



TAKING CONTROL: MĀORI RESPONSES TO MONEY MANAGEMENT, WEALTH AND SAVING

Ngā whakautu a te Māori mō te whakahaeretanga o
te pūtea, te whairawatanga me te penapena pūtea

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BUSINESS SCHOOL

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Introduction

In 2015 the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) and Te Puni Kōkiri released two reports concerned with determining how to promote Māori financial literacy and saving: “He kai kei aku ringa – Financial Literacy and Savings” and “He kai kei aku ringa – Whānau and Low-Income Household Savings Report” (Te Māngai Penapena Pūtea – Partner Working Group, 2015a, 2015b). Among the barriers to Māori advancement identified, these publications underline a distinct “lack of fit” between whānau (extended family) approaches to money and savings and financial capability education in New Zealand. Moreover, the reports conclude that financial literacy education would be more effective for Māori if tailored to align with Māori values, aspirations and needs, noting the “pressing demand to build a greater degree of tikanga Māori and Māori cultural values concerning wealth into financial literacy services offered in New Zealand, including the recognition of what ‘wealth’ means to different groups” (Te Māngai Penapena Pūtea – Partner Working Group, 2015b, p. 25).

Apart from these reports, a range of data sources indicate that Māori have a strong, underlying cultural orientation towards wealth sharing rather than personal wealth accumulation. Indeed, despite intra-group variation, customary Māori cultural values (particularly whānaungatanga/collectivism and interdependence) continue to influence Māori perceptions when it comes to financial decision making (see Houkamau & Sibley (in press) for a review). For example, Houkamau and Sibley (2017) found Māori value whānau and positive family relationships as if they are a form of future financial security. Burns and Dwyer (2007) found that Māori are motivated to save so that they have access to money for family purposes. Fleming, Taiapa and Pasikale (1997) reported that in Māori families, monetary obligations to the whānau at times take precedence over household obligations. This becomes particularly salient during tangi when koha (support/a donation) is provided to the bereaved family to help pay for funeral costs. In this situation koha symbolically indicates love and caring within the whānau. In other words, Māori tend to be relationally orientated and this has an impact (sometimes major) on personal approaches to managing money.

“Māori are motivated to save so that they have access to money for family purposes.”



Against this background, in 2018 we undertook the research project “Taking control: Māori responses to money management, wealth and saving” (or “Kete Pūtea” as the participants in the study called it). The aim of this project was to identify how tikanga Māori (the Māori way of doing things) and Māori cultural values concerning wealth can be embedded in financial capability education for Māori. Using spending diaries, the study tracked and analysed the financial behaviour and attitudes of 20 Māori adults for up to 14 weeks. This report outlines the purpose and nature of the study, and the personnel involved. It then details the motivating problem, wider historical context, methodology, and data sources and analysis, before discussing the results. Finally, it distils some key factors that support effective, community-based financial capability and savings programmes for Māori and makes recommendations.

“One key principle of relevance to this project is Tino Rangatiratanga – the principle of self-determination.”

(Houkamau, 2016), as well as the work of researchers based in the United Kingdom, Hulme and Moore (2007), who have closely examined and identified methods for lifting the poor out of financial hardship.

All the researchers and participants in this project were Māori and it was carried out according to kaupapa Māori principles. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1990) initially identified six principles or elements of Kaupapa Māori, which have since been expanded by other Kaupapa Māori theorists. One key principle of relevance to this project is

The study was led by the author of this report, Carla Houkamau (the University of Auckland Business School). The study was partly inspired by a piece of research reported in 2016, “Māori narratives of poverty and resilience” (discussed below)

Tino Rangatiratanga – the principle of self-determination. Taking Control was therefore ultimately concerned with leveraging financial education to foster a deep sense of intentionality within participants (i.e. conscious decision making around money management). In this sense, financial capability “training” was used as a vehicle to promote greater autonomy and independence for those involved. The project recognised socio-economic issues may be a significant strain for some Māori whānau, and that although Māori communities may hold significant wealth in relationships, financial pressures are placing financial stress on these relationships. The notion of tino rangatiratanga in this sense is about using financial empowerment as a way of allowing Māori to control their own aspirations. A second key principle in this study was whānau (family and extended family) and the process of whakawhānaungatanga (doing things together), which are key elements of Māori society and culture (Rangahau, n.d.).

Carla Houkamau collaborated with Alexander Stevens (Manukura Manager Commission for Financial Capability /CFFC) and Danielle Oakes (a CFFC Commission Affiliated Facilitator and Pou Ārahi, Te Ahi Kaa Indigenous Health Solutions) to carry out this research. Marino Blank, a researcher based at the University of Auckland, played a key role as she collected data for this study within the two participating Auckland-based community organisations: Te Ahi Kaa Indigenous Training Solutions (Pukekohe, Auckland) and Raukura Hauora o Tainui (Wiri, Auckland).

This study had a modest sample size of 20 adults, however the data collected was very in-depth and a very clear picture of the behaviour of individuals, over time, was gathered. Given the sample size, the findings cannot be extrapolated to the Māori population in general. In any case, generalising about “Māori” can mislead because it overlooks intra-group variation. Additional data needs to be gathered to explore the extent to which the findings reported here might be more broadly relevant.

Motivating problem: Māori material poverty, and financial capability

Poverty is a problem in New Zealand, and Māori families are more likely to experience its full brunt compared to Pākehā (Houkamau, 2016). In 2013/14, 20% of Māori versus 5% of New Zealand Europeans/Pākehā and 4% of other ethnic groups combined (excluding Pacific peoples) were living in material hardship. The median personal income for Māori was \$22,500. This contrasts with \$30,900 for Pākehā (Torrie & Bailey, 2017, p. 15).

