What was important to the cloaked was self in comparison to friends and peers. These relationships were reported as significant for support and encouragement in career decisions.

The importance of relationships with friends was established from early life experiences. The cloaked were in the distant background of events that occurred throughout their early life. They were hidden observers and took on the role of silently watching events unfold. Knowledge was created through an objective and analytical process as a format for continuing to separate themselves from events that were occurring. They were careful to regulate how much and what kind of knowledge others had until a firm relationship of trust was established.

Little dialogue about work existed between the cloaked and whānau. The employment that whānau had was often semi to un-skilled requiring physical attributes under arduous conditions. Time out of the home environment resulted in further isolation between the cloaked and whānau. The career narratives of the cloaked are characteristic of one dominant voice, and in most cases, that of a parent. Parents were the most influential relationship for the cloaked in their early years. Yet as young adults and into adulthood, friends were stated as the most influential people in their lives.

Like other groups, the cloaked sought a sense of belongingness and to be connected with others who shared a set of meanings, and solidarity. Unfortunately they had experienced social isolation and were labelled as being different to others in their social group. The social group was either Māori or non-Māori, and they felt they did not fit into either.

Career and relationships

A pivotal difference between the cloaked and other groups was their reporting of an unaided journey in their career. The cloaked described themselves as independent careerists and stood alone in their achievements and efforts. They had a strong desire to find focus in their career, something they lacked at a young age. Two participants described this as a lack of 'synergy'. Some participants reported employment as their first indication of gaining focus. These participants had remained in only one sector or within one organisation indicating a desire to belong to a community. Employment appears to have fulfilled the cloaks' need for an enhanced sense of security and a base from which to explore facets of who they were and wanted to be. The cloaked moved through a process of trying to understand themselves and make sense of their early experiences within secure and stable employment. Work was one vehicle that would tie the cloaked to a larger community. Their early messages of work saw the cloaked recall parents and grandparents as hard workers. While they, too, adhered to a solid work ethic, they sought a different style of work to their parents, hence the pursuit of professional achievements. The cloaked witnessed parents receive some recognition in the workplace mainly based on length of tenure. Rewards existed in the form of smoothing the way for other whānau to be employed in the same area. The cloaked want recognition of a different kind based on achievements but insist on the distinction that this is the result of individual and specialist efforts.

Work today provides the cloaked with avenues to contribute, participate and co-operate with others, hence linking them to a work-related community of shared interests and values.   The longer they remained within the same organisation or sector, the more time was spent forming meaningful relationships with people within their workplace and reaching out to others in new areas. To the cloaked, success in the workplace is measured through the attainment of skills and formal qualifications, and eventually the status of expert. An expert was described as a specialist of the highest form in their field, commanding an even higher degree of respect from others. To the cloaked a career was likened to a process of necessary stages and steps. With each stage came accomplishments followed by security and acceptance. One participant described this as being 'validated', an attribute they lacked during their early life.

Career exploration began to be seen as not just a phase or necessary stage but an activity that could and should occur, throughout their life. The cloaked began to see reward for their efforts and unexpected developments in cultural identity. One participant believed that had she not worked for a particular organisation she would not have learnt Māori cultural values and practices. Another participant began working in an assistant role and was supported and encouraged seven years later, to apply for the position of cultural advisor. Both found a new sense of approval and direction for cultural identity. Initially relationships in the workplace were described as needing to be 'managed' but later became building blocks to further self-discovery from the feedback of colleagues and supervisors. Perhaps the first time, the cloaked are able to begin to articulate the links between being Māori and career.

The Seeker

Relationship characteristics

The overarching feature about this group was the diversity of relationships through their career processes. These relationships ranged from whānau, old school and university friends, and ex-work colleagues and bosses. The seeker had solid social support, and felt bound, grounded and safe. Relationships were vital to this group's pursuit of new knowledge and experiences, and diversity meant a plethora of sources at their disposal. Seekers believed they could learn more from other cultural groups and often stepped outside of the Māori world. The seeker was motivated by the difference in others and the potential to increase the potential in self. One participant was reluctant to be seen as working only with Māori believing this would limit his employment prospects. This group often developed intimate and long-lasting relationships with others in all areas of their lives.

For the seeker, relationships were seen as having a reciprocal understanding where each would consider and act on the needs of the other. This understanding had emerged from an early exposure to community-minded and non-paid activities that whānau had been involved in. One participant recalls her parents as having an 'open door' to anyone in need of help. Another remembers her grandmother as a

'community person'. The seeker had inherited legacies of how to build and, more specifically, maintain, relationships having come from a strong base of whanaungatanga in collective Māori institutions such as the Mormon church, Māori wardens, Runanga and Māori Women's Welfare League. The seeker viewed these relationships as non-replaceable and unique.

Diverse relationships began from early life experiences. Time was taken with dialogue, and social interaction was an important part of whānau life. One participant described his parents' social circle as members of the local tennis and rugby club. Not all Māori families would have enjoyed social interaction with Pākehā. Such experiences taught the seeker the skills of mediation, negotiation and compromise. Early life had presented a range of experiences within the protection of a caring and nurturing family environment.   Seekers were 'included' and 'invited' into dialogue about work with whānau. Dialogue focused on the mundane and momentous events, what was important was the art of communicating in the construction of relationships. The seekers' opinions were sought from significant people as a way of instilling an ability to engage in self-exploration. Seekers were also encouraged to search their own internal knowledge for credibility in readiness for self-exploration.

Early life experiences are what the seeker takes into the workplace expecting a similar level of growth and safety to enable them to flourish. The seeker readily seeks implications and consequences to their own actions and those of others. In the workplace they are strong advocates for issues concerning Māori but are equally as prepared to challenge Māori. One participant described her current role as monitoring potentially unethical work practices in the Māori community *and* the professional medical community. Seekers typically had many voices in their narrative, with no apparent hierarchy. While there was a range of voices, there was also a sense of connectedness among the voices. It is exchanges with many different voices that continue to transform and change their perspective of the world.

From an early age their relationships with grandparents were the most influential. As they left home, the seeker focused on relationships with people different to them. What were sought were opportunities to interact in an assortment of settings and contexts, seeking new ways to 'blend' Māori and non-Māori cultural values. For the seeker relationships were not built on a platform of power and domination, they were

already confident and self-assured, but felt duty-bound to share knowledge. For the seeker, success would be achieved through the collaborative achievement of others.

Career and relationships

The seeker has a diverse career history. With an early sense of purpose and direction, the seeker was unencumbered by traditional pursuits of job prospects and advancement. Seekers readily sought relationships with those able to tell them more about themselves. They enjoyed dialogue with those very different to themselves including other Māori, as another route toward self-assurance and learning. The seeker has learnt the skill of unity in conversations, but through clearly differentiated voices or perspectives. Experiencing self in relation to others was a highly motivating pursuit.

In the workplace seekers were positive contributors open to challenge and willing to form long-lasting friendships. The seeker viewed the workplace as an avenue to contribute creatively together in a team and the potential to add to something larger than self. Seekers gave of them-selves emotionally and cognitively in the workplace. Much of their career exploration and self-discovery was done relationally as they shared with others to develop and plan together. The platform of shared experiences was likely to see the seeker venture into new career possibilities that went beyond parental expectations. While tensions may exist between inclusion and individuality for the seeker, what prevails is a concept of self within a meaningful web of connections.

For the seeker, career was expressed as an emotional reaction such as 'excitement', 'fun' and 'enjoyment'. For this group they spoke of entering 'just a job', which would or could later become a career. To the seeker, it did not matter what type of job it was, if the job developed into 'a love', the job was elevated to a career. The notion of direction and advancement was still important, but they possessed a much broader version of what could constitute a career.

Relationship characteristics

The overarching feature about this group was the culturally defined relationships formed. These relationships are with those who have a common whakapapa and share their life journey. Context and connection were extremely important themes for this group as a means of merging into one relational entity. This entity generates a feeling of being at one with all things important to Māori, the spiritual, physical and environmental worlds. Relationships originated as a system for paving the way to their life purpose. The nature of relationships was filtered by shared tipuna and stories, providing an already established and inbuilt structure and reason for doing things. This meant a complete focus on achievement through the instruction of others. Relationships were generally with Māori and became a part of their destiny or purpose. They rarely sought out new relationships and relied on a strong whānau base of many cousins, Aunties and Uncles.

Early life experiences saw keepers as recipients of knowledge from the voice of authority and tutelage of an older and wiser person. They were talked 'to', and told of whānau stories and their life experiences. All participants recalled several instances where grandparents talked to them about 'old Māori ways'. Their role was to simply listen and absorb all they were being told. It was important that the keeper strove to identify with, and understand, what they were being told, as later in life they, too, would contribute to the stories with their own unique experiences, continuing the tradition of passing on whānau stories. As a result of this early influence, keepers were able to access distant and more detailed long-term memories. They were also able to retrieve, one-time key episodes in their life as opposed to generic events. Participants in this group made little reference to work family members were involved in, what was more important were accurate descriptions of their unique character and connection with them.

Keepers had a collective range of voices typically with one superior voice which would bring together and organise other voices. This voice was usually that of a grandparent. There was a strong sense of closeness among the voices stemming from

a shared whakapapa. Keepers learnt about themselves and the world in relation to others like them. The most significant people in their early lives were parents and/or grandparents, later in life it became the extended whānau and those who affiliated to the same iwi.

