Older Māori and Work: A review of the peer-reviewed literature

Paulette Brazzale, April 2022

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Executive summary

1. This literature review focuses on peer-reviewed research published between 2011 and 2022 on older Māori and work.

2. The Office for Seniors commissioned the review and synthesis as part of its first action plan to implement Better Later Life – He Oranga Kaumātua, the Government's strategy for our ageing population. The strategy has employment as one of three priority areas and a specific action to "research age discrimination in the workplace", with the aim of completing initial research by mid-2022.

3. The review's specific focus on older Māori as an under-researched cohort in the literature on New Zealanders' experience of work was further informed by the Older Workers Employment Action Plan (OWEAP), launched in April 2022, and Te Mahere Whai Mahi Māori— the Māori Employment Action Plan (MEAP), which was launched in February 2022. These are two in a series of seven employment action plans that support the Government's Employment Strategy, which has as a key focus achieving more inclusive employment outcomes for those who experience poor labour market outcomes – women, youth, older people, disabled people, Māori, Pacific people, and former refugees, recent migrants and ethnic communities.

4. The specific items of the OWEAP that are related to this review are:

   • the obligation under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to facilitate full Māori participation in the labour market

   • the current constraints in the labour force that result in poorer retirement saving outcomes for older Māori workers (defined as those aged 45 years or more[1]), which, when coupled with a shorter life and health expectancy compared with other ethnicities, often deprive them of the period of 'retirement' that many New Zealanders expect

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[1] Although older workers are generally defined as those aged 50 years or more, for older Māori workers we have used the age bracket of 45 years or more to reflect their shorter life and health expectancy compared with other ethnicities.

- the view among many Māori communities that their kaumātua, and the knowledge they hold are a taonga deserving of active protection under Te Tiriti.

5. This literature review also supports the vision of the MEAP that "Māori exercise rangatiratanga to create intergenerational wellbeing through work".

6. More broadly, the OWEAP focuses on supporting those who face the most significant challenges in preparing for, finding and staying in fulfilling work, and for this reason lack the financial security and work that would meet their needs as they age.

7. This review aims to support the OWEAP by answering this research question:

What is the current peer-reviewed literature on older Māori and their experiences of work, and what are the research gaps?

8. A systematic search and selection of papers published in the peer-reviewed literature between 2011 and 2022 identified 41 papers. They fit into three main groups related to our objective:

- rangatiratanga (leadership)

- mātanga (specialists and experts)

- kaimahi pakeke (other older workers).

9. The area with the most substantial research was rangatiratanga research. It covered a body of work on the experiences and challenges of the role of kaumātua (Mika, 2016), including theoretical perspectives (Durie, 1999) and advice on how this role can be enhanced and developed in today's world (Simpson et al., 2021). Leadership work and older age are intertwined concepts in te ao Māori concepts of rangatiratanga (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014). Māori leadership is relational (Spiller et al., 2011) and collective (Spiller et al., 2020), with many leaders contributing to leadership in Māori-led organisations and communities.

10. Another group of research papers focuses on mātanga, those who are specialists and experts. This includes the experiences of older tertiary-educated Māori. A common theme in these papers is the increased workload and eventual fatigue and burnout of these Māori workers working at the bicultural interface, described as the "cultural double-shift" (Haar & Martin, 2021). A gap identified in this research is knowledge of what the longer-term outcomes for these employees are. Does this additional toll result in early workforce exit, reduced earning ability or career change? What can employers do to mitigate any negative long-term impacts on employees in these vital interface roles?

11. The final group of research papers looked more generally at older workers and those in roles not considered under the rangatiratanga or mātanga focus areas. While studies that look at Māori employees as separate samples are available (eg, Brougham et al., 2015; Haar & Brougham, 2013; Haar et al., 2012), the real gap in this research area is studies that include the experiences of older Māori in lower-paid work, manual work and insecure work, and of urban Māori.

12. To meet the objectives of the OWEAP, this third group of older Māori workers would be an important segment to focus on as they are likely to be the group facing the greatest challenges. For this reason, this review recommends further research conducted in partnership with older Māori workers using Kaupapa Māori research techniques (Bishop, 2008; Smith, 2012). Further research in this area could help to develop a better understanding of the challenges these Māori workers face in older age and identify how they could be better supported to fully participate in work and to be secure in retirement.

