The History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand

By Margaret Tennant, Mike O'Brien & Jackie Sanders

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Contents

Preface

Since 2005, Aotearoa New Zealand has participated in an international comparative non-profit research programme, initiated by the Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Our participation in this research has been led by the Committee for the Study of the New Zealand Non-profit Sector, working in collaboration with the Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector (within the Ministry of Social Development). Statistics New Zealand has also worked closely with us as a part of this initiative, and provided crucial quantitative data through its production of this country's first *Non-profit Institutions Satellite Account* (2007). A team of researchers from Massey University has undertaken the qualitative research, which is drawn together in the *New Zealand Non-profit Sector in Comparative Perspective* (2008).

The *History of the Non-profit Sector in New Zealand* is one of several specialised working papers – in this case providing further information on the history of the sector's development in Aotearoa New Zealand. One of the assumptions of the Johns Hopkins University international study is that the non-profit sector is "not an isolated phenomenon floating freely in space but… an integral part of a [particular] social system whose role and scale is a by-product of a complex set of historical forces" (Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier 2000: 21). This working paper addresses, for our particular context, historical questions and issues considered by several other countries participating in the international study. This will enable some international comparisons, and perhaps even some generalisations. However, it is also immensely valuable for our own situation. Understanding where we have come from will only widen our perspective on, and deepen our appreciation of, the current and future roles, scope and resourcing of this most important sector in Aotearoa New Zealand society.

Garth Nowland-Foreman
Chair, Committee for the Study of the New Zealand Non-profit Sector

Introduction

The history of the non-profit sector in Aotearoa New Zealand is informed by the local and the global; by the interplay of factors distinctive to this country, and borrowings from elsewhere; by two main cultural traditions and the exchanges and tension between them.

First, by international standards the role of the indigenous Māori population is distinctive. Although they became a numerical minority in the population from the 1850s, Māori have remained an identifiable group and a political force, sometimes in contestation with, sometimes engaging with the predominantly British settler society and its descendants. While Māori kin-based associational forms have remained

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significant, and showed renewed potency over the later twentieth century, Māori have also participated in the organisations of mainstream society, bringing distinctive cultural perspectives to them, while borrowing from some of their structural forms. Although more apparent in some periods of the country's history than in others, this interface has been highly significant. It has resulted in distinctive forms of organisation which do not readily fit internationally recognised non-profit sector categories (Tennant, Sanders, O'Brien and Castles 2006: 31).

Second, Aotearoa New Zealand was a colony of Great Britain, and there are social, legal and political inheritances that followed from the formalisation of this link after the various signings of the Treaty of Waitangi and the British declaration of sovereignty in 1840. Aotearoa New Zealand was a relatively late addition to the Anglo-British world, and certain civil society formations were at a particular stage of development in the United Kingdom during the mid-nineteenth century. Many of the institutions

that are now conceived as part of the non-profit sector first appeared in the colony in recognisably modern form. The patriotic and charitable societies, lodges, clubs and sporting groups which had undergone vast expansion in Britain since the late eighteenth century provided models of associational life for the first colonists. Local circumstances then gave a particular twist to the associational mix. Sporting culture was more highly developed in nineteenth than in eighteenth-century Britain, and in Aotearoa New Zealand it faced fewer obstacles to its establishment than it had in puritan New England, in particular (Ryan 2003: 19–20). On the other hand, there was also a vast network of charities in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century, but the individualism and the reluctance of an immigrant society to recognise structural, as opposed to personal, causes of failure, meant that "other"-directed charities got off to a slow start in the colony (Tennant 2007: 59). If recent national statistics show a marked weighting towards non-profit institutions which may be characterised as "expressive" (in the areas of sport, recreation and culture), rather than "service"-oriented (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 14), this is a relationship grounded in history.[1]

Third, and following from the British link, Aotearoa New Zealand drew on English common law precedent in providing a facilitative legal environment for the non-profit sector. Historically, government regulation of the sector was relatively light-handed despite early state financial aid to parts of the sector. The first, and long-standing pieces of legislation were intended to simplify the titles of land held in trust for charitable purposes, to facilitate the receipt of government subsidies, and to protect the funds and property of non-profit organisations.[2]

Fourth, the development of state social services in Aotearoa New Zealand had implications for the non-profit sector. Education up to tertiary level was the responsibility of government from the nineteenth-century, as were public hospital services.

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[1] See Salamon, Sokolowski and List (2004, 23–4) for a discussion of the distinction between the service and expressive functions of non-profit organisations.

[2] See, respectively, the 1856 Religious, Charitable and Educational Trusts Act; the 1885 Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act; the 1895 Unclassified Societies Act and its successor, the 1908 Incorporated Societies Act.

This limited the space for non-profit activity in these fields, but it also spawned separate, and parallel services where the state's provision was found to be wanting: a Catholic education system expanded after 1877 in response to the "godless" nature of state education, for example, while in more recent years alternative health services have emerged in response to inadequacies in public health service provision. And, even in areas dominated by the state, there was opportunity for voluntary contribution and community association with state action, from the time of the first hospital and education boards, through to the parent-teacher associations or home and school committees of the twentieth century, and the current boards of trustees of schools.

Fifth, and despite successive governments' light regulatory hand in the past, relationships between the state and the non-profit sector have assumed a particular intensity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In the absence of large-scale private philanthropy, the willingness of government to provide financial aid to selected organisations was important to their ongoing existence.

The existence of a centralised state and the approachability of politicians and senior government officials in a small country have been vital to the emergence of formal and informal partnership arrangements between non-profits and government. In the absence of large-scale private philanthropy, the willingness of government to provide financial aid to selected organisations was important to their ongoing existence. In the social service sector, an almost symbiotic relationship prevailed between key organisations and the post-World War II welfare state. Other kinds of organisations, including cultural and sporting bodies, entered into a closer financial and regulatory relationship with government over the late twentieth century, sometimes at a cost to their sense of autonomy. While historical relationships between government and non-profits have mostly been complementary, mutually beneficial, and often predicated on personal relationships, the 1990s saw the most conflicted period in the relationship

between the sectors. This reflected changes within the public sector, the much larger scale of financial transfers between government and non-profits, and the ascendancy of purchase of service contracts as the basis of the relationship.

A fifth historical theme is the expression of global trends within a relatively small and on the surface, homogeneous society. For all that it was remote from major metropolitan centres, New Zealand has been remarkably open to external influences.[3] In terms of the non-profit sector, these were first shaped by examples from the "mother country" and by organisations which were part of an imperial network. Over the later twentieth century, service clubs originating in the United States and international aid organisations gained a firm foothold – and, in the case of the former, a disproportionate per capita membership. If the full range of non-profit organisations appears more restricted than in larger, more culturally diverse societies, there has nonetheless been an ongoing receptiveness to overseas influences, and a willingness to participate (and compete) upon an international stage. Members from Aotearoa New Zealand have often "boxed very much above [their] weight" in international bodies (Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 72).

A sixth and more universal feature of the history of the non-profit sector is the pattern of organisational rise and decline. Organisations grow out of particular historical circumstances and have their own internal life cycles and energy phases. Some adapt and change, often momentously so; others outlive their usefulness and social relevance and fade from existence. The history of the sector needs to be attuned to failure as well as success, to decline as well as growth; and to the role of some associational forms as markers of difference and channels for disharmony, as well as the more comfortable conception of non-profits as a force for social integration and positive civic participation.

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3 For an argument that New Zealand's remoteness has made it "extraordinarily dependent" upon cultural imports, see Fairburn (2006).

Major periods of historical expansion for the sector were the decades from the 1880s until the end of the First World War, and from the 1970s to the 2000s. The first built upon population growth in the late nineteenth century, the non-profit sector operating as an integrating force, for Pākehā at least, fostering common identities beyond the family and, increasingly, national identities beyond the locality. In the late twentieth century the sector was fed by the emergence of new identities and sub-identities. Non-profit organisations were still an integrating force, in the sense of contributing to community participation and a sense of belonging, but, increasingly, they were also a marker of difference and challenge to the status quo. Late twentieth century organisations were increasingly specialised, and an identifiable gap emerged between bodies that were nationally and often bureaucratically structured, sometimes employing large numbers of staff, and those which remained more local and informal, handling fewer resources.

Elaborating upon these themes, the following, more detailed discussion considers the period from the first contacts between Māori and Europeans through to the 1880s, when a more complex pattern of non-profit organisations started to emerge; from the 1880s until the end of the Second World War; from the end of the Second World War until the mid-1980s; and from the mid-1980s until the present.

The pre-colonial period to the 1880s

Two traditions

In Aotearoa New Zealand there was an established cultural base onto which European associational forms would later be grafted. The Māori population had their own "social engines" as James Belich terms them, descent-based groups formed around "family and tribal connectedness" (King 2003: 77, Belich 1996: 83–4). These are often schematised as whānau, or extended family groups, hapū, usually characterised as sub-tribe, and iwi or the wider tribes to which many hapū were related. The idea of descent from a common ancestor or canoe drew together smaller tribal units, which otherwise functioned independently, into federations with a common identity. Marriages were used to forge alliances or to mend disputes between factions. Collectivities were fluid and variable in size, and individuals could have more than one affiliation in terms of descent (Belich 1996: 83–4). All this was tied up with levels of whakapapa, or descent, varied regionally and is not open to tidy schematisation. This was not a world where current constructs of "non-profit" and "civil society" activity had relevance. The extended family grouping met social needs and there was little, if any, sense of the individual having a choice about participation in the activities of the group. Māori social arrangements were nonetheless dynamic and adaptive, as was necessary in the centuries following migration from the warmer east Polynesian ancestral island homes to a very different physical environment (King 2003: 61–2). Such adaptability was to continue after European contact, providing a basis for hybrid associational forms.

The first Europeans came in significant numbers to this Māori-dominated world from the late eighteenth century. It was a time when voluntary associations were "breaking out like measles over the face of Britain and the rest of Europe" (Colley 1992: 88), enabling people to come together for a focused purpose beyond the confines of the family. The voluntary organisations of the "old world" helped ease the social changes generated by the Industrial Revolution, the transition to waged labour, and urbanisation. In Britain some of these bodies also helped drive the colonial enterprise: missionary and emigration societies encouraged British intervention and then facilitated the movement of settlers from their country of origin to the "new society".

For example, the Church Missionary Society supported the British annexation of Aotearoa New Zealand, and groups such as the Female Middle Class Emigration Society were to send out single women as marriage fodder for male colonists in the 1860s (Macdonald 1990: 6–9). In the 1870s the National Agricultural Labourers' Union, based in the south-east of England, encouraged and assisted the migration of their members to colonies such as Aotearoa New Zealand as a release from rural misery and exploitation in the "Home" country (Arnold 1981: 41–8).

While early Pākehā migrants arrived well acquainted with voluntary associations of various kinds, the population base in the new colony was insufficient to sustain an elaborate associational life. Colonial New Zealand has been seen as having affinities with pre-industrial Britain, in that the availability of land for new settlement, opportunities for a subsistence living, and the need for neighbourly reciprocities

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resulted in a "curious mix of traditional and modernising influences" (Arnold 1994: 123). The very first European settlers were dependent upon Māori for trade and protection (Petrie 2006). These factors may have initially reduced the need for more formalised voluntary organisation. Those which did emerge tended in Aotearoa New Zealand to be paler, more informal versions of activities in the "mother country".

Contact with Europeans in the form of explorers, whalers, sealers and traders, and, from 1814, missionaries, exposed Māori to new forms of association from which they readily borrowed, including involvement in what is now termed the "for-profit" sector. Many tribes showed themselves capable entrepreneurs on a large scale, their initial contacts with the market proving fruitful in the flax and timber trades (King 2003: 127), followed by agricultural production and shipping ventures (Petrie 2006).

Tribal engagement with Western business systems in the 1840s and 1850s was paralleled by an ability to borrow from settler political and organisational forms, while remaining distinctively Māori. New Māori formations over the nineteenth century included such pan-tribal movements as the Kingitanga or King movement, formed in the late 1850s, Paremata Maori or the Maori Parliament, established in 1882, and the Young Maori Party, which grew out of the Te Aute College Students' Association, formed in 1892. These bodies have been described as transitional institutions, providing "signposts from one world to another" (Durie 2005: 16), and, as such, they were some distance from the current conception of a non-profit organisation. The first two, moreover, were formed as "parallel and equal authorities to the settler parliament", aiming for some degree of constitutional autonomy for Māori (Cheyne, O'Brien and Belgrave 2005: 29). These developments nonetheless showed Māori capacity for constructive borrowing and translation of forms to meet Māori ends, a tendency which continues in the twenty-first century.

Collectivist and, centuries earlier, tribal models were part of the British experience, but had been marginalised by the time that Britons began to migrate to Aotearoa New Zealand in significant numbers (Cheyne, O'Brien and Belgrave 2005: 141–2). In the nineteenth century, Māori tribalism was denigrated by European or Pākehā settlers, as it formed the basis of resistance to their settlement, but it was also antithetical to the individualist ethos that underwrote much of the settler drive towards self-betterment, private ownership and voluntary association independent of birth. Māori structures were later to provide a basis for new organisations melding Māori and Pākehā kaupapa, or ways of operating. Permeated by the notion of kin, they nonetheless performed similar functions to their predominantly Pākehā counterparts, and increasingly conformed to the same legal and organisational requirements, helping to bridge cultures. These dual dynamics, from Māori and Anglo-settler cultural inheritances, have been important long-term forces in the development of the non-profit sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. Initially, however, the colonisers' perspectives prevailed.