Career and relationships

The keeper feels understood, appreciated and important in a Māori context. The impact of relationships meant that the keeper held positions that could directly assist Māori, typically the social services sector. Working for Māori provides the keeper with an affirmation of self and identity. In other words, they see aspects of themselves in others and people known to them. The ideal career process for this group is the recognition of who they are, rather than what they ought to be.

In a rapidly changing work environment of less tenured positions the keeper can feel Māori issues are being buried and ignored. This can sometimes incite a negative reaction to other ethnic groups as they believe resources are being eroded or divided. This experience only turns the keeper into a much stronger advocate for Māori, and a call for unity from other Māori on particular issues. The keeper prefers not to leave an organisation but to attempt to transform it to continue their space for self-expression as Māori.

For the keeper, career was one continuous experience that was their life journey. A life journey cannot be fragmented, it is a whole and complete picture. A career enabled exposure to other life experiences, and the opportunity to fulfill the role of teaching and helping Māori.

Summary of chapter

This chapter has focused on how cultural values influence career processes for Māori within a new typology of cultural and career themes. This typology is summarized according to cultural and career characteristics in the following table:

Table 8 Summary of typology groups career, cultural and relationship themes

Typology	Career themes	Cultural themes	Relationship and career characteristics
Cloaked	Factual descriptions of tasks and positions, limited personal context to career story	Cultural values and beliefs have not shaped life events	Formed social relationships in work providing approval and reward
	Seek advancement and job security	Cultural identity developed by external sources and societal definitions	Unaided career journeys, earl relational experiences acted as observers
	Strong future orientation for career planning		
Seekers	Personal context key focus to career story	Cultural identity self defined	Formed personal and long term relationships in work for continuous growth and development
	Seek passion and enjoyment	Guided by whakapapa and tipuna	
	Experiencing a now time orientation for career processes		Seek out others for career exploration and self discovery, early relational experiences involved quality conversational time and diverse social interaction
Keepers	Life story rather than career story	Cultural identity defined by traditional knowledge	Culturally defined relationships, common whakapapa
	Seek vehicle for teaching cultural values	Guided by early life experiences and instruction	Relational interactions affirmation for self and identity
	Māori self-determination rather than career development or planning		

Participants in the cloaked group were heavily influenced by external sources and societal definitions of what being Māori was. Their cultural experiences were not always positive creating a desire by the cloaked to conceal their Māoriness. The impact of a cloaked identity is a career identity situated in future career planning. The cloaked prefer not to share personal events in their lives, in preference for factual details such as qualifications required. Early family experiences have placed the cloaked as observers of events and people surrounding them. They have adapted to an independent lifestyle with a preference for socially constructed relationships built from within the workplace. Seekers in contrast, search for avenues to modify and adapt any forms of societal cultural stereotypes by self defining what being Māori means to them. Rather than live within the confines of traditional constructs, the seeker strives towards taking control of who they want to be. This attitude has been developed from early experiences where the seeker was included in conversation and encouraged to be involved in diverse social interactions. These relational experiences have manifested in a career identity that continues to support new experiences and people for the seeker to learn and grow from. The seeker is 'in the moment' with a desire to understand the relevance of the present context. The keeper lives within a cultural identity defined by whakapapa, hapū and iwi. From an early age they have received instruction on traditional values and practices handed down over generations, developing an indelible sense of purpose and identity. Relationships are maintained with those who share a common whakapapa as a united front for the legacy of particular cultural values and practices. The workplace represents another vehicle from which they can teach and share with others the wisdom they have been bestowed with.

This section has indicated how relationships and relational values are important components of career and cultural identity. Participants utilized relational experiences as a means to improve, explain and develop career. The essence of these relationships was the meaning of being Māori. This understanding and experience appeared to provide a link for integrating cultural and career values. The following chapter provides an application of cultural values in career processes using the typology groups as a representation of the diversity which exists among Māori.

CHAPTER NINE

IMPLICATIONS AND APPLICATIONS

In this chapter I reflect on how career life stories of participants contribute to understanding the influence of Māori cultural values on career processes. Two questions from contemporary debates around Māori cultural values and career processes structure discussions on each group in this chapter. These are:

- How does culture support and shape Māori career processes?
- How can Māori careers be best supported?

The chapter also provides the career practitioner with consideration for the application of the typology in a career setting. The application focuses on ways in which the career practitioner may interact with each typology group.

How Does Culture Support and Shape Māori Career Processes?

Meaning of Career

Participants' stories revealed the meaning of being Māori in the enactment of career experiences. Each group within the derived career typology was asked the meaning of 'career' to them.

The cloaked. All the cloaked participants were familiar with the term career and believed it represented specialization and expertise in one chosen field. Career was an important and valuable concept representing an accumulation of 'skills', typically within the same industry or occupation. A person who had held numerous positions was not considered to have had a career. The cloaked were very utilitarian about their description of career and saw the pathway to this as a step-by-step process. Unlike the other two groups, claiming a career was extremely important to the cloaked. Yet, none believed they had yet achieved a career. For the career practitioner the cloaked client may be seeking validation for their efforts in the

workplace. Positive affirmation of job-specific skills and achievements could provide the platform for building a good relationship. The cloaked may have been starved of general guidance and advise, including career guidance and see the role of the career practitioner as a necessity for locating links within their career processes. Career is an arena where the cloaked want to be accepted, respected and validated. These goals appear synonymous to what the cloaked wish to achieve in their cultural identity.

The seeker. In contrast to career, the seeker preferred the concept of job, for their working life. A career could be created from any job a person held with the main feature being a 'love of' or 'enjoyment of' the job. While they were mindful of progression and advancement in the workplace, it was not the first priority for this group. What was imperative was a range of experiences directed toward creating a sense of purpose and direction. Again, this group was mindful of the need for formal qualifications but were equally in favour of the collection of life skills and experiences. The seeker like the cloaked, can see the value in the role of a career practitioner to provide insight and feedback on career processes. However, the seeker, in contrast to the cloaked, may ask for personal and subjective feedback on their career experiences. The seeker client will define career by their own terms based on personal and emotional reactions rather than rational and objective measures such as skills and aptitudes. The career practitioner will need to be aware of diverse career definitions measured by life experiences as this client will use terms such as 'career' and 'job' as defining points in their working lives. Personal insights will also draw on cultural messages and the importance of these in the seeker's life as their experiences are based on emotional interactions shared with others.

The keeper. The keepers were not at all interested in the concept of career. Instead, the focus was a purposeful journey living Te Ao Māori. Keepers described their lives as a life of people and places. The keeper would narrate a life story of experiences of which work was only one aspect. The keeper is unlikely to seek the services of a career practitioner as they will not make major career changes throughout their working lives. The keepers who do use the services of a career practitioner may have been referred or recommended by external organizations such as, Accident Compensation Corporation or Work and Income New Zealand. Given the place of Te Ao Māori, building relationships which respect cultural connections and contexts is extremely important. The keeper client unlike other typology groups,

will be more receptive to working with a Māori career practitioner. It would be ideal if the career practitioner can also connect to the keepers whakapapa or be very familiar with the cultural connections of the keeper. The Māori career practitioner must be able to 'adapt' their role as a career practitioner to suit the needs of the keeper. It is the practitioner's responsibility to pinpoint ways their resources and knowledge can assist the keeper. This may be something only an experienced Māori career practitioner can achieve as it may involve being adaptable enough to reinterpret role descriptions and purpose which may run in contrast to those of the employing organisation.

Career History

The cloaked. The cloaked were more likely to be with the same employer or within the same sector. Being with the same employer had enabled the cloaked to build a solid range of skills and work experiences. They are valued members of their workplace and feel a sense of loyalty and belonging at work. The cloaked who have had their cultural identity exposed in the workplace and display a vulnerability surrounding this issue. For the cloaked a session with a career practitioner is based on career identity only and will find it easy to recall details of job tasks and responsibilities they have held. It is a career history based on dates and detail and can provide the career practitioner with the only insight into the life of the cloaked. The career practitioner will be expected to structure exploratory questions based on the skill base of the cloaked client to gather information on career history. The cloaked client will *not* expect to explore personal insights and meaning of their career history.

The seeker. In contrast seekers are more likely to have had a diverse range of positions in many sectors. In some cases, the seeker had made a conscious decision not to be pigeon holed into working solely with Māori. The desire to not work only with Māori will eventually dissipate as their long term goal is to use their vast knowledge base to help other Māori. There is a close integration of cultural and career identities. For the career practitioner the seeker has a career history marked by relationships rather than job titles and tasks. Drawing on these relationships is what is of most importance to the seeker, unlike the cloaked where a focus on specific job titles and tasks is mandatory. The seeker client is expecting to make sense of their

experiences and draw links and connections across their life. The role of the career practitioner is to ascertain patterns and themes from this myriad of experiences and feed this back to them. The career practitioner must learn to see the variety of positions as a valuable tool for the seeker rather than an assumption of an unstable work history. The seeker client will not respond positively to assumptions made about the influence of cultural identity on career history. This assumption will be sternly received if presented by either a Māori or non-Māori career practitioner. While the seeker client is extremely interested in this aspect of themselves, the career practitioner must be cautious in how and when it is raised and explored. The seeker client respects the expertise of the practitioner in the career domain, but does not initially see the practitioner as having any credibility in a cultural context. Only Māori career practitioners will be afforded some aspects of credibility by the seeker in a cultural context but must also be able to demonstrate a diverse knowledge of other cultural practices and world views. The seeker will take pleasure in a dialogue on being Māori and the similarities and differences this may have to other cultural groups. The seeker client will present no preference as to the ethnicity of the career practitioner, but will demand they all are qualified, credible and reputable in professional circles. The Māori career practitioner could share stories from their own tipuna and whānau to develop a cultural rapport with the seeker client.