13. In summary:

- a rich body of rangatiratanga research is available that provides an excellent resource to support the goals of protecting kaumātua as a taonga and working towards Māori rangatiratanga and intergenerational wellbeing

- significant research gaps exist on the long-term effect of the "cultural double-shift" (Haar & Martin, 2021) and potential ways of mitigating it for Māori experts and specialists

- there is a gap in our knowledge of the experiences of older Māori workers in manual, low-paid, blue-collar and insecure work as they move into older age

- the work experiences of older urban Māori are also underrepresented in the literature.

14. While some strong research supports the objectives of the OWEAP concerning Māori, many opportunities remain for further Kaupapa Māori research efforts to strengthen our knowledge and understanding of, as well as our responses to, older Māori workers in New Zealand.

Introduction

15. This report identifies and summarises the peer-reviewed research literature on older Māori and work in New Zealand published between 2011 and 2022.

16. The Office for Seniors commissioned the review and synthesis as part of its first action plan to implement Better Later Life – He Oranga Kaumātua, the Government's strategy for our ageing population. This strategy has employment as one of three priority areas and a specific action to "research age discrimination in the workplace" with the aim of completing initial research by mid-2022.

17. The specific focus on older Māori as an under-researched cohort in the literature on New Zealanders experience of work was further informed by the Older Workers Employment Action Plan (OWEAP), launched in April 2022, and Te Mahere Whai Mahi Māori— the Māori Employment Action Plan (MEAP), which was launched in February 2022. These are two in a series of seven employment action plans that support the Government's Employment Strategy, which has as a key focus achieving more inclusive employment outcomes for those who experience poor labour market outcomes – women, youth, older people, disabled people, Māori, Pacific people, and former refugees, recent migrants and ethnic communities.

18. The specific items of the OWEAP that are related to this review are:

- the obligation under Te Tiriti o Waitangi to facilitate full Māori participation in the labour market

- the current constraints in the labour force that result in poorer retirement saving outcomes for older Māori workers (defined as those aged 45 years or more), which, when coupled with a shorter life and health expectancy compared with other ethnicities, often deprive them of the period of 'retirement' that many New Zealanders expect

- the view among many Māori communities that their kaumātua, and the knowledge they hold, are a taonga deserving of active protection under Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

19. This work also aligns with the MEAP, by applying the vision that "Māori exercise rangatiratanga to create intergenerational wellbeing through work."

20. More broadly, the OWEAP focuses on supporting those who face the most significant challenges in preparing for, finding and staying in fulfilling work, and for this reason lack the financial security and work that would meet their needs as they age.

21. The scope of this review is peer-reviewed literature published between 2011 and 2022 that considers the experiences, attitudes and values of older Māori in relation to work. It summarises peer-reviewed research on older Māori (aged 45 years or more) as employees. It examines research within the broader concept of 'work' in te ao Māori, which includes entrepreneurial work, volunteer work and cultural work (i.e. iwi- and marae-based work and consultation work).

Research question

22. This review aims to support the OWEAP by answering this research question:

What is the current peer-reviewed literature on older Māori and their experiences of work, and what are the research gaps?

Method

23. This review took a systematic approach to extract peer-reviewed articles from academic databases Ebsco-Business Source Complete, Scopus and Informit.

24. The keywords used in multiple combinations for database searches were: employee or worker or staff or manager or leader or personnel or entrepreneur or volunteer or kaumātua or kaumatua or rangatira; Māori or Maori AND New Zealand or NZ or Aotearoa; experiences or perceptions or attitudes or views; work or employment; older or aged or senior or elder. This approach identified 850 potential references, which later reduced to 27 of the full papers included in the review.

25. Next, the review process involved a series of iterative searches, citations and references of key papers and authors. The tables of contents from key journals *MAI Journal* and *AlterNative* were also searched manually to identify other papers. This step identified 14 further papers.

26. In total 41 peer-reviewed papers were identified and included in this review.

27. Findings from these papers fit into three distinct groupings: rangatiratanga (Māori leadership) research, mātanga (Māori experts and specialists) research and kaimahi pakeke (older Māori workers) research.

Findings 1: Rangatiratanga research – *Kaumātuatanga, Rangatiratanga - Māori leadership generally, entrepreneurship and agribusiness leadership*

28. Rangatiratanga leadership in te ao Māori is collective and has a complex interweaving of roles and responsibilities, including elders, orators and genealogists, most of which older Māori take on (Spiller et al., 2020). For this reason, much of the Māori rangatiratanga literature gains information from the experience and voices of older Māori who contribute to rangatira work in Māori organisations, marae, iwi and hapū. This section summarises the main findings relating to older Māori and rangatiratanga under four streams of literature: kaumātuatanga, Māori leadership generally, entrepreneurship and agribusiness leadership.