Early formations

Religious and secular precursors of non-profit organisations were apparent in Aotearoa New Zealand even before annexation and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Religious denominations were the first to appear. The Anglican Church Missionary Society had a presence among Māori in the Bay of Islands from 1814, the Wesleyans from 1823 and the Roman Catholic Church from 1838. Such limited missionary toeholds were insufficient to minister to an expanding Pākehā community after 1840, and worshipping communities depended at first upon lay leadership. But, while two of the nineteenth-century Pākehā settlements were based

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upon religious principles (Otago, founded as an outpost of the free church of Scotland, and the Canterbury settlement, initiated by a group of High Church Anglican clergy and laity), their founders were generally disappointed in the religious commitment of the majority who migrated. Historians of religion suggest that colonists were, like nineteenth-century British colonists elsewhere, "somewhat apathetic" to religion, and that levels of church attendance were lower than in Victorian Britain, and skewed toward female attendance (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 91, Stenhouse 2003: 331). As the churches expanded their formal presence over the nineteenth century, there was generally a high level of religious tolerance (Jackson 1987: 34–7). Aided by the fact that there was no "established" church to prompt religious resentments, this tolerance drew comment from outside observers. The fluid conditions of colonial life also encouraged a relatively high degree of religious sharing and co-operation.

While patterns of church attendance could be corroded in the process of migration, a loose adherence to one of the four main denominations – Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist and Catholic – usually remained. Individuals with church linkages and Christian motivation were often prominent in a range of organisations – the leadership and enthusiasm of a relative few could have considerable impact on the non-profit sector, even if those joining, or benefiting from, the organisations they founded did not share their intensity of faith. Religion did not provide a strong conflictual basis for the emergence of a voluntary sector in Aotearoa New Zealand, but the churches did eventually provide buildings, organisational structures and campaigns onto which non-worshipping activities could be grafted.

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More secular forms of non-profit activity can also be glimpsed prior to 1840. They aimed largely at the establishment of order and respectable codes of conduct. Temperance associations were formed among early settler groups in the Bay of Islands and Hokianga from 1836, for example, and they were to become even more prominent in the late nineteenth century. In 1839 an attempt was made in Paihia to form the Victoria Paternal Association for the children of English fathers by Māori mothers. The Kororareka Association emerged in the country's first rough township in 1838. It sought to punish breaches of law and order, and has been seen as an attempt at settler self-rule (Owens 1992: 47, Belich 1996: 198).

After 1840, friendly societies, craft unions and benevolent societies made an appearance in townships. Friendly societies, which operated on the margins of the commercial and voluntary sectors, first appeared in New Plymouth and Nelson over 1841–42 (Carlyon 2001: 1–2). Pākehā migrants brought with them a determination to escape oppressive labour conditions, and the eight-hour working day was soon

in their sights. This was a key objective of the colony's first recorded trade society, a Benevolent Society of Carpenters and Joiners formed in Wellington in 1842 (Roth 1973: 4).

Cultural, sporting and recreational activities now contribute to the single largest grouping of non-profit organisations in New Zealand, and such activities had an early presence in New Zealand – especially sport. Greg Ryan (2004) has made the point that those who migrated from Britain after 1840 were "far more likely to carry a predilection for the moral and social values of organised sport in their 'cultural baggage' than those who departed for North America a century earlier". In Aotearoa New Zealand there was "a pronounced enthusiasm for sport, voluntary societies and clubs very early in the founding of the new settlements where one might normally expect other requirements of colonial life to have taken priority". Despite constraints of isolation and limited population and leisure time, sport provided "a common ground upon which settlers from various points of origin could be integrated into the fabric and values of the emerging community" (Ryan 2004: 19, 20). While much sporting activity took the form of relatively casual events, cricket and horse racing generated the first sports clubs: the Wellington Cricket Club (1842) and the Wellington Racing Club (1848) were the first of a series of local formations (Ryan 2004: 20, 28). The patronage of local elites was important to these early sports, as the wealthy were more likely to have the leisure to devote to them on a regular basis.

This was also true of choral societies such as those formed in the four main centres over the late 1850s and early 1860s. While "[b]usy colonists developed their vocal talents first, and instrumental development followed later", early brass bands grew out of the first defence forces and later became associated with such local volunteer organisations as the fire brigades (McLintock 1966: 605, 611). But, overall, the emergence of organised recreation in the early colonial period was still restricted by the demands of the working day and constraints on travel.

Local elites were also important to charity, but this had an even more limited purchase before the 1880s. The first charitable association with any longevity was the Auckland Ladies' Benevolent Society, formed

in 1857 to help destitute women and children. It was followed by benevolent societies in Dunedin in 1862, Christchurch in 1865, and Wellington in 1867. The voluntary donation of time was (and still is) an important element in philanthropic effort, but another dynamic restricted the emergence of charities. A strong individualism and a belief in Aotearoa New Zealand as a "new society" free of entrenched poverty and the ills of the "old world"

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seem to have worked against the emergence of organised and well-funded charities (Tennant 2007: 35, Thomson 1998: 19–20). Shipwreck, fire, flood and interracial conflict generated emergency committees, but not necessarily ongoing associations (Arnold 1994: 135). An immigrant society did not prove generous to its failures, who contradicted the propaganda of a new utopia. "Going on the land" was seen as an alternative to welfare provision, as the small family farm was assumed to provide at least a subsistence living (Tennant 2004: 41). The history of non-profits needs to be attuned to the different ideological and support bases of social service and other organisations.

Factors limiting the growth of non-profit organisation during the nineteenth century

The scale and variety of the early non-profit sector was limited by population numbers and dispersal, and by the sheer demands of survival in a pioneering setting. It has been suggested that in emigrating to Aotearoa New Zealand, settlers moved from a "rapidly modernising world to a more primitive one" based upon land settlement, yeomen ideals, an agricultural economy and a dispersed population with more interest in local issues than in national ones (Arnold 1994: 121). In what was still a village society beyond the four main centres (Auckland,

Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin), basic needs were often met by informal, neighbourly interactions, labour exchange and reciprocities without the ongoing institutional arrangements more characteristic of non-profits. It has been argued that high levels of residential transience also limited the emergence of community groups before the end of the nineteenth century (Fairburn 1989), though this did not prevent a minority core of settled, "respectable" citizens participating in an increasing range of religious, sporting, political and cultural pursuits, and, once population numbers sufficed, forming associations to ensure their continuance (Belich 1996: 416).

Many of the conflictual bases of associational life were muted in colonial Aotearoa New Zealand. In the political sphere, the colonists had substantial self-government from the mid-1850s and universal male suffrage from 1879 (with universal male suffrage for Māori from the establishment of four Māori parliamentary seats in 1867). Elections and politics were characterised by apathy rather than excitement (Dalziel 1992: 96, Atkinson 2003: 36–40, 241).

Religious differences were softened by the practical need for co-operation and the lack of denominational privilege. Aotearoa New Zealand was settled at a time when the disestablishment of the Anglican church was being debated in England, and the Church of England did not acquire the formal ascendancy in Aotearoa New Zealand that it had in its country of origin. The leading protestant denominations as well as Catholics, and at least one Jew (Julius Vogel) and one Freethinker (Robert Stout) featured among nineteenth-century premiers and political leaders. Several denominations shared in state land disbursements to assist their establishment, and early denominational schools, Protestant and Catholic, gained state subsidies.

In other parts of the world ethnicity was a significant factor in the shaping of the non-profit sector, but this dynamic, too, was blunted in Aotearoa New Zealand. From the late 1850s Māori were outnumbered by the Anglo-settler population, and their numbers went into an absolute and proportionate decline until the 1890s, when there were signs of recovery. Armed conflict and alternative strategies of co-operation having failed to stem the tide of colonialism, some Māori did turn to what might

now be recognised as forms of voluntary organisation as part of their response to a new situation, but this was mostly a later development.

There was a substantial cultural homogeneity among the settler population, the majority of immigrants being British or Irish by birth (more than half of them came from England and Wales, another 24 per cent from Scotland and up to 19 per cent from Ireland) (King 2003: 175). From the nineteenth century, New Zealanders of Irish and of Scottish descent did form separate societies which referenced their distinctive origins – Caledonian and Hibernian societies, Burns and Gaelic societies, Catholic sports clubs – but these were less and less culturally exclusive. The sense of "otherness" which so often underpinned non-profit organisations elsewhere, and which saw the emergence of exclusive social services, for example, was diffuse, and was largely directed to recreational and social ends among the Pākehā majority in Aotearoa New Zealand. The state responded to the needs of settlers as "settlers", providing land, cheap loans and, later, social welfare services as a right of citizenship. Among the small groups of Chinese and other non-European immigrants, localised clan and mutual support groups emerged, lending money to the sick and destitute and providing funds for repatriation, for example (Ip 2006: 110). But these groups serviced relatively small populations and were not a major force in terms of public profile or political advocacy – the small Chinese population attracted by the gold rushes kept a low profile.

Overall, organised religion played an important initiating role in associational life in New Zealand during this period, though as noted above, religious belief was "diffuse" and religious co-operation stronger than religious conflict. Trade and mutual associations had an early presence in colonial society, and were as important for their social and membership function as for their industrial or welfare role. The early concession of political freedoms by the colonial power limited the need for political struggle, and political allegiances did not yet generate

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political parties in a modern sense. The relatively small and dispersed population limited voluntary association, and beyond the four main centres, many of the support functions later carried out in an organised way by non-profit bodies involved small-scale, neighbourly interactions. For Māori, iwi, hapū and whānau remained the focus of social support, but new, pan-tribal alliances were starting to emerge which retained a kin base but also operated with an eye to Pākehā formalities.

The period 1880–1945

Non-profit organisations need a population base to sustain membership, the means for individuals to interact, and common identities beyond the family as a motivating force. From the 1880s these conditions became more apparent in New Zealand, heralding a change in the scale and complexity of non-profit activity. The colony's foundation era ended, and land became less readily available for purchase and settlement (Graham 1992: 139–40). This in turn meant that a shared landowner identity, actual and aspirational, gave way to new sectional identities.

A diminishing of distance, in terms of perceptions as well as travel times, helped non-profit organisations become more numerous, complex and, in some cases, nationally organised over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The 1880s was a time of economic recession, which exposed the failures of a colonial society. Growing urbanisation made the plight of the poor more visible, especially to the quarter of the country's population that lived in centres of 25,000 or more. There was a more viable population base than before for non-profit activity. Fuelled by state-assisted immigration in the 1870s, and then by natural increase, the population rose from 99,000 in the 1861 census to nearly 490,000 in 1881, and 626,000 ten years later. In the 1886 census the New Zealand-born outnumbered immigrants for the first time since the 1850s, when Māori had predominated. A sense of New Zealand distinctiveness began to emerge (Graham 1992: 139).

A diminishing of distance, in terms of perceptions as well as travel times, helped non-profit organisations become more numerous, complex and, in some cases, nationally organised over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Improvements in the country's infrastructure encouraged regional and national associations, sporting competitions, political and sectional identities to develop. The main trunk railway was completed in the North Island in 1908 and the South Island in 1912, and road improvements were ongoing. Coaches, more regular coastal steamship services and the extension of the telegraph also

encouraged the formation of new identities beyond the region and beyond the family group (Belich 1996: 443). Increasing numbers of New Zealanders no longer saw themselves as dwellers in a particular locality who shared interests only with others in a situation of struggle and survival: their horizons became more national.

Some have also seen an enhanced imperial identity in this period, especially among elite New Zealanders. Belich writes of a "recolonization" and tightening of links between Britain and Aotearoa New Zealand after 1880, reaching full fruition in the 1920s (Belich 2001: 29). Organisations specifically promoting imperial links and friendship included the Navy League and a women's organisation, the Victoria League, the first branch of which was formed in Dunedin in 1905 (Pickles 2005: 33). However, other organisations also capitalised on links with the British Empire, among them the Red Cross. Many of these bodies experienced growth during the First and Second World Wars, benefiting from surges of patriotism. But other organisations, including those to do with youth and maternal welfare, also used the language of empire, especially during the interwar years.

