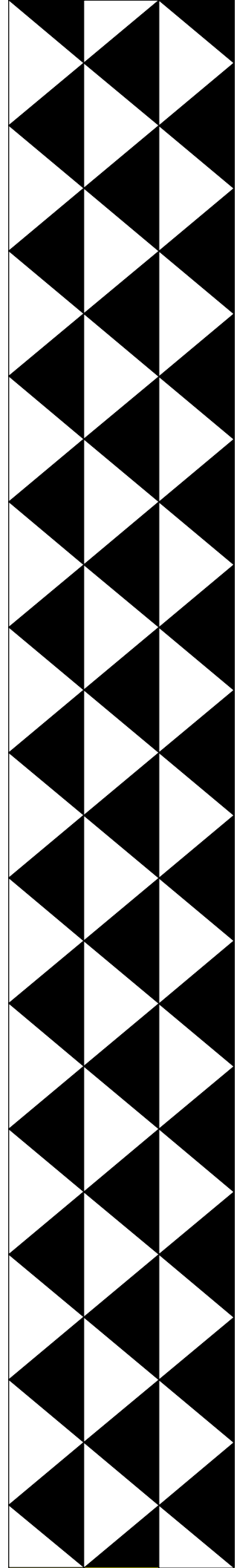# Mäori Women and Work

The Effects of Family Violence on Mäori Women's Employment Opportunities

Tania Pouwhare

1999

HE MIHI.

E nga rangatira, tena koutou. Tena koutou i runga i te whakaaro e whiwhi ana koutou i te hauora, i runga hoki i te whakaaro e whiwhi ana koutou i te mahi, hai oranga mo koutou.

E mihi ana ki nga mate huhua .

E mihi ana hoki ki te hunga wahine i manaaki nei i au i roto i enei mahi.

Tena ra koutou katoa.

Firstly, I would like to thank and acknowledge:

- The Community Employment Group for funding this research and;
- Angie, Api, Ariana, Ata, Dale, Ellen, Jude, June, Martine, Merle, Mina, Mondi, Nancy, Ronnie, Teresa and Wenda for their precious time and assistance. Kia ora wahine ma mo to koutou awhi me to koutou manaaki.

Most of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of the women who allowed me to come into their lives to talk about family violence. Without your voices, this report would have no meaning. Ka nui te mihi o te ngakau ki a koutou te hunga e whakawhitiwhiti korero, whakaaro mo tenei ripota.

CONTENTS.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.

This report describes and analyses the effects of family violence on Maori women's employment opportunities.

WHAKAPUAKITANGA
FOREWORD

Tēnä rä koutou katoa

NCIWR's strategic objective for Mäori development is to empower Mäori women to make the transition to independence. Part of that transition must be the opportunity for Mäori women to enter the work force. For those already working, to retain their jobs and ultimately, to pursue career advancement and other job options. To enable this to happen, the effects of family violence on Mäori women's employment opportunities must be fully known. This report provides that information.

Policies, processes and gaps have been identified and for the first time brought together in one document. Mäori women from throughout Aotearoa New Zealand have factually shared their experiences to enable data and information to be drawn together. The report shows that the stress and trauma caused by family violence does have a major impact on Mäori women's employment opportunities. It is disturbing to find that there is no co-ordinated approach being taken by Government to address this area of Mäori development.

This initial report is intended to provide NCIWR with an assessment of the current situation. NCIWR will now be in a position to align its own activities more strategically to close some of the identified gaps. However, the report also highlights actions that other organisations, non-government and government, will need to undertake to contribute to Mäori development.

Merepeka Raukawa-Tait
Chief Executive

HE MIHI
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

E ngä rangatira, tënä koutou. Tënä koutou i runga i te whakaaro e whiwhi ana koutou i te hauora, i runga hoki i te whakaaro e whiwhi ana koutou i te mahi, hai oranga mö koutou. E mihi ana ki ngä mate huhua. Kei te mihi hoki ki te hunga wähine i manaaki nei i au i roto i tënei mahi.

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Special thanks to Jasmine De Boni and Olivia Boyd for editing.

Most of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the women who allowed me to come into their lives to talk about family violence. Without your voices, this report would have no meaning. Ka nui te mihi o te ngäkau ki a koutou te hunga i whakawhitiwhiti körero, whakaaro mö tënei rïpoata. Kia kaha tonu, kia manawanui.

Tania Pouwhare
Policy Research Advisor

KUPUTOHU
CONTENTS

WHAKARÄPOPOTONGA
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

R E P O R T   R E S U L T S

- This report discusses and analyses the effects of family violence on Mäori women's employment opportunities. Work and Income New Zealand Community Employment Group funded the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges to undertake the research.

- Thirty women were recruited by refuges throughout Aotearoa New Zealand to take part in the study. Data was elicited through individual interviews and focus groups.

- This study is framed within the wider context of Mäori women's experiences of employment and family violence. Employment and education policies have increasingly marginalised Mäori women which is exacerbated by family violence. Mäori women are consistently over-represented in unemployment and family violence statistics.

- In addition to the negative health and wellbeing outcomes that family violence presents to women, the annual cost of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand is considerable. Snively (1994) estimates it to be at least $1.2 billion per annum. This figure rises to $3.770 billion if the income forgone estimation for victims/survivors is included.

- Family violence has devastating and long term effects on the lives of women. It affects all facets of victims/ survivors' lives. Insidious psychological violence presents major barriers to the health and wellbeing of women. Prevalence indicators would suggest that family violence is widespread in communities.

- Participants' backgrounds were similar. Most women had been long term employees which was occasionally interrupted by motherhood, redundancy, moving location and family violence. The majority of participants were sole supporters of families and households.

- Abusers used many tactics to jeopardise women's employment opportunities. These included reneging on promised childcare, harassing women at work, threatening colleagues, accusing women of infidelity, refusing to support women with domestic duties, burning work clothes, exerting physical

violence, and constantly undermining a woman's self-worth with verbal abuse and psychological violence.

- Family violence severely impacted on participants' abilities to seek and retain employment and perform in the workplace. Some women were directly prevented from working. Others had to conform to rules set by their partners about the conditions and hours of work. The scars and bruises from beatings caused other women to hide away. Abusers sabotaged women's efforts to take up training or promotion.

- Most participants found it difficult to retain employment and some were forced to leave their jobs.

- Other barriers identified by women included racism, sexual harassment, ageism, lack of adequate childcare, lack of qualifications, hours of work, transport and low remuneration.

- All of the women wanted to be employed. Work was seen as necessary and important not only for income but for respite from violence, participation and mental stimulation. Women especially enjoyed the company of work colleagues.

- There are three levels where interventions can occur for women living with family violence: community, public sector and private sector. While there are interventions which aim to address family violence and poor employment outcomes, there is a lack of interventions which recognise the impact of family violence on employment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The outcomes of this research have prompted the following recommendations:

Government

There are many ways in which the government can support local and national initiatives:
- promoting the development of family violence policies in the workplace by offering incentives to employers such as tax deductions and lower ACC premiums;

- supporting the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust and similar organisations to promote family violence workplace policies as a family friendly policy;
- developing educational and employment policies that promote high achievement for Mäori women. The development of appropriate employment opportunities need to be supported by the education of young Mäori women within the schooling system.

Iwi Mäori

Where Mäori organisations are providing employment and educational services, family violence training would be beneficial. The development of immediate, medium and long term strategies which contribute to the positive development of young Mäori women in education and employment, particularly in occupations which have been historically 'closed' to Mäori women, are imperative to eliminating family violence.

Whänau, häpü and iwi must adopt a 'zero tolerance towards violence' attitude and actively work towards the dismantling of beliefs and behaviours which support family violence, particularly violence against women.

Work and Income New Zealand

NCIWR and Work and Income New Zealand have an overlap in their client group. It is imperative that both organisations work collaboratively for the best interests of victims/survivors of family violence. This could be facilitated through:
- the development of national protocols between Work and Income New Zealand and NCIWR concerning policy changes affecting Mäori women;
- family violence training for Work and Income New Zealand;
- family violence training for employment programme facilitators (including contracted programmes);
- funding refuges to deliver and/or properly resource Women's Education Programmes; and
- the inclusion of appropriate respite measures for women victims/survivors beneficiaries who may be required to undertake employment or training as part of their benefit requirement.

Research

Research is critical to the development of sound and effective family violence strategies.

A quantitative study into the prevalence of family violence affecting the obtainment and retention of employment needs to be conducted. This study should also measure the effects of family violence on women's work performance. Target populations should include women who seek assistance as well as a random selection of female employees in various businesses and organisations.

Using comprehensive prevalence data and performance measures would enable an accurate analysis of costs to employers. This would provide justification to employers on the need to identify key issues and develop appropriate strategies. An analysis of improved employee performance versus expenditure on assistance would enable employers to gauge the successfulness of any initiatives.

Private and Public Sector Employers

Employers should be encouraged to develop and implement family violence work policies. These may include:

- information on family violence services for victims/survivors and batterers in common work areas and as part of induction;
- family violence education seminars during paid work time;
- training for supervisors and managers on identifying family violence and referral to appropriate agencies;
- Employee Assistance Programmes;
- the provision of security for employees who may be harassed by abusers;
- paid leave for victims/survivors requiring time off to attend to family violence matters such as legal proceedings, medical attention;
- promoting a 'zero tolerance to violence' culture in the workplace. This may include abusers continuing employment being subject to being free of family violence; and
- the provision of child care facilities and other family friendly policies.

Employers should look at ways in which they can support community groups through unpaid services or goods in kind, financial assistance and volunteering.

As Aotearoa New Zealand's primary family violence service provider, NCIWR has trained and competent women who are able to deliver comprehensive and effective training. NCIWR would welcome the development of relationships between Refuge and employers.

1. HE KUPU WHAKATAKI
INTRODUCTION

PROJECT AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The stress and trauma caused by family violence continues to have devastating and long term effects on the health and well-being of women in Aotearoa New Zealand. No facet of victims and survivors' lives remains untouched and unaffected by abuse.

