TABLE 13.2: Single-parent families—1981 age of youngest child by marital status of mother (percentage)

| | Mother's marital status | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Age of youngest child (years)* | *Never married* | *Married* | *Separated* | *Widowed* | *Divorced* |
| *Less than 5* | 68.9 | 55.4 | 35.1 | 15.9 | 17.1 |
| *5–12* | 27.7 | 34.8 | 50.1 | 49.9 | 59.3 |
| *13–15* | 3.0 | 7.3 | 12.3 | 24.4 | 17.3 |
| *16–19* | 0.4 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 9.9 | 6.3 |
| *Total* | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Source: One and Two Parent Family File—Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981,* Department of Statistics (unpublished)

young and have dependent children in their care. Between 1976–1981 1-parent families with dependent children increased by about 15,000, or 31 percent. During the same period, there was a decrease in the overall number of families with dependent children. In 1981, almost two thirds of dependent children in single-parent families were living with a separated or divorced parent. A further 16 percent lived with a parent who had never married.

As in most other countries, the overwhelming majority of single-parent families in New Zealand are maintained by women. In 1981, women outnumbered men as solo parents by 4 to 1, particularly where children under 15 were involved. Female solo parents were more likely than their male counterparts to have dependent children in their households. This was especially true for separated and divorced mothers; 86 percent of separated solo mothers and 73 percent of divorced solo mothers had dependent children living with them. Overall, 84 percent of dependent children in single-parent families in 1981 lived with a solo mother and 16 percent lived with a solo father.

Single-parent families in New Zealand are relatively more common among Maori than non-Maori households. Overall, in 1981, about 16 percent of Maori families were single-parent families, compared with approximately 11 percent of non-Maori families. The higher incidence of solo parenthood in Maori families can be explained to a large degree by the higher rate of ex-nuptial births among Maori women; the higher level of marital breakdown among Maoris; and the greater likelihood of Maoris still having

children living with them on becoming widowed (this is attributable to the larger average family size and lower life expectancy of Maoris).

## *Standard of Living of One Parent Families*

Solo-parent families in New Zealand have been shown to suffer a relative disadvantage in their material standard of living. Compared with other families, solo-parent families have fewer financial resources available to them for housing, day care, health care, education, recreation and other basic requisites of living. Income data from the 1981 population census indicate that solo parents, particularly solo mothers, have some of the lowest incomes in the community. At the time of the census, solo-mother families comprised half of all families receiving incomes of less than $8,000 and only 3 percent of those with incomes of $8,000 and over. Moreover, at all stages of the family life cycle, solo mothers in 1981 had a lower mean per capita annual income than their 2-parent family counterparts (refer Table 13.3). The lowest income level was recorded for solo mothers with pre-school children. Their mean annual income per capita of $1,560 was little more than half of that received by 2-parent families with children of similar age.

Table 13.3: Mean income per head of families with dependent children by age of youngest child in 1981

| *Age of youngest child (years)* | *Mean annual income per head* | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Two parent families ($)* | *One parent families ($)* | *Female one-parent families ($)* |
| *0–4* | 3,000 | 1,670 | 1,560 |
| *5–12* | 3,490 | 2,250 | 2,080 |
| *13–15* | 4,400 | 3,180 | 2,840 |
| *16–18* | 4,940 | 3,430 | 3,200 |
| *All ages* | 3,450 | 2,270 | 2,050 |

*Source:* Mowbray M. and Kahn A., *One and Two Parent Families from the Census,* New Zealand Population Review, 10, 3, October 1984

The lower incomes of solo-mother families can be explained to a large extent by the relatively small proportion of women in these families employed in the paid workforce. Compared with mothers in 2-parent families, mothers in 1-parent families were less likely to be working for pay or profit in 1981. This was true regardless of

the ages of their children, and applied to both full-time and part-time work. The reason for the lower participation levels of solo mothers in the paid workforce is almost certainly related to New Zealand's social welfare provisions. While most single-parents of dependent children are eligible to receive income from either the domestic purposes benefit or the widow's benefit, income from these is severely eroded by earnings from other than minimal part-time work. It is not surprising therefore that benefit payments represent a substantial component of the income of women who are single parents.

In addition to, and almost certainly related to their lower income levels, solo-parent families have been shown to fare less well than their 2-parent counterparts in other areas. In general they have access to fewer amenities, such as telephones and household appliances, and are less likely to have cars (refer Table 13.4). Solo-parent families are also less likely to own their own home, and are more likely to live in public rental accommodation as opposed to other forms of rental accommodation. In 1981, just over half (53 percent) of 1-parent families were living in homes owned with or without a mortgage, and almost a quarter (24 percent) were living in public rental accommodation. The comparable proportions for 2-parent families were 76 percent and 9 percent respectively. Overall, when compared with 2-parent families, 1-parent families are more disadvantaged, particularly in the area of income, housing and basic amenities.

TABLE 13.4: Percentage of families without access to selected amenities by family type and age of youngest dependent child, 1981

| *Age of youngest child (years)* | *Percentage of families not recording amenity in dwelling* | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Car* | *Phone* | *Washer* | *Dryer* | *Freezer* | *TV* |
| | One-parent family | | | | | |
| *0–4* | 33 | 24 | 11 | 60 | 49 | 13 |
| *5–12* | 21 | 13 | 7 | 55 | 34 | 10 |
| *13–15* | 18 | 9 | 5 | 55 | 29 | 7 |
| *16–18* | 21 | 8 | 6 | 61 | 33 | 8 |
| *Total one-parent families (N=6,381)* | 25 | 16 | 8 | 57 | 38 | 10 |
| | Two-parent family | | | | | |
| *0–4* | 8 | 11 | 4 | 35 | 22 | 10 |
| *5–12* | 5 | 5 | 2 | 37 | 13 | 5 |
| *13–15* | 4 | 3 | 2 | 40 | 11 | 4 |
| *16–18* | 4 | 2 | 1 | 38 | 10 | 2 |
| *Total two-parent families (N=37,691)* | 6 | 7 | 3 | 37 | 16 | 7 |

*Source:* Mowbray M, and Kahn A., *One and Two Parent Families from the Census,* New Zealand Population Review, 10, 3, October 1984

# 14 The Unemployed

## *Introduction*

As in other western countries, the level of unemployment in New Zealand has risen steadily in recent years. In 1966, less than 1 percent of the New Zealand labour force was unemployed. During the 1970s the level of unemployment increased rapidly, climbing to 2.1 percent in 1976, 4.5 percent in 1981 and to 6.8 percent in 1986.[1]On census night in 1986, over 108,700 New Zealanders reported on their forms they were unemployed and seeking work, almost 4 times as many as in 1976, and about 12 times as many as in 1966. The impact of this rapid rise in unemployment has been uneven, the burden being disproportionately borne by certain groups in society. The groups which have been most severely affected are women, youth, Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians.

Despite the growing numbers and proportions of unemployed people, New Zealand's unemployment rate remains considerably lower than that of many other western countries. In 1986, the unemployment rate in New Zealand was lower than in Australia, Canada, France and the United Kingdom, all of which had rates in excess of 8 percent. However, it was well above rates in Japan, Norway and Sweden, which were below 3 percent.

## *Historical Trends*

Historically, New Zealand has been characterised by relatively low levels of unemployment—in most years the rates have not exceeded 3 percent of the labour force. Unemployment levels have only really been a cause for concern during periods of economic recession, such as in the Great Depression of the 1930s when an 8.5 percent unemployment rate was recorded.

[1] Because of a change in the question on unemployment between the 1981 and 1986 population censuses, growth in 1981–86 unemployment is almost certainly overestimated.

The post-Second World War period has witnessed some marked changes in the nature and prevalence of unemployment in New Zealand. During the early post-war period unemployment levels were remarkably low, indeed, in the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s the unemployment rate was less than 1 percent of the labour force. At no other time in the history of New Zealand had the rate fallen below 1 percent for such a long period. This sustained period of low unemployment was made possible by favourable terms of trade, together with economic policies that encouraged full employment (Thompson, 1985). The unemployment experienced during this period was mainly of a transitional or between-jobs kind, sometimes referred to as frictional unemployment (Carmichael, 1979).

After 1966, New Zealand's terms of trade began to deteriorate as the demand for the country's exports declined, causing a sharp drop in the demand for labour. This occurred as the supply of labour was increasing, through the entry into the labour force of the first products of the baby boom generation and the growing participation of women in the labour force. The net effect was a rapid increase both in the number and proportion of unemployed people in the labour force (refer Table 14.1). During the 1970s large changes in the industrial and occupational mix of employment further promoted unemployment by creating a pool of people with job skills no longer in demand (Population Monitoring Group, 1986). By 1986, 6.8 percent of the total New Zealand labour force was unemployed and seeking work, higher than at any other time during the post-war period.