Political and sectional identities

The appearance of national structures was particularly apparent in the political sphere. Unstable and floating political alliances had characterised the period of provincial government in Aotearoa New Zealand (1854 to 1875), and the years immediately following – there were no political parties as such. The 1887 election has been seen as the "first in which class interests emerged in organized form and in which national interests took precedence over local and regional issues" (Dalziel 1992: 109). The Liberal Party, which won the 1890 election with the help of labour interests, was the first to develop a level of mass organisation and electoral management based on payment of a membership subscription (Richardson 1992: 409). The strong leadership of the populist Richard Seddon (premier from 1893 to 1906) assisted the Liberals' parliamentary discipline. While this was never complete, it did provide a reference point for the formation of other political groupings. The farmer-dominated opposition became the Reform Party in 1909, and the New Zealand Labour Party emerged in 1916 as the party of urban protest. In the first part of the twentieth century, Labour went

further than any of the other parties in providing an ongoing social basis for its membership beyond election periods. Its links with the union movement assisted this, but it also developed active women's branches and held its first women's conference in 1927 (Dalziel 1993: 59). After Labour became government in 1935, the more conservative political forces merged into the National Party, and a two-party system dominated New Zealand politics for the next four decades.

In the early twentieth century the language of class was more explicit than at any other time in New Zealand's history, and with it came a rise in union militancy. A "tide" of trade unionism had seen the number of trade unions rise from 50 in 1888 to 200 in 1890, with a possible twenty-fold increase in membership (Roth 1973: 10).

A series of general strikes between 1913 and the mid-1920s showed the limitations of industrial action in Aotearoa New Zealand and the unions eventually turned more to political action and partnership with the Labour Party.

The Liberal Government's 1894 Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act particularly encouraged the formation of small unions, providing a protective structure through which they could negotiate wage increases without resort to strikes. However, a more active unionism from the late 1900s has been attributed to growing dissatisfaction with wage increases via the arbitration system, and a wider thwarting of worker expectations for upward mobility through landownership and self-employment (Belich 2001: 141–4). In certain occupations, such as the dangerous mining and waterfront industries, this was overlain by a sense of international class solidarity, fostered by union organisers. By 1913 Aotearoa New Zealand was "among the most unionised [countries] in the world", and some 15,000 of its 70,000 unionists had an affiliation with the radical Federation of Labour (known as the "Red Feds") (Belich 2001: 145; Olssen 1988: 107, 217). A series of general strikes between 1913 and the mid-1920s showed the limitations of industrial action in

Aotearoa New Zealand and the unions eventually turned more to political action and partnership with the Labour Party. Labour's introduction of compulsory unionism in 1936 was then seen as undermining union militancy by bringing in large numbers of conscript unionists who tended to vote for more moderate leaders (Roth 1973: 130). Unions nonetheless remained a significant organisational force within New Zealand society until 1991, when the Employment Contracts Act restricted union access to workplaces and encouraged workers to negotiate individual employment contracts. (The Employment Relations Act 2000 has, however, seen some resurgence of union activity and confidence.)

From the late nineteenth century other identities generated further non-profit activity, some of it in reaction against industrial unionism – the Manufacturers' Federation emerged in 1897, and the Employers' Federation in 1902, for example. Rural Aotearoa New Zealand generated its own formations, few of them enamoured with urban activism: the New Zealand Farmers' Union was formed in 1899 and the farmer-dominated Reform Party in 1909. Some rural organisations had more of an educational and support function: Agricultural and Pastoral associations held their first annual conference in 1892 (Wild 1966: 17), though over the twentieth century they became most concerned with holding shows. An annual agricultural show for exhibitors under 21 was the focus of New Zealand's first Young Farmers' Club, founded in Feilding in 1927. A federation of Young Farmers' Clubs emerged in 1932, its motto 'Youth, Farming, Citizenship'. By the start of World War II there were more than 200 such clubs and 320 by 1949 (Cullen 1949: 547). Rural women's organisations also emerged in the 1920s. Their concern was to make rural life attractive, safe, and supportive to rural women and children so that (in the objectives of the Country Women's Institute) "New Zealanders may continue to be a race of contented country dwellers" (Smith 1993: 391).

Women's and men's organisations

Gender was a significant dynamic in non-profit activity during this period of transition. The first women's organisation to gain national prominence cemented its position through leadership of the women's suffrage campaign. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was introduced to Aotearoa New Zealand by an American temperance missionary in 1885, and it foregrounded women's suffrage as the means to temperance ends. A franchise department was formed at the first annual convention in 1886, and the vote eventually became a goal in its own right (Dalziel 1993: 55). Various non-temperance franchise leagues were also formed in centres large and small throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, and they assisted the WCTU to organise massive national petitions in support of women's franchise. One of these was signed by nearly a quarter of all adult New Zealand women, suggesting the impact that organised campaigning on a focused issue could have in a small society (Grimshaw 1987: 117–8). Largely as a result of such activity, Aotearoa New Zealand became the first nation state to enfranchise its women in September 1893.

Political activism did not stop at this point: many of the franchise leagues developed a wider platform of women's domestic, employment and economic issues. In 1896 a National Council of Women was formed, with links to the International Council of Women. It went into recess in 1905, as the energies and health of its ageing leadership declined and issues such as pacifism divided members. A new organisation, the Society for the Promotion of the Health of Women and Children (better known as the Plunket Society), came to the fore in 1907 and absorbed a large number of women's energies into the cause of infant health. Issues around women's political and economic rights never totally disappeared, and they led to the revival in 1917 of the National Council of Women. It soon gained a role as a co-ordinating body for women's opinions (Macdonald 1993b: 89). A "burgeoning" of new women's organisations in the 1920s and 1930s reflected a fracturing of female identities, as professional women, rural women, townswomen and women from the different church denominations formed their own separate associations (Page 1996: 55). But motherhood remained a core focus of women's organising, and the League of Mothers emerged in 1926 as a non-denominational Christian organisation to provide friendship and fellowship among mothers. While Plunket probably touched the lives of more New Zealand women than any other association, sufficient dissatisfactions about women's interests and status remained to generate a later wave of feminist activism.

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The range of male-specific bodies was boosted by the formation of new men's service clubs, most notably Rotary (in Wellington and Auckland in 1921) and the Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees) in 1932. Combining "mutually tangible benefits" to those in business and the professions with an ethos of service to others, Rotary and the Jaycees were the forerunner of a range of imitative organisations with international links and a "complex mix of selflessness and self-interest" (Page 1993: 296). They reached their zenith after World War II, but even before this often worked in close association with other local organisations, frequently in an initiating or ongoing role. From 1935 Rotary played an important part in the establishment of the Crippled Children Society (an organisation focusing on children with physical disabilities), for example, and members became involved in Scouts and the children's health camp movement through their Rotary activities (Hall-Jones 1943: 2–3). At the same time, male organisations linked with older traditions formed national links (the Masonic Grand Lodge of New Zealand emerged in 1890) and appear to have boosted their numbers in the 1920s (Nathan 1993: 153, Brockett 1987: 76, Lythgoe 1966: 754, Watson 1942: 321). It may be that wartime "mateship" was continued in these respectable all-male enclaves, not only in the pubs and rugby clubs explored by Jock Phillips (1987) in his study of male culture.

Sport and recreation

Nationally organised recreational associations emerged from the late nineteenth century. The period after 1885 was one where casual sporting events became fixtures based upon team competition, levels of skill, club membership, rules, and a growing assertion of the amateur ethos against the threats of professionalism. Greg Ryan (2004) has shown that almost all the national administrative bodies for men's sport were formed during the two decades after 1885, and that the majority of them were based in the main cities. Highlighting the strong urban influence operating, he notes that the majority of New Zealand sporting representatives were drawn from "the relatively small proportion of the population resident in the four main centres and from those groups who could most easily secure the time and resources to participate" (Ryan 2004: 23). Rugby, the dominant male sport, exemplified this trend. Its national body was formed in 1892, and a game originally suited to rough, frontier sports grounds (and to rough colonial male physicality) became increasingly urbanised, "scientific" and disciplined, its potential for violence channelled (Ryan 2004: 168, Watson 1998: 20–1). It, and other sports, became the focus of regional rivalries and, from the time the 1905 All Black team returned triumphant from its tour of the United Kingdom, of national identity. A 1924 survey by the Census and Statistics Office showed that rugby clubs commanded by far the largest membership of any sporting association, with 40,000 members (some 12,000 being members of school teams). Horse racing clubs followed, with 23,381 members, and bowling clubs, with nearly 14,000 members ("more or less advanced in years", New Zealand Official Year Book 1925: 762).

Despite the appearance of local tennis and croquet clubs from the 1870s, and the formation of the New Zealand Ladies' Hockey Association in 1908 and the New Zealand Ladies' Golf Union in 1911, women's sports were initially pursued more on a social basis within the private or educational spheres. An institutional and national framework for many activities did not appear until the late 1920s. Belich suggests that women's team sports were more dependent than men's upon sponsoring agencies such as the YWCA, schools and teachers'

colleges, and were less deeply rooted in local communities (Belich 2001:378). Furthermore, as Charlotte Macdonald has noted, "Sport as a form of leisure has appeal only when daily toil does not involve large amounts of physical exertion. This was increasingly the case for girls and women growing up in the 1920s and after" (Macdonald 1993a: 408).

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The 1924 survey of sports clubs showed that tennis was the leading female sport, tennis clubs having 8,300 female members, followed by golf, hockey and croquet (New Zealand Official Year Book 1925: 762). Netball (then called basketball) gained its own national association in 1924, and became the major winter game for females in the 1930s, the New Zealand Ladies' Golf Union doubled in size between 1928 and 1938, and women cricketers formed their own national association in 1933 (Macdonald 1993a: 409).

Māori sporting bodies similarly emerged in this period, at first with marae competitions and then with a spate of national associations: the Maori Tennis Association in 1926, the Maori Golf Association in 1931, and the Maori League Board of Control in 1934, for example (Palmer 2006: 264).

Youth groups also had physical activity as a focus, and expanded in number in early twentieth-century Aotearoa New Zealand. They were seen as a means of socialising the young, and, when associated with the churches, of combating the decline in Sunday school and bible class attendance. Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations were in existence from the 1850s and 1860s respectively, but the early twentieth century saw a flourishing of uniformed youth groups with a military and imperial outlook

– the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides (with a presence in Aotearoa New Zealand from 1908), and, on the religious side, the Boys and Girls' Brigades, which expanded from the late 1920s. Such organisations had a "physical, educational, intellectual and spiritual" focus (Macdonald 1993a: 409), and were particularly concerned with constructive leisure and the production of useful future citizens.

The continuing importance of religion

As the churches became more established, they provided an umbrella for various kinds of organised activities. In this period the churches had a stronger infrastructure than in the colonial era. In a secularising society, their wider social, cultural and sporting associations represented an attempt to retain or recruit younger adherents, to show their continued relevance, and to maintain religious values. As well as their worshipping function, churches supplied venues and organisational structures for youth, as we have seen, for women, and for the delivery of social services and spiritual succour to those considered in need of them. During the 1920s and 1930s, city missions expanded their religious and social work functions, targeting destitute adults and youth. Church social services at this time focused heavily upon the young, with a marked expansion of church orphanages between the 1900s and 1920s (just as the state was shutting down its institutions). An element of competitiveness was most apparent here, for, as noted above, the young were seen as a source of recruitment and youth groups were used to "socialize part of the next generation into Christian discipleship, and citizenship" (Breward 2001: 247).

Although regular church attendance was becoming a minority experience, for many women churches were "public spaces that they could rightly occupy".

Churches also catered for a variety of adult interests, providing an umbrella for groups interested in music, singing, sewing, temperance, sports, bible studies, and missionary endeavour. On a local basis, John Stenhouse (2003) gives the example of Dunedin's Caversham Methodist Church, which had

a "remarkable array of auxiliaries during the first two decades of the twentieth century". These included a Sunday School, choir, physical culture class, Junior Christian Endeavour Society, Young Worshippers' League, Wesley Guild, Band of Hope, Bible Society, a Ladies' Guild and a Ladies Sewing Guild. Although regular church attendance was becoming a minority experience, for many women churches were "public spaces that they could rightly occupy" (Stenhouse 2003: 331). Many of the main Protestant women's missionary unions started in the 1900s, while the Catholic Women's League (1931) supported members of Catholic religious orders working in mission fields. But apart from the missionary societies, secular parallels also existed and the churches never dominated New Zealanders' leisure pursuits.

In other parts of the world religious competitiveness sometimes degenerated into conflict, but sectarian antagonism continued to be muted in New Zealand, and, even compared with Australia, it did not provide a strong oppositional basis for the emergence of a voluntary sector. There was a 95 per cent correlation between Irishness and Catholicism in the colonial population, but at 14 per cent of the population, Catholics constituted a smaller proportion than in Australia. This reduced one source of religious tension (Davidson and Lineham 1987: 91, 183; Belich 2001: 114). There were sporadic outbreaks of sectarian activity linked with disputes between Orangemen and supporters of Irish Home Rule, but there were equally times when St Patrick's Day was jointly celebrated by Irish Catholics and Protestants (Sweetman 2002: 6).

During the interwar period Irish sentiment declined and, in relation to the wider community, Catholics have been characterised as "more a part than apart" (van der Krogt 1994). There was still a vast range of Catholic sports teams, clubs and charitable organisations, intended to "inculcate and sustain a particular world view". But they typically had good relations with parallel non-Catholic organisations, and the Catholic community was generally well integrated into the wider society: "it did not constitute a pillar or even a ghetto, despite the profusion of lay associations and Church-sponsored activities and institutions" (van der Krogt 2000: 64). A sense of separateness never became a major social schism, and local studies show examples of co-operation between Protestant and Catholic organisations from the colonial period on.