This project seeks to explore a topic understudied in the field of family violence research - the impacts on employment. While some research has been conducted in the United States on the effects of partner abuse on women's work, including the implementation of workplace policies to support employees living with family violence, a dearth of information exists here in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In 1998, the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc. (NCIWR) approached Work and Income New Zealand Community Employment Group (CEG) for funding to undertake research in the area of family violence and employment.

It is NCIWR's experience that family violence poses a significant barrier to women's, particularly Māori women's, participation in paid employment. A local study which seems to corroborate this is *The New Zealand Economic Cost of Family Violence.* This report estimated that if income forgone for victims/survivors (due to family violence) was calculated into the cost of family violence (at least $1.2 billion per year) then the total cost may be at least $3.770 billion (Snively 1994).

Impaired access to employment works against the best interests of women and their children who are often forced to stay in abusive relationships because other options for subsistence and economic independence are limited. One option, often the only alternative for some women wanting to escape family violence, is government income support.[1] Although a trajectory necessary for many women to initiate lives free of violence, some women have encountered the welfare system as being an extension of the abuse and control experienced in relationships.

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[1] Some women engage in illegal activities to support themselves and their children, such as prostitution, dealing in illegal drugs and stolen prescriptions, and burglary. NCIWR acknowledges that lack of employment opportunities significantly contributes to these situations.

Research indicates that economic independence, from both partners and the state, and financial self-sufficiency (which necessitates employment) is a priority for many Mäori women (Boswell et al 1992; Dysart 1999). The Mäori women interviewed in these studies desperately wanted to work, to own their own homes and be able to provide resources for their children and grandchildren. They wanted to be able to contribute to their children's education (in an increasingly "user pays" environment) and provide brighter futures for their families and generations to come. The *Mäori Women and Work* study examines the effects of family violence on Mäori women's employment opportunities. Mäori women are disproportionately represented in family violence, under-employment and unemployment statistics, hence the specific focus on this population. For many Mäori women, the intersection of violence and unemployment in their lives has the culminating effect of increasing marginalisation and economic and social disadvantage compared to other populations.

The dual aims of this project were to ascertain the ways in which Mäori women's employment and work performance were affected by family violence and to determine other contextual factors influencing work opportunities.

Interviewing methods were utilised to elicit information regarding:
- work history;
- examples of how family violence affected participants' ability to seek work, perform to the best of their ability, retain employment and uptake work advancements;
- other barriers to obtaining work and support;
- the importance of work for victims/survivors of family violence; and
- effective interventions.

THE NATIONAL COLLECTIVE OF INDEPENDENT WOMEN'S REFUGES (NCIWR)

Heavily influenced by feminism, the Women's Refuge movement grew out of an identified need for safe accommodation for women and their children fleeing domestic violence. In 1973, the first shelter was established in Christchurch by a collective of lesbian women who were committed to supporting other women and raising awareness of family violence. Refuges in Auckland and Dunedin followed, and in 1987 the first Mäori women's refuge, Te Whakaruruhau, was established in Hamilton. Today, the movement continues to support women towards lives free of

violence and is widely supported by women from various ethnic, sexual orientation and socio-economic backgrounds. Changing the attitudes, beliefs and practices of society which maintain and perpetuate violence against women and children remains a priority.[2]

The National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc. was incorporated in 1981, with 12 refuges belonging to the initial group. Presently, NCIWR is the umbrella organisation for 50 member collectives and is New Zealand's largest women's advocacy organisation.

Refuge collectives provide:
- 24 hour crisis services;
- safe house accommodation;
- advocacy with lawyers and statutory organisations;
- women's and children's education programmes;
- community support for victims/ survivors;
- training and education to other groups in the community; and
- support and information for living free of violence.

In 1986, NCIWR adopted the practice of parallel development. The practice of Mäori and Tauiwi caucusing and parallel management positions, at both national and local levels, led to a dramatic increase in the numbers of Mäori women entering the movement in leadership and advocacy roles. Core Group, the governing body of NCIWR, consists of Mäori and Tauiwi representatives from each of the four regions (Upper North Island, Central, Lower North and the South Island) ensuring equal representation of Mäori in all decision making processes.

The development and delivery of culturally appropriate services supports organisational responsibility to parallel development and NCIWR has a commitment to the 'by Mäori, for Mäori' or tinorangatiratanga ethic. Currently, NCIWR has 11 refuges specifically for Mäori women and 243 (38 percent of all NCIWR advocates) Mäori advocates working in local collectives.

The 56 safe houses throughout Aotearoa New Zealand are staffed by 639 paid and unpaid workers. In the year 1 July 1998 to 30 June 1999, advocates worked 544,725 hours, 69 percent of which were unpaid. During this same period, 6,984 women and 9,487 children were assisted by refuges and 36,057 attendees were present at 4,130 training and education sessions.

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[2] See Appendix One for NCIWR vision, mission and values statements.

The National Office, based in Wellington, provides policy advice at both national and local levels, undertakes research, negotiates and distributes the national funding contract (with the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services), provides quality assurance audits, develops interagency protocols, co-ordinates the annual appeal and develops and delivers training.

2. TE TĀTARITANGA A PUKA
LITERATURE REVIEW

MĀORI WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT

The Second World War (WWII) was the catalyst for women's dramatic increase in paid workforce participation (Davies and Jackson 1993; Larner 1993; Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Women's Affairs 1998). Whereas women had participated in highly gender stratified occupations of domestic service, nursing and primary school teaching, the lack of 'manpower' and disruption of world trade during WWII required women to work in non-traditional areas of vehicle assembly and consumer goods production to contribute to the war effort (Larner 1993). The demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour to meet greater domestic productivity increased internal migrations from rural to urban areas. However, as WWII ended, the full extent of Māori urbanisation had yet to be realised and it was during the following 20 years that Māori shifted in to urban areas. In 1945 three quarters of Māori lived in rural, predominantly tribal regions but by 1966 the majority of Māori (62 percent) were based in urban areas (Pool cited in Larner 1993).

Despite the dramatic increase of women in the labour force and in non-traditional occupations, post-war employment opportunities for women (to contemporary times) continued to be sex-segregated and sex-stratified (Unger and Crawford 1992). The feminisation of certain occupations such as primary school teaching, nursing and service jobs remained although some gains were being made in sectors exclusively occupied by men. However, unlike Pākehā women, Māori women and women from Pacific nations were being specifically channeled in to factory work rather than occupations that offered any contingency for personal development and economic stability:

…both Maori and Pacific Islander women were incorporated in to a narrow range of manufacturing positions that were characterized by lower wages, poorer conditions, less security and fewer opportunities for advancement than those occupied by many Pakeha women (Larner 1993:90).

The economic recession of the late 1980's impacted heavily on sectors in which Māori were concentrated in, particularly manufacturing, and was a primary factor contributing to the rise of unemployment for Māori (Davies and Jackson 1993; Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Women's Affairs 1998). From 1986 to 1991, Māori women's employment decreased 9.7 percent whereas non-Māori women's employment decreased by 1.7 percent. Despite the decline and continued

vulnerability of manufacturing markets, Mäori women (compared to non-Mäori women) continue to be over represented as employees in this area. Their employment continues to be one of uncertainty, particularly as fiscal policy becomes increasingly geared towards free market trade (Davies and Jackson 1993; Larner 1993; Te Puni Kökiri and the Ministry of Women's Affairs 1999).[3]

The waged employment in which many women, particularly poor women, engage in is often an extension of unpaid work in their homes such as cleaning and manufacturing (de la Rocha 1994). Boswell et al found similar results in their study of Mäori women's employment:
The women in the study were more likely to aspire to (low paid) service sector jobs and 'women's' industry jobs like sewing (1992:73).

The value placed on caring and nurturing (as a female quality) has also impacted on women's socialisation in to employment roles that mimic domesticity, such as service industry work, rather than managerial, technological and financial jobs:
Waged activities carried out by women have been adapted to the work that "by nature" society has attributed to them (de la Rocha 1994:142).

Statistics from 1991 indicate that Mäori women fare the worst in annual median incomes and are paid least in all occupations except elementary work (receiving only slightly more than non-Mäori women). The annual median income for Mäori women working full-time in sales and services, agriculture and fishery, trades, plant and machine operation and assembly and elementary positions was around $15,000 (Statistics New Zealand 1994).[4]

In 1996, 47 percent of Mäori women in the labour force were employed compared to 54 percent of non-Mäori women. This compares adversely with 1976 statistics which show that 75.3 percent of Mäori women were in full time employment and 20.4 percent were employed on a part-time basis (Davies and Jackson 1993). Unemployment for Mäori women has dramatically increased since 1978 resulting in increased risk of poverty, which research suggests might be permanent rather than an interim situation (Davies and Jackson 1993). In 1996, Mäori women accounted for 28.2 percent of all unemployed women yet represented only 12.3 percent of the female labour force. Latest Work and Income statistics reveal that Mäori represent 29.9 percent of all registered unemployed (Work and Income New Zealand 1999).

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[3] Two companies, both major employers in rural areas, have closed manufacturing plants since the cutting of tariffs on imported goods in 1998. Both Bendon and Toyota employed significant numbers of Mäori women.
[4] The disparity between Mäori women and non-Mäori women is most pronounced in these areas - representation of Mäori women is much higher than non-Mäori.

The education of Mäori women has also affected underemployment and unemployment. Boswell et al found that negative experiences at school can reduce the "[m]otivation and pleasure in learning" that encourages the pursuit of qualifications, tertiary study and employment (1992:72). The streaming of young Mäori women and girls in to lower academic classes, which concentrate on placing students in work experience rather than teaching standard curricular, readies young Mäori for bleak employment opportunities at the foot of the hierarchy rather than the pinnacle:

There is a growing body of research which identifies practices and procedures in schools which discriminate against Mäori girls who are often perceived by teachers as less intelligent….These kinds of assumptions influence the kind of education Mäori girls receive. The consequences of such practices disadvantage Mäori girls and we feature highly in all statistics relating to low educational achievement, low income and unemployment (Awatere 1995:35).