Kaumātuatanga

29. The role of kaumātua in te ao Māori is age-related, as kaumātua are elders whose visible presence and authority are vital to tribal mana and standing (Durie, 1999). The roles that elders perform are critical for tribal mana and maintaining tikanga, and these elders are expected to make lifestyle adjustments to meet the expectations of their people (Durie, 1999). The role of kaumātua, however, is not achieved as of right. A kaumātua is typically recognised due to their mana, wisdom, ability to communicate in te reo, relationships with family and iwi, skill on the marae and performance as assessed by others (Durie, 1999; Mika, 2016).

30. The collective (whānau, hapū or iwi) bestows the role of kaumātua on an individual (Mika, 2016). Therefore, not all older Māori can be kaumātua and not everyone who identifies as Māori may aspire to be a kaumātua, with the obligations of ongoing service it brings (Durie, 1999). However, the role of kaumātua is vital to rangatiratanga to continue both cultural tikanga and the functioning of Māori-led organisations (Mika, 2016). The role of kaumātua is based on reciprocity as the younger members of the community provide ongoing care and support in return for the work of kaumātua. This has implications for both those who live and work as kaumātua and those who do not contribute in older age (Durie, 1999).

31. Keelan, Stewart, et al. (2021) discuss the modern use and definition of the term kaumātua and identify that, as well as having its traditional meaning, the term is now used to mean all older Māori. The authors recommend keeping the word kaumātua to refer only to the unique role of designated elders, as they play a critical role in Māori society, tikanga and rangatiratanga. They list other words to describe older Māori, such as pakeke, a gender-neutral term for older adults. Great care needs to be taken in using Māori terms to describe older Māori, and consultation with te reo Māori experts is recommended before labelling a group in relation to their age.

32. Mika (2016) explores the role of kaumātua in Māori entrepreneurship, identifying that Māori enterprises actively consult kaumātua, particularly around significant decisions, and their approval is often an essential step towards investor confidence. Mika explains that kaumātua contribute to Māori enterprises in many ways: as entrepreneurs involved in governance and management, as employees who act as cultural advisors, and as cultural advisors in support of Māori enterprises. A further example comes from a case study of entrepreneurship in Ngāti Whātua (Kawharu, 2016).

33. Two studies asked kaumātua about their perspectives on the traditional roles as kaitiaki in local community projects. First, Rameka et al. (2021) asked kaumātua about mana and kaitiakitanga related to mokopuna and early childhood education (ECE). This study used the wisdom and experiences of kaumātua it gathered to inform an ECE programme based on traditional ways of upholding mana and kaitiakitanga, with the aim of improving the sense of kaitiaki and contribution to collective wellbeing among mokopuna. Second, Keelan, Awekotuku, et al. (2021) interviewed five kaumātua from one community, aged from their sixties to eighties, about their role in the COVID-19 lockdown. The kaumātua reported they were very active in their community and a driving force behind creating an aid programme from their marae. These kaumātua spoke of their concerns about how COVID-19 had the potential to damage whakapapa and whanaungatanga and how these concerns motivated their actions to improve communication and provide leadership in their community. While small and localised, these studies demonstrate the role kaumātua

play in intergenerational leadership, education and guardianship within their communities.

34. A longitudinal intervention study, now under way, tracks a tuakana–teina peer support programme where established kaumātua provide peer support and mentoring to transitioning kaumātua (Hokowhitu et al., 2020; Oetzel et al., 2019; Simpson et al., 2019, 2021). This kaumātua peer education programme, involving Māori aged 55 years and older, is co-designed and culturally centred, and applies a strengths-based approach that recognises the ongoing value and contributions of kaumātua to their communities and society (Simpson et al., 2021). The impact of this programme on the tuakana (senior mentor) was very positive, as the participants had an increased sense of purpose, wellbeing, connectedness and cultural identity (Simpson et al., 2021). A report on the impact on the transitioning kaumātua is not yet available.