War and depression

Lists of organisational types could proliferate, but in addition to those that reflected a maturing society with greater leisure and an expanding population base, there were those generated by the distinctive experiences of war and depression. These events touched the lives of most New Zealanders. World War I saw the emergence of organisations in support of the war effort, as well as those opposed to it. Around 1,000 patriotic societies were formed across Aotearoa New Zealand to support soldiers overseas, their dependants in Aotearoa New Zealand, refugees in Europe and even wounded animals. The Red Cross formed a New Zealand section during the war (Page 1993: 292), an indication of how war could help to foster the international dimension within the sector. An element of moral pressure prevailed in these activities, for participation in wartime civil society had a strong overlay of patriotism, loyalty and civilian sacrifice to match that of servicemen. Refusal to participate gave contrary and highly unpopular messages.

Less prolific as a consequence, but possibly conveying greater fortitude and intensity of commitment, were pacifist and anti-war associations such as the National Peace Council and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. These organisations were also more likely to survive beyond the period of wartime hostilities. They remind us that a sustained period of war may not only bring citizens together in organised effort, but it can expose ruptures in society and generate social divisions under situations of stress. The First World War saw bodies characterised by their intolerant, xenophobic and oppositional nature: organisations such as the Women's Anti-German League and the White Feather Leagues did not represent the finer expressions of civil society in Aotearoa New Zealand. War also led to diminished effort in some fields as active members were drawn into patriotic efforts, pre-existing organisations faltering as male members left to join the armed forces.

In World War II patriotic non-profit activities got off to a slower start and, once they commenced, national campaigns and organisations were more prominent than in the previous war. They were also more closely under government oversight as the 1939 Patriotic Purposes Emergency Regulations established ministerial control over the collection of war funds and allied patriotic activities, and allowed for the ministerial appointment of provincial patriotic councils to oversee activity (Piesse 1981: 172). The Red Cross was probably the leading wartime voluntary organisation, with many other bodies raising funds to assist its local and international work. As in the previous war, some organisations went into recess as members' energies were diverted into the war effort: male-dominated bodies such as the Deer Stalkers' Association (formed in 1937) suffered temporary setbacks when members went into the armed forces, and some boys' youth groups, such as Scouts and Cubs, suffered from loss of adult leadership (McLintock 1966: 458).

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The depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s also generated distinctive kinds of organisational activity, as well as encouraging others already in existence. New recreational and support groups emerged, such as the Unemployed Workers' Movement and the various locally organised women's unemployment committees. Church City Missions markedly expanded the profile and the range of their activities (though, to a later generation, their "down and outs clubs" seem unfortunately labelled). But on the whole, the depression showed the limitations of religious and voluntary effort in the face of large-scale unemployment and distress, and the churches were eventually among those calling for greater state intervention.

The state and the non-profit sector

Relations between the state and the non-profit sector have involved the passage of legislation (and its subsequent interpretation by the courts), financial and other forms of assistance, and the wider framework of state action and inaction which has an impact on voluntary activity, opening up opportunities for action or closing them down.

Generally speaking, the relationship of the state with non-profit organisations has been benign throughout New Zealand's history. Where restrictions have been imposed, this was mostly associated with periods of national emergency, and involved censorship or restrictions upon public gatherings. In the First and Second World Wars members of labour and pacifist organisations were imprisoned for publicly making "subversive" statements against the war. Censorship was imposed against their literature, as it was even in peacetime against the import of Communist and other socialist publications. In the 1930s and 1940s indecency concerns impeded the activities of the early birth-control movement, when the Customs Department seized imported publications.

From the establishment of colonial government, English common law provided an enabling, rather than a constraining legal environment for the sector, and laws generated locally operated in a similar vein. While Aotearoa New Zealand did not follow England in establishing a Charities Commission until 2005 (and then for somewhat different reasons), the 1856

In the First and Second World Wars members of labour and pacifist organisations were imprisoned for publicly making "subversive" statements against the war.

Religious, Charitable and Educational Trusts Act was designed to "make more simple and effectual" the titles by which property was held for charitable purposes (dal Pont 2000: 80). The 1885 Hospitals and Charitable Institutions Act allowed charities to register as "separate institutions" under the Act and so to receive public subsidies (Tennant 1989: 29). However, most of the societies which did incorporate either became absorbed into the public relief system or folded, as voluntary contributions declined. Alignment with the state could be perilous for voluntary agencies.

As the number of voluntary societies increased, the 1895 Unclassified Societies Act and its successor, the 1908 Incorporated Societies Act were intended to protect the funds and property of societies that were not covered by other legislation. The 1908 Act also ensured that mere membership of an incorporated society would not of itself impose obligations for a society's debts and contracts (*Statutes of New Zealand* 1895 No. 36, 1908 No. 202). Incorporation was deliberately kept simple and inexpensive so that it should not be an impediment to registration (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates* 1908 Vol.143: 155–6).

In taxation policies there were early concessions to charities: for example, the 1916 Land and Income Tax Act exempted from both kinds of tax any society established for a charitable, educational, religious or scientific purpose of a public nature (*Statutes of New Zealand* 1916 No.5: cl.51, 84). This concession was to become a source of contention as bodies with relatively marginal "charitable" intent came to benefit from such legislation.

During this period, the state impinged more upon social service providers than other forms of non-profit activity. In the absence of large-scale philanthropy, some sought, and received, state subsidies, most especially for the management of an expanding array of institutions for orphans, "fallen women" and alcoholics. Many of these institutions were then required to submit to government inspection, though even this was exercised with a relatively light hand (Tennant 2007: 47, 50, 52–3, 105). The Plunket Society, formed in 1907, showed how considerably a voluntary body could benefit from government support. By 1913 the state was meeting one-third of its costs and it was given a mandate to provide infant welfare services on a national basis (Bryder 2003: ix, 31–2).

Over the early twentieth century there was considerable state activity directed towards housing and education. This meant that voluntary activity in these areas was circumscribed in the case of education, and restricted to institutional care in the case of individuals needing shelter or protection. The expansion of the welfare state under the 1935 Labour Government then led to fears that voluntary social services would be superseded altogether, but these fears proved unfounded. Labour politicians soon recognised the value of voluntary effort as a complement to the role of the state. Friendly societies were the most negatively affected by the expansion of benefits and free state medical care under the 1938 Social Security Act, their numbers declining from a high of 113,709 in 1938 to 74,991 in 1950 (and 47,868 by 1990) (Carlyon 2001: 245).

General trends

In summary, the first part of the twentieth century was characterised by a widening range of non-profit organisations sustained by a larger population base than in the nineteenth century, along with growing state support of the non-profit sector, ideological and, in the case of certain social service bodies, financial. Many organisations shared with successive governments goals of race protection and the production of good citizens for the nation and empire, an orientation encouraged by the experience of two world wars. Organisations for youth and for men often referred specifically to citizenship in their aims and mottos. Women's contribution was through the breeding and dedicated rearing of future citizens, as exemplified in the activities of such organisations as the Plunket Society. Non-profit organisations in this period promoted social cohesion and a fair number were "tools of moral evangelism" (Belich 2001: 373).

Some of the dynamics identified as significant in the elaboration of the non-profit sector in other countries during this period took a particular form in New Zealand: though industry expanded, farming remained the basis of the economy. Cities were small by international standards. This resulted in a sense of rural-urban divide, and a farming sector (and farmer organisations) with a strong awareness of strategic importance, despite the diminishing numbers employed in primary industries. The language of class was stronger in this period than before or after, and this was reflected in membership of trade unions and short, but sharp, periods of industrial conflict in the early twentieth century. Counterbalancing this were aspirations to education and home ownership, often associated with the middle classes, but also with the respectable working class. Such goals appear to have been particularly pronounced in New Zealand (Fairburn 1990: 203–9). The expansion of the welfare state from the late 1930s was to provide a political focus for communal aspirations, but it did not overwhelm the non-profit sector, which continued to expand. Indeed the welfare state helped create some of the conditions for a vibrant associational life, as leisure time was protected by legislation, andincreasing affluence allowed for activities beyond the basic struggle for existence.

The 1940s to the mid-1980s

The non-profit sector in the post-war era continued to be shaped by the residues of the war experience, most especially from the desire for a better world and the sense of a need to work together to achieve it. The post-war years saw the elaboration of New Zealand's welfare state, which was at its prime from the late 1940s to the 1970s. Changing demographics had an influence on the pattern of non-profit formations, as the post-war baby boom gave way to an ageing population. So too did major social change and economic recession, and the growing influence of globalisation: New Zealand non-profit formations increasingly reflected international movements and models, and not only those associated with the British Empire.

These were also years of full employment and relative affluence, in which a shorter working week allowed more time for recreational pursuits…

The reach of the welfare state was initially reinforced by wartime regulations and by a strong post-war faith in centralised planning. The post-war decades were characterised by relatively stable government under Labour and then (from 1949) National Party rule. Ministers often retained their portfolios for lengthy periods, building up relationships with favoured non-profit organisations. New Zealand's "smallness", by international standards, intensified the influence of government departments, but also gave an intimacy and informality to their dealings with favoured non-profit organisations. A situation developed where some bodies gained, and retained, government financial support as a result of historical circumstance and ministerial preference, while others, equally deserving, did not (Tennant 2004: 51–2). These were also years of full employment and relative affluence, in which a shorter working week allowed more time for recreational pursuits and membership of organisations. However, affluence also encouraged more individualised forms of recreation, private motor vehicle ownership "providing the means for people to break away from mass activities and structured team and club sports" (Hindson 2006: 29).

From the late 1960s social change and economic instability became dominant motifs shaping New Zealand life. When Britain entered the European Community in 1973 Aotearoa New Zealand lost favoured status for its exports. Oil price rises in the mid-1970s compounded economic difficulties and unemployment, virtually unknown in the 1950s, started to rise. The viability of the welfare state was questioned, on moral as well as economic grounds – concerns about welfare dependency matched concerns about rising welfare costs and inflation. Fractures in the welfare state placed pressure on the non-profit sector, as did a new emphasis on community care and deinstitutionalisation (Elworthy 1986). The sector found itself required to assume responsibility for activities which some thought should be the domain of government. Equally, there were areas of need and activity from which some thought the state should exit in favour of both the voluntary and for-profit sectors. Debates around these matters were seldom conducted on first principles, but were framed by existing arrangements and past histories of interaction.

Increasingly, individuals started to assert their rights against the collective values underpinning the welfare state of the 1930s and 1940s (Belgrave 2004: 34). New identities and sub-identities generated new associational forms. Firmly embedded in local communities, these bodies also drew inspiration from broader social movements and overseas examples, and were characterised by the articulation of various "rights": for Māori as tangata whenua; for women as the oppressed half of the population; for disabled persons.

The welfare state and social service agencies

Particular areas of non-profit activity nonetheless experienced differing patterns of growth and, sometimes, decline. Social service bodies had to confront the realities of the welfare state most immediately. Mutual organisations such as friendly societies, although not strictly part of the "non-profit" sector, were most affected by the advent of Social Security, and their membership went into irreversible decline (Carlyon 2001: 249). In international terms, the state's dominance of hospital services and of

education limited, but certainly did not eliminate, non-profit activity in these areas. And despite the welfare state's promise of health services and benefit assistance 'from the cradle to the grave', the voluntary social service sector, and the churches in particular, found that more generous monetary assistance did not eliminate relationship difficulties. While providing an increasingly important interface between clients and an expanding welfare bureaucracy, these groups also claimed a particular niche in counselling and the personal social services. Non-profit agencies were often seen as less threatening than government departments, and clients were referred between the two sectors for a mix of counselling and material aid (Tennant 2004: 50).

> Funding from the Department of Justice rejuvenated welfare organisations such as Marriage Guidance and Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation in the late 1950s and 1960s, mandating them to experiment and undertake new activities on the government's behalf.

In the post-war years politicians continued an existing trend towards government ideological endorsement of such services, and financial aid to favoured organisations. This included both direct grants and grants via the national lottery, which came under the direction of the Department of Internal Affairs. From 1950 the Department of Health provided subsidies to religious and welfare organisations willing to provide residential care for the elderly, a deliberate attempt to reduce public sector involvement in this area. One effect of this was to shift church social services further into institutional care, while the increased professionalism required helped separate them from their parish base.

Funding from the Department of Justice rejuvenated welfare organisations such as Marriage Guidance and Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation in the late 1950s and 1960s, mandating them to experiment and undertake new activities on the government's behalf. After World War II especially, there were secondments of public servants to help voluntary organisations,

and assistance with training schemes. In some cases offices and buildings were supplied or secretarial assistance provided by a government department. Free broadcasting time, free passes on government transport, access to departmental libraries and information systems: these have all featured as part of the formal and informal supports extended by government to the voluntary and community sector over time (Tennant 2004: 51–2). In the past, informality was often a feature of such exchanges, the small scale of New Zealand society enabling relatively ad hoc arrangements to proliferate. By the 1960s government departments giving assistance to welfare organisations usually required the different branches to federate, so that they could deal with a single agency at national level; even at this stage the relationship with government was shaping the form and influencing the viability of many organisations (Tennant 2004: 51–2).