In an increasingly qualification based employment environment, many Mäori women are unable to take up opportunities because they lack formally recognised skills. Twenty five percent of unemployed Mäori women have no qualifications whereas Mäori women who hold a tertiary degree/diploma are least likely to be unemployed (Statistics New Zealand and the Ministry of Women's Affairs 1998). A survey conducted by New Zealand Employment Service in 1996 about barriers to employment for long term job seekers found that lack of skills, experience and qualifications inhibited 69 percent of Mäori from obtaining work. These barriers were also identified by 70 percent of women surveyed (New Zealand Employment Service 1996). Other barriers ascertained in the same study included lack of jobs, limited mobility, disincentives in the benefit system, age discrimination and caring responsibilities.

Dysart (1999) describes, more specifically, the support needed by Mäori women when seeking employment:

- work hours need to be flexible with other commitments such as care for others;
- the workplace needs to be easily accessed and near to places (such as the school) where the woman may have other commitments (such as after school care for children);
- transport to and from work needs to be available and affordable;

- the level of remuneration must cover the costs of employment (clothing, travel, childcare) as well as provide adequate income for subsistence; and
- childcare needs to accessible, affordable and safe.

Research on Mäori sole mothers on the Domestic Purposes Benefit also notes that childcare is a major factor influencing Mäori women's decisions on entering the labour force (Fletcher 1999).

FAMILY VIOLENCE

Family violence is the manifestation of one person's (overwhelmingly male) desire to exercise power and control over another (predominantly women and children).[5] But rather than being solely influenced by individual pathology, it is widely accepted that family violence, in particular men's violence against women, is informed by wider political, economic, historic and social factors.

Feminist analyses of family violence emphasise the actuate of patriarchy, colonisation and heterosexism in determining gender roles, social positions and entitlement, agency and subjectivity in society. Men, who benefit from the elevated privilege that an androcentric society affords them, use violence as a way of controlling and upholding male entitlement. Male violence against women is benefit orientated, goal specific, intentional and purposeful (Thorpe and Swift 1996). Male agency is defined and made possible through patriarchal constructions of female passivity and subjectivity:

When power over [another] is being exercised there exists a wide gap between the interests of the powerful and powerless. The former uses power to bring about specific goals while the latter may be subject to restrictions and deprivations (Thorpe and Swift 1996).

Recent research here in Aotearoa New Zealand suggests that family violence is widespread in communities. Conservative estimates are that one in seven New Zealand women have been assaulted by partners. Other research has shown that 21 percent of New Zealand men have admitted physically abusing their female partners (Health Promotion Unit 1997).

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[5] NCIWR statistics for 1 July 1998 to 30 June 1999 indicate that 81 percent of abusers were male. Women accounted for less than one percent of abusers (lesbian relationships) and the gender of 18 percent was unknown (figures do not add to 100 percent due to rounding).

The *Women's Safety Survey*, in which 500 women were interviewed about partner abuse, reported that Mäori women experienced extremely high levels of violence:

Violence experienced:	*Percentage of Mäori women with current partners:*	*Percentage of Mäori women with recent partners (i.e. separated):*
At least one act of psychological abuse	56	98
At least one act of physical abuse	44	90
Ten or more acts of violence	2	22
Feared they may be killed	5	24

(Source: Morris 1997).[6]

In addition to the negative health and wellbeing outcomes that family violence presents to women, the annual cost of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand is considerable. Snively (1994) estimates it to be at least $1.2 billion per annum.

There are many forms of violence used to establish and maintain power and control in intimate relationships. Psychological, physical, sexual and economic violence impact on all facets of victims/survivors' lives. However, physical attacks continue to be the primary form of abuse associated with family and partner violence. Images of women with cut lips, black eyes and bruised faces endure in the public's psyche of what family violence is. Without detracting from the negative health outcomes, stress and trauma that physical attacks impose on women, it is imperative to acknowledge that financial, psychological and sexual abuse have extremely harmful and long term effects on the lives of women. It is the insidious nature of these acts of violence which makes them difficult to define, address and

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[6] Morris comments that the disparities between women with current and recent partners may be due to the fact that women do not acknowledge the violence in their relationships until after separation. This is also the experience of NCIWR.

meliorate. Financial and psychological abuse will be briefly discussed here as they are of particular interest in this study.

1. Financial Abuse

Financial abuse aims to maintain the abusive partner's control in the relationship by limiting a woman's autonomy. Abusers determine the woman's standard of living, her income and employment:

…he could keep her from working, limit how much she earns, he may sabotage her efforts to find a job, succeed at a job or pursue training (Davies 1997:8).

Abusers may dictate what income may be spent on, demand receipts for goods purchased, deny women access to accounts, give her an "allowance" or make her ask for money.

Violence in a relationship will often determine the level of access a woman has to the family's resources. Researchers have found that where abusers are the primary or only income earners in the family, they will assume command as controller of the income (Pence 1987). For many women living with family violence, they and their children may subsist in poverty. An English study found that,

[t]wenty per cent of women said one of their reasons for leaving home was that their partner had kept them in extreme poverty, regardless of how much he was earning. These men spent only a fraction of their income on their families and seemed to regard their earnings purely as pocket money to be spent at their own leisure (Binney et al 1988:5).

Binney et al also found that,

[w]omen who had been given meager amounts for housekeeping, were sometimes forced to spend most of it on steak and such like for their husbands, while they and their children ate sausages or milk and biscuits (1988:6).

While some women in violent relationships may be forbidden from engaging in paid employment, others must work to support families. However, this does not necessarily improve the woman's situation. While the woman may be the sole supporter of the family, her wages will generally be low. Although she may be the "bread winner", she still has no real control over the income as,

…it is [often] money which is already committed to subsistence. It is money which immediately becomes part of the domestic income, and it is rarely individually spent (de la Rocha 1994: 141).

Often, the violence escalates as abusers, where the woman's financial dependency is lost or minimised, struggle to maintain power and control by increasing the frequency or severity of abuse perpetrated against the woman (de la Rocha 1994).

2. Psychological Abuse

Psychological abuse can decimate a woman's sense of self-worth and confidence to the point where she believes she is going crazy. She may put up protective barriers which make it difficult for her to trust others and she may even contemplate, attempt or succeed in suicide. Psychological abuse includes put downs, insults, humiliation, mind games, manipulation, intimidation, threatening behaviour and coercion (Thorpe and Swift 1996). According to NCIWR's latest statistics, 85 percent of women and 46 percent of children using Refuge services had experienced psychological abuse.

The Domestic Violence Act (1995) has afforded greater legal recognition of psychological and emotional abuse. Victims/survivors of family violence are able to access protection orders on these grounds, although a greater description of the abuse is required in the application and affidavits (Barwick et al 1998).

COLONISATION AND FAMILY VIOLENCE

It is acknowledged that colonisation (itself a violent process) has adversely impacted on Mäori gender relations and the status of Mäori women.

For Mäori, the imposition of foreign values and policies of assimilation decimated pre-colonial social control:
The breakdown of structures and mechanisms of social control within Mäoridom meant that there was often no internal mechanisms to control or even contain violence….The Mäori community's ability to impose and enforce sanctions against their own people dwindled as Päkehä institutions continued to resource, legislate and assert their right to define social norms and standards (Balzer et al 1997:23).

Balzer et al postulate that as colonial hegemony was exerted, the greater the violence experienced by Mäori women and children. Fearing state intervention, which had proven detrimental to Mäori, abusers were sheltered from government

authority. Essentially, for Mäori women and children, this meant that abusers were not held accountable for their violence:

There developed an unspoken acceptance that the enemy from outside (the State) was much worse than any possible enemy within. Over the intervening years Mäori reaction to violence has grown to become one of justifying or rationalising the violence away. 'Turning a blind eye' has replaced direct intervention (Balzer et al 1997:23).

Colonisation has significantly impacted on the health and wealth of Mäori. Mäori feature prominently in poor health, income, housing, education and employment outcomes and these socio-economic indicators have been linked to Mäori family violence (Balzer et al 1997:14).

THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Family violence presents major barriers to women seeking and retaining employment (Davies 1997; Liddicoat 1997; United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1996).

Abusers use a myriad of techniques to ensure control over partners:

To isolate their victims and retain control over them, batterers often keep their partners from working, [and] developing marketable skills…. Batterers may use physical violence and threats to enforce these prohibitions. They also sabotage women's efforts by destroying work clothes and school books, making harassing phone calls to the workplace, or failing to provide promised childcare (AFDC Working Group 1997:8).

The *Women's Safety Survey* reported that 38 percent of Mäori women with recent partners were prevented from being employed outside of the home (Morris 1997). A North American study found that 21.7 percent of abused women had a partner in the last year who did not approve of (but not necessarily stopped) the woman working outside of the home or undertaking study. However, the same study also stated that battered women were just as likely as non-battered women to want to go to work or attend tertiary education and were more likely to have held any paying job and have held full time work than non-battered women (Allard et al 1997). As demonstrated earlier, many women must engage in paid work in order to sustain the family, whether their partner approves or not.

It is not uncommon for family violence to continue in the work place during the relationship and after separation. Perpetrators may ring or call in person to harass the woman and threaten work colleagues (Liddicoat 1997; United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1996). American studies have shown that:

- 9 6 percent of victims/survivors had experienced difficulties in the workplace due to family violence;

- t hree quarters of victims/survivors had been harassed by abusers by phone or in person;

- 6 0 percent had been made late for work;

- h alf of interviewees had days off due to family violence;

- 7 0 percent of abused women found it difficult to perform their job;

- 60 percent of employees who were in violent relationships had been reprimanded due to problems caused by family violence; and

- 30 percent of victims/survivors had lost jobs because of family violence (United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1996).