## *Characteristics of the Unemployed*

### *Age*

In New Zealand the impact of unemployment has always varied between different age groups. However, the age groups most severely affected by unemployment have changed over time. Whereas in the 1930s the incidence of unemployment was greatest among the older members of the labour force, more recently young entrants to the labour force have been the most vulnerable group. Throughout the 1970s, teenagers of both sexes experienced higher unemployment rates than all other age groups. This trend continued into the 1980s (refer Table 14.2). In 1986, 1 in 5 teenage members of the labour force was unemployed, and they

TABLE 14.1: Unemployment, 1945–1986

| *Census* | *Number unemployed* | *Unemployed rate* |
|---|---|---|
| *1945* | 6,913 | 1.04[1] |
| *1951* | 9,628 | 1.30[1] |
| *1956* | 7,936 | 0.97[1] |
| *1961* | 6,898 | 0.77[1] |
| *1966* | 9,107 | 0.89[1] |
| *1971* | 16,168 | 1.45[1] |
| *1976* | 26,337 | 2.13[1] |
| *1981* | 60,255 | 4.50[1] |
| *1986* | 108,768 | 6.87[2,3] |

[1]Unemployed expressed as a percentage of the full-time labour force (20 or more hours).

[2]Unemployed expressed as a percentage of the total labour force (part-time and full-time).

[3]Because of a change in the question on unemployment between the 1981 and 1986 population censuses, growth in 1981–86 unemployment is almost certainly overestimated.

*Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Volumes on Industries and Occupations,* Department of Statistics, 1945–86

accounted for about a third of all unemployed people. Beyond the teenage years, the likelihood of being unemployed decreased rapidly until the 45–54 year age group, after which unemployment rates showed a slight upward trend (refer Table 14.2).

A significant aspect of unemployment in New Zealand over the last 2 decades has been the widening differential between adult and youth unemployment. In 1966 persons aged 15–24 years constituted 28.6 percent of the labour force and 49.1 percent of the unemployed: the unemployment rates for the 15–19 and 20–24 year age groups were 1.7 and 1.3 percent respectively, compared with a total unemployment rate of 0.9 percent. By 1986, despite their declining share of the labour force (to 26.2 percent), 15–24 year olds constituted 52.8 percent of the unemployed, and their unemployment rate had increased 9-fold, compared with less than an 8-fold increase in the unemployment rate for all persons.

There are a number of factors which have contributed to the high rate of unemployment among the young. Probably the most important in recent years has been the prevailing economic climate. In a time of economic difficulty, new entrants to the labour force are the first to be affected. Unemployment among young people is very sensitive to rates of economic growth and recession. Other factors which may have contributed include high levels of

pay for young people as compared with adult pay rates, presumed lower productivity of young people in comparison with skilled adults, higher job mobility, a lack of skills among young people when the labour force requires skilled personnel, the high costs of training young people on-the-job, displacement of workers by new technology and structural changes within the workforce as a whole that reduce the demand for unskilled or low skilled jobs (Catherwood, 1985). All these influences work against the interests of the young and inexperienced worker and mean that employers are more reluctant to hire young people.

TABLE 14.2: Unemployment rates by age and sex, 1966–1986

| *Age group (years)* | | *Census year* 1966[1] | 1976[1] | 1986[2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *15–19* | *Male* | *1.0* | 4.9 | 18.2 |
| | *Female* | *2.4* | 8.1 | 21.0 |
| *20–24* | *Male* | *0.9* | 2.8 | 8.0 |
| | *Female* | *2.2* | 3.7 | 10.4 |
| *25–34* | *Male* | *0.5* | 1.4 | 3.8 |
| | *Female* | *1.3* | 2.0 | 9.1 |
| *35–44* | *Male* | *0.5* | 0.9 | 2.2 |
| | *Female* | *0.6* | 0.9 | 6.0 |
| *45–54* | *Male* | *0.7* | 1.0 | 2.1 |
| | *Female* | *0.5* | 0.8 | 4.8 |
| *55–64* | *Male* | *0.8* | 0.8 | 3.1 |
| | *Female* | *0.5* | 0.6 | 4,5 |
| *65 and over* | *Male* | *0.3* | 0.2 | 4.6 |
| | *Female* | *0.3* | 0.2 | 6.7 |
| *Total* | *Male* | *0.7* | 1.7 | 5.2 |
| | *Female* | *1.4* | 2.9 | 9.2 |

[1]Unemployed expressed as a percentage of the full-time labour force (20 or more hours)

[2]Unemployed expressed as a percentage of the total labour force (part-time and full-time)

*Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Volumes on Industries and Occupations,* Department of Statistics, 1966–86

## *Sex*

Differences in unemployment also occur between men and women. In the past, men have predominated among the unemployed, with over 80 percent of unemployed people being men in the 1896–1951 period. More recently, as increasing numbers of women have joined the labour force, women have become a more visible group among the unemployed. Indeed, by 1986 women

comprised over half (56 percent) of the unemployed, despite the fact they made up only 42 percent of the total labour force.

Throughout the 1970s unemployment rates of women were consistently higher than those of men in the 15–19 and 20–24 year age groups. At ages above 24 years there were no fundamental differences. The 1980s have seen some significant changes to this pattern. Since 1981 women aged 25 years and over have borne an increasing share of total unemployment and have recorded higher unemployment rates than men in all age groups (refer Table 14.2). By 1986 women aged 25 and over were more than twice as likely to be unemployed as similar aged men.

This rise in unemployment among older women suggests that despite increasing female labour force participation, it has not become any easier for women to obtain a job when returning to work after childrearing. Furthermore, it is likely that the increase in female unemployment may have discouraged some women from seeking work. The majority of people who could be available for work but not seeking it are women. In the quarter ending June 1987, 4,100 women believed that suitable work was unavailable in their area, In addition, another 3,000 women were unable to find suitable childcare.

### *Ethnic Group*

Some of the most pronounced differences in unemployment in New Zealand in recent times have been those between ethnic groups. The Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian groups in particular have experienced very high levels of unemployment. High unemployment among these groups is not a new phenomenon. Even in the heyday of full employment, unemployment rates for Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians never fell as low as those for non-Maoris (Thompson, 1985).

Results from the June 1987 quarter of the Household Labour Force Survey confirm the severity of the unemployment problem among Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians. The total unemployment rate of the New Zealand Maori labour force during this quarter was 9.9 percent, while the Pacific Island Polynesian labour force had an unemployment rate of 7.5 percent. This compares with a rate of 3.4 percent for Europeans.

A significant feature of Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian unemployment is its concentration among the young, particularly young women. On census night in 1981, 41.3 percent of young

Maori women aged 15–19 years were unemployed and seeking work. Thirty-three percent of young Pacific Island Polynesian women aged 15–19 were similarly unemployed, while 1 in 4 young Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian males was unemployed.

There are a wide range of demographic, social, economic and cultural factors which could contribute to the higher unemployment levels of Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians than non-Polynesians. One study concluded that over half the difference between the ethnic groups could be accounted for by differences in age, marital status and educational levels. However, a significant element remained, relating to socio-economic differences, institutional racism and differing cultural attitudes to employment (Bacica 1984).

## *Disabled People*

The disabled are another group of people particularly vulnerable to unemployment. Amongst the disabled, the likelihood of obtaining work depends not only on their medical condition, but also on the level of employment. Given the uncertainty involved in taking on disabled workers, especially those with mental handicaps, most employers prefer workers with no long term disabilities. Thus disabled workers tend to find themselves, in order of decreasing disability, at the rear of any hiring queue. In a buoyant labour market this is not a serious disadvantage to many of them. Employers are forced to hire at the end of the queue in order to fill vacancies and thus all except the most severely disabled obtain work. When the employment situation deteriorates, however, job queues lengthen and the number of vacancies become fewer. Thus employers are able to fill all vacancies by hiring only from the front of the queue. As a result, those with even minor disabilities are often unable of find work.

Although there are no official data available on unemployment of disabled people in New Zealand, a survey on employment and unemployment in Palmerston North in 1981 found that 1 in every 3 persons who were unemployed and seeking work had a disability of some form or another. This compared with 1 in 20 females and 1 in 10 males in full-time employment (Shipley, 1982). A similar association between unemployment and the incidence of personal disability has been observed in other overseas countries, such as Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom.

In the context of unemployment of disabled workers, a parallel has been drawn between the deterioration in the employment situation in New Zealand and the rise in the numbers of recipients of the invalid's benefit. It would appear that the worsening unemployment situation from 1967–8 and 1984–5, together with the development of more restrictive rules pertaining to the unemployment benefit, has had the effect of increasing the demand by disabled workers for an invalid's benefit. As a consequence, a portion of persons receiving the invalid's benefit may be disguised unemployed (Brosnan, 1987).

## *Employment Related Characteristics*

As a group the unemployed have fewer educational qualifications than their employed counterparts, and a larger proportion have no school qualifications at all. Indeed, there would appear to be a close relationship between unemployment and the level of education a person has. In general, the less education a person has the more likely she or he is to be unemployed. During the June quarter 1987, those members of the labour force with no school qualifications were more than twice as likely to be unemployed as those whose highest school qualification was University Entrance or its equivalent. Overall, 58 percent of the unemployed had no school qualifications, compared with 47 percent of the employed. It is of some interest that amongst men and women with the same level of schooling, women had consistently higher rates of unemployment.