The keeper. Keepers in the sample were more likely to be employed in the social services sector and working either for a Māori organisation or with Māori clients as a vehicle for enacting cultural identity. Keepers have a career history that has progressed in a circular motion, in contrast to the more traditional linear pathways. A linear pathway is based on achievement, and progression, but for the keeper, career appears more like a koru, with no end or beginning, only a continuous flow. Each keeper, in one way or another, had returned to sectors they considered or had entered as young women. One participant in particular, began as a 17-year-old in social work. She left and worked in a range of roles that enabled her, to use her terms, to be free and see the world. For the career practitioner it is important that cultural connections be acknowledged and respected. The keepers' achievements are based on how they have managed to maintain and promote traditional cultural values and practices with their client base. The keeper draws readily on whānaungatanga and will try to locate the career practitioner within this. For the Māori career practitioner,

the keeper will expect a good knowledge base of their own whakapapa so as to share in this process readily and comfortably. The career practitioner must remember that career is used as a vehicle to reach Māori and fulfill a destiny of progressing Māori. The keeper client will espouse a story of people and places to describe career history and must be allowed time and space for this process to occur as a mark of respect to acknowledge the keepers' cultural knowledge and position.

Messages about work

All groups felt drawn to early messages received from parents and grandparents about working hard. A simple message all recalled was to take pride in one's work. Male participants across all groups recalled observing behaviours of work, for example the routine of their fathers and grandfathers leaving for work. For female participants messages were recalled as emotional memories, for example a sense of pride and love for significant people. Where differences begin across each group was in the place of work in their lives.

The cloaked. For the cloaked, their observations of work motivated them to *not* work 'like' their forebears. What they witnessed were whānau caught on a treadmill of working hard, with very little financial reward or recognition. As for the cloaked male participants, they recall vivid memories of their fathers and grandfathers going to work. In particular, they recalled their male role models being able to get up for work after an evening drinking and socializing with mates. These images were narrated in undertones of pragmatism and realism of their early life experiences. The cloaked crave personal reward and respect from the workplace. They are prepared to pursue whatever is necessary, i.e., a formal qualification, to achieve this respect. For the cloaked, success and personal achievement were closely tied together. For the career practitioner drawing on these early messages can provide a strong source of motivation for the cloaked. While these messages have had a negative impact on this group, in some cases they are willing to share their story as a way of assisting others with similar experiences of cultural alienation and disassociation. However, such exposure would not be welcomed by the cloaked client and the career practitioner must be patient and sensitive to when this could be further explored. The cloaked client, unlike other groups, will be least likely to request a Māori career practitioner.

This will pose too much of a threat to their already fragile cultural identity. However the non-Māori career practitioner must also tread carefully so as to not alienate the cloaked client further by making reference to cultural affiliations such as iwi and hapū, in response to being culturally aware. It is important too for the non-Māori career practitioner to not make the assumption that the apparent disconnection from cultural knowledge is because the cloaked lack this information. Little discussion will probably occur on early messages about work for the cloaked as they prefer to be in the present. This will extend to discussions on work that family are in or have had, as they try to step away and beyond these confines. What the cloaked client will be expecting from the career practitioner is specific guidance on skills and courses likely to attain the heights they are seeking in their career. Of particular interest is completing courses at very reputable and in some cases, prestigious institutions to ensure a high level of credibility among work colleagues.

The seeker. Seekers on the other hand, had observed family members in a range of different jobs and saw the work arena as an extension of self growth. Work was regarded as an activity to be proud of, regardless of the type of job it was. The seeker spoke with humility and pride on the types of positions whānau have held, in particular, positions held by their grandparents. Work was a place where they could learn more about themselves or their families, and how they functioned and operated in a cultural and career context. Seekers were motivated to see change occur within their own whānau and ultimately saw themselves as utlising whatever skills they had accumulated to achieve this. Seekers were encouraged to broaden their world views beyond Māori and Pākehā as a vehicle for continuous self discovery. They see change as something to be embraced and learned from, hence the expectation of extending their experiences beyond their own early life experiences. The seeker client is highly engaged by dialogue of early life experiences and can freely share vividly held messages from significant people in their life. These messages are constantly replayed and listened to by the seeker. The seeker client will expect a dialogue that is focused on early experiences as this continues to propel them to an even greater closeness to significant others and a shared history. People and events from the past are given new life in the present by the seeker client, and the career practitioner needs to be active in stimulating past messages. This dialogue will hold great impact if shared with a Māori career practitioner and will strengthen and take relational

practices to new heights, which will benefit the seeker client. Counselling skills such as active listening and reflection will need to be demonstrated to a very high level by the career practitioner for the seeker client to detect the expansion of self boundaries, a strong desire by this group.

The keeper. Keepers see work opportunities and avenues as a vehicle to promote the cause of Māori issues and needs. Their early messages were based on ways in which to develop and further the interests of traditional Māori culture and values. They were raised to understand that traditional methods and practices are the solution and way forward for Māori. All the keepers had early memories of grandmothers occupied in traditional healing medicines, and using story-telling as a teaching method. As they prepared to head into the workforce, whānau connections were utilized to ensure their pathway of Te Ao Māori continued, for example, finding employment with the then Department of Māori Affairs. Keepers had Te Ao Māori as their foundation, so value or place of work, was absorbed into this world view. For the career practitioner the keeper is guided by early messages of work. This has become their template for what they have achieved for Māori and it is unlikely a career practitioner will dissuade them from this goal. The career practitioner must work within Te Ao Māori, a task only for Māori career practitioners, by focusing on the role of helping other Māori. However, they must be cautious about what organisation this may be with and here tribal affiliations are sacrosanct. A Māori career practitioner could consider tribal affiliations from either the paternal or maternal lineage. This could also be extended to the keeper clients' partners, if they are Māori, tribal links, as a method for broadening out career options. This cultural focus must be treated with care by the Māori career practitioner as traditional foundations serve as the underpinning of all things for the keeper. Operating from traditional Māori knowledge requires a Māori career practitioner with a similar world view.

Early career ideas

The cloaked. The cloaked narrated few early career goals. The male cloaked group in particular, preferred to 'try things out', rather than commit themselves to specific career ideas, as a result of early messages focusing on 'how' to work. As

adults, they began to ask questions and continued to, about their direction and future in the workplace. For the career practitioner the cloaked can feel uncomfortable concentrating on past events. As adults they are very aware of how little they can or wish to, draw on from their past. The cloaked client would find it more effective to start career exploration describing more recent career ideas and work from these back to the past.

The seeker. The seeker in contrast, expressed early career ideas that were often unconventional and untraditional. A quality they were encouraged to develop by trying new things and stretching the boundaries. For the career practitioner these ideas could provide an insight into the originality and imagination of the seeker. They are undeterred by alternative career strategies and interventions displaying a willingness to be challenged as creatively as possible.

The keeper. Early career ideas for the keeper had already been set and established by whānau. Early ideas were based on areas whānau were already involved in, typically, the social services sector. The keeper has been groomed to work for Māori, the question of where and how this would be was yet to unfold. This did not mean that they had not considered other fields, on the contrary, they were permitted to explore and try out other things, with significant people in their lives safe in the knowledge they would return to their roots. For the keeper client, it is imperative that the career practitioner is aware of the diversity of career options within the scope of working for and with Māori.

Future Career Goals

The cloaked. The cloaked are more likely to remain with the same employer or within the same sector. Advancing and improving their position in the workplace is a high priority and a focus on career goals will ensure this is achieved. For the cloaked, remaining with the same employer enables professional achievement and an opportunity to specialize in a field or certain skill base to ensure they reach the status of 'expert' and thus a respect among peers. To be respected amongst their peers is extremely important. It is crucial to the cloaked that they build a strong hold of skills and networks to advance their own personal cause of a career identity. The cloaked

client is likely to utilize vocational assessments and tools to determine future career goals. This technique ensures a focus on career identity and is synonymous with the role of a career practitioner for the cloaked client. For the cloaked the workplace could also provide them with a podium to begin to rediscover their cultural identity. This is a journey best assisted by a Māori career practitioner. However, the practitioner must also consider their own cultural identity for ill conceived assumptions and stereotypes. The cloaked have already experienced such behaviours and could be at risk of abandoning any cultural reconciliation if treated in the same way. This would be the major reason why the cloaked client would prefer not to see a Māori career practitioner. For those cloaked seeking cultural identity, opportunities may exist for suitable positions within their current organization, if possible. This process could be assisted by mentors, again preferably Māori, who understand and share the experiences of the cloaked. One cloaked participant described divisions occurring within the workplace between Māori as 'arrogance' and 'trying to impress'. She admits to seeing herself in this scenario as a young woman and being treated in the same way. Other cloaked Māori who may have already reconciled issues surrounding cultural identity are likely to make excellent mentors. The career practitioner must also have a good knowledge of labour market trends as the cloaked express a future orientation and want to be at the forefront of new endeavours.