Seventeen percent of the *Women's Safety Survey* study participants (both Mäori and non-Mäori) said their ex-partners had stood outside their workplace or house in an attempt to intimidate them (Morris 1997). Although no comprehensive information on the prevalence of family violence as it impacts on women's employment in Aotearoa New Zealand is available, a study of women presenting at Middlemore Hospital for partner abuse reported that 19 percent were in paid employment (Fanslow et al 1996). NCIWR anecdotal evidence would also suggest that many victims/survivors experience difficulties at work due to family violence.

The United States Justice Department estimates that there are 60,000 incidents of domestic violence which occur in the workplace. The Bureau of National Affairs estimates that family violence, through absenteeism, cost of care and loss of productivity, costs North American businesses, at the very least, $3 billion to $5 billion per year (Safe and Sound 1996).

Good health and wellbeing affects employment status and vice versa (Bryson 1998; Te Puni Kōkiri 1998). Health status is adversely affected by family violence and victims/survivors may experience poor concentration and exhaustion, particularly when they are not being supported by partners at home (AFDC Working Group 1997). After working in paid employment, many women must, essentially, begin their second 'job'. Numerous women, whether they live with family violence or not, still find themselves responsible for the upkeep of the house and of the family despite other work commitments:

…waged activities have not freed women from domestic unwaged work and the performance of domestic chores is still women's responsibility. Therefore, to be able to work in paid activities means that women have to extend their working day in order to be able to work for a wage and, at the same time, to take care of children and housework (de la Rocha 1994:142).

For women living with abuse, the exhaustion of having to cope with domestic duties and paid work is exacerbated by the ongoing violence.

3. NGÄ TIKANGA
METHODS

M E T H O D O L O G Y

The process by which this research was designed and undertaken, was informed and influenced by current thinking on Mäori development and the principles and values of NCIWR.

Mäori wellbeing and health continues to be disproportionately lower than that of non-Mäori. In this decade, in particular, there has been a strong move towards the development of health, training and social services which are focused entirely on improving the health and wellbeing of Mäori. Strategies are being implemented to improve participation and outcomes for Mäori including the development of Mäori providers and services within the mainstream. It is evident that Mäori are becoming pivotal in decision making which impacts on Mäori. Durie argues that although no evidence exists that corroborates increased Mäori involvement in service management and delivery with increased social and health status, participation is likely to be the key to positive outcomes for Mäori:

While none of the approaches have been evaluated against improved Maori health status, there appears to be quite a high level of Maori enthusiasm for the new opportunities, especially when they foster direct Maori participation in health

services and in health planning. Direct participation is probably a necessary prerequisite for improved health (Durie 1996:4).

Clearly then, the emphasis lies in Mäori self-determining directions for development, tinorangatiratanga, or what has commonly been coined as 'by Mäori, for Mäori'. This aligns well with NCIWR's practices of parallel development, cultural appropriateness and acknowledgement of Te Tiriti ö Waitangi. All stages of the research process were designed, managed and conducted by Mäori, from conception to end result.

NCIWR values were used to ensure that the research process did not contribute, in any way, to the re-victimisation of the women. This included no victim blaming or judgements, and informed consent to participate. The act of research is not devoid of power imbalances, particularly when conducting studies about Mäori, who have experienced decades of being subjects of cultural deficit research. For Mäori women victims/survivors of family violence, the experience of being non-powerful (as in their abusive relationships) can be re-lived when interacting with researchers employing victim blaming tactics. Support from refuge advocates for participants was on hand if required.

Tikanga Mäori was utilised throughout the research process. The hui would always begin with the researcher conducting a mihi to the women and ending with the sharing of kai which had been blessed by karakia. The refuges were given koha for their invaluable assistance (such as organising interviews, transporting women to and from the interview site and ensuring that the researcher was properly cared for and resourced) which predicated the success of the interviews. The koha also contributed to the financial costs of organising the interviews.

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

This research has been a qualitative investigation. It was decided that interviews would be the most effective tool for eliciting the information needed, particularly since the subject is an insidious one which can be emotionally charged, requiring extrapolation not usually achievable through the use of quantitative methods. Fourteen women were interviewed individually and 16 were interviewed in focus groups.

Interviewing is an effective method for gaining insight into women's experiences. From a feminist perspective, interviewing enables women to talk about their

realities, particularly around family violence, which have often been dismissed and ignored:

[I]nterviewing offers researchers access to people's ideas, thoughts, and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher. This asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women (Reinharz 1992:19).

This point is particularly salient in terms of listening to Mäori women who have been systematically defined as the 'Other'. Mäori women have been consistently spoken on behalf of, often in very negative ways.

Mäori researchers have also recognised the usefulness of interviewing. Bishop strongly advocates the interviewing process, but refines it further in terms of kaupapa Mäori practices, by structuring the "interviews as chat" (1996:23). Conducting "interviews as chat", according to Bishop, enables a collaborative research story, "allowing the diversities of truth to be heard, rather than just one dominant version [which is that of the researcher's]" (1996:24). Bishop goes onto to argue that,

…we need to acknowledge our participatory connectedness with the other research participants and promote a means of knowing in a way that denies distance and promotes commitment and engagement (1996:24).

Another advantage of interviewing, particularly when the questions are open-ended, is that participants can drive the direction of the research by talking about the issues which are most important to them.

INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

Because the interviews were organised by refuge advocates, there was a mixture of individual interviews and focus groups. For the sake of consistency, it would have been preferable to utilise only one method, either individual interviews or focus groups. Due to time constraints (particularly for advocates and participants) it was not always feasible to conduct individual interviews.

A total of 14 women were individually interviewed in Invercargill, Dunedin, Christchurch and Hastings.

In the Dunedin interviews, a refuge advocate, who was also the Women's Education Programme facilitator, was present with the consent of the women.

FOCUS GROUPS

Focus groups were held in Hamilton (six women) and Blenheim (ten women).

Participants were encouraged to speak in an informal and non-invasive forum. The language used was familiar and non-threatening.

The interviewer guided the discussions with semi-structured open ended questions. The predetermined questions were fed in to the discussions as the interviewer gauged their direction. As Krueger describes in his analysis of the focus group, "[t]he questions are then arranged in a natural, logical sequence…[however] there is no pressure on the moderator to have the group reach consensus" (1998:30). The role of the interviewer was primarily to facilitate and prompt discussion.

Ideally the participants would have been strangers as familiarity may have hindered disclosure of personal experience (Krueger 1998:28). However, due to the recruitment methods used, which relied on the refuge advocates contacting clients, this was not possible as all of the women in the focus groups had previous contact through participation in Women's Education Programmes run by the local refuges. It was clear that the women felt comfortable sharing their stories (much of the data gathered was highly personal) and that they were not bringing ('new') information to the focus group session that had not already been shared during the course of the programmes. The fact that the participants knew each other did not appear to inhibit disclosure.

RECRUITMENT

The study was conducted in Invercargill, Dunedin, Christchurch, Blenheim, Hastings and Hamilton. Refuges in these areas self-selected their involvement after notices were sent to all refuges informing them of the research.

There was a narrow definition of homogeneity for the interviews due to the non-random sampling technique utilised in this study. Participants were required to be Mäori women who had lived with family violence.

The refuge advocates contacted women who they were supporting and there was a mixture of residential women (i.e. staying in the refuge safe house) and community clients. They ensured that the participants were pre-screened before organising times for the interviewer to meet with them. It was important that women were not in crisis and felt comfortable discussing their experiences. In total, 30 women shared their experiences. The majority (27) of the participants (both focus groups and individuals) had participated in Women's Education Programmes and many talked about their violent relationships retrospectively.

ETHICAL ISSUES

Participants were given a Panui Whakamärama (Information Sheet) which outlined the purpose of the research and who it was funded by.[7] It also detailed the names and contact numbers of the researcher and the Chief Executive of NCIWR should the participants require further information and/or want to voice concerns regarding the study.

Participants were also asked to sign a Consent Form giving the researcher permission to use their stories in this report.[8] The Consent Form also outlined their rights (as a participant) to withdraw information, the confidentiality provisions and that they could access the final report. It was important to the researcher that all information about the project was given in order for the women to make an informed decision about participation.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The sample size was small and the point of information saturation was reached early in to the study. Any comprehensive quantitative data would be impossible to gauge from this study.

The sample of Mäori women interviewed for this research was relatively homogenous in that they had all sought assistance from Women's Refuge. The women were not randomly selected; Women's Refuge advocates identified and screened women who would take part in the research.

While refuges self-selected, interviews were conducted in a range of north and south island areas covering smaller communities (Invercargill, Blenheim) through

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[7] See Appendix Two.
[8] See Appendix Three.

to larger cities (Christchurch). Although there is a good range of areas, communities where Mäori represent a more significant proportion of the population, such as Northland and Gisborne, were not included.

4. NGÄ TAKENGA MAI
PARTICIPANTS' BACKGROUNDS

EDUCATION

The majority of participants (28) left secondary school with no qualifications. Two of the women had School Certificate.

The reasons for leaving school varied. For the women in their late 30's to early 50's (25 participants), it was because employment was abundant when these women were at secondary school (1960's - 1970's). As one woman stated, "jobs were a dime a dozen". Other reasons included family problems and parents withdrawing women from school to contribute to family income. All of the women saw paid employment as an opportunity to gain freedom and independence.

The majority of the women had career goals at secondary school including nursing, lawyering, hairdressing and business ventures. Some of the women reflected upon their high school aspirations with sadness as their goals also epitomised the freedom and independence that was lacking in their subsequent lives with violent partners.

Only one of the women was actively encouraged to stay at school as her teachers believed she "had potential". The other women were not encouraged in to careers or education that could ensure stable future employment. Many of the women were placed in lower stream classes where job preparation in the service, labouring and manufacturing industries was the priority rather than education. One woman stated that she was "geared up to be a good wife and mother" rather than an independent income earner, as was the prevalent ideology at that time (1960's).