35. The final paper in the research on kaumātuatanga is an exploratory study by Muru-Lanning et al. (2021), which piloted a Kaupapa Māori research approach to understand the dynamics of ageing and wellbeing for kaumātua in the Tai Tokerau region. The research approach was to gather data in a pleasant hotel, away from the marae along with the overnight stay and shared meals that would have entailed. The authors explain this was a successful research approach with kaumātua, as it removed their obligation of hosting, made them feel cared for and safe and encouraged them to participate. The study found that for kaumātua, wellbeing involved a mix of traditional practices and Western medicine. Further, to them health was only one part of wellbeing; they put less emphasis on physical health and were more interested in wairuatanga and the connections to place, whānau and hapū. The kaumātua prioritised their contributions to whānau and the cultural wellbeing of the community over their own health.

Rangatiratanga – Māori leadership generally

36. Māori leadership literature provides a rich interweaving of mātauranga Māori and Western leadership theory. Most studies in this body of research use Kaupapa Māori research methods (Bishop, 2008; Smith, 2012), and some are published in top-tier academic journals. The key papers are summarised in chronological order to demonstrate the development in this field and the interwoven relationship between age and leadership in te ao Māori.

37. Contrasting traditional and modern Māori management approaches, Mika and O'Sullivan (2014) explain that older Māori are central to leadership and control in te ao Māori. Traditionally, older Māori would have acted as whānau leaders in the roles of pakeke (parents) and kaumātua (elders and grandparents). In addition to these leadership roles, older Māori with the right mana and whakapapa and the support of the people would take on the role of rangatira of hapū with responsibility for several whānau and accountability to āriki or paramount chiefs that are responsible for an iwi. Kaumātua work within this leadership model, providing valued wisdom, guidance and advice. Overall, Mika and O'Sullivan position older Māori as central to the Māori leadership tradition and explain that leadership is traditionally the work of older Māori across different roles, with their particular role depending on their mana, whakapapa, expertise and relationships.

38. Roche et al. (2015) identified some aspects of Mika and O'Sullivan's (2014) model in their qualitative study. They found the Māori leader participants felt an obligation and a drawing force to give back to their home marae, iwi and hapū through participating in leadership roles as they aged. Roche et al. (2015) also discuss how working in Māori leadership roles as they aged enhanced the participants' feelings of wellbeing and connectedness with their cultural identity and whakapapa.

39. Henry and Wolfgramm (2018) conducted a longitudinal qualitative study of Māori leaders in the film industry and provided findings on relational leadership. In addition, this paper includes a Mana Wahine (Māori women leaders) perspective. The authors explain that mentorship from older, more experienced leaders and experts, who could be Māori or non-Māori, was important to participants. Henry and

Wolfgramm also discuss how relational leadership resulted from the participant leaders' individual and collective aspirations. From this, they conclude that relational leadership for Māori consists of three dimensions: embodying identity and cultural dimensions; enacting industry dimensions; and enacting the macro dimension, such as the impact of colonisation.

40. Research that focuses on leadership from a wahine Māori perspective is sparse. One qualitative case study, however, explores the experience of women who lead community gardening projects (Stein et al., 2018). This study demonstrated the link between age, leadership and guardianship in the vital role these older Māori women play in their communities and how their work enacts the principles of manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and wairuatanga.

41. Extending an indigenous perspective on collective leadership, Spiller et al. (2020) take a Kaupapa Māori (Smith, 2012) and wānanga approach to their research and theorising. They illustrate how collective leadership in the Māori world today, and potentially in other indigenous cultures, is more like an ecosystem than just an activity. Collective leadership relies on an intergenerational process that works as an "integrated ecosystem sustained from one generation of leadership to the next" (Spiller et al., 2020, p. 517). This aspect of leadership explains the importance of the links between older Māori, whakapapa and the work of leadership in te ao Māori. Spiller et al. explain that rangatira leadership is a complex interweaving of roles and responsibilities that involve elders, wisdom keepers, orators and genealogists – no one leader stands alone. Building on this concept, Kelly and Nicholson (2021) link in the influence of ancestors on leadership, demonstrating how intergenerational knowledge passed on through elders influences leadership in Māori-led organisations.

Entrepreneurship

42. The work of older Māori in entrepreneurship converges with the role of older Māori in collective leadership practice. An example comes from Kawharu's (2016) case study of transformation in Ngāti Whātua. The entrepreneurial approach it describes demonstrates the leadership principle of kotahitanga, where older Māori adopted different leadership roles of the rangatira: the chiefly leader who was alert to risk; the pōtiki, often younger entrepreneurs, who took risks; the kaumātua, the elders, who adopted a risk-averse stance; and the tohunga who provided expert knowledge and wisdom.