The seeker. The seeker too looks to the future however not to the same extent as the cloaked. While the seeker client needs ongoing growth and learning, they also wish to live 'through' the present. The focus for the seeker is more the experience of doing rather than the timeframe in which it occurs. Future planning holds few tangible and direct experiences, and may therefore be best viewed in shorter timeframes, for example one year. Another important future plan for the seeker client is the call to work with and for Māori. The career practitioner must be able to devise a plan that has this as a goal. Finally, future goals are likely to include personal goals as a priority. Career and personal goals are likely to amalgamate demanding the career practitioner be intuitive to the balance of this goal. Seekers are more likely to change sectors and employers and see the career practitioner as an ideal source for identifying these options.

The keeper. For the keeper it is about developing Māori cultural values and focusing on fulfilling cultural goals with work as a vehicle for delivering this. The context and connections within their own networks are nearly always Māori and generally from their own iwi. There is no such thing as future career goals, only the future of Māori as a whole. The keeper client will continue to work for and with Māori and may be asked or may even willingly choose, to undertake formal study to corroborate their cultural knowledge. Formal study will not be new to the keeper client as they would have received early messages as to the importance of education in order to compete with Pākehā. What will be important is an appropriate training provider who is able to continue to challenge the development of the keeper within a Māori kaupapa. In addition, the career practitioner must be able to concede that training pursuits are not always based on career aspirations but much loftier goals such as cultural survival.

The Workplace

The cloaked. The cloaked prefer a knowledge base that is factual and tangible. They are searching for something solid to hold on to and which can make a difference to them in a real and substantial way. Being Māori has not provided the cloaked with anything tangible in their lives and has not in some cases, had a positive effect. For some cloaked the work environment has became a place to locate authenticity as Māori. While some eagerly challenged themselves to apply for positions that required a strong Māori practice base and knowledge, others were encouraged and nurtured from within the workplace to rekindle Māori knowledge. The positive impact of this relationship may also encourage the cloaked to act as mentors for other Māori with similar experiences. The cloaked will look to the career practitioner to understand career pathways within their current workplace and may prefer to use people already within the organization to assist them.

The seeker. Seekers are the consummate team players, always wanting to share and learn from each other. They place a high value on personal knowledge such as emotions, and sensory perceptions a person brings to the workplace. Seekers will challenge established ways of doing things and choose group consultation and consensus to move their ideas forward. For the career practitioner the seeker may

utilize services to discover creative methods to move forward in their career. They may report conflict with their employer on issues for Māori and be experiencing an imbalance in their loyalty to the organisation and their own personal views. The seeker will not step away from controversy or challenge and will question their own needs and those of the collective which could alienate them from the relational practices they adhere to. The career practitioner will need to be astute enough to recognize these issues by continuing to utilize what is most valued by the seeker, for example, using messages from their tipuna, as a beginning point. However, this does not mean the seeker is restricted to only Māori practices for guidance and advice. They are open to many other forms of self discovery and balance such as other cultural practices and world views. For the seeker, it will be the measure of a professional career practitioner to be able to locate the balance between honouring what being Māori means to the seeker and testing this against other multiple identities that the seeker claims.

The keeper. The keeper will assert Te Ao Māori in all aspects of their lives, including the workplace. They operate from traditional Māori values and have extensive iwi-based networks. Knowledge of Te Ao Māori is highly valued amongst this group. To Māori organisations the keeper is to be treasured and provides a high level of cultural safety and integrity to the organization. Once again, the keeper is unlikely to utilize the services of a career practitioner unless requested by an employer. The keeper will not relate to the role of a career practitioner, and it will be in the hands of the practitioner to position themselves accordingly. A focal point for the career practitioner may be to ask the keeper to share their vision for working with and for Māori. Work colleagues will view the keeper's role in the organisation as specialized and somehow 'separate' from any other role in the organisation. The keeper will not choose to step out of this role however organisational restructuring may see the role disestablished. It is unlikely the keeper will go quietly and they will summon their resilient cultural connections reaching into key positions of power to take action. Māori employees will also provide robust support from within the organisation. The keeper will seek advice and guidance from within their iwi, on the next step.

How can Māori Careers be Best Supported?

The issue of being Māori was narrated in a context of relational history and relational practices. Participants reported being strongly connected to other people. They relied on early messages and experiences with others to internally set high standards against which to measure their success and provide them with a guide to purpose in their lives. Within a range of cultural setting and themes, relational practices were evident across each group as having an impact on career processes to the point that career was enacted in identifiable ways. Participants described relational practices whereby being Māori was defined *through* others, typically other Māori, and as a result of contact *with* others. For most of the participants, career processes are influenced by a relational orientation across a cultural layer. These were the experiences of living relational practices as Māori, with other Māori and their own whānau.

Cultural Relational Practices with other Māori

Participants from the cloaked and seeker groups described relationships with other Māori in their search for their own identity and their experiences of discrimination and alienation. For example, returning home was not always an easy experience as people responded differently to them. Others recalled attempts as young people to reconcile their own sense of being Māori and having this sabotaged by other Māori. Participants found work could be a vehicle for rebuilding and establishing a sense of being Māori. Even though there was a reluctance to acknowledge their Māoriness, at times cloaked participants were unable to conceal who they were. As the cloaked continued to pull away from being identified by others as Māori by declining to comment on Māori issues, their uncertainty toward a cultural identity was even more exposed. Work provided them with an opportunity to be recognised for their skills and expertise first, and formed another means of gaining credibility. Yet the relationship with other Māori continued to be needed to settle their own validation of being Māori.

Other participants felt they needed to distance themselves from other Māori and externally imposed stereotypes. For example, a seeker and a cloaked participant referred to the descriptor of being a 'statistic' and wanted to avoid this label at all costs. This would not involve abandoning being Māori, but instead taking on an identity others would not expect to stereotypically see in Māori. For example, entering fields or qualifications where very few Māori could be found. Unfortunately this strategy created an uneasy feeling among other Māori who saw participants as wishing to be 'like' Pākehā or 'better than' other Māori. Seeker participants admitted that there was motivation to be different to other Māori, including those in their own whānau. They recognised a lack of growth and progression forward within Māori society and enjoyed the encouragement they received in appearing different. One participant described her role as a trail blazer, and a role model to other whānau members that stepping outside of traditional roles was indeed possible. While divisions were still evident, participants interpreted their own actions as turning the tables on those who had created particular stereotypes, by being on an equal footing, while also expanding opportunities for their immediate whānau.

Whānau. Relational practices were distinctive in significant career achievements but directed differently. For the cloaked participants, relationships between career and immediate whānau and friends were important. Relationships were described as social in nature beginning as workplace relationships. These relationships soon became a substitute for whānau connections as participants began to learn more about themselves and feel part of a like-minded community. Work relationships operated as an opportunity to increase confidence in rediscovering and expanding cultural relationships. In contrast, the seekers' achievements were ascribed to the extended whānau in an intimate and reciprocal relational framework. Workplace relationships were only one of many for this group. The seeker will function the same across all relationships, that is, developing personal and long-lasting bonds with others. Finally for the keeper, iwi or tribe determined relational practices developed from a culturally defined context. All relationships were used as a basis for positions participants sought and where they were located, for example, geographic area, large or small organisations, Māori or mainstream organisations. For the keeper, cultural relationships were the building blocks for work relationships.

Those pursuing social relational practices typically entered employment where they knew people and in larger organisations. While those seeking personal relationships opted for practices to increase self disclosure as a step toward even greater closeness and learning. Finally, the keeper specifically sought positions that involved working solely with Māori and within a Māori kaupapa or framework.

Impact of cultural identity. For participants in this study, the cultural identity of being Māori often impinged negatively on career processes. For the cloaked, cultural identity was sometimes viewed as a hindrance to career processes; either because others forcibly imposed what being Māori 'should' be or because of their own uncertainty about 'how' being Māori could be expressed. The cloaked therefore functioned from within a career identity. While they narrated strong messages and visual images of work, little cultural input occurred. The cloaked were left to locate their sense of cultural identity and found work as one means of expressing this.

For the seeker, cultural identity was used to resist pre-determined career practices assumed for Māori. For example, the assumption of being Māori meant that Māori should work only with Māori. It was the goal of the seeker to present a much more expanded and diverse cultural identity to others. Unlike the cloaked, the seeker possesses a career *and* cultural identity. Work allowed feedback of similar styles of communication, attitudes, values, personality dispositions, interests and background experiences between themselves and significant people in their whānau.

Finally, for the keeper, cultural identity was the key to explaining and defining their career practices; being Māori provided the reason for choices and decisions made in their working life. The keeper had built a life where culture and work are one setting which serves to expand a cultural identity.

Significant People

Significant people provided the exemplar for relational practices. Participants' relationship with significant others served as a pro forma for the dimensions of relational practices. Relational practices informed participants of who they were as Māori. Typically all participants learnt more from either their maternal or paternal

influences and very few developed equal relationships with both sides of their whakapapa. The most influential were maternal grandparents. Grandparents usually signaled to participants the importance of building relationships with what they termed the 'Pākehā' world. The Pākehā world involved maintaining being Māori and believing in an equality to Pākehā. In reality most participants based their reactions on the fact that they would have to stand alongside Pākehā with the same credentials and pursued these as a matter of course. It was never enough to simply believe being Māori would suffice in a Pākehā world.