Overall, financial transfers to the non-profit sector increased markedly from the 1960s. In 1967, some $NZ3.9 million went from central government departments to the voluntary social service sector for activities as various as churches' work for the welfare of Pacific Island migrants, kindergartens, Marriage Guidance, Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation, the Maori Education Foundation, youth groups such as Girl Guides, the New Zealand School Committees Federation and the children's health camp movement (Oram 1969: 246–53). Many non-profit organisations also benefited from the proceeds of the state lottery, through an allocation heavily influenced at this stage by the Minister of Internal Affairs.

In 1986 a very conservative estimate put government funding of the voluntary welfare sector at NZ$75.6 million. Most of this was in the form of direct grants and subsidies to aid the delivery of services in areas of need identified by the agencies concerned, and 68 per cent of it was pre-allocated; that is, rolled over as a government budget item from year to year (Driver and Robinson 1986: 10).

Local listings of community groups (themselves a sign of the growing complexity of the non-profit sector and need for information about it) suggest a considerable expansion of welfare and community organisations from the 1960s.

They show a particular growth in self-help and member-directed bodies, often concerned with health, wellbeing and interpersonal relationships, and including or foregrounding advocacy in their repertoire of activities (Tennant 2007). One of the first organisations of this kind was the Intellectually Handicapped Children's Parents Association. Formed in 1949, it anticipated the later wave of self-help and advocacy groups, and was highly critical of government policies of institutional care. However, it and other such groups were not averse to funding from government, even when critical of it. By the 1970s new organisations were emerging to fill gaps in the state services: if it had seemed that the voluntary social services could not cope in the 1930s, the state was now unable to meet demand.

Some older welfare organisations, particularly those which had grown up with a "charity" ethos, lost ground to these newer bodies from the 1970s, and others faded as the need for their services died (sometimes, quite literally, as a particular cohort of clients aged). For example, patriotic societies and missions to seamen saw a decline in demand for their services, while homes for single mothers found young women less willing to enter, even before the advent of the Domestic Purposes Benefit in 1973.

Sport and recreation

The expansion of the welfare state had ramifications beyond the social service sector. To the first Labour government, the "good things of life" involved access to education, culture and leisure, as well as physical and economic wellbeing. Under Labour, promotion of cultural activities involved patronage of individuals as well as the creation of a more elaborate cultural infrastructure than had previously existed. This assistance included grants to such bodies as the New Zealand Drama Council and Workers' Educational Association, but the expansion of the education curriculum to include more drama and arts and crafts and the restriction of the working week were probably more important in encouraging new associations in this field.

The 40-hour week also allowed more time for involvement in sports. Sporting bodies showed greater resistance to central government overtures than those with a social service orientation, at least until the 1980s. Local body provision of infrastructure

was less threatening, and many sports relied upon their provision of sportsgrounds and facilities. From the 1960s local councils also employed recreation and community development officers. At central government level, the Labour government's 1937 Physical Welfare and Recreation Act specifically mandated grants towards voluntary organisations promoting or controlling activities in the areas of physical training, sport and recreation (*Statutes New Zealand* 1937: No.14). Macdonald notes that:

> At the end of the war, the vastly increased structure of physical training which had been part of women's auxiliary and civil defence training, and of armed service life, was institutionalised with the introduction of a national physical education curriculum in secondary schools, and the founding of the Physical Education School at the University of Otago (1947). These developments had a particularly important impact upon women's sport, which had fewer private resources to draw on in establishing and sustaining sports and leisure clubs and activities. (Macdonald 1993: 410–11)

Large, male-dominated sporting bodies could afford to maintain greater autonomy, however, and they were suspicious of government attempts to establish national sporting councils. The issue of sporting contacts with the pro-apartheid regime in South Africa fuelled the large sporting bodies' mistrust of government in the 1960s and 1970s, some vehemently taking the line that "sport and politics should not mix". There was equal vehemence on the other side, and the Halt All Racist Tours organisation was just one body pressuring government to ban sporting visits to and from South Africa. The issue led to major civil conflict with organised protests against the Springbok rugby tour to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1981, and the formation of new associations on each side of the divide.

One important, though indirect, form of assistance to sport saw the "no-fault" Accident Compensation Scheme rolled out (from 1974). The state, through the publicly funded and managed ACC scheme, absorbed the risk inherent in sport, and thereby, arguably, gave considerable assistance to sporting bodies. Ironically this occurred just as the rhetoric of sporting autonomy was most strongly articulated

around the issue of sporting links with the South African apartheid regime: as Macdonald observes, "the right to play of the active body was upheld as the right of an autonomous, voluntaristic group of sports followers, while responsibility for the damaged body was passed on as a collective, public one". By the 1980s, sports injury claims represented between 14 and 18 per cent of the total, rugby generating half of them (Macdonald 1999: 461–2).

The diversification of recreation was characterised by the development and institutionalisation of newer sports such as martial arts, ice hockey and surfing, many influenced by overseas precedents and the opportunity for overseas competition.

Agencies specifically directed at maintaining the relationship between government and the non-profit sector have appeared in recent years. A Ministry of Recreation and Sport and the Council for Recreation and Sport were established in 1973 to plan and support national strategies for this area of the non-profit sector. The influence of both bodies was limited at first, as little government funding was available for distribution, and much of that was administered through local bodies. The Hillary Commission was established in 1987 as a Crown entity funded by government and the state-run lottery. As a more generous provider of funds, the Commission and its successor, Sport and Recreation New Zealand (SPARC), have exerted a significant level of state influence over sport and recreation, encouraging the sector, but in certain directions.

Overall, there was a post-war boom in sport and recreational activities after World War II, with the expansion of existing clubs and formation of new ones. Each soon generated its own national body. The diversification of recreation was characterised by the development and institutionalisation of newer sports such as martial arts, ice hockey and surfing, many influenced by overseas precedents and the opportunity for overseas competition. One unique New Zealand female sport was marching, which flourished in the martial atmosphere of the post-World War II era, drawing upon former army

officers and drill sergeants. The numbers involved dropped considerably from 1980, however (Williams, Browning and Macdonald 1993: 439). Marching's decline symbolised a move away from regimented, organised and club-based sporting activities towards more individualised physical pursuits, some of which could be pursued in the private domain or within commercial facilities such as gyms (Hindson 2006: 36).

Global forces

Other kinds of non-profit activity experienced periods of growth and, as social and political forces shifted around them, decline. The experience of war encouraged a stronger international focus within the non-profit sector, seeing the emergence of new aid organisations such as the New Zealand Council of Organisations for Relief Service Overseas (CORSO). Established in 1944, CORSO collaborated with government in meeting New Zealand's United Nations relief commitments, focusing first on displaced and needy persons in war-affected Europe. It then moved towards aid efforts in so-called "third world" countries, and then to an analysis of the causes of poverty, first in the third world and, more controversially, in Aotearoa New Zealand. This led to the cancellation of its government grant, its removal from the list of charities eligible for state tax rebates on donations, and the beginning of its "long march to obscurity" in Aotearoa New Zealand (McLoughlin 1991: 63). Other aid organisations remained, most of them linked to overseas bodies – among them were the Red Cross (which, as we have seen, was established in Aotearoa New Zealand during the First World War), the Save the Children Fund, established in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1947, and World Vision, which gained a presence here in 1971 (Oxfam was to follow in 1991, adding to competition for the donor dollar) (McLoughlin 1991: 62). Such organisations benefited from international television exposure and growing awareness of global issues.

Membership of men's organisations such as the Freemasons appears to have risen in the post-war years, as it had after World War I. A spate of new men's service clubs originating, like Rotary, from American models, emerged in the 1950s: Lions (which first appeared in Auckland in 1955) and Kiwanis (1958) supplemented Rotary and the Jaycees, which also experienced a growth spurt in the post-war years. The membership of Jaycees, for example, increased

from 1,931 in 1946 to 3,510 in 57 chapters in 1955, and to a high point of 6,500 members in some 170 chapters in 1972 (Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 155). The number of Lions Clubs expanded from 14 in 1960, to 377 in 1980 (and to a maximum of 539 in the mid-1990s), but the rate of growth had slowed by the 1980s, as had the recruitment of new (and younger) members (Boyle 2004: 39–41, 366–7). These organisations were ideally suited to the needs and opportunities of the post-war years, benefiting from the desire of a generation of ex-servicemen to maintain comradeship, from internationalism and a desire for world peace that gave their structures appeal, and from the affluence of the post-war era.

It has been suggested that the international service clubs attained a level of participation by New Zealand's adult male population…unequalled anywhere else in the world…

The post-war baby boom, new schools and suburbs gave plenty of opportunities for the "projects" which characterised the service clubs, and there was the leisure in which to see them through. It has been suggested that the international service clubs attained a level of participation by New Zealand's adult male population that was unequalled anywhere else in the world, and that, instead of competing, they settled down to a tacit division of labour (Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 81, 193).

Organisations such as Lions had their female off-shoots, but independent women's service clubs, like Soroptimists, Zonta and Altrusa, expanded in the late 1960s, when there was "an adequate pool of highly qualified business or professional women to fill the various classifications" (Page 1993: 297). The 1960s to the mid-1980s were the peak years of the service club in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their mix of social interaction, opportunity for collective good works, international contacts and business and professional connections attracted large numbers of men, and a particular group of women for whom older, more "domestically oriented" organisations no longer sufficed.

Many youth groups likewise had parent bodies overseas with which they retained formal and informal links. They, like the service clubs, benefited from the affluence and leisure of the post-war years, as well as from the post-war baby boom and the growth of new suburbs. Organisations such as the Scouts seem to have peaked in membership during the 1960s, when Boy Scouts alone had 42,000 uniformed members actively supported by an additional 11,600 lay persons (McLintock 1966: 698). (In 2007 Scouting New Zealand had 15,600 uniformed members, now including girls. It also reported its first membership increase in 25 years.[4])

At a local level, groups such as the Scouts, Girls Guides and, more especially, the Boys' and Girls' Brigades often retained their connection with specific churches in the post-war decades. Increasingly however, youth activities were secularised and influenced by emerging concepts of a "teenage" identity, separate from both childhood and adulthood, potentially threatening and disruptive, and needing constraint and direction. Those participating in the socially challenging youth culture (or counter-culture) of the 1970s often had a base in the newly expanding tertiary institutions. Although sometimes loosely linked with student associations, they were less readily organised than earlier generations – they were certainly less willing to don uniform and to be subject to direction, and frequently saw themselves in opposition to the preceding generation, whose experiences were shaped by war and depression. But even youth protest drew heavily upon international movements for inspiration, blending "a vague socialism infused with sexual liberation, anarchist ideas, marijuana and orientalism" (Denoon and Mein-Smith 2000: 429), and they occasionally coalesced into imitative groups such as the Progressive Youth Movement.

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4 Scouting New Zealand, http://www.scouts.org.nz/sanz/e107_plugins/content/php?content-10 [accessed 20/01/2008].

Activist voices

While service clubs had their "take-off" point in the 1950s and 1960s, a new generation of organisations linked with specific social causes emerged in the 1970s. These competed for the allegiance of potential "joiners", especially those in the younger age groups – as suggested above, the expansion of tertiary education was a factor here. Prominent among the new causes were environmentalism, feminism and Māori sovereignty, but the Vietnam war and apartheid policies in South Africa also provided a focus.

Environmentalism drew upon an older tradition of groups that used remote areas for recreational purposes such as tramping, climbing and hunting, and the Royal Forest and Bird Protection Society began (as the Native Bird Protection Society) in 1923. Much of this established interest was middle class and concerned with 'wilderness and mountain tops', but the Save Manapouri campaign of the late 1960s and early 1970s helped broaden the constituency for environmental causes, and the targets of its concern. Large numbers of New Zealanders opposed the raising of the lake and flooding of surrounding areas for essentially commercial purposes, and substantial numbers signed a major petition to this effect. As Belich comments, "When populism and nationalism converged with environmentalism and left-liberalism, they made a force that was very hard to stop" (Belich 2001: 531). Groups such as the Native Forests Action Council (formed in 1975 and later renamed the Maruia Society) symbolised the new environmental activism, gaining in political sophistication over time.

During the early 1970s, women's liberation groups spread throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, as they did in other parts of the world: one history of women's organisations in New Zealand lists 24 new women's organisations for the 1960s; 101 for the 1970s (Else 1993, 575–6). Inspired by a new wave of feminist consciousness, these groups challenged older, hierarchical ways of organising. In the 1980s they became more diverse and fragmented as individuals organised around particular areas of women's oppression, including pornography and sexual harassment, or aligned their feminist principles with the anti-racism or anti-nuclear movements (Macdonald 1993: 207–8). The range of organisations generated by the feminist movement was considerable: some eventually faded, but others, like Women's Refuge, have survived to become major service providers under contract to government. These organisations have consequently had to balance their feminist and collectivist principles against the bureaucratic and procedural requirements which went with government funding. Another effect of feminism was to accelerate women's movement into paid work, a development associated with the diminution of the volunteer base, at least as far as one of its traditional supports was concerned.