Financial capability is the combination of attitudes, knowledge, skills and self-efficacy (essentially confidence in one's ability to succeed in a specific area) needed to make money management decisions that best fit the circumstances of one's life (Center for Financial Inclusion, 2013). The Commission for Financial Literacy and Retirement Income (2013) National Survey results show that Māori have much lower rates of financial capability and retirement savings; 43% of the Māori participants fell into the "low financial knowledge group" – significantly more than the 22% of New Zealand Europeans (also see Te Māngai Penapena Pūtea – Partner Working Group, 2015a).

Simply comparing Māori with Pākehā statistics paints a very negative picture of Māori as financially incompetent (Scoop Media, 2011; Walker, 2002). However, Māori have grown tired of being compared with non-Māori and viewed through a deficit lens. A growing discourse instead champions "Māori success as Māori", but more clarity is needed as to what that really means in contemporary New Zealand society (ACE Aotearoa Professional Development Steering Group, 2014).

"Whānau were particularly distraught when they could not give their children all the experiences they wanted them to have..."

In the aforementioned study "Māori narratives of poverty and resilience", Houkamau (2016), was asked to examine the narratives of eight Māori whānau living under or very close to the poverty line and found that participants defined their social and economic status according to their own (self-chosen) set of values. These were

largely non-materialistic and resisted the label of impoverished. In fact, participants in this study labelled themselves neither poor nor financially incompetent. Many managed their scant money expertly and showed remarkable budgeting ability. Whānau interviewed understood their circumstances were limited financially, but held values that enabled them to perceive their lives as meaningful and positive. Parents focussed on having meaningful connections with their children, partners referred to being fortunate to have each other, and cultural connectivity and the ability to connect with nature both carried a much deeper value and meaning beyond material wealth.

Although the study deflected the deficit narrative, Houkamau (2016) concluded that material poverty is a source of deep distress for those who experience it. She found whānau were particularly distraught when they could not give their children all the experiences they wanted them to have, including travel, extracurricular activities, sporting excursions, school trips, and varied and nutritious foods. Although whānau were resilient, this did not make up for the stress and sadness created by poverty. This previous research partly inspired the "Taking Control" project.



Historical context

The current state of Māori financial capability needs to be seen within a wider historical context. New Zealand as a Westernised society is very young. In the 200 years since contact and colonisation, Māori have undergone a high-speed transformation from a non-monetary, collectivist, subsistence economy in which Māori owned all lands and resources, to a capitalist and now globalised society in which Māori are a marginalised minority with a mere fraction of the lands and resources previously held. Colonisation was violent and brutal, involving physical warfare, mass land confiscations, and unspeakable pain and loss for many Māori tribes. All this laid the first foundation for the contemporary Māori economic situation and attitudes towards money and saving. Subsequent urbanisation and breaking up of Māori iwi (tribes) and hapū (subtribes) has had a further profound impact, dissolving traditional networks of support for culture and identity.

The evolution of Māori society since the 1950s has seen access to good, reliable employment decline markedly. Moreover, racism and discrimination towards Māori is an on-going reality and disadvantages Māori (in some cases significantly) who want to “get ahead” in mainstream New Zealand society (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015, 2017). Given this turbulent and painful history, and wrenching of Māori into a monetary society, one might understand why respected historian

Ivan Sutherland wrote in *The Māori Situation*:

It is fairly safe to say that Māoris [sic] will never fully accept European ideas regarding money ... their attitude to property is far from being identical with that of the white man ... They are not, and probably never will be dominated by the idea that the making and saving of money is the really sacred duty of man and the main means of happiness. (Sutherland, 1935, p. 107)

And fifty years later Broughton observed, in “The Well-being of Māori”:

There is no doubt that, over the years, the Māori has had to struggle in order to survive within “a foreign cultural environment” at the expense of his own culture. From this context there has resulted much psychological distress and anger directed at the “institutions” of material wealth. (Broughton, 1989, p. 20)

Colonisation did not just deprive Māori of an economic base; it imposed an individualist and Western value system at odds with the collectivist and holistic values of Māori. One recurring legacy of colonisation, which we highlight in this report, is the dilemma of clashing value systems facing Māori. We see this dilemma as one that financial capability programmes have to resolve.

Methodology

This research employed daily spending diaries to track the financial habits of 20 Māori adults, self-identified as in need of financial literacy education, over a 12–14 week period in August to December 2018. Twenty-four participants started the project and signed consent forms. Of that group, 21 were female and three were male.

Not all participants completed the study, and not all fully completed their diaries every day for the duration of the research. However, the research yielded 20 diaries with sufficient information to track changes in participant behaviour over time. The age range of participants was very broad; one was still attending high school during the study and two participants were over 60 years old. The other participants ranged between 25 to 40 years old.

The research was carried out at the two participating Auckland-based community organisations named above (Te Ahi Kaa Indigenous Training Solutions and Raukura Hauora o Tainui). Participation in the study was voluntary and participants were identified through word of mouth. In some cases, staff at the community-based organisations were already aware of suitable participants and helped recruit them. Participants formed two different groups. One group was associated with Te Ahi Kaa Indigenous Training Solutions and the second, with Raukura Hauora o Tainui.

All participants were provided with diaries to record their day-to-day financial transactions.

They not only recorded spending, saving, lending, borrowing and financial products and services used, but how they were feeling when they made particular financial decisions. Participants kept diaries for either 12 or 14 weeks, depending on the group they joined. For the first five or seven weeks respectively, all attended weekly Sorted Get Ahead Workshops facilitated by Danielle under contract to the CFFC. For the whole period, Marino was the key person responsible for collecting diary data each week and gathering insights from participants. To gather data, Marino attended all the Sorted Resilience Workshops, photocopied the spending diaries each time and took notes on group discussions. Her notes were invaluable as they provided insight into the respondents' expressions of ideas, feelings, insights and learnings during the course of the weekly workshops.

To enhance motivation for learning, participants were provided with a meal each week when they attended the workshops. After the workshops finished, participants were given a koha (donation) to the value of \$20 per week to recognise the time involved in completing their diaries for the remaining study period. Overall, the study achieved the target number of participants, and most completed their diaries consistently for the 12/14 weeks period – a big ask. Attendance at the weekly workshops was very good considering this required a lot of time from the participants (and researchers) involved (as well as some challenging personal disclosures and deep self-reflection).