For the keeper, Pākehā were invisible! Their complete focus was on Māori society, something they constantly challenged and questioned in their workplace. What was of primary concern to this group was the impact of other cultures into New Zealand on Māori.

Participants learnt to look to others for cultural identity, look inward for ongoing cultural identity or look for places to boost their identity. Relationships either helped, hindered or inspired participants' cultural journeys. In the workplace these relational practices were endorsed.

Contribution to theory and practice

Historically Māori referred to 'industriousness' as a construct for work (Mead & Grove, 2003). Contributing a level of industriousness within the kinship structure was a highly valued behaviour and an avenue for achieving an elevated social status. An ability to plan and complete work tasks on time and as required was also encouraged. The findings of this study indicate that similar attitudes have been expressed across participant groups. For example, the attitude of working hard and the potential for life lessons being found in work. This suggests that past attitudes are still present among contemporary Māori.

Developmental approaches continue to be an important focus for career theorists and practitioners. Super's (1990) life-space approach has advanced a focus on the age of a person and associated stage of career development, to a focus on a career pathway or journey. The findings from this study suggest that considering cultural responsibilities as occurring at a single point in a person's life time and based purely

on age, is also too narrow a position. Just as Super (1990) proposed a life-space approach, this study suggests participants have manifested a 'cultural-space' approach to career, whereby the pathway to being Maori has contributed to the career journey. It is this journey that appears to have created a more meaningful and purposeful career for participants. Further, within this cultural-space participants have developed layers to what Super (1990) has termed self-concept. For example, the cloaked present as wishing to enhance and understand vocational self-concept but yet remain attached to a search for cultural-self. The keeper on the other hand, has no time for self-concept and lives solely within a worldview defined by cultural-space. In contrast, the seeker while understanding a vocational self-concept firmly believes that others have contributed to this state and may prefer the phrase 'self in relation to others' as suggested by Miller (1978). While this Western approach career model continues to focus attention on the individual as the main protagonist in a career story, it reflects limited value for Maori.

Career theory and research continue to pay some attention to diverse views and practices by integrating theories and models from other disciplines, for example constructivism (Amundson, 2005; Chen, 2003; Savickas, 1993; Young & Colin, 2004), social constructivist (O'Doherty & Roberts, 2000) and relational (Blustein, et al. 2001; Phillips, Christopher & Gravina, 2001). Contemporary theories such as these provide an opportunity for personal meaning and discovery (Metz & Guichard, 2009) paving the way for an acceptance of diverse meanings to being Māori. The focus on multiple realities (Guba & Linclon, 1989) should ensure the Māori, and non-Māori career practitioners circumvent stereotypes applied to Māori by taking time to locate personal meaning within a context of cultural, economic and social influences for Māori. The understanding of personal meaning first and foremost places an emphasis on occupational structures as a secondary stage of working with Māori. The findings from this study suggest that within the new typology multiple realities exist for participants as motivation for further exploration, understanding and meaning with the career practitioner. However, reference to the relevance and appropriateness of these approaches and models continues to be paid lip service without the support of systematic, empirical research.

The findings of this study indicate promising developments in the relevance of contemporary approaches to Māori, in particular, the relational approach (Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver & Surrey, 1991). This study suggests that for the participants, self has certainly emerged from a context of relationship. However, findings point to different perceptions of mutual regard (Jordan et al., 1991), among typology groups. For example, the cloaked have abandoned mutual expectations as a consequence of restricted avenues for relationships. To some extent, the keepers have also maintained somewhat limited relational interactions and assume mutual regard to be determined and delivered via whakapapa links. Work for both these groups have 'forced' interaction with others and provided interconnections where groups such as the cloaked, have flourished and excelled in heralding a new outlook on mutual regard. While the keeper continues to operate within a limited range of interactions, in the workplace their world view and practices can be applied and readily accepted among a range of groups other than Māori. In contrast, the seekers are perhaps the group who fit best into the definition and process of relationships as defined by Jordan et al., (1991).

Fletcher's (1998) work has attempted to explore and theorise relational behaviour and practices in the workplace. This study can expand on Fletcher's (1998) work on themes which constitute relational practices in the workplace by providing further categories of behaviours associated with relational activity. This study has found that behaviours which could constitute relational practices overlap for each group within the typology. The keeper, utilise cultural values and practices they have been brought up with such as whānau and all this establishes, e.g. care support and love, and the inclusion of spirituality, in short relational practices which 'enhance' them. The seeker, find some similarity with Fletcher's (1998) theme of creating a team. However, the seeker favours the creation of 'whanau' rather than team. To the seeker relational practices mean much more than simply a team which has connotations of superficiality, the seeker is motivated by relational practices which engage them, enabling the creation of deeper and more intimate connections. The cloaked while appearing aloof, maintain relational practices that focus on acceptance which serve to 'enable' them.

Unlike previous career research (Phillips, Christopher & Gravina, 2001; Schulthesis, Kress & Manzi, 2001) this study provides some evidence for the specific role of relationships in career processes with the distinctive opportunity to look closely at an indigenous perspective of relationships. For Māori in this study, the essential ingredient of relationships (Josselson, 1992) was connectedness. This connection may be based on whakapapa for the keeper, or a connection with mutual discovery for the seeker, or a connection of approval for the cloaked.

In summary, the critique of the applicability of career theories and models to culturally diverse groups (Leong & Brown, 1995) has been appeased by contemporary approaches to career. These approaches reinforce multiple worldviews but still lack empirical evidence from which career practice can begin to articulate and integrate appropriateness for indigenous populations. On the surface, theories such as the constructivist approaches legitimise contextual variables such as socio-cultural realities providing a process for the career practitioner to determine the meaning of constructs such as race and ethnicity in career the client. This process avoids the desire to locate a more generalised and universal definition and use of such constructs. The social constructivist perspective too supplies a new compass for the landscape of culture 'in' career and therefore the abandonment of attempts to 'adapt' Western models in an attempt to become inclusive of culture. Relational behaviour provides a lens from which to investigate career from an indigenous worldview, however as this study confirms the manifestation of relationships cannot be oversimplified even within indigenous communities.

The New Zealand career industry has experienced similar stages of development, i.e., adapting Western models and conceptualisation of racial/ethnic identity (Arbona, 1995; Brown, 1995; Cheatham, 1990; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1990; Thomas & Alderfer, 1989; Tinsley, 1994) by career research for the consideration of culture 'in' career. Research already shows that other sectors, such as the health sector, continue to focus on issues of importance to Māori and within a Māori worldview research paradigm such as Māori. centred (Durie, 1996) and Kaupapa Māori (Smith, 1999). The careers industry can ill-afford to continue to 'borrow' from these works by attaching generalised statements from these research findings to the careers industry. What this signals is perhaps a lack of understanding in the New Zealand career industry of the importance of the convergence needed between career theory, practice

and research. New Zealand career practitioners have historically been drawn primarily from practice, and as formal qualifications in the careers field have been established, awareness of specific career theories, models, and research has been stimulated. As New Zealand career research and practice strives to position itself on the global stage in career theory and practice, a shift toward a focus on specific ethnic groups such as Māori has the potential to generate ground breaking advances toward indigenous specific career models and approaches. This study supports the shift toward a contribution to a focus on *indigenous communities* and is a progression already accepted by other indigenous communities (Juntunen et al., 2001; White, 2007).

International career research (Ritchie et al., 1997) supports similarities within indigenous communities such as a sense of interconnectedness and resounding links with relationships within a kinship structure. A further common feature shared is a concern in determining the meaning of the popular construct 'career' (Juntunen et al., 2001; White, 2007). As noted in an earlier chapter I too have sought a more meaningful construct of work which acknowledges stories about people from my past, new meanings in my present and the future aspirations of my whānau and hapū, all woven together within my space of being Ngāti Konohi, which will continue to design my working life. A construct which incorporates relational connections with people and places from our past, present and future may serve as a place to begin this search for Māori.

However critique now appears to have taken on a new direction toward a lack of empirical career research from indigenous communities. This shift according to Smith (1999) is part of the process of the Western coloniser who advocates representation, but continues to deny representation that does not share their genealogical foundations! This becomes the 'fault' of the indigenous community and blame is directed inward toward these communities. The New Zealand career industry should consider this in light of barriers to indigenous research such as a limited number of Māori career practitioners in NZ and the tentative attitude by some Māori toward career. Indigenous research which has been undertaken in New Zealand (McNicholas, 2001; Tomlins Jahnke, 2001) continues to support the fact that indigenous populations are willing to take an active role in transforming systems for themselves.

Discussions in this chapter so far suggest that a key development of a positive Māori identity may not be the degree to which cultural attitudes, behaviours and values are acquired and articulated, but rather the extent to which they can experience relationships which support, acknowledge and affirm their unique sense of being Māori. This suggests that a key challenge for Māori career practitioners may be learning to approach Māori career clients as distinctive rather than as a cultural stereotype supported by stereotypically developed interventions, strategies and techniques. The assumption that all Māori are the same and have an understanding of 'traditional' Māori beliefs, values and principles still prevails within the minds of some Māori career practitioners. As previously noted, strong evidence supports diversity among Māori (Durie, 2001; Graham, 2009; Hamer, 2008; McIntosh, 2005; Warriner, 2007). Results from these studies provide the career industry with a platform to launch diverse practices, and coupled with the typology from this study adds to the appreciation of contemporary Māori society's enactment of career. Further, the typology provides a method for which a diverse range of understandings and integration of cultural values can be delivered within career processes by asking the career practitioner to consider the typology that best represents their sense of cultural and career themes and settings.