The overall lower level of schooling of the unemployed is reflected in their occupational aspirations. Although the occupations sought by the unemployed in the June 1987 quarter of the Household Labour Force Survey covered a wide range, the majority of job seekers were looking for work in occupations comprising relatively high proportions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The most commonly sought occupations of female job seekers were those in the clerical, services, and production, transport workers and labourers fields. Overall, nearly three quarters of unemployed women were seeking jobs in these occupation fields. In comparison, these same occupation fields accounted for just 59 percent of employed women.

Male unemployment in the June 1987 quarter was overwhelmingly a blue-collar phenomenon. No fewer than 57 percent of all

unemployed men were seeking work as production workers, transport equipment operators and labourers. The proportion of employed men in these same occupations was lower at 41 percent.

Among unemployed men and women the different patterns of reasons for leaving their previous job are very striking. Women are much more likely than men to have left their last job for reasons related to their roles as wives and mothers. These reasons, which include family responsibilities, pregnancy, moving house and spouse transferred, accounted for about a quarter of all females unemployed and seeking work in the June quarter 1987, as against fewer than 5 percent of males. In contrast, males were much more likely to have left their last job for work related reasons. The most common reasons given were those of seasonal/temporary employment (accounting for 33 percent of the total) and laid off/dismissed (26 percent of the total).

A variety of methods are used by unemployed men and women in their search for work. By far the most common method is regularly scanning the newspaper columns. Almost three quarters (72 percent) of unemployed men and women in the June 1987 quarter of the Household Labour Force Survey reported having used this method. Other popular methods of job search were contacting employers, contacting the Department of Labour and contacting friends and relatives. These methods were used much more widely by unemployed men than women. Particularly notable was the much lower proportion of unemployed women than men who had contacted the Department of Labour—37 percent as compared with 55 percent. Overall, it would appear that female jobseekers were less active in their search for a job than men (refer Table 14.3).

## *Social and Economic Characteristics*

Although unemployed people can be found in a variety of household situations, the overwhelming majority live in groups, usually some type of family group. It is uncommon, but not unknown, for them to live alone. Young unemployed people aged 15–24 years are more likely than their employed counterparts to live at home with their parents. However, compared with other similar aged people living in a family setting, they are less likely to live in conventional 2-parent households, and more likely to be in composite

TABLE 14.3: Job search methods used by unemployed men and women, June quarter 1987

| *Job search method* | *Percentage of unemployed who used the method*[1] | |
|---|---|---|
| | *Males* | *Females* |
| *Looked at job advertisements in newspapers* | 72 | 72 |
| *Written, phoned or applied in person* | 56 | 51 |
| *Contacted Department of Labour* | 55 | 37 |
| *Contacted friends or relatives* | 44 | 37 |
| *Contacted career advisers* | 7 | 7 |
| *Other* | 20 | 17 |

[1]Respondents can specify more than one job search method
*Source: The New Zealand Labour Force, June 1987 Quarter,* Department of Statistics, 1987

households (those with a family plus others) or in 1-parent households (Taylor, 1986). By contrast, older unemployed people (aged 25 and over) are slightly more likely than their employed contemporaries to live in non-family households, either in a flatting situation or sharing with relatives (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

The tendency of unemployed people to live in groups may be necessitated at least in part by their economic situation. As a group, the unemployed receive lower incomes than the employed and are more likely to receive no income at all. At the 1981 census, for instance, nearly 1 in every 4 unemployed people reported on their forms that they had received no income during the previous 12 months from either social welfare or traditional income sources. In contrast, less than 1 percent of employed persons declared no income. Among those unemployed who reported no income, the majority were young (under 25) and living at home with parents or grandparents (Department of Statistics, 1985b). These figures indicate that a significant fraction of job seekers, particularly young job seekers, do not contribute financially to their households. In other words, many of the costs of unemployment are being borne by other members of the households in which the unemployed live. The effect of this is to reduce the overall standard of living of these households (Taylor, 1986).

In addition to the economic consequences of unemployment, there are other indirect consequences. Numerous studies have shown that unemployment is a threat to the physical and mental health of the unemployed and those immediately affected by

unemployment. There is evidence to suggest that 'unemployment has serious consequences for mental and physical health and has been associated with higher suicide risks, psychiatric distress, a higher rate of delinquency, depression, decay of self-esteem and morale' and has led to changes in lifestyles (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

# 15 The Elderly

## *Introduction*

One of the most significant demographic trends affecting New Zealand society is the ageing of its population. At the beginning of this century, about 52,173 persons, or nearly 7 in every 100 New Zealanders were aged 60 years or over. The subsequent censuses recorded a progressively increasing proportion. In 1976, 13.0 percent of all New Zealanders were elderly, and by 1986 the proportion had increased to 14.7 percent. This represented 488,253 persons compared with 406,735 a decade earlier—and only 255,970 in 1951. By the year 2011 it is projected that the elderly population in New Zealand will number nearly 708,000, and that 18.5 percent of the total population will be aged 60 or older.

These changes reflect the fact that the rate of increase of New Zealand's elderly population has outpaced the increase of the other broad age groups, namely children (0–14 years) and adults (15–59 years). For example, over the 10-year period 1976–1986 the elderly increased by 20.3 percent, compared with a 5.2 percent increase for the total population and a 14.2 percent decrease for children. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that whereas in 1976 the population consisted of 431 elderly persons for every 1,000 children, in 1986 the ratio had reached 605 per 1,000.

This process of population ageing has occurred in all the developed countries of the world. In Australia, where demographic trends are generally similar to ours, the percentage of persons aged 60 years and over is currently 14.3 percent. The figures are considerably higher in many European countries, which for many decades were subject to low birth rates and emigration of young adults. An example is the United Kingdom with 20.9 percent aged persons. The less developed countries of the world, which are still experiencing high birth rates, show figures substantially below those of New Zealand—Brazil has only 6.7 percent of its population aged 60 or older.

## *Factors Affecting Growth of Elderly Population*

It is commonly assumed that the recent growth of the elderly population has been due to increased longevity. The prime cause, however, has been the decline in birth rates. This has had the effect of increasing the proportion of the older age groups relative to children. In New Zealand, birth rates have been declining over most of this century (with the exception of the baby boom years 1946–1961). The birth rate at the beginning of this century was 25.6 per 1,000 of the population, compared with 22.6 per 1,000 in 1945 and 15.8 in 1985.

Increases in longevity are only a secondary cause of the shift towards an increasing elderly population. The long-term trend in New Zealand of falling mortality rates at younger ages, and the consequent increase in survivorship into middle age and old age have increased the number of people entering the older age groups in recent years, thereby speeding the process of population ageing. The overall increase in life expectancy at birth over the period 1950–2 to 1985 has been just under 4 years for men (from 67.19 to 70.97) and 5½ years for women (from 71.29 to 76.83).

A further factor affecting the changing proportion of elderly people in the population is international migration. Net emigration in recent years has been highly selective of younger people, especially those aged 15–24 years (see Chapter 4). This has served to enhance the ageing of New Zealand's population.

## *Age Structure*

At present over half (52.7 percent) of the elderly are in the 60–69 year age group, a further third (33.9 percent) are aged 70–79 years, and just under an eighth are aged 80 years and over. However, the most important trends are not in the relative size of each age group within the aged population, but rather in the increase in numbers at each age; it is the latter which determines the growth in the demand for services.

Over the last decade, the older group among the elderly (80 years and over) has been increasing faster than the groups aged 60–69 and 70–79. Between 1976 and 1986 the population aged 80 years and over increased by 37.8 percent (17,755 people), compared with 31.3 percent (38,841) for people aged 70–79 and 10.7 percent (24,499) for the 60–69 group.

The rapid growth in the older group among the elderly will continue over the next few decades. Indeed, the relative growth in this group is expected to be more rapid than for any other age group. Between 1986 and 2011 the number of people aged 80 and over is projected to almost double, from 64,671 to 120,800. By the year 2011, the 80 years and over group will comprise around 3 percent of the total population, as against 2 percent in 1986.

Although those aged 80 and over are projected to be the fastest-growing part of the elderly population, the 60–69 and 70–79 groups will also experience fairly substantial increases in numbers. The 60–69 group is expected to reach 377,000 by 2011, almost a 50 percent increase on the 1986 total. The 70–79 group is projected to increase by about 28.8 percent over the next 25 years, from 162,980 in 1986 to 209,900 in 2011.

Overall, by the year 2011, it is likely that 707,700 persons, or 1 in 6 New Zealanders will be aged 60 years or over, which will represent a 47.2 percent increase in 25 years. Over the same period the total New Zealand population is expected to increase by less than a quarter from its present size.