"All participants were provided with diaries to record their day-to-day financial transactions. They not only recorded spending, saving, lending, borrowing and financial products and services used, but how they were feeling when they made particular financial decisions."

Tailoring kete pūtea methods to Māori

Although the workshops utilised some of the training materials and content developed by the CFFC, Danielle used her skillsets as a facilitator to adapt the CFFC training materials to reflect a tikanga Māori approach. Alexander Stevens and CFFC designers, alongside Carla and Marino, ensured the diaries used in this study were styled to reflect Māori concepts. For example, the diaries incorporated te reo Māori (the Māori language), Māori imagery, whakataukī (proverbs) and Emotiki (Māori emojis) provided by Te Puia (which is a Rotorua based organisation which designs unique Māori emoji). Sections of the diary proof are attached to this report. Participant information sheets and consent forms were also translated into te reo Māori. All researchers in this study identify as Māori.

Danielle applied kaupapa Māori approaches to learning and teaching in the programme, in particular the principle of Ako. Ako is grounded in reciprocity and recognises that the learner and whānau cannot be separated; therefore, an appreciation of the learner's whānau role and support systems is a central factor in understanding how they receive, process and apply new information. A key part of Danielle's approach was to share her own personal stories and learnings about financial capability. Sharing her story encouraged participants to do the same and feel comfortable expressing their deepest thoughts, aspirations and concerns about money.

Danielle's programme (combined with the daily self-reflection needed for diary completion) led participants on a journey quite different from the standard financial literacy workshops and training offered in New Zealand. It helped participants take a deep dive into their own personal relationships with their finances, as well as the impact their whānau have on their money management methods. In addition, participants were encouraged to acknowledge the wider history of colonisation experienced by Māori, and how that shapes general attitudes to money in Māori communities. The latter was seen as a way of promoting tino rangatiranga and self-empowerment in the face of contemporary challenges and historical adversity.

Overall, Danielle's approach used Māori concepts, heroes, stories and humour to frame all the information provided. Another, very powerful innovation Danielle employed was the notion of Mauri (life force or essence) in relation to money management. Treating money as an energy source reframes it as a mechanism to create desired outcomes (collective and individual); thus, money is valuable only in so far as it facilitates the achievement of desired goals. Accordingly, saving and monitoring money closely is not about being obsessive or selfish, but rather can be a way to ensure that one has the practical means to aid in whānau growth and development. This helped participants transform their own attitudes towards money and perceive it as a source of power that can be controlled, as well as a mechanism to benefit the whānau as a whole.

"Treating money as an energy source reframes it as a mechanism to create desired outcomes (collective and individual)."




Danielle Oakes – Facilitator

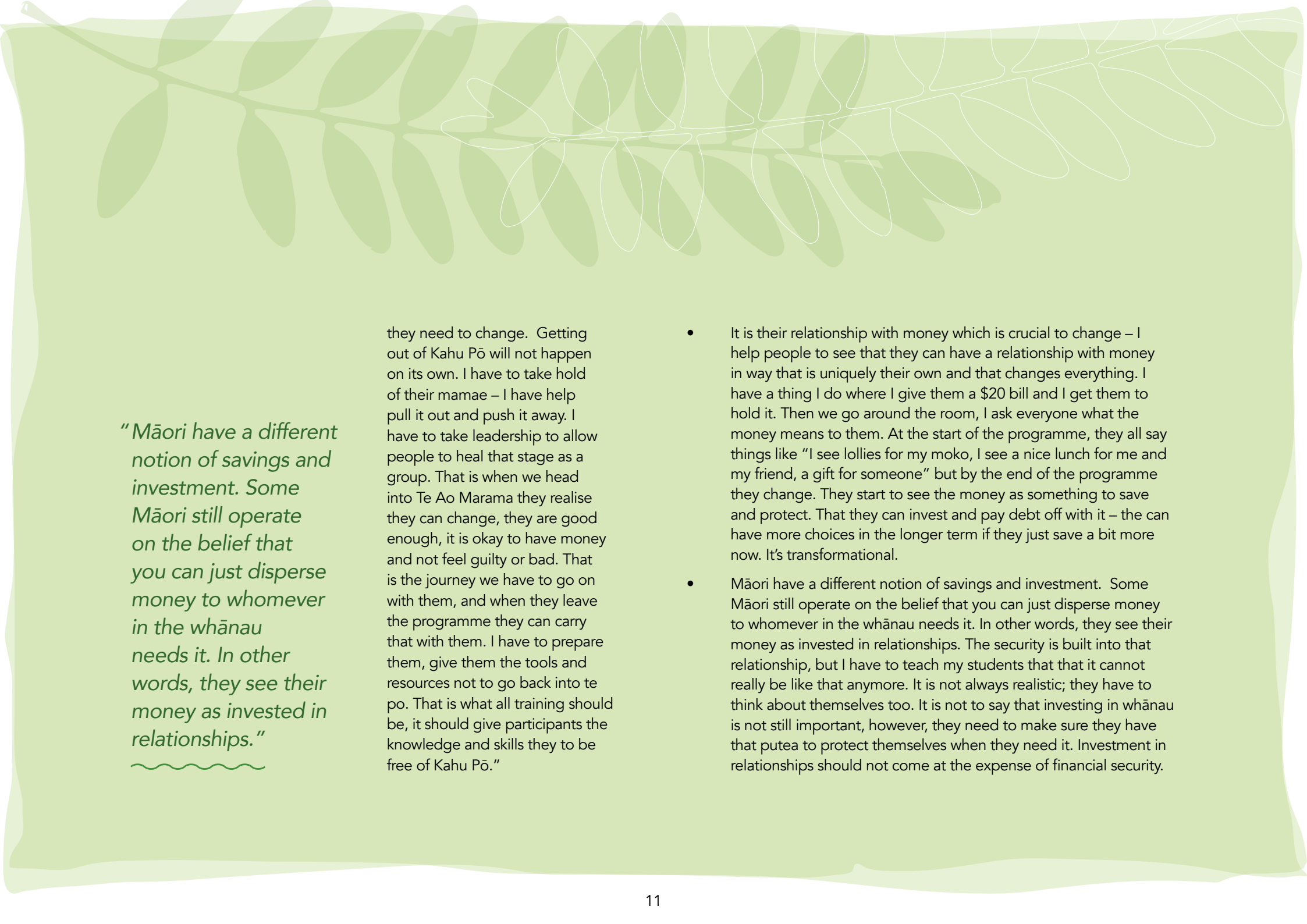
The following quotes from Danielle provide examples of what it means to teach from a “tikanga Māori approach” and exemplify her relationship with the participants in this study:

- “People have to feel vulnerable to open up. I have to provide them with a sense of being safe. That needs to happen every week – I cannot just do a five minute whakawhānaungatanga at the start of the programme and expect that to last the whole series of work shops. I have to make sure they feel safe each week and I cannot take it for granted that they are going to always feel at ease.”
- “I connect them to the concepts I teach by bringing in stories about whakapapa. I knew that most of the participants were Tainui on the programme; I drew a lot on stories of Te Puea. That is why training needs to be locally tailored for each specific hapū and iwi. I teach a lot of Tainui and Ngapuhi so I make sure I use the stories from their iwi. I would never go down to Ngati Porou and talk about the Kingitanga for example. You have to make sure each programme is tailored for each marae.”

“There is an emotional journey that participants go through, and I know my job as a facilitator is to ensure that they are progressing on that journey.”



- “Upholding mana is important. Upholding my mana means giving *them* mana. That means no judgment. Giving them a chance to express their opinions even if they disagree with what I am saying. I do not want people to buy into my values and beliefs I want to honour and respect their beliefs too.”
- “There is an emotional journey that participants go through, and I know my job as a facilitator is to ensure that they are progressing on that journey. If they do not then I know I am not doing my job. That includes addressing trauma. I think that Māori have a deep-set trauma around money and a lot of facilitators might not have the sensitivity for working with Māori. You cannot be afraid to pull out that trauma and work through it as a group, but you need to feel confident to confront it.”
- “Whenever I enter into a programme facilitation, I know they will be in source of Te Kore – meaning there is a lot of potential for them to grow and change. Some people might come with a lot of knowledge, others with little. There is a mix of emotions; Nervous, anxious, excited, committed and agitated. People can be very apprehensive about what is about to happen. That is the space of Te Kore. The space of potential. But they need to wake up and take a good look at themselves. No more hiding their bills in drawers and trying to forget they are there. Once they can see where they really are, they enter into Kahu Pō. That is the next stage; this is when they start to be conscious of the issues that



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they need to change. Getting out of Kahu Pō will not happen on its own. I have to take hold of their mamae – I have help pull it out and push it away. I have to take leadership to allow people to heal that stage as a group. That is when we head into Te Ao Marama they realise they can change, they are good enough, it is okay to have money and not feel guilty or bad. That is the journey we have to go on with them, and when they leave the programme they can carry that with them. I have to prepare them, give them the tools and resources not to go back into te po. That is what all training should be, it should give participants the knowledge and skills they to be free of Kahu Pō.”

- It is their relationship with money which is crucial to change – I help people to see that they can have a relationship with money in way that is uniquely their own and that changes everything. I have a thing I do where I give them a \$20 bill and I get them to hold it. Then we go around the room, I ask everyone what the money means to them. At the start of the programme, they all say things like “I see lollies for my moko, I see a nice lunch for me and my friend, a gift for someone” but by the end of the programme they change. They start to see the money as something to save and protect. That they can invest and pay debt off with it – the can have more choices in the longer term if they just save a bit more now. It’s transformational.
- Māori have a different notion of savings and investment. Some Māori still operate on the belief that you can just disperse money to whomever in the whānau needs it. In other words, they see their money as invested in relationships. The security is built into that relationship, but I have to teach my students that that it cannot really be like that anymore. It is not always realistic; they have to think about themselves too. It is not to say that investing in whānau is not still important, however, they need to make sure they have that putea to protect themselves when they need it. Investment in relationships should not come at the expense of financial security.

Data sources and analysis: Diary data and narrative data

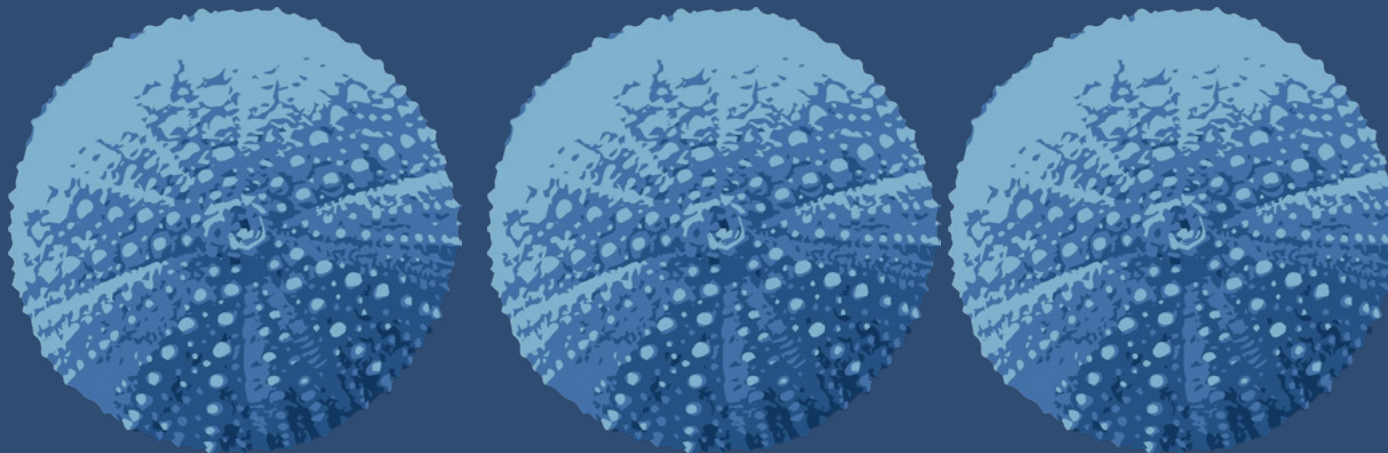
The 20 spending diaries were photocopied each week and provided to Carla for analysis at the end of the study. Each diary was anonymised to protect the personal data of each participant so only the content and changes in behaviour over time could be seen. The diaries provided rich information on daily spending habits, particularly how spending varied according to affective states and how many participants managed money carefully on a limited budget.