To conclude, the overriding issue is, do Māori cultural values inform career processes? This study strongly suggests that without a doubt, they do. A representation of 'how' cultural values are enacted in career processes is dependent on the diverse range of expressions of being Māori.

For the keeper, Te Ao Māori is their existence. No other influences exist indicating that the keeper exists within Te Ao Māori across every aspect of their lives, including work. They therefore are more likely to use Māori cultural values, practices and behaviours in the workplace, just as they would in every other area of their life.

For the seeker, Māori cultural values co-exist with career processes. Where the two converge the seeker has created a middle ground to include other cultural identities, and personal identity. Seekers bring a balance to career and cultural processes and do not see either as a threat to the other.

For the cloaked, career is the only role that is emphasised in their lives. Cultural values exist but remain obscured. The cloaked may merge the two together as a result of experiences in their career processes and cultural values may even eventually become a larger role than their work role. The cloaked is the only group whereby career processes have the potential to enhance Māori cultural values.

As Western career models, approaches, and theories continue to place individuals as the central actors in career processes, indigenous communities including Māori are perplexed by the relevance of these processes in their lives. The future of career processes for Māori has to be placed firmly in the hands of the Māori career practitioner and career researcher for further empirical research directed at career practice.

Summary of chapter

The process of integrating career and culture within a relational setting must begin with the career practitioner, however, these processes still need further systematic investigation. The final chapter discusses implications for the career practices of Māori and non-Māori career practitioners. The limitations of this research are also outlined and the chapter concludes with the personal reflections of the author as a move toward the need for a convergence of personal cultural experiences and professional experiences as a method for enhancing and strengthening my role and contribution to the New Zealand career industry.

CHAPTER TEN

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Future Directions

Career research should continue to reflect the diversity within Māori of cultural themes and settings such as early experiences and influential events and people. A new typology has been developed focusing on diversity among Māori on issues pertaining to what being Māori means to them and the subsequent influence on participants' working lives. The typology indicates three groups whereby participants have described variations in cultural and career identity. Groups were not discrete categories and Māori may develop within each group as their context creates opportunity for a dynamic and evolving cultural perspective. For some Māori, movement between groups may create over-lapping boundaries and tensions. For example, the keeper may at times embrace some characteristics of the seeker but never fully adopt all aspects of career and cultural characteristics. In changing cultural settings and themes the keeper becomes aware of the inclusion of other cultural groups such as Pasifika, but may never relinquish the strong hold on matters for Māori. The cloaked too, may reconcile early experiences of alienation by other Māori as a result of positive experiences in the workplace, and reassert their Māori identity. However, the indignation at judgments by other Māori still bear scars for some cloaked causing them to distance themselves once again from other Māori. Finally, the seeker is able to move toward an unmitigated Māori worldview. However, the seeker may still be frustrated by an irrational focus on historical rights and insular world views held by some Māori. The typology presented in this study provides a template from which to begin discussions on the intersection between culture and career as the typology provides a response to the question: to what extent do Māori cultural values inform career processes?

The career practitioner must be attentive to ever-changing cultural perspectives and the influence on career practices. This implies that cultural identity should play a major part in the role of the Māori career practitioner.

Implications for Māori Career Practitioners

This study has implications for the role of Māori career practitioner working with Māori clients, yet this is already hampered by the fact that there are very few Māori career practitioners in New Zealand. While the cultural background of career counsellors is emphasised, little is discussed on how counsellors of the same cultural identity as the client may be effective. This study explains that, if Māori career practitioner were also integrated into the typology, their work may become more effective. For example, if a keeper Māori career practitioner was to work alongside a cloaked Māori client, the client may experience feelings of isolation and distance as the keeper career practitioner asserts Te Ao Māori. In comparison, a seeker Māori career practitioner may prove more effective for a cloaked client as there is more empathy and understanding for the experiences of cultural alienation. A seeker career practitioner is likely to feel more comfortable with multiple identities and not present cultural identity as a key component in a career session.

For the Māori career practitioner and Māori client the fusion of culture and career now needs to go beyond acknowledging general Māori identity, to engaging more with Māori clients on their experiences of culture. For example, early experiences and messages about work and the role of significant people in their career practices. It is in such a process that the Māori career practitioner's own cultural meanings will play a significant role. The relational practice of cultural and career meaning for both the Māori career practitioner and Māori client may, for the first time, provide Māori with the motivation and interest in utilizing career services.

Due to the limited number of Māori career practitioners, it is highly likely non-Māori career practitioners will be working with Māori clients. This study has also explained that Māori clients who present as keepers may find a non-Māori career practitioner ineffectual while a Māori client who presents as cloaked may make a specific request to be seen by a non-Māori career practitioner. It is important that the non-Māori career practitioner be readily able to concede that this does not mean there is no place for the Māori career practitioner in the relationship. If career practitioners are to focus on long- term empowerment of Māori clients, this study implies that cultural identity can be enhanced only in conjunction with and in some cases, only with, the Māori

career practitioner. The relational practices of the Māori and non-Māori career practitioner are still ones of extreme importance and the typology may provide a common ground from which to develop these practices further. Participants from each group spoke of relational influences with Pākehā. This ranged from grandparents asking participants to be confident in being 'equal' to Pākehā to a desire to discredit stereotypical attitudes held by Pākehā of Māori.

Professional Development for Māori Career Practitioners

Professional development pathways for Māori career practitioners could focus on the purpose and rationale behind culture and career. Currently culture and career exist as a dichotomy for perhaps all career practitioners, Māori and non-Māori. Certainly each has a very different role in the links between culture and career when working with Māori clients. The typology may be seen as a framework from which to understand the dynamics of the relational practices linking culture and career.

Other issues of professional development should involve a working knowledge of specific career theory, strategies and interventions. For example, career theories which extend beyond the trait-factor perspectives to storied approaches (Brott, 2001). The keeper and seeker groups indicated a desire to write about their experiences. For the keeper, writing their own life story would provide whānau, in particular, mokopuna, with a medium to learn more about Māori culture and values. The seeker on the other hand, wished to record the life and times of their own tipuna and had already accumulated pictures and oral narratives as a starting point. While the cloaked did not make specific reference to writing, they were motivated to share their experiences through the research as a way of assisting and supporting other Māori.

Training providers of career relevant qualifications should ensure that programmes provide opportunities to develop approaches based in a New Zealand context and within the realities of the clients we serve. For Māori career practitioners this means more than adapting the core culture of career theory and counselling to Māori as a whole and seeking ways to exemplify Māori as a diverse cultural group. This study has signaled the pivotal role of the Māori career practitioner in progressing Māori career models and approaches in the New Zealand career industry.

Several career initiatives already support the promotion of Māori identity as a model for career decision making. For example Career Services rapuara co-ordinates nationwide career programmes such as Rangatahi Māori and Taiohi Tu, Taiohi Ora workshops targeting Māori students. Programmes are facilitated by Māori career practitioners, held on marae around the country and use Māori role models. However, what programmes assume is that all Māori students' perceptions and influences of culture are the same. Māori are influenced at many cultural levels and career interventions need to vary to be effective within a range of cultural themes and settings. Fortunately, other organizations have utilised funds to provide innovative career programmes for Māori students. One example is the joint programme between Gisborne Girls High School and Te Puni Kokori. Here young Māori women are mentored by local kuia in an attempt to personalise career planning and decision making. What is needed is the inclusion of other organisations to ensure a creative *range* of programmes continue to reflect Māori clients' experiences of their own cultural contexts.

Relational practice

This study indicates that relationships are the life blood of career for Māori. All participants raised the significance of relationships, and in particular the transmission of messages about being Māori. Reactions from both Māori and Pākehā generated mixed messages by virtue of the fact that participants were Māori. However, it was the messages from other Māori that proved to be more influential. Messages of advice and guidance were often translated as either easily understood, or fragmented and disordered, off-beat or mysterious, and acted out in participants' relational practices.

Relational practice provides a framework for understanding career and culture for Māori. Relational practices acknowledge the role of others in the lives of Māori which extend beyond whānau and the living. It is these relationships which enable Māori to grow and express the inner experiences of being Māori. This expression emerges from the connection between our experience of self, and others' experience of us, in all areas of our lives.

The relationship with a career practitioner provides an opportunity for the validity of relational work within career by enriching relational experiences and increasing awareness of our relational needs in career practices. The relational role of a career practitioner can encourage us to view others as a viable option and resource for facilitating healthy development. Relationships should be established with Māori *and* non-Māori career practitioners. This study has revealed that it is the efforts of both that will be required to ensure all Māori clients' cultural and career needs are met.

Implications for Māori Managers

Māori managers need to be cognisant of their own cultural identity when working with other Māori. The Māori managers' personal cultural themes and settings need to be considered as they interact with Māori staff. The challenge is likely to be greater for Māori managers with Māori staff due to the need to understand and relate to a range of Māori identifiers.