43. Age in conjunction with mana, whakapapa and knowledge is integral to supporting communal entrepreneurial endeavours. Henry's (2017) qualitative study of screen industry entrepreneurs included older Māori. It demonstrated how entrepreneurship is an act of emancipation for those with a heritage of disadvantage and colonisation and encourages them to rebuild and restore cultural identity.

Agribusiness leadership

44. Agribusiness is an industry that requires Māori entrepreneurship and leadership, particularly in the management and governance of Māori farming trusts (Phillips et al., 2016) and Māori land incorporations (Rout et al., 2020). These agribusiness studies provide examples of challenges facing Māori-led organisations and the leadership work of older Māori.

45. Phillips et al. (2016) observe that one of the significant challenges facing Māori agribusiness is identifying and engaging rangatira and kaumātua with sufficient knowledge and capacity to work in the needed governance roles. Their study found that less successful boards had trustees with insufficient knowledge of farming and well-informed leadership practice, as many were appointed based on their standing in the hapū rather than their knowledge and skill. This lack of skill led the organisations to use more paid advisors and consultants, which compounded the issue as this approach deprived the trustees of the opportunity to increase their knowledge. Phillips et al. (2016) recommend initiatives to develop the skills of older

Māori so that those who are interested have the capability to fill these vital governance roles in agribusiness trusts. Rout et al. (2020) echo these recommendations, identifying that whakapapa networks could provide good governance in agribusiness. A current constraint is the disconnection between the skill set of shareholders and the reality of land management and agribusiness. Both of these studies suggest an opportunity to upskill older Māori and equip them to provide governance support to these organisations.

Discussion

46. In summary, the rangatiratanga Māori literature is vibrant, is based on mātauranga Māori, uses Kaupapa Māori research techniques (Bishop, 2008; Smith, 2012), and has been recognised internationally through publication in top-tier academic journals. This literature positions older Māori as central to leadership and control within the collective leadership ecosystem (Spiller et al., 2020) of te ao Māori. This literature celebrates and treasures ageing, along with the work of older Māori in leadership, particularly those with mana, wisdom, whakapapa, expertise and knowledge of tikanga. Overall, the most significant opportunities here appear to be to provide training and support for older Māori who are interested in transitioning to leadership roles in Māori-led organisations and their communities. An example of a current initiative with this goal is the kaumātua peer mentoring programme (Simpson et al., 2019). Additional opportunities lie in providing governance training and developing leadership skills relevant to specific types of Māori-led organisations.

Findings 2: Mātanga research – *Specialists or experts*

47. This section focuses on the experiences of older Māori who work as specialists, experts and professionals and typically have had a tertiary education. While the role of experts is a part of collective leadership (Kawharu, 2016; Rout et al., 2020), the research of mātanga Māori has a distinct set of themes related to their role as the interface between te ao Māori and non-Māori and New Zealand institutions. This section consolidates research from the medical professions, social work, defence, academia and scientists.

48. Two studies explored senior Māori nurses' experiences of work. First, Huria et al. (2014) conducted a qualitative study of participating nurses' experiences of racism before they began nursing, while in training and on the job. Huria et al. identified that participants had experiences of both personal racism and institutional racism throughout their lives. They experienced institutional racism in school, voiced as felt expectations they would not have careers and a lack of encouragement to take scientific studies. In nursing training, the participants felt an expectation that they should be able to answer all questions on Māori culture, justify why the culturally safe practice was necessary and advocate for Māori health issues. While the participants valued the opportunity to include elements of Māori culture, they also felt an additional burden was placed on them to fulfil the expected roles. In the workplace, their identification as Māori resulted in an increased workload to provide all care to Māori patients, yet they felt their efforts to share the load and create a more bicultural workplace went unappreciated. Overall, the participants felt management did not recognise their extra effort or support them in coping with racist events in the workplace. This history of personal and institutional racism had taken a toll on the participants, who reported colleagues left the profession early due to exhaustion with the dual roles and high expectations.

49. In a more recent study, Davis et al. (2021) interviewed older Māori nurses during the COVID-19 pandemic, examining their vital role in providing leadership and delivering culturally appropriate health services to the Māori community. Davies et al. report that participants felt the work of Māori nurses in successfully delivering culturally

appropriate services related to COVID-19 went unnoticed by health institutions, the general public and the nurses' management.

50. Ahuriri-Driscoll et al. (2015) surveyed rongoā Māori health practitioners, finding that the majority of them were older Māori who worked as volunteers or for koha. While they received their traditional training from kaumātua, many participants indicated they would also be interested in further training in practice and management skills.