The diaries and narrative data, as well as conversations with Marino, Danielle and Alexander, allowed Carla to get a feel for how people interrelated at the workshops and group discussions, and the cultural influences on the learning environment and approaches to money management. These sources of data have been combined to produce the remainder of this report.

Data analysis

On completion of the study, all diary data (anonymised) and narrative data were given to Carla, who applied a basic content analysis process. The narrative data was analysed in seven steps:

1. Reading and re-reading the notes from each workshop. Making brief notes on relevant information.
2. Checking through notes again and looking for recurring patterns of comments and concerns from participants.
3. Categorising comments that appeared similar to points made by more than one or two respondents.
4. Dividing categories according to concepts that were evident among the majority of respondents, i.e. six or more from each of the two groups of 10.
5. Comparing themes to ascertain whether some categories could be merged.
6. Re-reading all the narrative data to look for exemplars that demonstrated each theme.
7. To verify the findings Carla spoke to Danielle and Marino about the data and sought feedback and alignment.



The diary data was analysed by reading each diary carefully and looking for changes in behaviour and affect over the 12 or 14-week period for each individual participant. Particular attention was given to the link between participants' emotional states and spending behaviour. Careful note was made of changes in behaviour over time, particularly the extent to which participants decreased spending on non-essential items and increased money transferred into savings and debt repayment during their involvement in the 12 or 14-week programme.

Results and discussion: What the participants learned and what we learned from them

The results described below interweave what the participants learned from the programme with the overall findings of the study itself.


Learning areas for participants

Overall, the data from the diaries and also the workshop discussions indicate that participants experienced learning outcomes across five broad areas, including: (1) learning about financial literacy concepts they were not already familiar with; (2) learning vocabulary and conversational skills for financial literacy concepts they were familiar with; (3) gaining increased confidence in new financial concepts; and (4) growing their confidence in talking about financial concepts. These outcomes align to the Government's National Strategy for Financial Capability, (CFFC, 2015, p.5); specifically: Talk, Learn, Plan, Debt-Smart and Save/Invest. These practical skills were very useful to participants and did have a bearing on financial management behaviour and confidence. This was evidenced by the change in financial management behaviour during the course of the study in that participants described feeling more in control and intentional about money use (as described in the narratives below).

The fifth area of learning identified derived not from the content of the course itself but from the self-reflection that developed as a result of completing daily spending diaries. The power of group learning (through workshop discussions and disclosures) cannot be overstated either. Notably, most participants were living week-to-week financially before the study, and savings, investment and buying things other than weekly necessities were not a reality for them.

“Participants were empowered to make small changes to seemingly innocuous behaviours that were previously unchecked and therefore causing unnecessary financial stress.”

However, during the course of this study participants began to change their behaviour to become more intentional and self-conscious about money management. By completing daily diaries and reflecting carefully on personal choices, participants were empowered to make small changes to seemingly innocuous behaviours that were previously unchecked and therefore causing unnecessary financial stress. These realisations are evinced in the comments in the following sections.



Participants came to the study with behaviours shaped by whānau

Overall, patterns in the narrative data revealed that both the past and current financial behaviours of participants were strongly influenced by their whānau (i.e. what they had been taught by parents, and what was modelled by close/older family members as well as the current behaviours of whānau members). Notably, having money (or a lot of savings/money “stashed” away) was not seen as entirely positive when others in their whānau had either the same or less. Therefore, participants’ attitudes and behaviours need to be understood as stemming from social families in which many members share similar attitudes to money, and all live on restricted incomes.

Unconsciously avoiding reflecting on their own money management habits, and instead adopting financial habits which perpetuated the whānau norm, meant that most were not concerned with proactively saving or money management. Rather, some had been “living week to week” for years. For some there was an awkward, underlying sense of embarrassment about money too. Hoarding it, or keeping it just for one’s self, partner or children, could lead to guilt and in some cases feelings of discomfort. All this made participants feel awkward talking about money and personally prioritising money management.

Participants confirmed that money could flow quite freely between whānau members – with food and resources being shared. In some cases, particular whānau individuals were seen as the “savers” and would become a source of support for others in times of need. Sometimes whānau would help members with their bills, groceries and things for children. While culturally normative, this can raise stress and anxiety around money by creating a sense of obligation to others and concern about not being able to cover one’s own bills.

Realisations during the study, in participants' own words

For nearly all participants this study provided the first opportunity to reflect deeply on how they manage money. This led to some profound insights as individuals started to develop a much more realistic perception of their own spending behaviour and the factors driving it.