The Cloaked Māori Manager

The cloaked Māori manager may be in a management position in a sector with very few other Māori. They may want to ensure they are identified as a manager rather than a 'Māori Manager' and could dislike comparisons to other Māori. It is important to the cloaked Māori Manager that they be recognised as having gained this position on skill and merit. They are likely to be careful not to overly promote Māori issues in case they are accused of favouritism. The cloaked Māori manager may rely on organisational structures and policies to manage and may present a detached approach preferring the formal channels of communication with staff. The cloaked Māori manager may also feel at ease amongst non-Māori managers but may be reticent toward Māori managers.

The Seeker Māori Manager

The seeker Māori manager could present an interest in a range of issues. While they are likely to be ardent advocates of Māori issues, the seeker manager could also be very open to all other interests and issues. A key quality of the seeker Māori manager is likely to be insightful methods for making organisational structures 'fit' around the needs of their individual staff. The seeker Māori manager could encourage all staff to express their own perceptions and views and be equally as supportive of personal development within the workplace. The seeker manager may usually investigate strategies to encourage innovative and lateral thinking. Dialogue and team structures will be key management approaches.

Amongst non-Māori managers', the seeker will inquire about other Māori managers and want to make connections with them. Being Māori will be a strong feature of their uniqueness among non-Māori managers and will be an identity they fully utilise.

The seeker Māori manager will deal with cultural matters in the workplace by initially making contact with kaumatua or kuia from within the organisation. They will see this as an opportunity for all staff to learn about Māori culture and will ensure such processes are visible and informative to staff.

The Keeper Māori Manager

The keeper Māori manager often has a much broader brief than managing staff in an organisation. They remain heavily involved in iwi politics and attempt to juggle both roles. To allow them to achieve this, keeper Māori managers will need to have excellent support staff who will be deputised with some responsibilities. This may not be the norm within some organisations, nevertheless it is a tactic that could have some degree of success. The keeper Māori manager is very rarely in the 'office', and may have other staff delegated for day-to-day operations. For the keeper Māori manager they are likely to have been invited as advisors on government and iwi-based issues beyond the scope of their current employing organisation.

Implications for the non-Māori Manager

In the workplace the typology may prove useful for non-Māori managers and the career management of Māori staff.   Further implications can be seen for Māori managers also responsible for Māori staff.

The Cloaked Employee

The non-Māori manager is more likely to encourage the cloaked to consider positions with a cultural focus. Astute managers may have observed subtle references made by the cloaked employee to cultural identity. For example, brief comments on their own personal background and a desire to do more with Māori. With encouragement from managers, the cloaked can report a renewed enthusiasm for cultural values and practice. They are unlikely to put themselves forward for any position involving cultural input without this encouragement. The manager should not nominate the cloaked as a representative for Māori staff. The cloaked employee is also more likely to prefer one-to-one meetings with managers and may not wish to be included in group sessions specifically for Māori staff. While they may not verbally refuse the opportunity, they are likely to find some reason for non-attendance.

The cloaked are typically ambitious employees and will benefit greatly from regular career planning and management. They are diligent employees and could excel with ongoing encouragement, attention and affirmation from their manager.

The cloaked may appear assertive toward non-Māori staff, challenging their lack of knowledge on issues important to Māori. This attitude emerges from a sense of 'entitlement' of being Māori and can create unease if not confronted early by the Manager. The non-Māori manager may perceive this as a staff member possessing a strong knowledge of Māori unaware that it may instead be a strategy to bolster their own sense of cultural insecurity.

The Seeker Employee

The seeker employee is likely to challenge the non-Māori manager particularly on issues regarding equity. The challenge is built on the value of dialogue and debate with the manager and team members, and a willingness to view these issues from many angles. The seeker may base their challenges on current evidence rather than historical evidence, and have an emphasis on the changing face of Māori. The seeker takes the position that Māori need to grow and develop and should therefore have the opportunity to determine ways to make this happen. The seeker is likely to view Māori issues as important within the organisational structure rather than as a separate charter. They are also likely to want to build a strong team dynamic and see social activities as one way of expanding this. The concept of whānau is what they are hoping to replicate in the workplace.

The seeker is likely to have high expectations of the non-Māori manager for maintaining a team-based approach and enabling power to be shared. The seeker also places a high degree of respect on their own profession or sector and are likely to respect a manager who has earned credibility from this profession, rather than a manager who has a completely different background. They are unlikely to need constant support and encouragement from the manager. To maximise the productivity of a seeker, a manager should provide visionary leadership for the seeker's ideas as a model for stimulation and innovativeness in the workplace.

As employees they may be acknowledged as 'go-getters' with a wealth of life experiences and they are identified with the potential to further their position within the workplace. What stands out about the seeker employee is their ability to get on with a range of people, an ability to articulate ideas clearly and have excellent communication skills. The non-Māori manager may not be able to resist comparing the seeker to the more stereotypical image of Māori, yet is likely to see someone who is comfortable in a Māori and non-Māori world. To the non-Māori manager the seeker is proudly and confidently expressing being Māori but not at the expense of other cultural groups, and the manager will take pleasure in listening to the seeker's opinions on Māori issues.

Conflict may arise in the workplace if change, movement forward and pragmatic approaches are impeded by staff 'stuck' in their ways or with a focus on detail. This

could generate enormous frustration for the seeker and can result in a withdrawal from workplace issues and perhaps even a search for new employment.

The Keeper Employee

Keeper employees are likely to appear 'difficult' to manage! The non-Māori manager must seek ways to utilize, rather than manage, the enormous mana and cultural knowledge the keeper possesses. For example, a male keeper is likely to already have established respect in the workplace by using a 'whānau' approach. They are more likely to replicate protocols and systems from their own past to create a type of workplace 'hapu', by-passing existing organisational structures. Regardless of the diversity of cultural groups in the workplace, the keeper will place Māori at the centre of how people are to behave in the workplace. Team members, typically from all cultures, will respect this due to the presence and stature of the keeper. The keeper is likely to have been employed by the same organisation for some time and therefore have the respect of non-Māori managers who are very aware of their authority within the workplace among other staff. This respect is likely to have generated co-operation from management for the keeper to fulfill cultural responsibilities.

Keepers are also independent but in a different manner to the seeker. The keeper's independence is supported by living Te Ao Māori. Conflict may arise in the workplace among other employees who observe the keeper as being measured against different standards and requirements. The non-Māori manager may wish to avoid further animosity within the team by determining ways the keeper can be held accountable. This may involve looking to the keeper's Māori network within the workplace for advice and guidance on this task. Another source of conflict may be the keeper's apparent lack of interest in any other issues other than those affecting Māori.

Promotion opportunities in the workplace

The Cloaked

The cloaked will actively seek promotion as they continue to develop and grow their career in the workplace. They are still looking for a fit within their working life and the development of congruence with attainment of career and being Māori. While the cloaked may not wish to include personal development within career, a manager may be able to convince them that personal knowledge could lead to insight into career and culture. For example, emphasising that personal knowledge is about understanding themselves *in the workplace*, rather than exploring personal past and history.

The Seeker

The seeker will also consider promotion opportunities. However, their pursuit of promotions may not be as focused as the cloaked. The seeker desires intrinsic reward and challenge in the workplace and may not see this as achievable in certain promotion opportunities. For the seeker, small projects contributing to their profession and professional standing could be more important. Seekers may prefer to work on new schemes and projects rather than within existing systems and structures. International opportunities in collaborative projects will be of interest to the seeker as this appeals to their range of cultural identities. The seeker wishes to maintain a practical component to their work and is likely to enjoy direct contact with clients and colleagues to ensure practical and tangible change can be achieved.

The Keeper

The keeper may not be interested in promotions within the organization. Promotion is not the reason why the keeper is employed within a particular organisation. Employment provides access to, and opportunity to work with, and for, Māori. They prefer to work at the grass roots and as close to Māori clients as

possible. The organisation represents a conduit from which to work with and for Māori. The keeper is likely to have created their own systems within this for working with Māori.

Limitations

Although this study is small and has limitations, I believe that it does form an initial step towards systematic empirical research on the integration of career and culture for Māori. The final number of volunteers however, does represent a willingness by Māori to share their career stories. As a starting point this thesis celebrates and provides a voice for Māori as a diverse group of potential users of career services in New Zealand. The study is an early step in the understanding of career processes for Māori and one must be cautious when interpreting and extrapolating the results. Although the participants in this study were of a wide range of ages, the sample size is still small and numbered only 22. This sample size may be too small to test the typology and a larger sample may be needed to fully develop and validate the typology. A further limitation of the sample in this study was the smaller number of male compared to female participants for the kaumatua career cultural stage. Additional voices from this group could have provided a better understanding of how this group locate cultural values in career processes.

The process of recruiting participants involved an advertisement which was placed in a nationwide free Māori newspaper. Participants had to make personal contact with the researcher by phone or email. Some potential participants may have been reluctant to use this medium and would have preferred face-to-face contact with the researcher as an initial meeting point.

As a career researcher, this study has highlighted my own cultural biases, for example the question of a preference for a rural or urban identity. Rural or urban definitions have been imposed as a characteristic of cultural identity and may not recognise perceptions of cultural identity for Māori. Traditional Māori referred to kainga or home and village as one aspect of identity. Today, Māori live in a variety of settings and at different stages could have experienced life in a rural or urban place. Several

participants were able to describe experiences in rural and urban settings highlighting that identity is maintained within them, rather than a geographic concept.