## *Sex Structure*

The increase in the elderly population in general, and of the older group, in particular, has been most pronounced among women. In 1956 there were 1,160 women for every 1,000 men aged 60 and over. By 1986 the ratio had increased to 1,271 women for every 1,000 men. The imbalance is even greater in the oldest group of the elderly: in 1986 women outnumbered men in the 80 years and over group by almost 2 to 1. In the year 2011, it is projected there will be 79,300 women aged 80 years and over and 41,500 men. It is apparent from these figures that the issues associated with ageing are largely those associated with an increased aged female population.

## *Birthplace Composition*

The overseas-born made up a disproportionately large share of the elderly population at the 1981 census—24.5 percent compared with 15.2 percent for the total population. In the past the great majority of generations entering the ranks of the elderly have been

from English-speaking stock. Accompanying the recent acceleration in ageing, however, have been growing numbers of elderly persons from non-English-speaking countries. While the numbers are relatively small by comparison with many other countries, such as Australia, they carry important policy implications. Not only do age and sex structure, marital status, family status and living arrangements vary by birthplace groups, but for the overseas-born from non-English speaking countries old age may be complicated by problems or needs arising from language barriers and cultural differences.

## *Ethnic Composition*

At present the non-Maori elderly comprise the overwhelming majority of the aged in New Zealand. At the 1986 census persons of Maori descent comprised a very small proportion of the elderly, accounting for fewer than 4 in every 100 people aged 60 years and over (compared with 12.4 percent of the total population).

The low proportion of Maori people among the elderly reflects the higher mortality of this group compared with the non-Maori. In 1985, the life expectancy at birth of a Maori male was about 3 years less than a non-Maori male (67.4 years compared with 71.2 years), and that of a Maori female approximately 6 years less than a non-Maori female (71.3 years compared with 77.1 years). It is important to note however, that substantial improvements in Maori life expectation have occurred in recent years. For instance, between 1950–52 and 1985 the expectation of life at birth of a Maori male increased by 13.3 years (from 54.1 to 67.4). For females the comparable increase was 15.4 years (from 55.9 to 71.3). These improvements will mean that over the next few decades an increasing number of Maori people will reach old age. Indeed, it is likely that in the next 15 years the population of elderly Maori will more than double in size, from 17,400 in 1986 to 38,900 in 2001. At this time they could comprise over 6 percent of the total elderly population (Pool, 1985).

## *Marital Status*

The vast majority of the elderly at the time of the 1986 census were either married—75 percent of the men and 46 percent of the women, or widowed —12 percent of the men and 40 percent of

the women. Divorced persons were few (around 3 percent) as were single persons (8 percent). There were, however, considerable differences within the aged from one age group to the next. Among those aged 80 years and over about 1 in every 3 men (32 percent), and 2 in every 3 women (69 percent) were widowed.

The extremely high proportion of widows compared with widowers is explained by three main factors: the lower life expectancy for men in practically all age groups; the general tendency of women to marry men older than themselves; and the higher likelihood of men to remarry.

## *Living Circumstances*

According to one popular notion, most elderly persons are relegated to living in institutions. Data from the population census, however, contradict this belief. They show that the vast majority (approximately 94 percent) live in private households, just like most other members of the community. Even in the age group 75 and over, around 4 in every 5 people live in private households—as opposed to institutions.

Of particular importance with regard to the living circumstances of the elderly is the number living alone. This has increased substantially over the last decade or so and is due not only to the increased aged population but also to the tendency for older people to stay in independent separate households much longer after the death of a spouse then was previously the case (Department of Statistics, 1985b). At the time of the 1981 census 23.2 percent of the elderly population lived alone, more than treble the proportion for the total population (7.4 percent).

The likelihood of living alone is much lower among elderly men than women. Of men aged 60 years or over in 1981, about 1 in 8 (12.8 percent) lived alone. This compares with about 1 in 3 women (31.2 percent). These figures are a direct consequence of the fact that among elderly men the married constitute the vast majority while among elderly women the married constitute a minority. Most elderly married people live with their spouses, usually in a 2-person household.

As previously noted, the incidence of widowhood increases with age. It is not surprising, therefore, that the proportion of people living alone rises from age to age within the elderly group, peaking between ages 70 and 80 for both men and women. By their early

70s around 2 in every 3 spouseless men and women were living alone in 1981. Thereafter, the proportions fell (refer Table 15.1). The most likely explanations for this falling off are that some very elderly persons must seek care within institutions. Others may seek help in running a home by taking in companions. Others still may seek to boost their incomes by taking in boarders.

Contrary to the popular stereotype, only about 3 percent of the elderly population live in nursing homes because they are unable to care for themselves or receive care in their own homes (11,687 beds as at 31 March 1981). Almost two thirds of these homes are run by religious and welfare organisations, 29 percent are private (profit making) and a further 8 percent are operated by hospital boards (Social Monitoring Group, 1987). The number of people living in old people's homes in New Zealand has been increasing annually. In the 4 years between 1981 and 1985, the number increased by more than 30 percent. This reflects the growing numbers of elderly persons, particularly at ages 80 years and over.

TABLE 15.1: Elderly persons living alone, 1981

| *Sex* | *Age group (years)* 60–64 | 65–69 | 70–74 | 75–79 | 80 and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Persons normally living alone* | | | | |
| *Male* | 5,530 | 5,830 | 5,600 | 4,230 | 3,290 |
| *Female* | 11,970 | 17,230 | 18,100 | 15,160 | 14,070 |
| | Persons normally living alone as a percentage of all persons in the same age-sex group | | | | |
| *Male* | 9 | 11 | 15 | 18 | 19 |
| *Female* | 18 | 29 | 37 | 45 | 39 |
| | Persons normally living alone as a percentage of not married persons in the same age-sex group | | | | |
| *Male* | 52 | 57 | 62 | 50[1] | |
| *Female* | 54 | 65 | 66 | 53[1] | |

[1]Aged 75 and over

*Source: Population Perspectives '81. New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings. Vol. 12,* Department of Statistics, 1985

Among nursing home residents, almost two thirds are over the age of 80, 70 percent are women and most are either widowed or single. There is, however, variation in their functional capacity. A study of accommodation change in old age found that about one third of the elderly in nursing homes were not disabled and only one third slightly disabled (Salmond *et al*, 1981). These people

tended to lack family support and a strong social network, which may account for their placement. Bereavement and family pressure were shown to be the main factors which led people to enter a home.

## *Geographic Distribution*

Geographic distribution is an important factor in studying New Zealand's elderly because services for the elderly have to be provided at the local level.

As with the population in general, the majority of elderly people (87.7 percent) live in urban places. Compared with the rest of the population however, they are more heavily concentrated in secondary urban areas (10,000–29,999 people) and minor urban areas (1,000–9,999). At the 1986 Population Census 19.1 percent of all people aged 60 and over were living in urban places of these sizes, compared with 16.3 percent of the total population. Of particular significance is the relative deficit of elderly people in rural areas—12.0 percent as against 16.2 percent of the total population in 1986. This reflects the tendency of elderly people to leave rural areas, possibly to be closer to the specialised medical services and institutional facilities in urban places geared to the requirements of the aged (Neville, 1979).

Over the 2 decades 1961–1981 the growth of the elderly population was strongest in Hawkes Bay and in regions in the northern part of the North Island and South Island. However, the percentage of elderly in North Island regions tends to be lower than the New Zealand average, whereas in 6 of the 8 South Island regions the proportion is above the national mean (refer Table 15.2). The more advanced level of ageing found over most of the South Island is for the most part the result of three things: depressed levels of fertility, especially in the north and east; outward net migration, dominated by young adults moving to the North Island or overseas; very small net gains of elderly in the case of Nelson, Marlborough and Canterbury; and ageing-in-place, a phenomenon which denotes the residential inertia of the elderly (Heenan *et al*, 1986).

On the whole, the aged tend to move from one place of residence to another far less than the non-aged. For instance, barely 1 in 4 (24.5 percent) of all persons aged 65 and over changed their place of residence between 1976 and 1981. This compares with over half (54.4 percent) of the 55–64 year group.

Among the elderly the young elderly (65–69) and the older elderly (80 and over) are the most mobile. The higher mobility rates amongst the 65–69 group reflect the tendency of some elderly people to change residence on retirement, while for the 80 and over group they reflect movement into institutions.

Short-distance shifting predominates among elderly migrants, as it does among those of younger age. During 1976–1981, 4 in every 5 elderly people who changed residence moved locally. Those elderly people who moved longer distances were, like younger migrants, net contributors to the northward drift, the predominant general migration flow in New Zealand. The northward drift and overall pattern of region-to-region migration was expressed in a step-wise net flow of elderly from the South Island to the North Island where the streams ultimately converged on the central Auckland and south Auckland-Bay of Plenty statistical areas, with a minor diversion to Hawkes Bay (Heenan *et al*, 1986).