The range of organisations generated by the feminist movement was considerable: some eventually faded, but others, like Women's Refuge, have survived to become major service providers under contract to government.

The other key activist strand which developed in the 1970s saw growing Māori assertion of their place as tangata whenua, the indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand. In the early part of the century, Māori were predominantly a rural people. Race relations issues did not need to be confronted in the way that was required on a daily basis once Māori urbanisation accelerated after World War II. Most tribes had lost the best of their land by 1900 and Māori generally lost touch with their language and with elements of their culture as urban transitions occurred.

A high level of intermarriage between Māori and Pākehā in the decades following World War II meant that the racial divide in New Zealand became extremely complex compared with other parts of the world (especially Australia). As Māori urbanisation increased voluntary associations, including those which operated on a pan-tribal basis, became:

> the key to the successful adjustment of the Māori to urban life…. These included Māori sections of the orthodox churches, the Māori protest churches of Ringatu and Rātana, culture clubs, sports clubs, family and tribal organisations, benevolent societies, Māori committees, Māori wardens, Māori Councils, Maori Women's Welfare League, and Te Ropu Whakawhanaunga i nga Hahi (Maori Ecumenical Council of Churches). (Walker 1992: 503)

One of the most notable on a national scale was the pan-tribal Maori Women's Welfare League, formed in 1951. Heavily promoted by the Department of Maori Affairs and its welfare officers, the League merged Pākehā bureaucratic forms with Māori concerns and Māori ways of operating. It was another example of state sponsorship and support to the sector, and the League has since become a highly significant body both in the landscape of Māori organisations and inthe non-profit sector more broadly. The more male-dominated New Zealand Maori Council was formed in 1962, also with state endorsement and, in this case, a legislative mandate. It was soon overtaken by other energy-forces within the Māori world.

Many Māori became adept at moving between "two worlds", as members of mainstream as well as Māori organisations. Māori not only became more visible to the Pākehā majority, but also more assertive about their cultural and political aspirations. Increasingly, Māori rights to rangatiratanga (self-determination) were forcefully asserted, as were demands for acknowledgement of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The new wave of Māori organisations coalesced around the issues of language and land rights, but rangatiratanga proved an especially potent rallying cry, usually targeted at government.

By the 1970s, 75 per cent of Māori were resident in urban areas (compared with just over 11 per cent in 1936). In the cities a new generation of educated young Māori radicals formed such protest groups as Nga Tamatoa. The new wave of Māori organisations coalesced around the issues of language and land rights, but rangatiratanga proved an especially potent rallying cry, usually targeted at government. The Treaty of Waitangi was a constant reference point, one which governments were ultimately unable to ignore. In the 1980s biculturalism became an official part of government policy and an acknowledgement of biculturalism and "Treaty principles" an expectation of bodies interacting with government. The first Kōhanga Reo, or pre-school Māori language nests, opened in 1982 with assistance from a government seeding grant; they provided a successful model for later Māori service providers (Rei and Hamon 1993: 40–2).

Other interest groups also generated new, politically assertive non-profit organisations: disabled persons claimed their own voice through bodies such as the Disabled Persons' Assembly (formed in 1983, with strong links to Disabled Peoples International). An ageing population concerned to protect levels of national superannuation and services for the aged generated the assertive Grey Power organisation in 1985. No longer were doctors, nurses, social workers and others speaking on behalf of aged or disabled persons and their "plight": articulate, well-educated and certainly informed superannuitants and disabled persons were themselves becoming political strategists in a struggle for state resources.

Conclusion

The decades following World War II saw an elaboration of non-profit organisations under the umbrella of the welfare state, service organisations generally having a closer connection with the state than those which might be characterised as "expressive". By the 1970s it was apparent that even under a welfare state, and even after a period of relative affluence, social problems of various kinds still remained. The welfare state came under attack from quarters for failing to meet particular needs and, from others, for being excessively interventionist. With increasing urbanisation, some of the influence of rural groups started to wane. And with a vastly accelerated Māori urbanisation, Māori became far more visible to the Pākehā mainstream. Considerable intermarriage resulted, along with intermingling of the races within mainstream organisations, but a "Māori" identity remained (sometimes at the expense of separate tribal identities). Separate Māori organisations were characterised by a growing cultural and political assertiveness. Finally, in a small society which had long been receptive to overseas influences, there was an awareness of global movements in the areas of environmentalism, feminism, indigenous and human rights, which were then translated into the local context.

Recent history: 1984 and beyond

In the last twenty years the organisational component of the non-profit sector has become more diverse and professionalised, its relationship with the state entering a more contested phase than ever before in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand. As in other parts of the world, new organisations emerged and others declined, and an existing distinction between large, nationally organised bodies with staff and property, and those more local, informal and dependent upon volunteers, increased further. New workforce pressures had ramifications for volunteering, as did a growing emphasis on professionalism within organisations, and compliance with government regulations. As the state withdrew from the provision of some services, there was increasing pressure on non-profit organisations, and some older forms of voluntary social service provision re-appeared, such as food banks. With a greater emphasis on government contracts came increasing competition between organisations and a fracturing of relationships of trust.

Relations with the state

This latest and still unfolding period in the history of New Zealand's non-profit sector was introduced by a change of government from National to Labour in 1984, beginning a period where the state and the economy were massively restructured. This had substantial consequences for the non-profit sector since so many of its elements had a history of close interaction with government, benefiting from assistance, filling in gaps in its services, or alternatively, critiquing it for excessive or insufficient intervention.

From the late 1980s, Aotearoa New Zealand reprised its late nineteenth-century role as the "social laboratory of the world", but in reverse, as the state withdrew from many activities. A trend apparent in many western countries was taken further, earlier. A radical reshaping of the economy and the attempted "winding back" of the welfare state was enabled by the country's small size, limited constitutional checks on the executive, and a first-past-the-post electoral system (which gave power to the political party with the largest single number of seats in the country's unicameral parliament). Under Labour, much of the focus was on the economy and state sector restructuring via the 1988 State Sector Act, the 1989 Reserve Bank Act

and the 1989 Public Finance Act – the "boundary pegs" of what became the "New Zealand model" of public sector management" (Cheyne et al 2005: 135). After the National Party was returned to power in a massive landslide in 1990, these policies continued, and the welfare system came more directly within target in the 1991 budget. The introduction of a mixed member proportional system of voting in 1996 markedly increased the parliamentary influence of a new generation of smaller political parties and helped slow the reform impetus.

As a market-driven ethos began to shape the relationship between government and the non-profit sector in the late 1980s, purchase of services through contracts became the preferred mechanism for transferring resources from the state to non-profit organisations and for delivery of services by these organisations.

Policies supporting community care, devolution, and the culturally appropriate delivery of services assumed the non-profit sector's ability to replace government activities or responsibilities, albeit with public funding. There was also a need to ensure that the vastly increased amounts of money being transferred to the non-profit sector achieved what was intended, and that the public could be assured of accountability.

As a market-driven ethos began to shape the relationship between government and the non-profit sector in the late 1980s, purchase of services through contracts became the preferred mechanism for transferring resources from the state to non-profit organisations and for delivery of services by these organisations. This had a major impact on the nature and focus of non-profit activity. The shift from largely untied grants to contracts signalled a fundamental change in the way in which non-profit organisations engaged in their activities, many feeling that their agendas were increasingly shaped by state requirements rather than their own existing priorities. Criticisms focused on the compliance costs involved, greater insecurity of

funding for some non-profits, and the increased interagency competition which resulted (Tennant 2007: 200–202). Some felt that the need for greater professionalism was estranging non-profits from their volunteer base, and that the "passion that existed in the sector, the human element and sense of what organisations 'really stand for'" seemed to get lost in the "quest for business perfection" (Smythe 1995: 1–2). The managerial ethos permeated long-established charitable and voluntary cultures, causing many to lose the distinctiveness which had informed their operations for decades. At the same time, the state sector reforms of the 1980s and 1990s altered the culture of government and saw the loss of public servants with institutional and local community knowledge (Community and Voluntary Sector Working Party 2001: 47). The contracting model resulted in growing mistrust and a sense of power imbalance between the state and the sector. But it also provided opportunities for new organisations to break through some of the established funding relationships with government, for older organisations to re-assess their services, and for more culturally appropriate services to evolve, especially within the spheres of health and education (Tennant 2007: 202).

After a period of growing tension there was some easing of the relationship between government and the sector in the late 1990s. Political statements in the early 2000s suggested a softening in the discourse around state-sector relationships testifying, for example, to the value of the sector and of "social capital" more generally. In 2001 the Labour government issued a *Statement of Government Intentions for an Improved Community-Government Relationship*. This indicated that changes could be expected in the culture of government to one of respect for the "values, governance arrangements, and working realities" of community, voluntary and iwi/Māori organisations. The statement promised "a future where the state performs its role as a facilitator of a strong civil society based on respectful relationships between government and community, voluntary and iwi/Māori organisations".[5] This was

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5 New Zealand Government (2001) *Statement of Government Intentions for an Improved Community-Government Relationship*. http://www.ocvs.govt.nz/about/government-intentions.html [accessed 10/01/2008].

followed in 2003 by the establishment of an Office for the Community and Voluntary Sector, which provided a channel for information-sharing, research into the non-profit sector, and co-ordination between government departments and the non-profit sector. Then, in 2005, a Charities Commission started work, its role to oversee the registration of charities, thereby helping to ensure their validity and good governance. Part of an effort to promote public trust and confidence in the charitable sector, this was probably the most important single legislative development in the history of the sector in New Zealand, though some in the field inevitably saw it as yet another bureaucratic accretion.

Biculturalism, multiculturalism and ethnic diversity

The shake-up of the non-profit sector prompted by government's preference for contracting opened up opportunities for newer organisations, including Maori service providers and those providing services to other cultural groups. The disestablishment of the Department of Maori Affairs in 1989 meant that responsibility for Māori issues was spread across a range of government agencies. It also signalled an intention to devolve resources to iwi and to give Māori greater control over services affecting Māori. Durie estimates that the number of Māori service providers rose from "almost zero to more than a thousand" in the twenty years after 1984 (Durie 2005: 50). Other organisations found responsiveness to Māori needs a condition of contracts with government. The speed and scale of these developments was not without tension, both in existing organisations, and for new Māori agencies, where they sometimes generated challenges to traditional forms of tribal authority and lines of accountability, and exposed the need for further "capacity building" (Durie 2005: 175–6). Māori and iwi groups argued that rigid and predetermined contractual arrangements undermined any notion of partnership under the Treaty of Waitangi and complained that their delivery of services across a whole range of areas meant a burdensome array of contracts with more than one government agency (Aroturuki me te Arotakenga 2000: 41).

By the late 1990s the desirability of multiculturalism was being asserted alongside biculturalism, though understandings of both concepts varied (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 223, 234). This resulted, in part, from

an increased and vastly more diversified immigration stream than in the past, and from changes in immigration policy. Until 1975, British predominance among new settlers was reinforced by an effective "white New Zealand" immigration policy, a system of entry permits and assisted immigration. From 1987 entry requirements to New Zealand were based on skills and qualifications rather than ethnicity and a new "points" system of entry introduced in 1991 further emphasised these criteria. There was also

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greater government receptiveness to refugees from non-European sources (Phillips 2006: 39–40, Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 151–2). Jock Phillips concludes that "for over 130 years, from 1840 to the 1970s, New Zealand sought to people itself with "kith and kin" from the United Kingdom. In the years since then, immigration from new countries has transformed the nation's culture and values" (Phillips 2006: 42). Between 1971 and 1991 the number of foreign-born residents increased by 116,000. In the decade following, their number increased by 170,000 "to a total of almost 700,000 who were not born in New Zealand" (Phillips 2006: 41). Immigration became "ethnicised" as the number of migrants from traditional source countries such as the United Kingdom was challenged by those more visibly different from the majority culture (Lovelock and Trlin 2007: xi–xii). In 2004 it was claimed that, after Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand had the world's second highest proportion of immigrants in its workforce (Phillips 2006: 42).

A flow of Pacific Island peoples after World War II followed from longstanding relationships between the Cook Islands, Niue, Tokelau and Western Samoa, but also came to include significant numbers of Tongan and Fijian people (Tamasese, Waldegrave and King 2000: 26–7, Phillips 2006: 40). Many came to work in factories, some two-thirds of this migrant group eventually making the wider Auckland area

their home. Their organisations were initially church-based, but more recent associations have tended to reach beyond church connections, some following the women's organisation, PACIFICA (formed 1975) in promoting a pan-Pacific identity. Others resisted such a conflation of identities, expressing their distinctiveness in sports teams, craft groups and "language nests" for pre-schoolers, along the lines of the Māori kōhanga reo (Leckie 1993: 504, 510; Belich 2001: 533–5).