None of the women went on to tertiary education or training after secondary school. However, at the time of the interviews, five women were attending tertiary education courses.

EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS

At the time of the interviews, seven women were in full-time paid employment and one participant was in part-time paid work. One woman was working as a cleaner and the other women were working in the social services area. One of the

participants owned her own business as well as working full-time in the social services. A few of the participants were assisting in the work of Refuge. Two women were working as paid advocates and two were unpaid.

Most of the women had worked in manufacturing, cleaning and seasonal employment (such as shearing and fruit picking) which they described as being plentiful during the 1960's and 1970's. As one woman commented, "I could always go out and get a good job". However, with the deregulation of Aotearoa New Zealand's markets and the increased importance of qualifications, women were now finding it difficult to find jobs in these industries.

Seasonal work such as shearing, fruit picking and fisheries processing were prominent in the Dunedin, Blenheim and Hastings areas. The focus group in Blenheim commented on the need to hold "a ticket" to perform seasonal work that formerly had required no qualifications.

Three of the participants had held office management positions in large organisations.

All except the two youngest women (aged in their early twenties) had been in paid employment most of their lives. This was occasionally interrupted by rearing children (29 of the participants had children), redundancy; sickness, moving location and family violence. Having and rearing children featured most prominently as the reason that paid employment was given up especially for those women who had little support from partners for child care. However, most of the women returned to work when their children were toddlers. What is important to note is that these women were not long term beneficiaries. During times when women were out of the paid workforce, they were dependent on partners and sometimes on benefits (both as entitled and not entitled recipients).

VIOLENCE IN RELATIONSHIPS

Three women were still with partners, 14 were permanently separated and 13 did not disclose relationship status. The violence endured covered all types of abuse including physical, psychological, sexual and financial. For most of the women, the violence started within one year of entering the relationship. Five women stated that the violence began or escalated during pregnancy.

All of the women had experienced psychological abuse which included constant barrages of putdowns, intimidation, mind games and inquisitions. The vast majority of the women (28) had experienced physical violence and many women required hospital treatment for injuries inflicted by partners. [9]

Financial Abuse in Relationships

The financial situations experienced by participants fell in to one of four categories:
1. the partner was the primary (or sole) income earner which the woman had access to;
2. the partner was the primary (or sole) income earner and was also the controller of the family's finances;
3. partners were not contributing to the upkeep of the family and women were financially supporting the household; and
4. partners were not contributing to the upkeep of the household, women were financially supporting the household and abusers were demanding money off the women. [10]

Often, women's financial situations changed as their employment status changed.

Only one woman said that she had access to her partner's income, which was used to provide for the family.

Three participants spoke of partners controlling how the income, which he brought into the household, would be spent. Women would have to ask for money to pay bills and would also have to show receipts. Women would have to account for any money spent and seek permission before buying items. One woman commented that the financial abuse worsened during periods when she was not employed.

Most women, however, fell into the latter two categories. These women stated that they had to work out of necessity. Many women reported that their income was the only financial source used to maintain the household. For these women, all of their money was used to pay bills and provide for family members (including partners). Very rarely was there any surplus money or the opportunity to purchase items for herself. One woman said that the financial situation became more difficult as the

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[9] Two women spoke about lapsing in and out of consciousness for days after particularly savage beatings. One woman commented on being taunted by a partner while laying seriously injured ("showing you the car keys while you're dying"). Other women talked about the phone being ripped out of the wall so they were unable to call for assistance.

[10] In categories three and four, the lack of financial contribution by partners may have been due to partner's unemployment or that he retained his income solely for his own purposes.

children were born. Participants also talked about partners spending money on themselves (food, alcohol, marijuana, cigarettes etc) despite the immediate needs of the woman or her children (food, clothing, healthcare, bills, education etc).

Some partners also demanded that the women provide them with extra money to support their lifestyles. When women refused, partners' demands were enforced with physical violence (which often coincided with the woman's pay day). Another woman said that her partner consistently returned home the day she received her wages. Several women commented that they preferred to submit and give partners cash or cards in order to avoid being beaten. One woman said that when she left her partner she was financially better off but "when I returned he'd start taking my money again".

As a result of the financial abuse experienced, many women were forced in to difficult and often embarrassing situations such as selling furniture, frequenting food banks, avoiding repossession agents and in one case, defrauding WINZ. As one woman stated, "you actually turn into a really good liar".

5. HE WAHINE WHAKAHÄWEATIA, HE WAHINE MATE
RESULTS OF INTERVIEWS

TACTICS USED BY ABUSERS

A myriad of tactics were exercised by abusers to deliberately sabotage participants' employment and education opportunities. Through limiting the woman's opportunities and controlling her movements, abusers can preserve positions of power. By isolating the woman from others and monopolising family resources, the risk of victims/survivors gaining independence and/or leaving the relationship is minimised.

Because family violence is highly conflated with gender, abusers may believe that women's work is unimportant and/or that a woman's place is in the home. Most participants believed that partners were jealous of their accomplishments and feared that the woman would leave:

> "He was jealous cause I had moved on. He was just content to stay where he was and that was his fear, that I'd move right on from him."

Arranging adequate care for children significantly impacted on employment for the majority of participants. Many participants had to work around childcare or school hours and, in two instances, would have to take children to the workplace. In all cases, women were the primary caregivers of children with abusers taking little or no responsibility. When partners conceded to looking after children, the supervision was often inadequate and women worried about their children's welfare:

> "He was supposed to be looking after the kids but he'd arrive at work with the kids with bare feet, dirty clothes, snotty nose, cold day, no coat and I was conscious of how my work mates and customers were perceiving that."
>
> "I got a call from one of the kids and they said that he'd [left them and had] gone to Hamilton."
>
> "He'd left them [the children] at home and they'd started walking down to my work when someone saw them, picked them up and brung them to [my] work."

Destruction of possessions such as text books, work clothes and toiletries was common. Participants referred to books being ripped, work clothes being burned or torn and perfume smashed:

> *"He would throw my books around. I'd come back from school and he may be drunk and he'd start throwing my books around, ripping them up. Just being a real asshole."*
>
> *"[My clothes] ended up getting set on fire. I said "you better put that fire out cause the fire engine will be coming"."*

Many women feared that their partners would act inappropriately at the workplace or at work functions. Because this behaviour was often erratic and unpredictable, participants had a heightened sense of stress and anxiety at work, fearing that abusers may arrive at any time and "make a scene" in the company of her colleagues and/or employers:

> *"When we'd go to a work function he'd often misbehave, which I found embarrassing.*
> *Interviewer: Did this put you off going to functions?*
> *Oh yeah. Definitely."*
>
> *"I was always anxious that he'd come in and cause a scene. I was always on tenderhooks."*
>
> *"I was promoted at this restaurant to manager. As soon as I did that he started showing up drunk and stuff. The better job I got, the worse he got."*
>
> *"He'd start yelling and raising his voice "What's your problem" and I just thought "Oh no"."*

Women were often accused of infidelity (with work colleagues) particularly if they wore makeup, perfume or dressed smartly. Participants described partners as "snooping" and "spying" to discover evidence of an affair:

> *"You try to look nice, look presentable, and they accuse you of having an affair, that you're doing it for someone at work and then it's like, they find any little thing to pick on so you have to justify like, talking to a workmate".*

Seven women spoke of being denied access to the family car to travel to and from work. One woman described having to travel one and a half hours on buses and trains to get to work, yet her partner worked only five minutes away from the family home. Another participant talked about having to use public transport or rely on others, despite her partner being unemployed and not using the car.

Harassment at work often escalated when women left relationships. Ex-partners stalked participants and would make threatening phone calls to both the woman and sometimes her colleagues. In three instances, employers arranged security measures to minimise harassment and threat of grievous harm.

Other methods used by abusers included:
- subjecting the woman to inquisitions about work activities, work colleagues and work hours;
- ringing work constantly;
- wearing women down by creating constant arguments (about anything);
- beating women so as to leave physical marks, knowing that she has work or a job interview the following day;
- abusing work mates; and
- calculating time taken to travel to and from work and establishing time frames.

The constant humiliation, undermining and put-downs adversely impacted on participants' wellbeing and perceptions of their abilities and worth. Women were told they were "useless", "ugly", "worthless" and "stupid". With no encouragement or support to the contrary, women were steadily sapped of their confidence leaving them feeling inadequate, incapable and incompetent in their work.

Dealing with abuse everyday had a culminating effect. Women felt physically exhausted and mentally fatigued. Coping with the stress and deliberate sabotage eventually led to women forgoing jobs and education that offered positive opportunities for themselves and their families.

THE EFFECTS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE ON EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

From the interviews with the women, it is apparent that family violence affected employment opportunities in three main ways. Family violence:

1) prevented or inhibited women from obtaining paid employment or furthering their careers through training and promotions;
2) made retaining employment difficult; and
3) negatively affected women's work performance.

1. Obtaining Paid Employment and Advancing Careers

While most partners disapproved of women working, two women were directly prevented ("forbidden") from seeking paid or unpaid employment outside of the home. Like the other participants in the study, these women felt it was important to commit to their children during infancy but resented being told by their partners that this was non-negotiable and that "he would make the decisions in the house".

Confining women to the home also enabled partners to stifle any developments towards self sufficiency and prevent women from developing friendships and support networks with others. Participants' felt that partners preferred women to be on hand to provide for their needs such as preparing meals, tending to children etc. Women who refused to stay at home often found that the violence in their relationships escalated.

Three other participants talked about partners establishing "ground rules" before they could take up paid employment. Women wanting to work would have to seek permission from partners to do so. Ground rules included assurance that standards in the home were maintained, while no support from partners was forthcoming:

"I think he liked it for the money but didn't like it cause it kept me away from the kids. I had to do my jobs and I had to perform all of the other tasks that I did when I wasn't working. So I wasn't allowed to moan if I was tired or anything like that. The house had to be clean, tea ready for him, kids clean and fed."