The attraction of these regions is probably stimulated by a mix of personal (including health), social and amenity values. There is little doubt that climate ranks among the most compelling attractions, for these regions have a comparatively high number of sunshine hours and/or a regime of relatively high summer and mild winter temperatures. Overseas studies have shown that climate is a significant determinant of destination among elderly migrants, especially those moving longer distances. The attraction of central Auckland to the elderly may also be a reflection of the desire of some elderly, no longer tied locationally by employment considerations, to be nearer to offspring who have moved earlier in the same direction in pursuit of career-related goals.

## *Labour Force and Income*

While age 60 is associated with retirement, some elderly people continue to participate in the labour force. At the time of the 1986 census 21.3 percent of the men and 6.6 percent of the women aged 60 and over were still in the labour force. Participation rates, however, fell sharply with age. In the age group 70–74, only one tenth of the men and one twentieth of the women were still in the labour force. The fall-off of participation in the older age groups is part of a longstanding trend which has affected men particularly. For instance, over the 1971–1981 decade, the proportion of men aged 60–64 who were in paid work fell from two thirds to under a

TABLE 15.2: Percentage of elderly persons in local government regions, 1986

| *Region* | *Persons aged 60 and over as a percentage of the total population of the region* |
|---|---|
| *Northland* | 14.1 |
| *Auckland* | 14.6 |
| *Thames Valley* | 17.9 |
| *Bay of Plenty* | 15.2 |
| *Waikato* | 12.0 |
| *Tongariro* | 12.8 |
| *East Cape* | 13.9 |
| *Hawkes Bay* | 15.0 |
| *Taranaki* | 14.7 |
| *Wanganui* | 15.6 |
| *Manawatu* | 14.6 |
| *Horowhenua* | 23.0 |
| *Wellington* | 12.7 |
| *Wairarapa* | 15.2 |
| *Nelson Bays* | 17.5 |
| *Marlborough* | 17.9 |
| *West Coast* | 16.5 |
| *Canterbury* | 16.9 |
| *Aorangi* | 18.4 |
| *Clutha-Central Otago* | 14.4 |
| *Coastal North Otago* | 17.5 |
| *Southland* | 13.8 |
| *Total, New Zealand* | 15.0 |

*Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1986.* (Unpublished) Department of Statistics, 1987

half, and for those aged 65–69 the fall was from a third to a fifth. The fall for women has been much less marked and is related to their much lower participation rate overall.

There are several reasons for these changes. One is undoubtedly the tighter employment conditions which are encouraging earlier retirement. When labour is scarce, older workers may be encouraged to remain in their jobs and delay retirement, but the opposite is now more likely to be the case. The universal availability of national superannuation at age 60 since 1977 has also been a factor encouraging withdrawal from paid work.

Many people are obliged to retire at a specified age. This is 60 for many employees in the public sector, who comprise over 30 percent of the total labour force. Individual employers also have their own retirement policies and many of these are incorporated into trade union award agreements. There are no figures to show

how many workers are subject to compulsory retirement and at what ages.

The occupational structure of the elderly workforce is broadly similar to that of the total workforce. Elderly men are, however, over-represented in primary industry, especially as farm managers and supervisors. They are also over-represented among the self-employed. Elderly workers, in general, are found disproportionately in the white-collar occupations but are under-represented as production and transport workers and labourers (even though this is the largest group in numerical terms).

A drop in income is commonly experienced in the early part of old age, as people retire from paid work. For instance, the median annual income for men in 1986 fell from $18,826 for those aged 50–59, to $12,235 for those aged 60–64 and further to $8,452 for those aged 65–69. Despite the fact that from the age of 60 all people are entitled to receive national superannuation provided they meet residence requirements, households of retired people have lower incomes on average than similar households where members are still in the paid workforce.

The incomes of retired people are not, however, derived wholly from national superannuation. Up to one fifth of income may come from capital investments—interest, rents—and up to one tenth from other regular income, which would include employment-related pensions (refer Table 15.3). Nevertheless, it is estimated that about one third of retired people have no significant income apart from national superannuation.

An appreciable amount of income in the 60–64 age group is derived from wages and salaries and from self-employment. The drop in income comes at ages 65 and over, when the pattern changes to one closer to that of retired heads of household (refer Table 15.3). Clearly, retirement rather than age is the important factor in the lower incomes of the elderly.

## *Morbidity*

An important consequence of more people living into old age has been the increasing number with long-term chronic disabling conditions that reduce their quality of life. Such diseases have been described as 'problems of accelerated loss of organ reserve after developing slowly and asymptomatically below a clinical threshold.' (Koopman-Boyden, 1986).

TABLE 15.3: Average weekly household income of elderly people by source, 1985–6

| Source | *Average weekly household income of:* Retired persons | Persons aged: 60–64 | 65 and over |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | $ | |
| *Wages or salary*[1] | 40.96 | 172.80 | 33.38 |
| *Self-employment* | 6.58 | 26.86 | 14.06 |
| *National superannuation* | 163.89 | 146.04 | 170.42 |
| *Social security benefits* | 7.89 | 7.79 | 8.06 |
| *Interest, rent, dividends etc* | 66.81 | 54.75 | 58.01 |
| *Other sources*[2] | 26.47 | 28.80 | 21.59 |
| *All sources* | 312.60 | 437.04 | 305.52 |

[1]Including earnings-related accident compensation
[2]Including regular income derived overseas and repatriated to New Zealand
*Source: Household Expenditure and Income Survey 1985–86,* Department of Statistics, 1987

The prevalence of chronic disabling conditions among the elderly is reflected in hospital admissions. For people aged 65 years and over, degenerative conditions such as diseases of the circulatory system (including heart disease, blood pressure and strokes), cancers, diseases of the digestive system, injuries and poisonings and diseases of the respiratory system are the leading reasons for hospitalisation. Such conditions accounted for almost two thirds (65 percent) of the 85,956 admissions of persons aged 65 years and over in 1984. Admission rates of people aged 65 and over have been steadily increasing since 1964. Their admission rate in 1984 of 2,607 per 10,000 was almost twice that of the total population for the same year.

Because of their greater representation in the older age groups and the cumulative effect of degenerative conditions, women have a greater likelihood of disability and consequent vulnerability. Women aged 75 years and over have a disproportionately high hospital admission rate overall, and in particular, are over-represented amongst people admitted as a result of strokes, conditions related to high blood pressure, falls and fractures and Alzheimer's disease.

## *Medical Care*

With a greater prevalence of chronic conditions than the population at large, elderly people utilise medical personnel and facilities

somewhat more frequently than younger people. The elderly consult their doctors about twice as often as the rest of the population; are hospitalised more often; and stay in hospital, on average, more than double the time younger people do (Department of Health, 1983a).

In addition to their higher utilisation of medical personnel and facilities, a high proportion of elderly people take regular medication. In a study of self-medication in Wellington, 56 percent of the men and 78 percent of the women 65 and over had taken medication in the 24 hours before being interviewed (Urban Research Associates, 1978). Most of these were prescribed remedies and most of the respondents took more than 1 type of medication. Preparations acting on the cardiovascular system and diuretics (for hypertension, angina) were the most common type of medication taken, followed by tranquillisers and hypnotics (for stress, sleeplessness). Third in importance were analgesics, mainly for pain and rheumatism.

Overall, per capita public health expenditure spent on the elderly is higher than for any other group in the population (refer Table 15.4). The per capita expenditure on the elderly compared with the average for the rest of the population is in the ratio of 4.2 to 1.0. Hospital services make up much the largest component of expenditure (about 80 percent) on the elderly. The 65 and over group incurs more than 4 times the hospital expenditure per capita of the 15–64 group and almost 9 times that of the 0–14 group.

TABLE 15.4: Per capita public health expenditure, year ending 31 March 1980

| *Programme in vote health expenditure* | *Per capita expenditure by age (years)* 0–14 | 15–64 | 65 and over | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | $ | |
| *Administrative services* | 2 | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| *Dental services* | 29 | 2– | 9 | |
| *Hospital services* | 107 | 227 | 932 | 263 |
| *Welfare services* | – | 28 | 3 | |
| *Medical research* | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| *Medical and pharmaceutical services* | 52 | 57 | 180 | 68 |
| *Public health and environment protection* | 22 | 9 | 9 | 13 |
| *Data processing services* | 1 | 1 | 6 | 2 |
| *Total expenditure* | 214 | 301 | 1,165 | 361 |

*Source: Health Facts New Zealand,* Management Services and Research Unit, Department of Health, Wellington, 1983

# Bibliography


Bacica, L. 'Components of Unemployment', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 10,3. October, 1984, pp 69–75.

Bedford, R. 'International Migration in the South Pacific: A New Zealand Perspective', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 12,1. February, 1986, pp 32–48.

Bedford, R. and Pool, I. 'Cultural Demography: Ethnicity', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 2,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 1–30.

Bowie, R. 'The Peripheral Labour Force', in B. Easton (ed.) *Studies in the Labour Market,* Wellington: NZ Institute of Economic Research, 1983, pp 49–70.