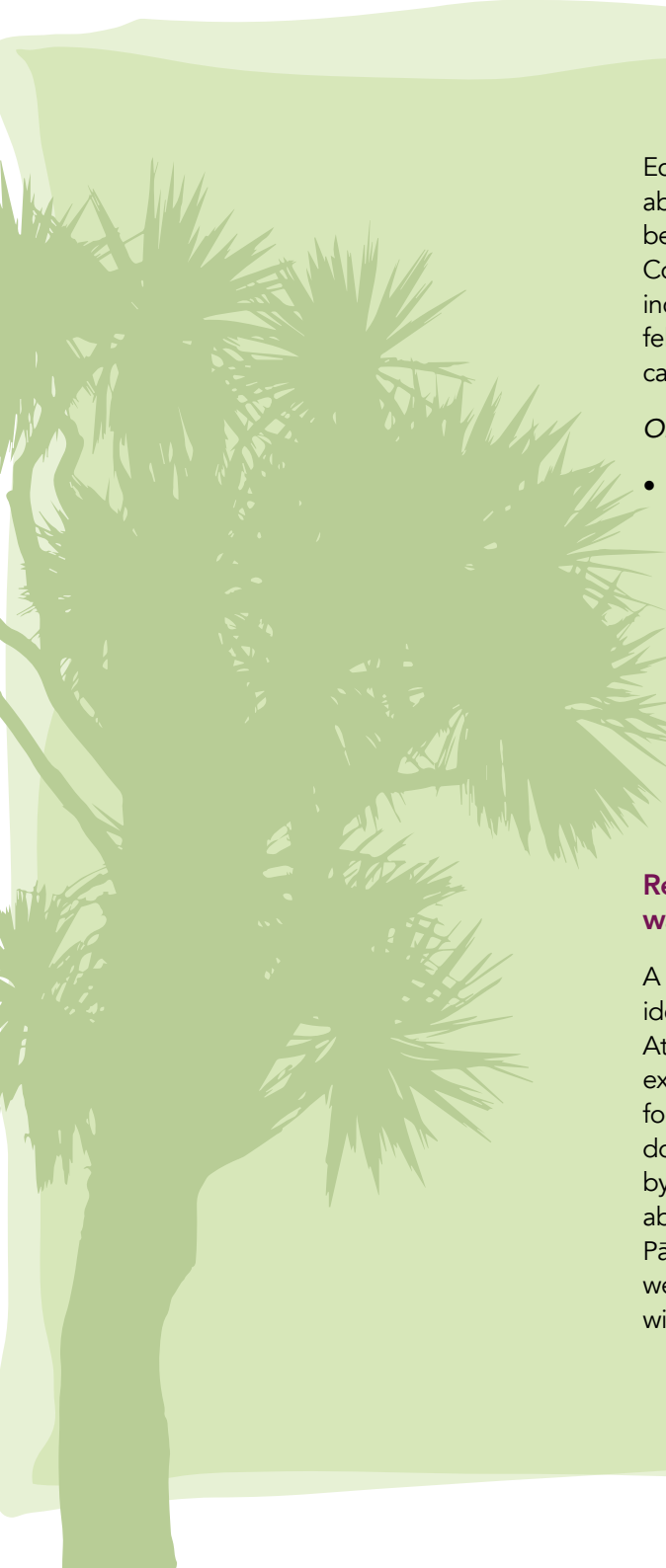
These realisations were not pleasant for some participants, who reported being taken aback once they realised their habits and perceptions of money. Some of these insights, and conversely breakthrough moments and pride in resulting change, are evinced in the quotes below, which were gathered during workshops:

- "... my key learnings, when I look at my diary entries there are two majors, bills and food. Not groceries, food. That's my highest expenditure. That is where I can start the saving. I want to start changing [my food spending]. I did notice that one of my bank accounts rounds off my change and shoots it off to savings. I had forgotten about that. After next week, I want to ask myself, how can I change?"
- "... I notice when I stress out I spend. I am back to hoarding clothes. I have started doing that again. I need to ground myself and let those things go. In the weekends, I do not spend. That is when I choose the happy face ... and it is the spending on food. I need to manage my time better to prepare kai [food]."
- "... Initially when I started [the \$orted programme] I would not look at my bills. That's changed..."
- "Love it when I pay my bills. I have paid off three; the next one is \$300 or less. It is the Visa bill. Once that's gone, it's gone."

- "... This week I kept a close eye on the spending. A lot was spent on clothes and groceries. The clothes spending has gone up. I found a bit of a worry, a \$5.00 card fee. It's from my debit card. I have a normal EFTPOS card. I'm pretty sure they didn't tell me about the debit card fees. Because I argued with them and they refunded me \$30.00."
- "My daughter, I picked her up from a noho [stay]. She's learning social work. We were driving back and I used the word "economical". I asked her, "Did I use that right?" She said, "Yes you did Mum." I told her I want to walk the talk. We listened as she read her definition of economical to the roopu [group] from her personal diary ... tighten your belt, count your pennies."

"Before I came, it took me three years to pay them off. Since the programme I can do my bills. I keep to a budget."

- "... Last week I dipped right down. I had a tangi [traditional funeral]. I splashed out. I got tired of being sad. I went out and did it. I'm paying for it now. Being buying food. When I'm on the road with the radio on, it's the advertisement that does it to me, makes me want to eat. The jingles get to me."
- "... My thing is bills. I'm proud. I paid off a big bill. Before I came, it took me three years to pay them off. Since the programme I can do my bills. I keep to a budget."



Echoing the deeper historical context described above, some discussed the intergenerational legacy of being forced to give up Māori culture and language. Consequently, being forced to value mainstream culture incurs a natural resistance. To resolve this, participants felt there needs to be a way to promote Māori financial capability that prioritises whānau goals about money.

One quote from the workshop expresses this.

- “Money as a dollar value ... ultimately when we look at the Māori-Pacific view, it’s how we look after our whānau. We are told to save to put aside our money first; it doesn’t fit the whānau space. You strip that from us we drown. We see this all around us, urbanisation has done it to us. We are bombarded with messages that don’t belong to us. We can have our values and still live well.”

Results pointing to barriers, challenges and a way forward

A recurring theme in the results was the dilemma identified above between Māori and non-Māori values. At the start of the programme, some participants expressed a belief that there is only one way to be focussed on money: accept assimilation into “the dominant culture”. However, the programme facilitated by Danielle showed that financial literacy is really about empowerment and not about trying to be “like Pākehā”. Once this was discussed frankly, participants were very eager for financial literacy material that aligns with Māori values. Therefore, as a way forward, what

participants needed was a vision for a way of being Māori that includes acceptable forms of material wealth accumulation.