" "Well who'll look after the kids? What if they get sick?" It was like I had to have a back-up plan for every little thing that could happen. It was unreal."

"I had to make sure the kids were OK, he was OK, tea was ready….Those are the sort of rules that he set down before I could go to work. I more or less had to plan it all before I could go to work. It had to please him, it had to be alright with him before I could do it. There was a lot of control there."

Lack of support from partners (e.g. emotional, financial or with childcare) was a recurring theme in the interviews. Juggling work and/or study with domestic commitments proved exhausting when partners refused to take any responsibility at home. Although operating at a covert level, partners ensured that women could not cope with added commitments. One woman stated that the lack of support was deliberate. Any aspirations she had to further her development were thwarted until eventually she abandoned study:

> *"When I think about, I started working in a pub but it was never enough for me just to be a barmaid. I always wanted to go further, do courses and that was always made difficult for me, always. He made it difficult for me to achieve anything because it meant that I wasn't tending to any of his needs…. I started doing a paper on real estate [and] on the face of it he said "that's really good" but how could I do everything in the house? Absolutely everything [and] oh well, I had to give it up."*

The evidence of physical abuse in relationships was often visible. While this issue is discussed in the next sub-section, one woman commented that the stress of being in a violent relationship, and often being covered in bruises, can prevent women from seeking work:

> *"If you're in a violent relationship, you don't really go out looking for jobs. You're too busy hiding away."*

Undermining women's attempts to further their career opportunities was another tactic used by violent partners. One woman recounted the time when she undertook a course on taxation which was sabotaged by her former, and extremely bitter, partner who had called the Department of Social Welfare reporting that the woman was a neglectful mother. He gave the social work staff details of where she was and they turned up at the woman's final exam. Despite the report being untrue, and this was quickly determined by the social workers, her ex-partner's action had the desired effect. The incident was extremely upsetting and the woman was unable to finish the exam and therefore complete the course.

Two women were offered promotions in their place of work. Both declined the opportunity fearing repercussions.

One woman turned down a promotion out of fear that the violence would escalate both at home and at her workplace. She was constantly anxious that he would come to her job and "cause a scene". The potential cost of increased violence, at least for this woman, clearly outweighed any career or financial benefits.

The other woman was told by her husband that she was not to take up a promotion and a raise in salary, which would make her the principal wage earner in the relationship:

> *"He said to me "No way" because I would get paid more money than him. In the fish factory I got a pay rise and he started crying. He literally started crying. So I went to the manager the next day and explained it and he put [my partner's wages] up to the same as mine."*

Coupled with physical abuse, the constant undermining of a woman's belief in herself and her abilities can present major psychological barriers to looking for a job. For these reasons, "violence stops women without a job trying to get a job" (Dale Rewha personal communication).

2. Retaining Paid Employment

For all of the women, maintaining employment was always difficult when their personal relationships were fraught with abuse and control. Mentally and physically fatigued, all of the participants found keeping up employment a daily struggle despite the respite that work offered.

Physical violence significantly impacted on the women's ability to retain jobs:

> *"It felt like I was always missing work cause I was tired or had been beaten up."*

More often than not, the violence was aimed at deliberately thwarting participants' development. As women advanced in their jobs, the violence often escalated:

> *"He'd try to jeopardise my work but I would go and I would tell my boss what was wrong. Out in the packing sheds and seasonal work nobody really gives a shit anyway. Then I started at community health. That was my first full-time job and every month I was going to work with black eyes.*
> *Interviewer: Was that deliberate?*
> *Yes it was because he knew I was going from just an ordinary care giver worker to being a team leader so I was taking care of others as well."*

Women commented on the shame and embarrassment of going to work with obvious signs that they had been beaten. They feared stigmatisation and that colleagues would blame them for the violence, for not leaving the relationship. This point, raised by many of the participants, was poignantly articulated by one woman:

> *"He didn't care if people thought he was a mongrel. He said "they'll just look at you and think what a stupid bitch you are" and that did get to me."*

As for many women, the embarrassment, the fear of being blamed for the violence and the anxiety of how work mates would react eventually forced some participants to leave jobs:

> *"Twice I've left jobs because we'd had a fight and I had black eyes and I left my job because I couldn't face people knowing and also I was struggling along and we'd have fights about work not being done at home. So I thought it's not worth it."*
>
> *"It's the shame and embarrassment and the stress."*
>
> *"After another violent episode I was too upset and I chucked my job in."*
>
> *"He'd hit me all around my face so that he knew I wouldn't go to work."*
>
> *"I used to just hide in my house. In summer I'd wear cardies to hide my arms."*

However, some women did not attempt to hide their partner's violence:

> *"I don't feel embarrassed. Cause why?"*
>
> *"It was easier working in the market gardens. You could go in with a black e nobody cared."*

Other factors impacting on job retention were post-relationship harassment and childcare issues. Two women ended jobs due to harassment from former partners at the workplace. Despite moving employment, and often towns, abusers would track women down and continue to subject them to abuse. Another participant ended

employment because she felt that her children were not being properly cared for by their father while she was at work.

Rather than being rare occurrences, women found that taking up employment and then having to end it (because of family violence) was cyclic, which significantly contributed to women having multiple jobs throughout their working lives.

3. Work Performance

Women living with family violence are often perpetually operating in crisis mode. As with other areas of their lives, work performance also suffers:

> *"In the end it was affecting my work. It was getting to me emotionally. He'd only go for my face just so he could give me a black eye. A lot of things were psychological with him. When he couldn't get to me psychologically, he'd hit me."*

Women often found themselves constantly tired and preoccupied with the violence - what led to it, did she contribute to it, how she could minimise or "fix" the violence. Women described arguments which would continue in to the early morning or having to spend hours justifying certain events or actions. Other women talked about having to clear up the aftermath of parties before children arose the next morning. Sleep deprived and lives in turmoil, women found it difficult to concentrate on work the following day:

> *"When you're in a violent relationship it's hard to work. You get up the next morning and you can't think straight, run around and get ready."*
>
> *"I'd just cry all the way to work."*

One woman, who was responsible for managing staff was being undermined, in work matters, by her partner in the presence of colleagues:

> *"Well, your partner comes along and gets on the bandwagon after you're challenging [a colleague] on an issue and you are totally disregarded."*

The effects of physical violence, particularly when directed towards the head, can include hearing and visual impairment, short term memory loss, broken bones and loss of teeth. These injuries affect a woman's ability to perform work duties:

> *"I forget really easily. Someone will tell me to do something and ten minutes later I can't remember what it was."*

For some women, the effects of violence inhibited the development of any type of relationship with co-workers. Apart from financial rewards, work should also impart social benefits such as enjoying the company of other people. While most women in the study enjoyed the respite from violence that work offered, some women found trusting others difficult as discussed by one respondent:

> *"I deliberately just go there to earn the money. I didn't even associate with other women cause you put guards up."*

All of these women wanted to perform well in their jobs, not only because they may have lost their jobs (and their income) if they didn't, but also because it was important to them that they performed to their best ability. However, this was often impossible due to the violence perpetrated against them.

6. Ëtahi Atu Kaupapa Mö Te Whakawhiwhi Ki Te Mahi
Other Factors Affecting Employment Opportunities

During the interviews, participants were asked about other barriers to employment, that were not necessarily directly related to the violence in their relationships.

- Racism - Three women commented on racism in the workplace. This included general racial slurs and assuming that Mäori workers were responsible if resources or money was stolen. Two women believed that they had been given the dirtiest menial tasks on account that they were Mäori.

- Sexual Harassment - Two women commented on inappropriate sexual advances and comments. For women experiencing family violence, the additional stresses of sexual and racial harassment in the workplace can increase isolation and unhappiness.

- Age Discrimination - Three women commented that they felt they had been discriminated against due to their age. As older woman, these participants believed they had been disqualified (in the view of employers) from obtaining employment.

- Qualifications - Most women believed that their lack of qualifications or formal recognition of their skills significantly impeded their ability to find employment. The Blenheim focus group discussed the need to have qualifications ("a ticket") to work in seafood processing where, previously, there had been no need for certification. Five women (all of whom had left the violent relationship) were currently in tertiary education. All participants recognised the importance of further training and study in both personal and professional development.

- Childcare - A major issue for participants. Finding affordable and competent childcare was difficult, particularly for women living rurally and/or where there was no public transport.

- Flexible Work Hours - Women commented on the need for work hours and conditions to accommodate childcare, particularly as all mothers were the primary caregiver of children.

- Transport - Because some participants lived in areas where inadequate, little or no public transport was available, travelling to and from work was a major barrier particularly if work was some distance from childcare.

- Lack of Employment - Most women commented on the lack of jobs available in their areas.

- A Living Wage - All of the women wanted to work, but in jobs that would be stimulating and rewarding. Some women would not consider menial, under-paid positions while others saw them as a last resort. Several women commented on whether it was worth working for such little remuneration (either financially or emotionally).

7. TE HIRINGA O TE MAHI
THE IMPORTANCE OF WORK

THE EFFECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT ON WOMEN

Participants in this study were unanimous in their agreement that unemployment was in no way a desirable state of existence. A 1994 study on the effects of unemployment on women in Aotearoa New Zealand found that coupled with financial hardship, unemployment had an overwhelmingly negative psychological effect on women:

Many women mentioned the lack of routine in the day, the boredom and soul-destroying loneliness of having no daily schedule involving contact with others. This resulted in feelings of isolation, loss of confidence, and for some, severe depression bordering on the suicidal (Society for Research on Women Christchurch Branch 1994:34).

For women in violent relationships, unemployment may exacerbate general feelings of isolation and despair. Many of the interviewees felt that active participation in and contribution to society was severely limited by unemployment. Some women spoke despairingly of not being able to ensure financial security for their families and contribute to their children's tertiary education in the future.