Brosnan, P.A. 'Unemployment and the Invalid's Benefit', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 13,1. May, 1987, pp 71–79.

Brosnan, P. and Hill, C. 'New Zealand Maori non-Maori Labour Force Income Differentials', in *Journal of Industrial Relations,* 25, 1983, pp 327–338.

Brosnan, P. and Morrison, P.S. (eds.) *Labour and Employment Research in New Zealand,* Wellington: Industrial Relations Centre and Geography Department, Victoria University of Wellington, 1984.

Brown, P. *An Investigation of Official Ethnic Statistics,* Occasional Paper No. 5, Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1983.

Cameron, J. 'Families, Households and Housing', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 2,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 139–169.

Carmichael, G.A. 'The Labour Force', in R.J.W. Neville and C.J. O'Neill (eds.), *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979, pp 213–258.

Carmichael, G.A. 'Solo Parent Families in New Zealand: Historical Perspective and a 1976 Census Profile', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 9, 1. April, 1983, pp 3–24.

Carmichael, G. 'Living Together in New Zealand: data on coresidence at marriage and on de facto unions', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 10, 3. October, 1984, pp 41–54.

Catherwood, V. *Young People, Education and Employment,* Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1985.

Crothers, C. *Characteristics of Households Migrating To, Within, and From Rural Areas,* Technical Report No. 7, Wellington: Town and Country Planning Directorate, Ministry of Works and Development, 1981.

Department of Health, *Health Facts New Zealand,* Wellington: Management Services and Research Unit, Department of Health, 1983a.

———, *Mortality and Demographic Data 1980,* Wellington: Department of Health, 1983b.

———, *Hospital and Selected Morbidity Data 1985,* Wellington: National Health Statistics Centre, Department of Health, 1987a.

———, *Mortality and Demographic Data 1985,* Wellington: Department of Health, 1987b.

Department of Labour, 'An overview of the employment situation', in *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference, 3–4 July, 1980,* Wellington: New Zealand Demographic Society, 1980.

Department of Statistics, *The Population of New Zealand,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1974.

———, 'Recent Trends in New Zealand Nuptiality', in *Quarterly Population Bulletin,* 2,2. September, 1978, pp 4–17.

———, *Report on the Social Indicators Survey 1980–81,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1984.

———, *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1985,* 90th ed, Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1985a.

———, *Population Perspectives '81: Vol 12, General Report, New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1985b.

———, 'Regional Differentials in New Zealand, 1980–1982', in *Demographic Bulletin,* 6,2. May, 1985c.

———, *Demographic Trends Bulletin,* 1986, Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986a.

———, *Inter-Regional Migration in New Zealand, 1971–1981,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986b.

——, *Maori Statistical Profile 1961–1986,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986c.

——, *New Zealand Life Tables 1980–82,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986d.

——, *Trends and Patterns in New Zealand Fertility, 1912–1983,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986e.

——, 1986 *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Local Authority Population and Dwelling Statistics, Series A, Report* 2, Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1986f.

——, *1986 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Provisional National Summary Statistics, Series C, Report 1,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1987a.

——, *1986 New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Provisional Regional Summary Statistics, Series B, Report 1,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1987b.

——, *Demographic Trends Bulletin, 1987,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1987c.

——, *Household Expenditure and Income Survey 1985–86,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1987d.

——, *The New Zealand Labour Force, June 1987 Quarter,* Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1987e.

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Ages and Marital Status* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Birthplaces and Ethnic Origin* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Education and Training* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Households and Families* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Industries and Occupations* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Internal Migration* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Labour Force* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Maori Population and Dwellings* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Pacific Island Polynesians,* volume 8b, Wellington: Department of Statistics.

——, *One and Two Parent Family File, Census of Population and Dwellings 1981,* (unpublished).

——, *Vital Statistics* volumes, Wellington: Department of Statistics, (various).

——, *New Zealand Labour Force Projections,* 1983–2016, (March 1982 base), (unpublished).

——, *New Zealand Abridged Life Tables 1985,* (unpublished).

——, *Population and Migration Statistics, Part B Migration Statistics,* 1960–1986, Wellington: Department of Statistics.

ESCAP, 'Interregional Demographic Aging and Migration of the Elderly in New Zealand', in *Asia-Pacific Population Journal,* 1,4. December, 1986, pp 49–74.

Farmer, R. 'International Migration', in Neville R.J.W. and O'Neill, C.J., (eds.), *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979, pp 31–59.

——, 'Refugee Resettlement Issues in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 11,3. October, 1985, pp 216–228.

Fergusson, D.M. *et al. The Effects of Race and Socio-Economic Status On Juvenile Offending Statistics,* Research Report No. 2, Research Unit, Joint Committee on Young Offenders, New Zealand, 1975.

Forer, P. 'Regional Employment Markets and the Measurement of Inequality', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 8,3. October, 1982, pp 50–57.

Gallagher, J. and Bowie, R. 'Employment and Unemployment', in B. Easton (ed.), *Studies in the Labour Market,* Wellington: NZ Institute of Economic Research, 1983, pp 158–164.

Heenan, L.D.B. 'Population Redistribution and Internal Migration', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 1,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 90–117.

Heenan, L.D.B. and Moffat, K. 'Internal Migration of Older New Zealanders: a preliminary exploration of recent census data', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 12,2. July, 1986, pp 107–126.

——, 'Interregional Demographic Aging and Migration of the Elderly in New Zealand', *in Asia-Pacific Population Journal,* 1,4. December, 1986, pp 49–74.

Hill, C. and Brosnan, P. 'The Occupational Distribution of the Major Ethnic Groups in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 10,1. April, 1984, pp 33–42.

Hyman, P. 'Trends in Female Labour Force Participation in New Zealand Since 1945', in *New Zealand Economic Papers,* 12, 1978, pp 156–167.

Jones, A. *The implications of selected dimensions of social and demographic change for the Department of Social Welfare,* Wellington: Social Programme Education Unit, Department of Social Welfare, 1984.

Khawaja, M.A. 'Trends and Differentials in Fertility', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 1,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 152–177.

Koopman-Boyden, P.G. (ed.) *Families in New Zealand Society,* Wellington: Methuen, 1978.

——, 'Population Ageing in New Zealand: Some Characteristics and Policy Implications', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 12,2. July, 1986, pp 92–106.

Koopman-Boyden, P.G. and Scott, C. *The Family and Government Policy in New Zealand,* Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1984.

McDonald, G. Livingstone, I. and Pickens, K. 'Education and Literacy', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 2,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 69–95.

Mowbray, M. and Khan, A. 'One and Two Parent Families from the Census', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 10,3. October, 1984, pp 27–40.

Neville, R.J.W. and O'Neill, C.J. (eds.) *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979.

O'Neill, C.J. 'The aging population of New Zealand and some implications for the health services', in *New Zealand Hospital,* May, 1983, pp 11–15.

——, 'Nuptiality and Marital Status', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 1,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 193–208.

Pearce, N.E. Davies, P.B. Smith, A.H. and Foster, F.H. 'Mortality and Social Class in New Zealand 1: Overall Male Mortality', in *New Zealand Medical Journal,* 96, 730. April, 1983, pp 281–285.

Penhale, E.M. and Wigbout, M. 'An exploration of differences between one and two income families in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 8,2. July, 1982, pp 28–43.

Pool, D.I. *The Maori Population of New Zealand 1796–1971,* Auckland: Auckland University Press, Oxford University Press, 1977.

Pool, I. 'Mortality Trends and Differentials', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 1,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 209–242.

——, *Population and Social Trends: Implications for New Zealand Housing,* Research Paper 86/3 Wellington: National Housing Commission, 1986.

——, Pool, I. and Pole, N. 'Baby Bust to Baby Boom: The Possible Birth Cohorts of 1986 to 1991', in *New Zealand Population Review,*10,2. July, 1984, pp 33–49.

Poot, J. and Brosnan, P. 'Unemployment and Labour Force Participation: The 1981 Census', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 8, 1. April, 1982, pp 24–34.

Population Monitoring Group, *The New Zealand Population: Patterns of Change,* Report No.1, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1984.

——, *The New Zealand Population: Contemporary Trends and Issues,* Report No. 2, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1985a.

——, *The New Zealand Population: Trends and their Policy Implications, 1985,* Report No. 3, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council 1985b.

——, *The New Zealand Population: Change Composition and Policy Implications,* Report No. 4, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1986.

Roseman, C. and Crothers, C. 'Changing Patterns of Inter-Regional Migration in New Zealand, 1966 to 1981', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 10,3. October, 1984, pp 2–26.

Salmond, G.C. *et al. Accommodation Change in Old Age,* Wellington: Old Peoples Welfare Council, 1981.

St. Hill, R.L. 'Trans-Tasman Labour Mobility: An Economic Model', in *New Zealand Population Review,* 13,1. May, 1987, pp 4–18.

Sceats, J. and Pool, I. 'Fertility Regulation', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12 Population of New Zealand, Volume 1,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 178–192.