It is clear from the study that for this small group of Māori, there is an untapped wealth of information, guidance, perceptions and experiences for the development of career models and approaches for the Māori and non-Māori career practitioner to benefit from. Consequently, the study has found that more effort must be placed on gathering quality empirical evidence to support this development. Otherwise, we continue to do a disservice to the multiple realities that exist among Māori today by continuing to adapt and swap normative cultural values and practices onto a contemporary landscape. What empirically-based research provides, that practice alone is yet to do is in-depth analysis and investigation from which policy and practice may benefit from.

Personal Reflections

The greatest personal reflection from this study continues to be the exploration and critique of my own profession against a Māori worldview of career. I have been able to talk with Māori from diverse cultural settings on the influence of cultural themes on career. Early experiences and messages participants received appeared very influential and prompted me to consider my own experiences. Prominent messages were the encouragement to be independent thinkers, to hold to a pragmatic focus and have complete faith in Te Ao Māori. There are some Māori who were fortunate enough to be allowed to pursue their dream and were offered all the guidance and advice they needed. They entered the world assured in the knowledge that they would always be looked after by whānau and those who had passed away. It is likely that this kind of trust must have provided a tremendous source of inspiration and stimulation. Yet this group of Māori remained isolated and secluded from issues other Māori were facing. Their perspectives seemed limited and specific to them while ignoring the plight of other Māori.

In contrast, other Māori watched whānau members go to work day after day, with little time for in-depth conversation yet focused more on allowing their actions to speak for them. Their world was built on the pragmatic attitude of taking action to make things happen and what was valued and respected was a person's ability to get things done by relying on their own skills and tenacity. I admire this particular group of Māori, the no- nonsense approach to life shows resilience and spirit and reminds me of my maternal grandfather. A Māori Battalion veteran, fluent in te reo, working in the freezing works and relinquishing his own dreams and ambitions to marry above his station. In his quiet demeanour he was humble and respectful of his own whānau who, by his own admission, were not always kind. At first, his opinion was disregarded and unimportant because he was not from the place of Whangara and from a whānau considered by my maternal great grandfather, as possessing little mana. There have been many times when I am grateful to my grandfather for enabling me to be grounded in the immediate world around me. To understand that everyone has something to offer, regardless of whakapapa and the lifestyle they lead. I, too, have experienced challenges to my authenticity as Māori although in a different

manner from my grandfather. I attended a predominantly Pākehā secondary school and entered University as a non-Māori Studies student which created an uneasy fit in a Māori and a non-Māori world. For generations like my grandfather, who were faced with harsh criticism from other Māori based on inaccessible structures such as whakapapa. He and I are explicably linked as my birth permitted him to take a stand on matters previously beyond his reach. His first act was to refuse to have me attend a Māori boarding school that my great-grandmother, grandmother and mother had attended before me. For my grandfather what was more important was to be taught by people who knew and cared for me. His influence reminds me to take pride in being Māori, and all this may mean, rather than how others choose to define what it 'should' be.

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GLOSSARY OF MĀORI TERMS

Aotearoa	Aotearoa
ariki	paramount leader
aroha	compassion, love of other, affectionate regard
awhi	embrace, draw near to, cherish
hapū	descendants of a common ancestor, section of a large tribe, secondary tribe
hauora	spirit of life, health, vigour
he tangata	people
hīkoi	step
hōha	be boring, tiresome, bored, wearisome, fed up with
hui	gathering, come together, congregate
iwi	people, nation, bones
kai	consume, eat
kaitiaki	guardian, minder, custodian, keeper
kapa haka	concert party, Māori cultural group, Māori performing group
karanga	call, summon, welcome
karakia	incantation, ritual prayer
kaupapa	philosophy, theme
kawa	protocol, way of doing acting and behaving here
kaumatua	leader, elder, old man or woman
kia ora	hello, hi!
kōrero	tell, say, speak, talk, address
koro	old man, father figure
koroua	old man

ko wai koe?	Who are you?
kui	old woman, mother figure
kuia	female leader, old woman, mother, grandmother or other elderly relative
kura	school
mahi	work, work at, make, be occupied with
mana	spiritual power, power, authority, influence, prestige, vested with effective authority, having influence or power, vested with effective authority
manāki	show respect, kindness to
manākitanga	hospitality
marae	enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village common
mātauranga Māori	knowledge of Māori forebears
mihi	greet, acknowledge
mokopuna	grandchild, descendant
pākehā	white people, person of predominately European descent, people from England
pakeke	adult
pōwhiri	welcome, beckon to come on
rangatahi	younger generation, youth
rangatira	Māori leader, chief, well born, noble
raruraru	be perplexed, trouble
rohe	sense of place, boundary
rongoā	apply medicines, remedy, cure, medicine
tangata	human being, person

tangata whenua	people of the land, indigenous people of the land, people born of the land
taonga	visible or invisible things considered valuable, material or immaterial treasures
tapu	sacred, being with potentiality, under religious or superstitious restriction, inaccessible
tauiwi	strange tribe, foreign race
te ao hurihuri	revolving, changing world
te ao Māori	the world of the Māori, particularly the traditional world
Te Ataarangi	a method for adults to learn to speak Māori using coloured rods and a large component of spoken language
Te Kohanga Reo	a total immersion Māori language revitalisation and maintenance for preschoolers
te reo	the [Māori] language
tika	natural, right, true, correct, fair, just
tikanga	rule, plan, method, custom, habit, usual, way in which something is tika, ethic, principle
tipuna/tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents
tohunga	expert
waiata	songs
wānanga	gathering for learning
wairua	spirit
whaea	respectful form of address to a woman, mother, aunt
whakamā	be ashamed, shy, bashful, embarrassed
whakapapa	genealogy, cultural identity

whakatauki	proverb
whānau	family, extended family, family group, an address to a number of people
whanaungatanaga	kinship, relationship, sense of family connection
whare	house, habitation
whatumanawa	seat of emotions and affections, heart, mind

2007

Thank you for taking the time to consider being involved in my research on "Understanding the Influence of Māori Cultural Values on our Career Processes"

My name is Lynette Reid and I am from Ngāti Porou. I am undertaking part time doctoral study at Auckland University of Technology.

As a Māori career advisor for over 15 years, I have a personal and professional interest in understanding how being Māori may influence our choices. That is, I have an understanding of what 'work' means to us, choosing and making decisions on work and other aspects. While we have some information on how other ethnic groups engage in these choices very little is known about Māori! What is beneficial about that information is it will assist us to continue to understand our decisions and to enable career advisors to be more effective in their work with Māori.

I am inviting people who identify as Māori to be involved in my research. I would like to talk with you in person about your working life. It does not matter what type of work you are in or have done, it could be paid, unpaid or part or full time. You will be asked to tell me your story on your experiences in work. These discussions can take place in your home or a place you feel comfortable and relaxed in.

Time is a valuable commodity today and I would like to talk with you over an extended period of time to get as full a story as possible. This could involve in total, six to eight hours of your time. It is also important for me to share with you what I have understood from your story. Following the interviews you will be given a copy of the transcript and be encouraged to add further comments and delete any parts you do not want included in the study.

I would like to use an audio tape to record your story as well as take notes if I need to. You do not have to answer all the questions and may stop the interview at any time without giving any explanation. The audio tape will be transcribed by myself, assisted by a typist. The typist will also be required to keep your information confidential. At the end of the study your audiotape and transcript will be offered back to you or destroyed, which ever you prefer. Those audiotapes not requested to be returned will be destroyed on completion of this research. Transcripts however, will be kept for six years.

To protect you, your story and those you may identify in your story, I will not use your name or any other identifiable information. If the information you provide is reported or published it will be done in a way that does not identify you as the personal source.

I do not anticipate any risks to you from this study. However if you identify any psychological risk or harm as a result of this research, the services of the AUT Health, Counselling and Well-being centre will be available to you. Staff are experienced and possess professional qualifications which includes membership to relevant professional associations.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary (your choice).

If you do agree to be involved in this study, please complete the Consent form or provide me with a verbal consent of which I will record on tape. Thank you for taking the time to read this information. Please contact me if you would like to talk in more detail about my research. My contact details are:

Lynette Reid, lynette.r@clear.net.nz
Phone 634 5259

If you have any concerns regarding the nature of this project at any time please contact the Project Supervisor, Judith Pringle, judith.pringle@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext. 5420.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary, AUTEC, Madeline Banda, madeline.banda@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 8044.

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 30 March 2006

AUTEC Reference number 05/241

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Title of Project: Understanding the Influences of Maori Cultural Values on their Career Processes

Project Supervisor: Judith Pringle

Researcher: Lynette Reid

- I have read and understood the information provided about this research project (Information Sheet dated 2007) I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.

- I understand that the interview will be audio-taped and transcribed.

- I understand that I may withdraw myself or any information that I have provided for this project at any time prior to completion of data collection, without being disadvantaged in any way.

- If I withdraw, I understand that all relevant tapes and transcripts, or parts thereof, will be destroyed.

- I agree to take part in this research.

- I wish to receive a copy of the report from the research: tick one: Yes   O   No   O

Participant signature: ....………………...

Participant name: ………………………………………………………….

Participant Contact Details (if appropriate):

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Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 30.3.06 AUTEC Reference number 05/241

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.