51. Senior Māori social workers were the subject of a study by Moyle (2014), in which the participants discussed how Māori social workers needed to wear two hats and bridge the gaps between two opposing worldviews. This dual role increased the volume of work they needed to do, yet the participants felt this work was undervalued and they were not rewarded for their role as both cultural and professional experts. They commented that this burden was a factor in the very high levels of turnover and burnout among Māori social workers. The authors recommend further research with Māori social workers to identify ways of protecting and retaining these employees in the social work profession.

52. Hohaia's (2016) research focused on the experiences of defence force employees involved in the programme to decolonise the defence force and make it bicultural. Older Māori participants in this study explained that while the elders were always known in the military as the holders of te reo and tikanga, the recent training brought these roles to the forefront. Participants reported that the move to recognise skills in te reo and tikanga as necessary elements for advancement was empowering and a positive step that would previously have been unthinkable. This study provides an example of how recognition of Māori cultural skills could benefit older Māori employees working in bicultural roles. Its positive findings contrast with a study of trauma in the military, which found that older Māori were significantly more likely to experience trauma in service and to suffer from post-traumatic stress (Richardson et al., 2020).

53. Older Māori academics have been the subject of four studies. Māori tend to gain postgraduate qualifications at a significantly older age: among Māori who completed a PhD in 2010, the average age of completion was 49 years (Nana, 2010, cited in Kidman & Chu, 2017). For this reason, research on Māori academics or professionals requiring a doctoral degree includes many older Māori participants. In a qualitative longitudinal study of senior Māori academics, Kidman (2019) identified that participants had concerns about the future of Māori academics. Because universities have shifted to a focus on individual performance targets, participants considered that Māori academics needed to find a balance between achieving performance targets and serving their Māori communities. They felt this payoff placed them in the margins and could limit career advancement, especially if they engaged in activism or prioritised community goals. A further study of Māori academic careers confirms this conflict between Māori cultural beliefs and values and the corporate culture present in university business schools (Staniland et al., 2019).

54. A recent study of Māori academic leadership identified the ambiguous role they needed to play (Povey et al., 2021). Although they felt they had positional power, at the same time they were not empowered to expedite change in a partnership due to ongoing conservatism and racial tensions they faced as Māori leaders.

55. In their study of the work experiences of Māori scientists, Haar and Martin (2021) used a mixed-methods Kaupapa Māori research approach (Smith, 2012). Haar and Martin identified that Māori scientists were required to play a dual cultural role, often acting as the cultural liaison and responsible for building relationships with Māori communities to perform their scientific work. The work of relationship building in Māori communities is very time-consuming, creating an additional workload for these scientists beyond that of their non-Māori peers. The participants felt employers did not reward this extra work and it did not contribute to career progression. This workload also added to their job pressure and led to feelings of burnout and, for some, an exit from the job or career. The authors call this phenomenon "he aronga takirua" or the "cultural double-shift" (Haar & Martin, 2021, p. 1).

Discussion

56. A common theme in this set of studies is that the "cultural double-shift" (Haar & Martin, 2021, p.1) has adverse effects on specialist or expert Māori employees. Performing the cultural double-shift places an extra burden on these employees yet they receive little recognition or reciprocity for their efforts. These experiences have been linked to exhaustion, burnout and turnover for older Māori in these vital roles (Haar & Martin, 2021). The participants' comments in these studies indicate that they see immense value and importance in the culturally focused roles they play; however, the lack of recognition and support for this work coupled with the low value employers place on it appears to be the most common reason they cite for the adverse effects they experience. Based on the recommendations of scholars in this area, future research is needed to provide employers with strategies to better recognise and reward the valuable, culturally focused work their expert Māori employees undertake. In support of the OWEAP, it is also necessary to fill a gap in understanding of what happens to these highly trained older Māori experts when they leave their job due to this high-stress work environment. Are they becoming unemployed, retiring early or transitioning to more suitable work environments? What practical help would these experts need to continue participating in their roles in older age?

Findings 3: Kaimahi Pakeke research – *Older Māori workers – generally, volunteer work, homeless, blue-collar workers*

57. The third body of research studies reviewed is a broad grouping of studies that focus wholly or in part on older Māori and work more generally. This group includes research with a Māori sample of workers, work by homeless older Māori, volunteer work and blue-collar work. As the literature in the area is sparse, the review includes research that, while not focused on older workers, does have a separate Māori sample that contains older workers or discusses some aspect of older Māori and work. This area provides the most significant opportunities for future research, as the recommendations in the discussion indicate.