Shipley, S.M. *Women's Employment and Unemployment: a Research Report,* Palmerston North: Department of Sociology, Massey University and The Society for Research on Women Inc., 1982.

Social Advisory Council, *The Extra Years: Some Implications for New Zealand Society of an Aging Population,* Wellington: Social Advisory Council, 1984.

——, *Child Care Services—Impact and Opportunities,* Wellington: Social Advisory Council, 1985.

——, *Meeting the Needs of Families,* Wellington: Social Advisory Council, 1987.

Social Development Council, *Bringing up Children in New Zealand: Can We Do Better?,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1977.

——, *Families in Special Circumstances: 1. Migrant Families,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1978a.

——, *Families in Special Circumstances: 2. Solo Parent Families,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1978b.

——, *Families in Special Circumstances: 3. Large Families,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1978c.

——, *Families in Special Circumstances: 4. Step Families,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1978d.

——, *Families in Special Circumstances: 5. Families with Special Caring Responsibilities,* Wellington: Social Development Council, 1979.

Social Monitoring Group, *From Birth to Death,* The First Report of the Social Monitoring Group, Wellington, New Zealand Planning Council, 1985.

——, *Care and Control: The Role of Institutions in New Zealand,* Social Monitoring Group Report, No.2, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1987.

Stokes, E. 'Population Change and Rural Development: The Maori Situation', in R. Bedford, (ed.) *New Zealand Rural Society in the 1970's,* Studies in Rural Change No.1, Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1979, pp 23–44.

Swain, D.A. 'Marriages and Families', in Neville, R.J.W. and O'Neill, C.J. (eds.), *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979, pp 112–124.

Taylor, R. 'Invisible Victims—The Household Circumstances of Unemployed Youth', Paper presented NZ Sociological Association Conference, Christchurch, December, 1986.

Thompson, B. 'Industrial Structure of the Workforce', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 2,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 114–138.

United Nations, *United Nations Demographic Indicators of Countries: Estimates and Projections as Assessed in 1980,* New York: United Nations, 1982.

Urban Research Associates, *Self Medication: A Study Undertaken in Wellington, New Zealand,* Wellington: Urban Research Associates, 1978.

Zodgekar, A.V. 'Mortality', in Neville R.J.W. and O'Neill, C.J. (eds.) *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives,* Auckland: Longman Paul, 1979, pp 89–111.

——, 'The Fertility Transition in the Non-Maori Population of New Zealand', in *Journal of Biosocial Science,* 12, 1980, pp 165–178.

——, 'Demographic Characteristics of the Labour Force', in *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Volume 2,* New York: United Nations, 1985, pp 96–113.

——, 'Immigrants in the 1981 Census', in Trlin, A.D. and Spoonley P. (eds.), *New Zealand and International Migration,* Palmerston North: Department of Sociology, Massey University, 1986, pp 40–57.

# THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

## An Analysis of Submissions

# The Voice of the People

## *An Analysis of Submissions*

The Terms of Reference of the Royal Commission on Social Policy suggested that there should be much broader and deeper consultation than had ever been seen before. After six months of such consultation, it became abundantly clear from the volume of submissions already received that some sort of classification system would have to be applied to gain access to the wealth of information contained in the submissions for subsequent use in the report of what the people said.

This section contains a description of how that classification was carried out plus the results of the submission analysis that was written at the conclusion of that work.

This analysis of submissions has been done in several ways in order to provide as much information as possible. Firstly, there is a quantitative analysis of almost 6,000 submissions giving a numeric breakdown by regional origin, organisation, content and where possible age, sex and ethnic group. This is followed by analysis of different types of submissions—freephone, oral, marae and the questionnaires designed and distributed by the Northland Urban/Rural Mission.

Finally an overview of the content of all the submissions is described. This should give an overall picture of the social policy issues which faced this Royal Commission. This overview is designed to complement the analysis included in the phase overview papers in Volume Two of this report.

# 1 What Happened to the Submissions

The purpose of submissions being sent to a Royal Commission is to give the Commissioners the opportunity to find out what the people of New Zealand are thinking about the subject on which that Royal Commission is deliberating. In order that the information in the submissions is available to the Commissioners, a registration and classification scheme must be developed. For the Royal Commission on Social Policy, a mechanism was set up initially to register each submission. This was later followed by the development of a computerised system to hold coded information from the submissions.

## 1.1 *Registration of Submissions*

When each submission arrived at the Royal Commission's office a letter of acknowledgement was sent out, along with a request to contact the Commission if the submission was to remain confidential to the Commission. Otherwise each submission was treated as public information.

Each submission was numbered in order of receipt. This number along with the name and address of the person or organisation who had sent in the submission plus the name of a contact person was entered into a register. The number allocated to each submission was written on to the original submission before any copies were made and could be used as a reference or access point to the submission once it had been filed and its details entered in an alphabetical card index.

Copies of each of the submissions were then made and distributed to Commission staff—each Commissioner, the research team, the information retrieval group and the Auckland office. In addition one copy was held in the Commission library and three copies in the Mayfair House files. The original submissions were filed at Dalmuir House for reference by the information retrieval group.

Any correspondence relating to the submissions was acknowledged if appropriate. Sometimes the correspondence was extra information to be added to a submission. If any such new material was additional to an earlier submission it was registered and treated as an addendum to the earlier submission (that is, it was registered under the same number) then copied and distributed.

When requests for confidentiality were received, the original submission and copies were stamped CONFIDENTIAL. This information was also added to the register and card index. Confidential submissions were only available to staff of the Royal Commission who had authorised access to the contents of submissions.

## 1.2 *Computerised Analysis of Submissions*

As a large number of submissions were expected it was decided that some method was needed to provide quick efficient access to the contents of the submissions. It was important to the Commission that their reports were based on what the people had said.

In November 1987 development of such a system began. A computerised system was envisaged which would enable information to be retrieved to suit the needs of the Commission. Those needs were ascertained after consultation with the Commissioners and the research team. Work then began on designing worksheets to hold coded information and evaluating four software packages. The software we chose was BRS/Search, on the grounds that it was a powerful system which enabled retrieval of information in a very flexible manner. The system was set up by consultants from Computer Sciences New Zealand Ltd who also provided ongoing support. BRS/Search was mounted on a Tandon AT personal computer with 1024 kilobytes of memory using an MSDOS operating system, in conjunction with Microsoft WORD word processing software. BRS/Search was loaded on to the Tandon PC on 23 December 1987—just six weeks after development work began.

The following list details the type of information which was entered on to the system and which was subsequently available from the database.

1 Submission number

2 Type of submission
   Written (W)
   Freephone (F)
   Tape (T)
   Oral (O)

3 Organisation
   Informal Group (F), Voluntary Organisation (V), Government Department (G), Private Sector (P), State-Owned

Enterprise (S), Local Authority (L), Trade Union or Professional Organisation (U), Religious Group (R), Other (O).

4 Ethnic group
Where the person clearly identified her/his/their ethnic group, this information was included—Maori, Pakeha, Pacific Islander, Other.

5 Sex
Where the gender of the submitter was stated or clearly identified this information was included.

6 Age group
As above, using the following groupings:
(a) Children (up to 12 years)
(b) Youth (13–29 years)
(c) Middle life (30–60 years)
(d) Elderly (over 60)
In these three fields—ethnic group, sex, age, if there was any doubt, no information was coded. As the majority of people did not clearly identify themselves in these ways, the information was not as useful for research purposes as was hoped.

7 Language
As most submissions were translated into English before they got to the information retrieval team, this field did not produce useful information. Languages which could have been coded included English, Maori, any Pacific Island language, Others.

8 Research
This was indicated if a submission was research based or contained clear analysis.

9 Confidential
This was indicated if the submission was to be kept confidential to the Royal Commission.

10 Action
If any further action beyond the Royal Commission on the submission was sought, this field was completed.

11 Cross-references
This field was for 3-character codes to provide a guide to the general content of the submissions.

12 Notes
This field contained number of pages, information on appended material and attitudes on issues, for example, pro-, anti-.

13 Keywords
This field contained words or short phrases to highlight the issues covered in the submission.

14 Abstract
A brief description of the content of the submission, further information on the issues raised.

A list of keywords was drawn up based on lists from other databases of similar content, supplemented with words which were especially relevant to the content of the submissions. A brief summary of each submission was also included where appropriate, some of the submissions were so short that it was not possible to summarise them. In those cases the keywords provided the content and in the notes field any important issues were noted. The process involved reading through a submission, and completing the worksheet with the relevant information in each field. Initially six people were employed to undertake this coding and analysis.

Worksheets were collected in groups of 50 (not necessarily in numerical order) and were typed into the computer using Microsoft WORD.

The database structure was designed so that in some fields only certain characters were able to be included. For example the submission number field should contain 4 numeric characters; the submission type field could contain up to two of the following alphabetical characters: W (for written); F (for freephone); O (for oral); T (for taped).