THE MEANING OF WORK

The primary impetus for working, for participants, was unequivocally financial. Providing basic items and care for the family, inadequately provided for by partners or government assistance, was the driving force for most participants needing and wanting to work.

Work was invariably seen as positive by the women, not only in the financial sense but psychologically as well. Employment brought respite from domestic life for most participants, an escape, if only briefly, from the home and time for herself:

"The office was only 5 minutes away from my house but I used to take the long way home."

One woman spoke of her partner deliberately wrecking her house and possessions because they were paid for by the woman's income. These disparaging experiences left her wondering if her efforts were futile:

> *"The whare that you have for you and your tamariki, yeah take out that window, smash that "Äna, you gonna pay for it!" You the one that's going to pay for it and they know that. Taking more kai out of [the children's] mouths. To satisfy them…..If it's not going to be you, it's gonna be your house. "You're gonna pay for it bitch". It's like that….If you go to work you do that for you and your tamariki. You work hard for it but then the man's going to wreck it anyway. You put nice things in your home – 'smash'."*

Employment and control over personal income, led to women becoming financially independent from violent partners:

> *"He put a lot of pressure on me when I did go to work but I thought it was good to get out of the house. Year after year, season after season I was working to get my independence back."*
>
> *"That was part of my independence, getting my own car. By the time he realised, I had set myself up [to be independent] and that's when the violence escalated too, because he was too late by the time he caught on - getting a vehicle meant I could get more work, rather than doing seasonal work once a year."*
>
> *"I think that I instinctively knew that it was the only independence I had. The times when I wasn't working I was totally dependent on my partner for everything. He never, ever said "Here's the wages"…I always had to ask for money."*

Many women enjoyed working for the mental stimulation work provided and also the sense of accomplishment when a particular work goal or task was completed.

The opportunity to interact with other people was also seen as an important benefit of working:

> *"I do plan to go back to work. To do something! I like the company of working. I find that the rest of my life comes in to balance."*
>
> *"It's just getting out and meeting other people. At the moment I'm stuck at home."*
>
> *"I love working with other people, to get out of the house."*
>
> *"You got to talk with other people…Have some time off."*

A sense of participation in society was also engendered in employment. One respondent found personal satisfaction in the knowledge that she was not only helping others in her volunteer work with Refuge, it was also increasing her knowledge of family violence and of her own situation. In this case, financial reward was not the primary impetus for finding work, but participation and mental stimulation:

> *"My partner said "Do they pay you at that refuge?", I said "No". He goes "You're bloody thick going up to work for them and you don't get paid". I said to him "It's not the money, at least I'm getting something out of it" cause my payment from them was getting to know what the Refuge mahi was all about. That was my payment."*

For the women in the study, work was seen as providing many different benefits:
- many women did not have a choice. Often, as the sole providers of income used to sustain the family, it was necessary for women to work;
- in a few cases, financial empowerment, obtained through employment, contributed to their physical release from violence. The opportunities offered by work enabled women to decrease their financial dependency on partners while increasing their own economic self-sufficiency;
- work often represented moments of psychological release from the trauma and stress of violent relationships. Some women were able to seek solace in work mates and develop support networks;
- many women talked of enjoying the company of others;
- women also discussed the mental stimulation and challenges that work provided. Participants talked about a sense of achievement upon finishing a task or reaching a goal; and
- participation in and contribution to society was also seen as important.

However, while work did provide these benefits, it was often a double edged sword as participants tried to cope with paid work and domestic responsibilities as well as the violence in their relationships.

8. HE WAHINE TÜ, HE WAHINE ORA
INTERVENTION

INTERVENTION

As well as preventative strategies, intervention that is timely, effective and appropriate to the woman's short and long term needs is necessary to break and terminate the cycle of violence.

This section will discuss family violence and employment intervention strategies at three different levels:
- community;
- statutory agencies (public sector); and
- private employers (private sector).

COMMUNITY INTERVENTION

NCIWR is Aotearoa New Zealand's primary non-government family violence organisation providing intervention to women. Almost 7,000 women in crisis access our services annually. While many women will come to refuge for respite from violence, many others use Refuge as an exit point from abusive relationships. Regardless of whether women choose to leave or return to violent relationships, NCIWR is committed to supporting women in a non-judgmental way. At any point on the continuum of living with violence to living free of violence, NCIWR undertakes to provide quality advice and assistance.

A number of the women interviewed talked about the support Women's Refuge had provided:

> *"If I need someone to talk to or any support I know that the women here are there for me. It's really reassuring to know that I've got a support system and I've got these really awesome women to talk to about it. They give me really good advice. It was stuff I already thought but it was reassuring to hear them say it."*
>
> *"When I came to refuge I found it really good trying to heal myself and get the kids settled. The ladies are really fantastic here. I get on with all of them."*

NCIWR is contracted by the Department of Child, Youth and Family Services to provide education and violence prevention programmes to refuge advocates, women and their children, government, non-government agencies and community groups. In addition, many refuges provide education group programmes with programme content consistent with that specified in the DVA Programme Regulations.

Education programmes for victims/survivors of family violence (including both women and children) are considered one of the principal intervention strategies (YWCA 1996). For women victims/survivors, education programmes can assist them to understand and articulate the violence perpetrated against them, place responsibility with the abuser, build support networks, access legal and other information and learn about ways in which to build lives free of violence and abuse (Kemp and Milne 1997; Thorpe and Swift 1996). Group programmes are particularly suited to working with women victims/survivors:

Working with groups is a very appropriate forum for contextualising family violence - extending the focus from the individual woman to show the violence as a systemic form of control practiced the world over. It breaks the silence, brings family violence in to the open, allows women to share their stories and to 'normalise' their experiences (i.e. recognise while the violence is personal, it is supported by wider systems) (NCIWR 1997:6).

The objectives of NCIWR programmes are to provide education about family violence, assist women in evaluating their safety and provide information and advice on living free of violence.

The philosophies which underpin NCIWR programmes are that:
▪ family violence is an overwhelmingly gendered violence, perpetrated by men against women;
▪ all women have the right to live in a safe domestic environment without violence;
▪ no woman is responsible for the violence perpetrated against her;
▪ the victims of family violence are suffering the effects of living with violence and not from any inherent psychological problems or deficiencies; and
▪ family violence stems from the perpetrator's belief in their right to have power and control over another.

Programmes for Mäori women also include te reo, karakia, discussions on colonisation, racism, whakapapa, whänaungatanga and mana wähine discourses. Currently, there are eight such programmes for Mäori women. Two of these programmes are DVA approved and therefore receive funding from the Department for Courts for court referred women with a Protection Order. This funding does not cover the majority of women who self-refer or are referred through other agencies. One other programme receives funding from an iwi authority and the remainder are unfunded (i.e. costs are absorbed by refuges).

Most of the women interviewed had attended education programmes. The education and information shared in programmes were seen as significantly facilitating women's abilities to begin to recognise and "heal" from the violence and develop plans for safety:

> *"It's hard without a programme to help you make those steps."*
>
> *"Through training and learning about power and control comes the healing."*
>
> *"You take from [the programme] what you want, tools for what you need for that particular day."*

Through the programmes, women were able to learn about other services such as employment training programmes.

All of the participants were unanimous in stating that victims/survivors of family violence must have time for "recovery" before seeking employment. Women in crisis, regardless of how long they have left the relationship, are not in a position to fully commit themselves to jobs and work productively to their fullest potential:

> *"It took about 6 months [after leaving the relationship] to go back to work. I was pretty shot emotionally and physically.*
> *Interviewer: Do you think six months is long enough?*
> *Oh no, I'm still recovering. After three years I'm still recovering."*
>
> *"Women really need healing time before getting a job."*

Wähine Tü Kaha Mäori Women's Business Resource Employment Information Centre, based in Christchurch, provides support, training and information for Mäori women wanting employment. Many women using Wähine Tü Kaha's services are victims/survivors of family violence. At first contact, it is not unusual for these

women to be operating in crisis mode. Wähine Tü Kaha believes that the first priority for these women is that they address the family violence in their lives before addressing work issues. In their experience, women who have lived with family violence but who have had time and information to "heal" are more likely to gain employment (June Foster, personal communication).

PUBLIC SECTOR INTERVENTION

The Domestic Violence Act (1995) provides protected persons (i.e. have a protection order or for most children, are named on an adult's protection order) the opportunity to take up programmes (or individual counseling), which are paid for by the Department for Courts. Evaluations of programmes are currently being undertaken.

Work and Income New Zealand is also involved in the provision (including contracting out) of a number of employment and training programmes for registered unemployed seeking work which Mäori have high participation rates in (Fletcher 1999).

Evaluations of Wähine Pakari and Wähine Ähuru indicate that the programmes appear to attain some level of success in improving Mäori women's information, skills and personal development and that the Mäori women who attended the programmes found them worthwhile (Dysart 1999; Fletcher 1999; New Zealand Employment Service 1998). Participants also related well to the providers who were also Mäori women (Tobin 1998). Nonetheless, Fletcher comments that:
…firmer evidence is needed that the improvements in motivation and job search intentions attributed to these courses actually translate into higher probabilities of finding employment… (1999:10).

However, "moderate employment outcomes" for the Wähine Pakari programme were noted (Fletcher 1999:11).

Dysart (1999), in her evaluation of Wähine Pakari and Wähine Ähuru, found that programme participants wanted facilitators to include course time on discussing the social issues that impacted on their lives, including their employment. Although the social issues were not specified, it is probable that family violence may have been included.

Apart from developing, implementing and regulating family violence legislation and public policy, federal and state governments in North America and Australia have extended their responsibilities in intervening in family violence to the employment sector. State and federal authorities in North America have been particularly proactive. The United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau has developed the *Working Women Count Honor Roll* which challenges private and public sector employers to introduce/implement policy and other initiatives that contribute to changes in the workplace where female employees have identified problematic issues (United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1996). The Australian government has implemented the *Business Against Domestic Violence* initiative which offers tax deduction incentives for businesses who contribute to breaking the cycle of violence both for employees and the wider community.