Examples of these include:

- Social savings (saving collectively) to purchase a whānau home or asset that can be shared between households.
- Encouraging collective behaviour change (whānau participating in financial literacy workshops together and supporting each other’s behaviour change at home).
- Allocating small amounts for saving each week for whānau needs, as well as personal needs.
- Weekly contributions to marae or whānau savings, which can be used to pay for events important to the whānau (e.g. contributing to children’s educational needs or food/bills when particular members are in need).

These activities frame material wealth as something that offers choices/freedom from stress as opposed to

“Participants were very eager for financial literacy material that aligns with Māori values.”

being selfish and self-centred. When there is no such vision, there will be ambivalence or perhaps even a latent sense of resistance as long as Māori and Pākehā approaches are seen as incompatible.



Moreover, in line with historic discrimination, some participants reported experiences of racism, or feelings of being judged/looked down on when they went into banks. In some cases they would rely on family members to explain banking services, insurance or other financial products and services to them. These factors may further deter Māori from engaging with mainstream financial services (Houkamau & Sibley, 2015) and even financial capability training.

It is therefore crucial that financial capability training is made available in a form that recognises Māori culture and history, and intentionally and explicitly aims to be empowering and beneficial for Māori and whānau (the necessary elements are discussed below). As noted earlier, this is not a blanket solution for all Māori but our data indicates the need for this form of financial capability training to be developed and trialled further. Notably, participants took part in this demanding research precisely because, despite ambivalence about Pākehā value systems, they found living in conditions of financial stress highly undesirable. Some faced considerable financial stress and this strained their relationships as well

as their physical and psychological well-being. Merely participating in the research indicated a strong desire to learn and change.

Crucially, although some existing financial literacy courses may include Māori words or imagery, we believe these things alone do not address the root of the issue: that the value system around materialism remains unattractive and unengaging for Māori. (See the bottom of the reference list for some of the programmes available online and through workshops in New Zealand.) That is not to say all Māori would find mainstream programmes unattractive, but it was a barrier for the people in our study. Participants found standard financial literacy terms, concepts and methods “dry”, boring and detached from their own realities.

“Participants found standard financial literacy terms, concepts and methods “dry”, boring and detached from their own realities.”



Deal with the values-system dilemma first, then be conscious of financial behaviour

The points listed in the preceding sentence and further narrative data show that Māori are more likely to engage in constructive financial behavioural change if the resistance factors are taken care of first. These have to be addressed frankly and honestly and once reconciled, individuals need to decide to move on towards personal empowerment for whānau well-being because they want to. Further, once engaged, individuals have to be conscious of their own behaviour – in our particular study we found the spending diaries and weekly discussion groups were critical for this. Having been unconscious of their spending habits, most found the motivation provided by being in the study very influential in changing behaviour. A great success was that during the study many participants paid off years-old debts.

Apart from the insights gathered above, several key factors emerged as important for effective community-based financial capability and savings programmes for Māori.

- Harness existing community capacity and leaders to encourage participation in financial literacy education. Notably, in this particular programme, Alexander and Danielle were key success factors as they both already had good reputations in their local communities. Danielle had a good profile in her own Māori community and was employed to both teach and promote the programme. This made the programme more attractive as many members in the study already trusted her and were familiar with her and her background. Further, as noted earlier, some respondents in this study reported not feeling comfortable dealing with banks because of negative experiences they had had in the past. Thus, community-based Māori financial advisors need to be trained and located throughout New Zealand so that individuals can go to them for encouragement, advice, support and advocacy.
- Financial capability workshops should be a “no judgement zone” where people feel free to express what they really think and feel. The use of humour, small group discussions, the ability to ask questions, a familiar teacher and games can help create a relaxed atmosphere in this respect.
- Community ownership: the community needs to manage the financial capability training themselves and decide where, when and how that training should be delivered locally.
- It important that the learning context is whānau-centred, encouraging family members to learn together and support each other inside and outside the workshop environment.
- To enhance motivation for learning, incentives can be provided (e.g. food at workshops or even childcare).
- It is important that the programmes are designed to be relevant to Māori peoples’ life experiences, and are interactive. Case studies can be provided of Māori whānau who have had debt and overcome it, and also examples of successful whānau savings efforts. In workshops, commitment to the programme could be enhanced if, as part of learning experiences, learners are encouraged to set collective goals for their families and then map out a realistic action plan to achieve them. Ideally, whānau members would do this together as part of the training.
- Finally, financial education should focus on a mind shift towards viewing money management/pursuing and saving money as a source of personal empowerment, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), rather than a betrayal of Māori values. The focus needs to be on “capabilities”, “agency”, empowerment and making money work for Māori – not the other way around.

Conclusions and recommendations

This study has looked for meaningful ways to address the financial capability needs of Māori. We trialled a unique approach to teaching and learning about financial capability centred on the unique cultural needs of Māori. In sum, our results show that to address Māori attitudes to money, we must first appreciate the deeper psychological relationship that all people, including Māori, have with money, and where their feelings, beliefs and experiences related to money stem from. The data gathered

in this study showed that our participants had no difficulty grasping and, for the most part, applying new financial literacy/capability concepts and techniques presented during financial capability workshops, provided: (1) that information was presented to them in the right way; and (2) they had decided they wanted to overcome any personal barriers (habitual/behavioural, psychological and cultural) preventing them from making real and long-lasting behavioural change.