58. The only paper in this group that focuses explicitly on older Māori and work is King et al.'s (2015) qualitative study of the importance of work for older Māori men. This study observed a marae-run programme that brings homeless older men to the Orākei Marae to work in the gardens. It demonstrates how being involved in gardening helps the men strengthen their cultural identity and empowers them through manaakitanga, as they are both being cared for and caring for others by donating their produce to food banks. The work in the gardens also provides a spiritual connection through the land, enhancing wairua. Overall, the authors recommend programmes such as these as important ways to use work to reconnect older homeless Māori men with their cultural identity as Māori and begin to build trust.

59. Each of the studies in the next set of papers contains a purposeful sample of older Māori concerning some aspects of work so are included in this review for completeness. None of the studies in this set discussed implications for older employees specifically. First, Haar et al. (2012) found that for Māori employees, the conflict between family and work responsibilities was a dominant influence on turnover intentions, while whānau support could moderate these. The study did not identify any specific effects related to age. A study of challenge and hindrance stressors included a sample of Māori employees and used age as a control variable (Hollebeek & Haar, 2012). The study found a significant positive correlation between

age and hindrance stressors for Māori participants, although the authors did not discuss this effect. In a study of career satisfaction, Haar and Brougham (2013) identified no specific effects due to age but did find that traditional predictors of career satisfaction had little impact on career satisfaction for their Māori sample, explaining only 6 percent of the variance. In contrast, cultural wellbeing explained 24 percent of the variance in career satisfaction among the Māori sample overall, while the extent to which individual Māori participants held collectivistic beliefs had a moderating influence on this relationship. The same authors conducted a further study, this time focusing on organisational-based self-esteem in Māori employees, and found self-esteem predicted their job and emotional outcomes (Haar & Brougham, 2016).

60. In addition, Houkamau and Sibley (2019) undertook an extensive survey of Māori drawn from the electoral roll, in which the average age of participants was 50 years. They found that those who identify as Māori differed widely in the role that culture played in their identity and attitudes. In particular, those who more strongly valued their Māori identity were also more likely to endorse attitudes related to traditional values. Further, Māori who valued their cultural identity and were engaged in their culture preferred to work for employers who respect Māori cultural values and preferred work that promotes cultural development. The authors also note that not all who identified as Māori strongly aligned with traditional values and many chose to follow individual goals. Based on these findings, the authors warn against treating Māori as a homogeneous group.

61. In a comparative study of occupational risk for Māori and non-Māori, Denison et al. (2018) identified that Māori were significantly more likely to be exposed to occupational risk factors such as dust and chemicals due to the nature of the industries in which they were employed. Additionally, Māori employees had higher exposure to risks associated with heavy lifting, load noise and organisational risk factors such as repetitive work and tight deadlines; these risks were not necessarily related to job type.

62. An across-population survey looking at discrimination identified that 40.6 percent of Māori reported experiencing racial discrimination (Cormack et al., 2019). Age

discrimination for Māori was low, and was reported mainly by the young Māori participants aged 20–24 years. In a general study on ageing in New Zealand, Parr-Brownlie et al. (2020) point out that Māori made up a low proportion of the population aged over 65 years in 2019 (6.5 percent). They discuss how this could influence the findings of current research projects on ageing in New Zealand, recommending researchers take care to include a focus on Māori. Finally, a study of how socio-economic status in early life affects health outcomes for Māori and non-Māori found that high socio-economic status in early life was predictive of better health outcomes for non-Māori males but not so for Māori men and all women (Stephens et al., 2020).

Discussion

63. This section of the literature review adds the fewest insights into older Māori and work and demonstrates a notable lack of research on older Māori who are not leaders, specialists or experts. Specifically absent is research on older workers in blue-collar, low-paid, manual, insecure or frontline roles. Yet these are likely to be the people the OWEAP seeks to target. Denison et al. (2018) identified that Māori were significantly more likely than non-Māori to work in service and sales roles, as plant and machinery operators and assemblers, in elementary occupations and in transportation and storage. Despite the over-representation of Māori workers in these roles, research on them, including the work experiences of older workers, is sparse. More research aimed at understanding the experiences of older Māori who work in these jobs could address this gap. The shortage of information on the impact of human resource processes on older Māori workers offers another opportunity for future research.