North American state governments have also recognised their own obligations as employers to supporting employees living with family violence as well as raising awareness in communities and supporting community family violence service providers such as local refuges. The City of Tacoma, Washington runs family violence classes and provides information on services where employees can seek assistance. They also insert family violence information into residents' utility bills. The Office of the Los Angeles City Attorney has a family violence workplace policy. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has signed a collective agreement with unions that allows their 21,000 employees 10 days paid leave to deal with issues of family violence (United States Department of Labor Women's Bureau 1996). The State of Maryland requires all 60,000 state employees to attend family violence seminars (Sharon Stout, internet communication).

PRIVATE SECTOR INTERVENTION

Employers are becoming increasingly aware of the costs of family violence to their businesses. North American businesses have been particularly proactive in recognising that family violence adversely impacts on victims/survivors' ability to perform well in the workplace. The United States Bureau of National Affairs estimates that employers lose approximately $5 billion per annum due to absenteeism, costs to health plans and reduced productivity (Sharon Stout, internet communication). A study of Fortune 1000 companies conducted in 1994 found that:
- 49 percent found that family violence reduced productivity;
- 47 percent said that attendance was affected;

- 33 percent stated that the effects of family violence directly impacted on company profits; and
- two thirds of employers believed that addressing family violence would improve financial performance (United States Department of Labour Women's Affairs 1996).

The provision of support to workers living with family violence is becoming more and more relevant and important to workforce and company development. Specific family violence policies implemented by North American companies include:

- training for managers and supervisors on recognising family violence and referring to family violence agencies;
- education seminars;
- the inclusion of information about family violence and where to get help as part of a standard induction package;
- providing financial assistance or goods in kind to local refuges;
- developing a network of employers addressing family violence such as the Employers Against Domestic Violence group; and
- providing Employee Assistance Programmes (The Warehouse is one example of a company in Aotearoa New Zealand which provides free and confidential counseling for employees among other initiatives).

Although family violence work policies have yet to be taken up here with any significant commitment compared to North America and Australia (who are following the example of North America), family friendly policies have been consistently advocated by the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust.

10. Ngä Whakamutunga Me Ngä Tütohutanga
Conclusions And Recommendations

CONCLUSIONS

As the majority of participants were in their late thirties or older, many had experienced first hand adverse employment and educational policies. As young women, they were not encouraged at secondary school and were subsequently employed in jobs which have become either increasingly qualification based or unstable. Rather than being long-term beneficiaries, they tended to be long-term employees. Periods of unemployment were mostly due to redundancy, child care and family violence. This is the context in which most of the participants' lives are framed.

All of the women had experienced psychological abuse and most had been subject to physical violence. Both of these types of violence inhibited participants' employment opportunities. For many women, the violence extended outside of the spatial confines of the domestic locale and intruded into the workplace affecting their ability to preserve a job or perform well.

All of the women wanted to be employed and viewed work positively. As most of the women were experiencing extreme financial abuse, many had no other option but to work as their income often solely sustained the household. Work was also seen as respite from violence and a chance to enjoy the company of others who did not act violently towards them.

The women were unanimous in the belief that victims/survivors require respite from violence before committing to employment. The majority of the women had worked for many years while in crisis and found the exhaustion a daily struggle. Participants commented on Women's Education Programmes assisting in recovery from violence.

Public sector intervention focuses on addressing family violence and providing programmes for unemployed to increase employment opportunities. In terms of recognising the effects of family violence on employment, Aotearoa New Zealand is clearly lagging behind North America and Australia where employers are being encouraged to introduce family violence policies.

R E C O M M E N D A T I O N S

The outcomes of this research have prompted the following recommendations:

Government

There are many ways in which the government can support local and national initiatives:

- promoting the development of family violence policies in the workplace by offering incentives to employers such as tax deductions and lower ACC premiums;
- supporting the Equal Employment Opportunities Trust and similar organisations to promote family violence workplace policies as a family friendly policy;
- developing educational and employment policies that promote high achievement for Mäori women. The development of appropriate employment opportunities need to be supported by the education of young Mäori women within the schooling system.

Iwi Mäori

Where Mäori organisations are providing employment and educational services, family violence training would be beneficial. The development of immediate, medium and long term strategies which contribute to the positive development of young Mäori women in education and employment, particularly in occupations which have been historically 'closed' to Mäori women, are imperative to eliminating family violence.

Whänau, häpü and iwi must adopt a 'zero tolerance towards violence' attitude and actively work towards the dismantling of beliefs and behaviours which support family violence, particularly violence against women.

Work and Income New Zealand

NCIWR and Work and Income New Zealand have an overlap in their client group. It is imperative that both organisations work collaboratively for the best interests of victims/survivors of family violence. This could be facilitated through:

- the development of national protocols between Work and Income New Zealand and NCIWR concerning policy changes affecting Mäori women;
- family violence training for Work and Income New Zealand;

- family violence training for employment programme facilitators (including contracted programmes);
- funding refuges to deliver and/or properly resource Women's Education Programmes; and
- the inclusion of appropriate respite measures for women victims/survivors beneficiaries who may be required to undertake employment or training as part of their benefit requirement.

Research

Research is critical to the development of sound and effective family violence strategies.

A quantitative study into the prevalence of family violence affecting the obtainment and retention of employment needs to be conducted. This study should also measure the effects of family violence on women's work performance. Target populations should include women who seek assistance as well as a random selection of female employees in various businesses and organisations.

Using comprehensive prevalence data and performance measures would enable an accurate analysis of costs to employers. This would provide justification to employers on the need to identify key issues and develop appropriate strategies. An analysis of improved employee performance versus expenditure on assistance would enable employers to gauge the successfulness of any initiatives.

Private and Public Sector Employers

Employers should be encouraged to develop and implement family violence work policies. These may include:
- information on family violence services for victims/survivors and batterers in common work areas and as part of induction;
- family violence education seminars during paid work time;
- training for supervisors and managers on identifying family violence and referral to appropriate agencies;
- Employee Assistance Programmes;
- the provision of security for employees who may be harassed by abusers;
- paid leave for victims/survivors requiring time off to attend to family violence matters such as legal proceedings, medical attention;
- promoting a 'zero tolerance to violence' culture in the workplace. This may include abusers continuing employment being subject to being free of family violence; and

- the provision of child care facilities and other family friendly policies.

Employers should look at ways in which they can support community groups through unpaid services or goods in kind, financial assistance and volunteering.

As Aotearoa New Zealand's primary family violence service provider, NCIWR has trained and competent women who are able to deliver comprehensive and effective training. NCIWR would welcome the development of relationships between Refuge and employers.

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TÄPIRITANGA KOTAHI
APPENDIX ONE

VISION, MISSION AND VALUES OF NCIWR

NCIWR's vision is:
He Wähine, He Tamariki, He Ao Märie Mö Te Whänau. He Toka Tü Tënei Mö Te Tiriti Ö Waitangi - Women and Children In Violence Free Communities/Häpü Living Te Tiriti Ö Waitangi.

The mission of NCIWR *is Working Towards Safety for Women and Children in Communities/Häpü* by:
- Eliminating beliefs, attitudes and behaviours inherent in patriarchal structures which maintain and perpetuate violence against women and children;
- Empowering women and children so they have choice, can make the transition to independence and are supported by communities/häpü;
  - Raising awareness of family violence.

Our values are:
- Te Tiriti ö Waitangi;
- Accountability to ourselves, to women and to other major stakeholders;
- Diversity;
- All women and children having equitable access to our services;
- Working with women and children in a respectful, confidential, sensitive and non-judgmental manner;
- Living and modeling non violent and non abusive behaviour;
- Working in an ethical way;
- Working in a professional manner;
- Striving to improve our skills through training, education and supervision;
- Quality;
- Using resources effectively and efficiently; working with a feminist analysis which means an understanding of family violence as gender based violence, namely:
  - naming the violence
  - placing responsibility for violence where it belongs - no victim blaming
  - recognising the social, historical, cultural and political context in which family violence occurs
  - assisting women and children to live without violence.

TÄPIRITANGA E RUA
APPENDIX TWO.

HE PÄNUI WHAKAMÄRAMA

Tënä koe

The *Mäori Women in Work: The Effects of Family Violence on Mäori Women's Employment Opportunities* research is being conducted by Tania Pouwhare. Tania is a researcher in the Mäori Development Unit at the National Office of the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR).

The information you give will enable us to identify how family violence effects Mäori women and their mahi and identify ways in which we can support women leaving violent relationships to determine their destinies, especially financial independence. It is our commitment to provide the best services to Mäori and your körero will help us in achieving this.

We will not use your name or any other details in the report that might identify who you are. You also have the right to withdraw any of your körero before June 1st 1999. The interviews can only be taped with your permission. The final report will be finished by ………… so please give your contact details to Tania if you would like a copy.

If you have any concerns about the interview, please contact:
Merepeka Raukawa-Tait
Chief Executive
NCIWR
PO Box 11 074
Wellington
Ph: (04) 802 5078

You are guaranteed to have your issues dealt with in confidence.

If you have any other queries, please contact Tania at the above address and phone number.

KIA ORA KOUTOU.

TÄPIRITANGA E TORU
APPENDIX THREE

CONSENT   FORM.

This Consent Form will be held for a period of ………………….. months.

Title of Research:

Mäori Women and Work: The Effects of Family Violence on Mäori Women's Employment Opportunities.

Researcher:

Tania Pouwhare

National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc.

I have been given and have understood the explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered. I understand that:

- My name will not be used in the report;
- My name and details will not be given out to any other organisation and/or persons;
- I can withdraw all or any part of my interview before June 1st 1999;
- I can request a copy of the report.

I do/do not give my consent for my interview to be taped.

I agree to take part in this research.

Signed ……………………………………………………………

Name (please print)……………………………………………………

Date …………………

iii