A Chinese presence in Aotearoa New Zealand dated back to the gold rushes of the 1860s, and it had generated localised clan and mutual support groups, lending money to the sick and destitute, and providing funds for repatriation, for example (Ip 2006: 110). Organisations such as the New Zealand Chinese Association (1935) followed. But the opening up of immigration from the 1980s brought in a new generation of Chinese and other Asian migrants. Asian non-profit organisations remain limited in number and coverage, but also show signs of expansion and specialisation of purpose, especially in the Auckland region.

The late twentieth-century wave of migrants from Asia was followed by even newer migrant communities from the Middle East and African countries, including refugees from places such as Somalia, Zimbabwe and Ethiopia. As well as forming their own non-profit organisations, this generation of "new settlers" has also created umbrella organisations, such as the New Zealand Federation of Ethnic Councils, formed in 1989 to represent collective interests. Ethnic organisations are now coupled with a new cultural assertiveness, and have become markers of difference as much as bodies assisting integration into the mainstream culture.

While immigrant groups formed their own, ethnically distinctive groups, existing non-profits have had to respond to diversity. A 2000–2001 survey found that associations in the religious and community group categories were more responsive than other agencies to the needs of immigrants. Churches, in particular, were "global institutions with trans-national connections which may allow immigrants with pre-migration affiliations to have a connection with or an entrée to a like church in New Zealand" (Lovelock and Trlin 2007: viii). They also had formal

and informal links with other agencies and with government which enabled them to advocate in the interests of immigrants (ibid). At government level, the increasing cultural diversity of the country was acknowledged through the creation of an Office and a Minister for Ethnic Affairs. New Zealand is now described as experiencing "superdiversity", having

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become one of the most ethnically heterogeneous countries in the world (personal communication, Paul Spoonley, 26 February 2007).

Despite recent immigration, historian Michael King concluded in 2003 that:

> The dominant realities of New Zealand life ... are still those of a mainstream Pakeha culture, in which almost every citizen has to participate in order to be educated, secure employment, play sport and engage in most other forms of recreation; and of a tangata whenua culture, in which the language, rituals of encounter, and ways of farewelling the dead are still markedly different from those of the Pakeha majority and more visible and pervasive than those of other minority cultures. (King 2003: 513)

There is ongoing debate about the priorities that should be accorded biculturalism and multiculturalism. Māori have sometimes seen the latter as a denial of their special position as tangata whenua and signatories to the Treaty of Waitangi, and part of a Pākehā strategy to swamp Māori with outsiders and contesting cultural claims (Fleras and Spoonley 1999: 236).

Overall, ethnicity has in recent years become a much more dominant force in the non-profit sector, assuming some of the saliency once held by the churches and religion as forces for "social coalescence".

Sport and recreation

Government funding of non-profit organisations continued to increase in this period. With it came greater influence over priorities even in areas such as sport, which had traditionally kept at arm's length from government. In 1987 the Hillary Commission was established as a semi-autonomous Crown entity funded by government and the state-run lottery. Following the 2002 Sport and Recreation Act, the Commission was replaced by SPARC, and an even greater emphasis emerged on performance and accountability measurements in determining support relationships between government and major codes. While sports' governing bodies retained control over their codes, national strategies for the sector have shaped their priorities, government expecting a "return on investment" (Sam and Jackson 2004).

The distinction between a large amateur base and professional sport has become sharper than ever before (Shaw 2006). National sports organisations have had to balance broad participation at local levels with the support of elite international competition. Bodies which used to rely on unpaid administrators and coaches have become increasingly professional, employing staff and coaches within a businesslike framework. Those bodies unable to gain private sponsorship or to generate gate-takings and television rights have become increasingly dependent on state support, or have had to combine with other entities. This is especially true of women's sports, some of which have joined forces with their male counterparts in forming a single national association – this happened in hockey in 1988 and in cricket in 1992, for example (Macdonald 1993: 413–4).

At a local level, sporting organisations have been affected by the extension of the working week into Saturdays and Sundays, by unemployment, which affected families' abilities to fund club subscriptions and sports gear, and by the individualisation of leisure (Macdonald 1993: 415). Commercial fitness activities providing more time-flexible and individualised activities increased in membership by 64 per cent from 1997 to 2003 (Hindson 2006: 36). A SPARC survey suggested in 2001 that participation in a sport or active leisure competition for young adults 18–24 years of age fell from 45 to 32 per cent between 1997/98 and 2000/01, while club membership fell from 53 to 42 per cent in the same period (SPARC 2008). A Wellington City Council study

released in 2003 showed that the proportion of children and young people classified as sedentary had increased from 7 to 30 per cent between 1997 and 2001. At the same time, the ageing of the baby boom generation has seen a rise in masters' sports across all codes (Hindson 2006: 35–6).

While less readily quantified or defined, trends in participation in arts and culture seem to have been similar. Here, as with sport, the government has its arm's-length funding body, Creative New Zealand (which is the descendant of the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council established in 1963). It comes under the purview of a stand-alone Ministry for Culture and Heritage (first formed in 1991 as the Ministry of Cultural Affairs) to advise government on all cultural matters. By the 1990s much of the sector was reliant on a mix of lottery funding and government appropriations, the latter frequently justified by references to "national identity" (or, some uneasily suggest, to a particular "national brand" within a larger subset of "creative industries") (Skilling 2005: 27).

As with sport, growing variety has been the feature of participation in arts and culture. There has been a movement away from the "high culture" and European-derived activities which characterised the early twentieth century, to the more ethnically diverse and "popular". However, most surveys of activity focus upon participation in individual terms, and it may be that there is a shift from active participation in this sphere (in terms of joining groups) to attendance at performances or purchase of cultural products. The formal education system may also have replaced the amateur group as a training ground for skills acquisition in this sphere. In the late 1990s the Ministry of Cultural Affairs concluded that organisations in the sector were being placed under considerable stress by "an increasingly competitive entertainment market, including a growing volume of foreign product entering New Zealand as television and radio stations proliferate, Internet use grows, and broadcasting and computer technologies converge" (Ministry of Cultural Affairs 1998: 24).

Adaptation and decline

Since the 1980s many organisations have had to become more professional in their approach as a condition of survival, while others have failed to maintain their relevance and have gone into decline. Organisations have always had life cycles, but changes of the late twentieth century proved especially challenging to the sector.

The assertion of "nuclear-free" status, most strongly elaborated in the 1970s and 1980s in response to French nuclear testing in the Pacific and the prospect of nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed warships visiting the country's ports was one factor in the development of environmental groups. Ongoing threats to New Zealand's "clean, green" image and revelations about climate change and species decline have enabled this sector to retain its purchase.

As with many pressure groups, various wings of the environmental movement espoused different political strategies, some taking an activist stance with its associated media profile, others lobbying more quietly beyond the scenes.

Environmental organisations have also had to become more professional in their approach and in their fundraising techniques, as awareness has not necessarily translated into active membership. Some, like Greenpeace have strong global linkages and an eye to publicity. The environmental movement has become more diverse in itself, some quarters moving beyond the old "wilderness preservation" approaches to a critique of global trade, economic expansion and their environmental consequences. In this, they had the support of the Green Party, which benefited from changes in the electoral system in 1996 to gain a persistent parliamentary presence (Dann 2002: 286). As with many pressure groups, various wings of the environmental movement espoused different political strategies, some taking an activist stance with its associated media profile, others lobbying more quietly beyond the scenes.

Since the 1980s, other organisations have clearly gone into decline. Those, like the Victoria League, which had proselytised on behalf of empire, have faded into insignificance, its ageing membership retreating into a "'private' female world of hospitality and socialising" (Pickles 2005: 45). The uniformed youth groups such as the Boys' and Girls' Brigades and Scouts and Guides, which reached their zenith during the baby boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, are struggling to recruit new members, a trend which may have downstream consequences for adult membership of non-profit groups. The number of Freemasons reached a peak of 48,000 in 1964 but had dropped to 14,300 by 2000, with a more serious decline predicted. In 2002, 41 per cent of members were aged over 70 (Bone 2002: 29). Following trends in other countries, service clubs also face a falling and ageing membership. Jaycees, with an upper age limit of 40, provides a dramatic example: its numbers fell from 3,829 in 1983 to around 192 in 2000 (Henderson 2002: C5, Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 192). Management training and increased tertiary education took over some of these organisations' leadership training roles, while workplace demands also appear to have limited time for wider participation and projects (Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 196–7, Keen 1999: 106–7). Many men's service clubs tried to compensate for declining numbers by allowing women to join: first admitted to Rotary in 1989, women are now its fastest growing segment and increasingly hold leadership positions within it.[6]

The trade union movement was severely damaged by the 1991 Employment Contracts Act, which caused a halving of membership within three years (Belich 2001: 411). The Act replaced collective wage bargaining with individual employment contracts and restricted union access to workplaces. Under a new Labour Government, it was superseded by the Employment Relations Act in 2000. This was intended to encourage collective bargaining and "good faith" bargaining, and it allowed union access to workplaces "at a reasonable time and in a reasonable way", so reversing the thrust (if not all of the detail) of its predecessor (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates 2000: 3,963).

Union membership then rose, if not as dramatically as it had previously declined, showing how government policy and external legitimacy could influence activity in this, as in many other arenas.

The decline of certain kinds of non-profit organisations has been linked with an overall shortage of volunteers, and the replacement of "traditional" volunteers (especially middle class, middle-aged women) by corporate, "social enterprise" and short term, task-oriented volunteers (Wilson 2001: 34–5, 56–7). Volunteers sometimes felt oppressed by the increased training demands, accountabilities and compliance with legislation that became part of the non-profit sector. As greater professionalism was required within the sector, organisations were increasingly characterised by more paid staff with consequences for funding (and for dependency upon the state).

Fundraising remains a source of great anxiety as a consequence. Non-profit sector jobs, property, equipment and services can all be affected by insufficient funding. Some non-profits had to trade a loss of independence against the (relative) security of state funding, while others limited their activity in order to retain control over their goals and priorities. For example, some of the church social service organisations have sold facilities such as rest homes to the private sector, thereby releasing capital to self-fund other, more community-based activities. Many organisations have been active in seeking funding from businesses and trusts, and now utilise the language of "partnership" in relation as much to the business sector as to government. However, in keeping with historical trajectories (Tennant 2007: 43) corporate funding of non-profit organisations appears to be small, and state grants and contracts a far more significant source of support overall (Robinson and Hanley 2002). It must also be remembered that around 90 per cent of non-profit organisations employ no staff (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 16) and are likely to be small, informal and lacking in government funding. The divide between such organisations and large, nationally organised bodies run on semi-corporate lines has become greater than ever before in recent years.

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6   Rotary (2007) *A Short History of Rotary with Emphasis on New Zealand*, www.rotary.org.nz/information.cfm?ID=152 [accessed 21/11/2008].

Conclusion

The influence of neo-liberal doctrines had profound implications for the non-profit sector in this most recent period of its history, influencing both of the main political parties, National and Labour, and ensuring that the operations of the market started to impinge upon functions formerly the domain either of the state, or of non-profit organisations. There were direct consequences for the relationship of the latter with government, particularly in the advance of contracting as a preferred mechanism for funding the sector. Indirectly, an environment emerged in which "everything had a price", including the time of volunteers and the informal forms of subsidy previously available from government, business and individuals (Butterworth and Butterworth 2007: 197).

Second, the divide between large, nationally organised enterprises and small, local and still largely voluntary organisations became more marked in this period, a distinction sometimes being made between the "community and voluntary" or "non-profit" sectors. Larger organisations were increasingly informed by a managerial ethos, but one which had its own challenges, in terms of accountabilities towards consumers and participants, local communities, and central and local government.

Third, global forces, always present, became increasingly important, both in terms of the environment in which non-profits function, and the actual presence of competing organisations with an international structure.

Fourth, ethnic diversity was a further feature of the sector in this period. Migration from Pacific Islands was followed by an increased Asian presence from the 1970s, and by a vastly diversified immigrant stream over the 1990s. All of these had consequences for the non-profit sector, since they were coupled with a new cultural assertiveness, and organisations became markers of difference as much as bodies assisting integration into the mainstream culture.

For Māori, a new social and political presence followed a period of urbanisation, intermarriage with Pākehā, and official assumptions that Māori would integrate into the mainstream culture. Late twentieth century Māori organisations were characterised by a reaction against the homogenising trends of the 1940s and 1950s, along with an assertion of indigeneity, and claims of biculturalism against multiculturalism.

…an environment emerged in which "everything had a price", including the time of volunteers…

Fifth, while ethnicity became more important as an organisational force, religion lost saliency. Between the 1966 and 2006 censuses the percentage of the population professing to have "no religion", or objecting to state their religion rose from 9 to 38 per cent. Although youth activities continued to have a high profile among the newer Pentecostal and charismatic churches (whose membership rose ten-fold in the same period, to 2 per cent of the population), the mainstream churches were characterised by an ageing membership. They were unable to sustain the vibrant range of social, cultural and youth activities they had once generated, and even their social services were increasingly separated from a parish base (Tennant 2007: 208–10).