64. Another issue concerns the type of research in this area, given only a small proportion of studies have adopted Kaupapa Māori approaches. A suggested methodological consideration for future research, therefore, is to look to the Kaupapa Māori methods applied in the rangatiratanga (eg, Henry & Wolfgramm, 2018) and mātanga (eg, Haar & Martin, 2021) research streams, as these are likely to

produce equally beneficial results in research on older Māori who are frontline workers.

65. Additionally, the area of urban older Māori and work is sparsely researched, with just one study (King et al., 2015) covering it. More research is needed on this specific sector of society, specifically for Māori who do not have the connections and relationships with their marae, hapū or iwi, or do not have the skill or desire to move into leadership roles. These gaps also raise the questions: What happens to those who leave their chosen careers early due to health or disability issues, which affect Māori earlier in life? How can they be assisted to continue participating in work and to be secure in retirement? These are crucial questions that need answering with evidence to support the development of an effective and culturally appropriate action plan.

Conclusions

66. The level of peer-reviewed research available on older Māori and work varies greatly depending on the roles in question. A wealth of evidence and theory explains the roles and experiences of older Māori in collective rangatiratanga, including kaumātuatanga, governance and management in Māori organisations. Outside of this literature, we also find examples of strong research that includes the voices of older Māori in professional and expert roles and the specific stressors they face through their dual cultural roles. Research gaps in these areas remain: now that studies have identified the problems and the implications of them as these older Māori experts move towards retirement, future research needs to explore how employers can mitigate the adverse effects. However, the most significant gap in this research relates to the voices of older Māori workers in non-leadership roles, those who work on the frontlines of organisations, in manual labour jobs, insecure work and lower-paid occupations. The experiences of these people are mainly absent from the literature; however, these are the target group of the OWEAP and are likely to be the majority of older Māori workers. This area presents a great opportunity for future research on older Māori and work to inform the OWEAP.

Glossary of te reo Māori terms

Definitions are based on Te Aka, the online Māori-English, English-Māori Dictionary
https://maoridictionary.co.nz/ unless a specific reference is provided.

Kupu Māori	English
Āriki	Paramount chief of an iwi (Mika & O'Sullivan, 2014)
Hapū	Subtribe, the primary political unit in traditional Māori society consisting of many whānau sharing descent from a common ancestor
Iwi	Tribe, a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory
Kaimahi	Worker, employee
Kaitiaki	Trustee, guardian, caregiver
Kaumātua	Elders (sometimes specifically meaning those who are fluent speakers of te reo Māori and holders of knowledge relevant to a particular gathering, making them able to formally represent the tribe at significant events) (Keelan, Awekotuku, et al., 2021)
Kaumātuatanga	The act of being or becoming a kaumātua (Durie, 1999)
Kaupapa	Topic, policy, matter for discussion, plan, theme, issue, initiative
Kaupapa Māori	Māori ideology that informs a Māori-centric research approach, including the researchers, the researched and the focus (Bishop, 2008; Smith, 2012)
Kotahitanga	Unity, togetherness, collective action
Mahi	Work, to work
Manaaki	Support, to take care of, provide hospitality, protect
Manaakitanga	Hospitality, kindness, generosity, showing respect and care for others
Māori	Indigenous person of Aotearoa New Zealand
Marae	Courtyard, complex of buildings around the courtyard
Mātanga	Experienced, expert, specialist, consultant, professional
Mātauranga Māori	Māori body of knowledge that arises from a worldview based on kinship relationships between people and the natural world. In this

Kupu Māori	English
	worldview, humans are not superior to the natural order but rather exist within it (Royal Society of New Zealand)
Mokopuna	Grandchild, grandchildren
Pākehā	European
Pakeke	Adult, age, maturity
Rangatiratanga	Leadership, autonomy and independence
Rongoā	Traditional Māori remedy, drug, cure, medication, treatment or specialist (Ahuriri-Driscoll et al., 2015)
Taonga	Something of value that could include goods, processions, ideas or resources and could be culturally, socially or financially valuable
Te ao Māori	The Māori world
Te reo Māori	The Māori language
Tohunga	Skilled person, chosen expert, priest
Tuakana–teina	Senior–junior peer relationships (Simpson et al., 2021)
Wairua	Spiritual wellbeing
Wairuatanga	Concerns of the spirit, spirituality
Wānanga	The research process that dissolves the distinction between researchers and the researched, as it is a study within the collective context (Spiller et al., 2020).
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent
Whānau	Extended family, family group, the primary economic unit of traditional Māori society
Whanaungatanga	Relationship, kinship, sense of family connection

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