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Glossary of Māori words

Ako: study, learn

Aroha: love, loving

Hapū: subtribe

Haora: well-being

Hui: gathering

Iwi: tribe

Kahu pō: the cloak of night

Kaitiaki: guardian

Karakia: chant

Kaupapa Māori: Māori approach

Kīngitanga: Māori king movement

Koha: support, can be in the form of money

Kete Pūtea: money bag

Māoritanga: Māori culture

Mamae: pain, hurt

Mana: prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power,

Manākitanga: hospitality

Marae: meeting house

Mihi: personal introduction

Pākehā: European New Zealander

Rangatira: chief

Rangatiratanga: sovereign

Tamariki: youth

Tangata whenua: Māori generally or from a specific area, literally 'people of the land'

Tangi: funeral

Te ao Māori: the Māori world

Te ao Mārama: the natural world

Te reo Māori: the Māori language

Te Kore: realm of potential being, the void

Tika: correct

Tikanga: Māori customs and traditions

Tupuna: ancestors

Wairua: spirit

Whānau: family

Whānaungatanga: a sense of belonging

Whenua: land

TAKING CONTROL: MĀORI RESPONSES TO MONEY MANAGEMENT, WEALTH AND SAVING



BUSINESS SCHOOL

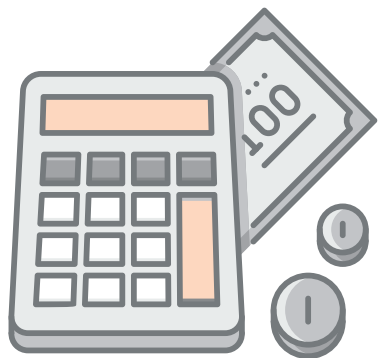


***Naku te rourou
nau te rourou
ka ora ai te iwi***

*With your basket and my
basket, the people will live*

Spending Diary **\$orted**

The journey ahead



This spending diary is all about how we use our money and what motivates us to spend. It helps us focus and achieve the things we want in life now and in the future.

Spending diaries can also help us with:

- Paying off our credit cards early
- Save for a family holiday next year
- Buy a house in five years' time
- Build a nest egg for retirement

“The important thing is to write down what we spend. We can achieve so much more than we realise.”

SIX EASY STEPS FOR SUCCESS

- ✓ Everyday fill out this diary
- ✓ Please record EVERYTHING that you and your family spend
- ✓ Try to do it as soon after spending as possible, because we might forget if we leave it too long
- ✓ Review your spending diary at the end of each week
- ✓ Some weeks we spend more than others. Some bills are weekly, others are every month. That's why we can't just do this for one week; we need to make it something we do every week.
- ✓ Bring your spending diary with you each week

How was I feeling?

Our emotions can strongly influence how we use our money. Whether we are happy, sad, angry or feeling amazing it's important to understand the connections to how we feel on a day and how it can relate to what we spend our money on. In a world first, we are going to use a range of Emotiki to help us visually understand how we feel each day. See the instructions below on how to use them.

What are emotiki?

Te Puia has developed the first Māori emoji app, which you can **download online for free**; Go online and use the keyword “Emotiki”

“Developed by Te Puia for the world to share”



LOVING IT

HAPPY

NEUTRAL

SAD

ANGER

USING THE DIARY EMOTIKI

For this diary there are five Emotiki to choose from. **Circle ONE Emotiki** that best describes how you are feeling each day.

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā tahi: Day one

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā rua: Day two

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā toru: Day three

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā wha: Day four

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahī / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā rima: Day five

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā ono: Day six

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki tahi / Week one

Whakapau: Spending

Rā whitu: Day seven

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā tahi: Day one

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā rua: Day two

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā toru: Day three

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā wha: Day four

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā rima: Day five

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā ono: Day six

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Wiki rua / Week two

Whakapau: Spending

Rā whitu: Day seven

[illegible]

Circle ONE Emotiki that best describes how you are feeling on this day.



LOVING IT



HAPPY



NEUTRAL



SAD



ANGER

Rick weighs up the risks

Rick is in his early 20s and about to go flatting. He has a car he bought a couple of years ago for \$3,000, but few other possessions. His dad kept telling him to get insurance, so Rick visited sorted.org.nz to see what he might need.

But with his apprentice wages, he didn't have much money to spend. Rick worked out that what he really needed right now was third party car insurance so he'd be protected if he damaged someone else's more valuable car or property.

Rick figured it would be cheaper to replace his own car if it was damaged or stolen than pay for more comprehensive insurance.

He also decided to take out contents insurance (\$10,000 cover) for his flat. While he didn't own much stuff right now, this would cover what he had and protect him if he accidentally damaged the landlord's property. Rick was pleased to learn he could save money by having both policies with one insurer.



Getting your challenges sorted

Talking about money, debts and your finances can be a real challenge. For some people in New Zealand their money worries can lead to one or more of the following:

- Depression.
- Shame and embarrassment.
- Suicidal thoughts.
- Wanting to gamble.
- Wanting to smoke cigarettes or drink more often.
- Feeling isolated, embarrassed to talk to anyone about their money issues.
- It's not easy to but there can be a light at the end of tunnel when you ask for help.

Recognising the signs

Here are some signs you can look for if you're worried about a relative, friend, employee or yourself. Not everyone has the same experiences but these examples are common.

- Wanting to borrow money to gamble or to cover debts.
- Start to miss work or other regular commitments.
- Smoke / drink more often.
- Express suicidal thoughts.
- Withdraw from contacting friends and family.

WHERE TO GET HELP?

If you would like to talk about personal challenges affecting you or someone you know, you can contact these FREE phone numbers and websites

Depression Helpline

0800 111 757 and text 4202 — you can talk through emotional and psychological issues with counsellors

Gambling Helpline

0800 654 655 and text 8006 — support for those worried about gambling or the gambling of others www.gamblinghelpline.co.nz

Quitline

0800 778 778 — support for people wanting to quit smoking and stay quit www.quit.org.nz

Suicide Prevention Line

0508 TAUTOKO (0508 82 88 65) www.lifeline.org.nz
Keyword: Suicide

**Ko Maru kai atu Ko
Maru kai mai Ka
ngohe ka ngohe**

*My food basket and your food
basket will please the people*



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