Some future issues from the past

Many current issues for the non-profit sector in Aotearoa New Zealand are deeply grounded in the past, especially the relationship with government. In the absence of large-scale philanthropic foundations in Aotearoa New Zealand, the willingness of government to provide subsidies to selected organisations has always been vital to their ongoing existence, especially in the social service sector. In some cases the assistance given was minimal, but sustaining, while in other cases, it was generous and allowed the emergence of dominant, nationally organised providers such as the Plunket Society.

Historically, the existence of a centralised state and the approachability of politicians and senior government officials in a small country have been vital to the emergence of formal and informal partnership arrangements between non-profits and government.

The close collaboration of government officials has at times encouraged innovation in the non-profit sector, as happened with the Marriage Guidance and Prisoners' Aid and Rehabilitation organisations in the 1950s and 1960s, while on other occasions government has forced change within the non-profit sector, with regard to Treaty of Waitangi obligations, for example (Tennant 2007).

Historically, the existence of a centralised state and the approachability of politicians and senior government officials in a small country have been vital to the emergence of formal and informal partnership arrangements between non-profits and government. The expansion of the sector in the 1970s and 1980s has made this informality difficult to sustain, as has the vastly increased scale of transfers to the sector. The transition to more formal accountabilities and procedural interactions (via contracting arrangements, for example) has been contested, and some would argue antithetical to the sector and its development. However, in the light of past developments, these new processes seem necessary given the vastly increased scale of demand for government support, though their

implementation was considered excessively state-centred, clumsy and inflexible. The refinement of such arrangements and their implementation in consultative and mutually respectful ways is the current challenge. The past suggests that there will always be winners and losers along the way (and even the 1990s saw new organisations emerge out of the 'contract culture'). The loss of public servants with knowledge of the sector was also highly problematic in the 1990s, signalling the need for ongoing expertise and depth of knowledge of the non-profit sector within the various state agencies. Issues of autonomy and the relationship between the state and the sector remain active and critical for the sector.

Although the configuration of past non-profits cannot be quantified, organisations which would now be characterised as "expressive" (that is, concerned with recreation, culture, and the expression of values and beliefs, for example) appear always to have outnumbered those delivering services, especially social services. A historical trajectory therefore underpins the current dominance of expressive organisations, which outnumber service organisations by more than 2:1 (Statistics New Zealand 2007:14). Expressive organisations are less likely than those in the areas of education and social services to employ staff, and more likely to rely wholly on volunteers (as was the case in the past). They therefore raise challenges for the ongoing recruitment and support of volunteers in an age where professionalism, safety and accountability sometimes appear to be valued above the sense of duty, religious enthusiasm and patriotic zeal which often underpinned volunteering in the past. It is only to be expected that different eras will produce their own motivations for volunteering, but the challenge for the future is to avoid disincentives to civic participation, and its over-regulation.

Transport and time have been critical factors in the historical elaboration of New Zealand's non-profit sector. Expansion came as the population grew after the 1880s, and variety came with a sense of differing interest groups, these sectional interests being based on occupation, religion, the rural–urban divide and, increasingly, gender, generation and ethnicity. The recreational and expressive pursuits which were important in fostering communal association were not without their (relatively benign) competitive

elements, either. But individuals needed to be able to get to these activities, and they needed the time to participate in them. The extension of the working week for those now characterised as "time poor" does not bode well for the sector since, historically, the twentieth-century elaboration of voluntary organisations was facilitated by a reduction in the working week and the extension of leisure. It is possible that transport is also reappearing as an inhibiting factor for communal participation: a 2007 study of host society voluntary associations and immigrants suggested that Auckland had become a "fragmented city", where co-ordination of services was more difficult than in the more compact capital city, Wellington, for example (Lovelock and Trlin 2007: 30–1). The sheer size of Auckland, its geographical spread and conglomerate nature, and its internal transport problems have sometimes been seen as undermining membership of clubs and community groups. Could it be that "largeness" has become as much of an inhibiting factor as was the small-scale of past communities? At the same time, it must not be forgotten that non-profits have always had life cycles, and that there was a historical pattern of growth and decline. This has been an essential element in the vibrancy and adaptability of the sector.

Finally, the roles of the private sector and of education are issues for the future of the non-profit sector in Aotearoa New Zealand. In the fields of arts and culture and in leadership training, formal education provided by the state and the private, for-profit sector has supplanted some of the club-based adult skills acquisition of the past. Private fitness centres and individualised activities appear to be undermining club-based sporting activities. The decline in children's and young persons' involvement in sporting activities (and the overall decline of large scale youth groups such as Boy Scouts and Girl Guides) does not bode well for their participation as adults in the sector. Non-profit organisations can survive under these circumstances, but in a different, more professionalised form from the old "voluntary'" sector. From a historical perspective, the shift from the language of voluntarism to that of the "non-profit" (a shift which seems to have cemented in locally over the late 1990s) is the most symbolic of all.

International context

Comparative analysis of welfare states is now well established, though it is not without pitfalls in terms of comparability and quality of data and the range of services and social indicators being compared. Acknowledging the non-profit sector as another major contributor to social wellbeing beyond the state, the Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project encompasses 41 countries, attempting to compare them in terms of the different economic, religious, regional, ethnic and historical traditions which have contributed to the shaping of the sector. In recent years the project has become more quantitative in orientation, measuring non-profit sector employment, the national volunteer workforce, the distribution of volunteering and non-profit employment over fields, and sources of non-profit sector income (Salamon, Sokolowski and List 2004). The project has generated a number of models of non-profit sector development, which are elaborated in its various publications (Salamon et al 2000, Salamon and Sokolowski 2001, Salamon et al 2004).

New Zealand's *Non-profit Institutions Satellite Account 2004* (Statistics New Zealand 2007) gives quantitative data which helps place Aotearoa New Zealand within an international framework. The Satellite Account estimated a contribution by non-profit organisations of $NZ3.64 billion to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or 2.6 per cent of New Zealand's total GDP in 2004. While there may be issues around the comparability of data in relation to international comparisons, it was suggested that this percentage was close to relatively recent figures for Canada, but lower than those for Australia (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 18). Social services made the largest single contribution, at 23 per cent of the total GDP of non-profit organisations. Although "expressive" organisations (those concerned with culture and recreation, and membership organisations) outnumbered "service" organisations among the 97,000 non-profits counted within the Satellite Account, the "service" organisations made the greater contribution to GDP, partly because they were the predominant employers of staff. When formal unpaid work for non-profits was factored in, the contribution to GDP of non-profit institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand increased to 4.9 per cent (Statistics New Zealand 2007: 3).

Overall, New Zealand's involvement in the Johns Hopkins University study has suggested that, by international standards, the voluntary workforce in Aotearoa New Zealand is comparatively large (9.6 per cent of the economically active population and the seventh largest per capita among countries surveyed in the study). At 67 per cent, the voluntary share of the total non-profit workforce is also "unusually high", well above the 41-country average of 42 per cent in the Johns Hopkins University study, and above the Australian average of 40 per cent, for example (Sanders, O'Brien, Tennant, Sokolowski and Salamon, 2008). This workforce is heavily represented in the expressive fields of activity.

> [The level of philanthropic giving] is influenced by the contribution of the statutory community trusts, a distinctive form of philanthropy…

The level of government financial support for the sector appears lower than in other countries, though this may reflect conservative estimates of government funding, and an inability to separate out some forms of government funding from such other categories as fees for services. (It might be noted here that government also has a history of directly providing services in areas such as health and education, which in other countries surveyed as part of the Johns Hopkins University study have often been delivered by non-profit organisations, even when substantially funded by government.) The level of philanthropic giving in New Zealand is higher per head of population than in many other countries (Sanders, O'Brien, Tennant, Sokolowski and Salamon 2008). However, this is influenced by the contribution of the statutory community trusts, a distinctive form of philanthropy, with government appointees among their trustees and a closer connection with government than is the case for other trusts (Scott 2002: 7) The fact that forms of philanthropy exist in Aotearoa New Zealand on such a statutory basis with requirements to report to government may have a distorting effect on comparative figures.

There is a tension between the patterns suggested by counting processes at one point in time, and the broad-ranging historical analysis required of a "social origins" approach. Historical commentary is necessarily impressionistic, and it needs to allow for the fact that a country may fit different models at different times. History tries to explain the background to a present, largely quantitative snapshot, without having equivalent historical data on which to draw for its generalisations. It needs to allow for the fact that the criteria and suppositions which fit the present may not necessarily capture the full range of past activities, or their significance (Morris 2000: 40).

New Zealand's nineteenth-century settlement from Great Britain and common historical association with the Anglo-Saxon (or, more accurately, given a significant Scottish input – "Anglo-Celtic") social, political and legal traditions suggest that it falls within what the Johns Hopkins University typology terms the "Anglo-Saxon/liberal" cluster of countries (Salamon et al 2000). The current configuration of the non-profit sector reinforces this, especially the size of the total volunteer workforce (Sanders, O'Brien, Tennant, Soklowski, and Salamon 2008). And yet, there were historical limitations on the service elements of non-profit activity, especially the development of charities. Aotearoa New Zealand was settled at a time when public charity in England (in the form of the Poor Law) was becoming more restrictive, and the strong individualism of New Zealand's first white settlers made them unsupportive of both state and private welfare. There was a reluctance to recognise poverty and need within a "new" colony which was supposedly full of opportunities for self improvement (Thomson 1998, Tennant 1989). Class differences were downplayed in the colony, and a strongly egalitarian ethos was widely supported (though undermined, in practice, by disparities of earned wealth). This meant that Aotearoa New Zealand did not develop the strong "other-directed" charitable traditions and involvement normally associated with the Anglo-Saxon model. As suggested earlier, it may be that "expressive" forms of associational life gained a stronger footing at this time, a reflection of the male-dominated sex-ratio and relatively high rates of marriage for women. Sporting activities had greater appeal to male settlers than charities, while Aotearoa New Zealand lacked the strong "spinster culture" which underpinned voluntary welfare in Britain at the time (Tennant 1993: 110).

As we have seen, in the past the state became the country's largest philanthropist and a source of financial and ideological support for voluntary welfare. Financial transfers were at first small, but increasingly vital to the functioning of favoured organisations. Tasks involving moral reform and the care of children, for example, were also regarded as the forte of religious and non-profit bodies, and they were supported, via grants and capitation payments, in caring for such groups. Legislation as early as 1885 attempted to formalise a link between the state and certain voluntary charities, using public sector hospital and charitable aid boards as a conduit for funding. This ultimately resulted in the absorption of many of these charities into the public sector, but it also signalled a notion of "partnership" which was

Legislation as early as 1885 attempted to formalise a link between the state and certain voluntary charities, using public sector hospital and charitable aid boards as a conduit for funding.

to expand over the twentieth century. Over the late twentieth century some significant funding partnerships were to emerge between the state and non-profit bodies, most notably with regard to the institutional care of the aged, family and marriage counselling, and the support of discharged prisoners and others for whom the personal social services were considered important (Tennant 2007). With this regard, Aotearoa New Zealand shows some affinities with the "welfare partnership" model, especially as it has more recently been applied to Canada (Hall et al 2005). However, the current level of government financial support for the sector overall, especially as it comprises not only welfare organisations, but those in fields such as sport, religion and civic and advocacy activities, is lower than in other welfare partnership countries and closer to others in the Anglo-Saxon cluster.

The elaboration of the Labour government's welfare state from the late 1930s was heavily underpinned by policies of full employment, industrial protection and public service employment. Although most of the benefits introduced under the 1938 Social Security Act were means-tested, its universal health benefits,

the universal family benefit introduced in 1946, and the accompanying rhetoric of "citizen entitlement" suggest affinities with the "Nordic" model, at least for the prime years of New Zealand's welfare state. The apparent predominance of expressive over social service organisations and strong volunteer component to the non-profit sector workforce as recently enumerated, reinforces this analysis. But the state's withdrawal from many of its earlier functions from the late 1980s, including a marked curtailment of economic interventionism, suggests a return to the Anglo-Saxon/liberal model in recent years.

The state's influence upon the direction and form of the non-profit sector remains stronger than the Anglo-Saxon/liberal model would seem to suggest. Further complicating the archetypes associated with the Johns Hopkins University study is the distinctive role of indigenous bodies. This does not align New Zealand with the "traditional pattern" identified by the study, because the state and non-indigenous organisations are stronger and more effective than that particular model supposes (Salamon 2005: 10). But tribal ties and identities remain strong and generate their own associational life. This takes many forms, some of them closer to the western ideal of a "non-profit" organisation than others.

In contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand most Māori and tribal entities would aspire to "handle developmental and service functions" (Salamon 2005: 10) that state agencies cannot adequately perform because of cultural and other deficiencies. Many would claim, however, a distinctive relationship with the state on the basis of the Treaty of Waitangi. In addition, Māori themselves operate within "mainstream" organisations, now bringing a distinctive perspective and flavour to these organisations.

Internationally, the profile of indigenous associational life and the role of government, especially with regard to the social service component of the non-profit sector, are distinctive elements in the history of New Zealand's non-profit sector compared with other countries. Aotearoa New Zealand shows that a strong state and a strong non-profit sector can, and at many times in the country's history did, co-exist.

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