Once a computer file of 50 coded submissions had been completed, the file was run through a verification process to ensure that the correct information had been inserted into the correct fields. A list of error messages was produced and when corrected and re-verified that file of 50 submissions was loaded on to the database.

The loading process began in earnest at the beginning of January. By the beginning of February almost 4000 submissions had been coded, typed, verified and loaded onto the database. Although the closing date for submissions had passed, many were still arriving and over 6000 submissions were to be processed altogether by the end of February.

Meanwhile, the Royal Commission's main reporting date had been brought forward six months to 30 April 1988. The main effect on the information retrieval group was that at the same time as submissions were being coded and loaded, the Commissioners and research team needed access to the information. Extra staff were employed to continue the coding/analysis work so that two people could devote all their time to searching the database.

A search of the database involved selecting some relevant keywords and using them in different combinations to access all the relevant submissions. The flexibility of the system proved its worth at this stage. Some researchers required searches on only one keyword, for example elderly, while others wanted a number of different but related keywords, for example Maori, Pacific Island, ethnicity, bicultural, multicultural. In this example also, a number of Maori words, which were also included in the keyword list for use in searching the database, might also have been included in the search strategy.

Although most searches were restricted to the keyword field to gain maximum efficiency from the search, it was possible to search on all or any of the fields which would provide the information requested.

Because not all the submissions were on the database when searches began, we devised a method (with help from the consultants) to provide updates, generally on a weekly basis, of submissions which had been added since the previous search. This culminated in providing the results of a series of searches on a diskette which was then sent to the researchers. This was only available to those who had compatible computers and software.

Search results could be produced in up to ten different formats, depending on what information was requested. An example of a search result is given in figure 1.

At the completion of each search, the results were printed and given or sent to the researcher who had requested the search. From the information on the printouts, researchers were able to get an idea of what issues had been raised in the submissions. They could also get the number of submissions which dealt with specific issues. Then they could go to copies of the submissions to get further details. In this way they were able to use the submissions as a basis for their papers, then use existing research to support their arguments.

FIGURE 1: Example of search report from submissions database

Royal Commission on Social Policy Submissions

| | |
|---|---|
| 0267 | New Zealand Educational Institute. |
| Notes: | 8 p. Anti-user pays. |
| Keywords: | Self Esteem<br>Primary Education<br>Equal Opportunities<br>Funding<br>Efficiency<br>Special Education<br>User Pays<br>Teacher Training<br>Multicultural Education<br>Administration |

This preliminary submission indicates areas of educational concern. It looks at the objectives of education, the implications these have for the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Social Policy, the importance of state funding for primary education and deficiencies in primary education and their causes.

Document 1 of 2 RCSP Submissions Database Tue 29 Mar 88

*Source:* RCSP Submissions Database

## 1.3 *The Future of the Submissions*

At the conclusion of the work of this Royal Commission, the original submissions will be sent to National Archives. The sets of copies of the submissions will be distributed as widely as possible—probably to major public and university libraries, including National Library. Currently we are negotiating to have copies of the database available as well.

# 2 Quantitative Analysis of Submissions

This section provides a numerical analysis of the submissions in two parts.

The first part analyses the origin of the submissions. A series of searches of the database produced a numeric breakdown of the submissions, that is, submission type, organisation, region, researched submissions and, where possible, age, sex and ethnic group. (Not everyone identified these latter three features and the number of

submissions where these features are unspecified is included.) For details of the information included in these variables, see section 1. Submissions were identified according to the medium in which they were received by the Royal Commission.

1 Written—written submissions;

TABLE 1: Number of submissions by submission type

| | *Number* | *Percent* |
|---|---|---|
| *Written* | 3890 | 65.00 |
| *Freephone* | 811 | 13.60 |
| *Taped* | 3 | 0.05 |
| *Oral* | 775 | 13.00 |
| *Written and oral* | 258 | 4.00 |
| *Written and freephone* | 168 | 3.00 |
| *Unspecified* | 63 | 1.00 |
| *Total* | 5968 | 99.65 |

2 Freephone—submissions received during the freephone exercise (for details see section 3.1);

3 Taped—submissions received on audio tape;

4 Oral—submissions received by Commissioners at public hearings, special meetings or radio talkbacks;

5 Written and oral—submissions received for example at public hearings and which were also presented in written form;

6 Written and freephone—submissions which were written by women who could not get through on the telephone, but who wanted to make a submission as part of the freephone exercise.

Table 2 shows the regions of New Zealand where submissions came from. The code was developed from the local government region and local authority used in Report 1, Series B of the 1986 Census of Population and Dwellings.

It is significant that a higher percentage of submissions were from the Wellington region compared with the population distribution (18 percent of submissions—9.9 percent of the population). From the Auckland region a much lower percentage of submissions were received—19.8 percent compared with 27.1 percent of population. The high proportion of submissions from Wellington can be attributed to the head office presence of government departments and a higher public profile in Wellington.

TABLE 2: Number of submissions by region

| *Region* | *Code* | *Number of submissions* | *% Frequency* | *Population (% from 1986 Census)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Northland* | 01 | 344 | 5.8 | 3.8 |
| *Auckland* | 02 | 1179 | 19.8 | 26.9 |
| *Thames Valley* | 03 | 90 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| *Bay of Plenty* | 04 | 308 | 5.2 | 5.7 |
| *Waikato* | 05 | 359 | 6.0 | 6.9 |
| *Tongariro* | 06 | 43 | 0.7 | 1.2 |
| *East Cape* | 07 | 110 | 1.8 | 1.6 |
| *Hawkes Bay* | 08 | 269 | 4.5 | 4.3 |
| *Taranaki* | 09 | 180 | 3.0 | 3.3 |
| *Wanganui* | 10 | 111 | 1.9 | 2.1 |
| *Manawatu* | 11 | 197 | 3.3 | 3.5 |
| *Horowhenua* | 12 | 89 | 1.5 | 1.6 |
| *Wellington* | 13 | 1077 | 18.0 | 9.9 |
| *Wairarapa* | 14 | 58 | 0.9 | 1.2 |
| *Nelson Bays* | 15 | 169 | 2.8 | 2.1 |
| *Marlborough* | 16 | 74 | 1.2 | 1.2 |
| *West Coast* | 17 | 43 | 0.7 | 1.1 |
| *Canterbury* | 18 | 483 | 8.1 | 10.6 |
| *Aorangi* | 19 | 72 | 1.2 | 2.5 |
| *Clutha-Central Otago* | 20 | 27 | 0.5 | 1.5 |
| *Coastal-North Otago* | 21 | 244 | 4.1 | 4.2 |
| *Southland* | 22 | 147 | 2.5 | 3.2 |
| *Islands and overseas* | 23 | 7 | 0.1 | |
| *Not specified* | | 288 | 4.8 | |
| *Total* | | 5968 | 99.9 | |

Tables 3 and 4 provide information about who sent in submissions—individuals or organisations. The type of organisation is given.

Details of the type of organisations are given in section 1. The large number of submissions in the 'other' category includes submissions from school classes, staff of universities or other educational institutions or hospitals, and other such groups. When the categories were developed, these groups had not been allowed for. However the numbers indicate that another category was needed, but unfortunately the time frame did not allow for this change to be made.

One hundred and fifty-one submissions were not classified on the database by type of organisation.

For details of Type of Organisation, see section 1.

The following two tables provide a breakdown of submissions by personal attributes of the people who sent submissions. In each case the information was only classified where it was clearly identified in the submission. As people making submissions were not asked to give such information the number of submissions where this information was not provided is considerable. This number is included in each table.

TABLE 3: Number of submissions by type of organisation

| | *Number* | *% Frequency* |
|---|---|---|
| *Individual* | 4116 | 68.9 |
| *Informal group* | 307 | 5.1 |
| *Voluntary group* | 702 | 11.8 |
| *Government dept.* | 81 | 1.4 |
| *Private sector* | 34 | 0.6 |
| *State-owned enterprise* | 2 | 0.03 |
| *Local authority* | 126 | 2.1 |
| *Trade union* | 218 | 3.7 |
| *Religious group* | 83 | 1.4 |
| *Other* | 148 | 2.5 |
| *Not specified* | 151 | 2.5 |
| *Total* | 5968 | 100.03 |

TABLE 4: Type of organisation by region

| *Region* | *Code* | *I* | *F* | *V* | *G* | *P* | *S* | *L* | *U* | *R* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Northland* | *01* | 260 | 19 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 6 | 5 |
| *Auckland* | *02* | 847 | 65 | 150 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 16 | 36 | 16 |
| *Thames Valley* | *03* | 71 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| *Bay of Plenty* | *04* | 230 | 19 | 30 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 2 |
| *Waikato* | *05* | 249 | 19 | 59 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 8 | 5 |
| *Tongariro* | *06* | 28 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| *East Cape* | *07* | 74 | 9 | 18 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| *Hawkes Bay* | *08* | 214 | 13 | 21 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| *Taranaki* | *09* | 122 | 23 | 16 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| *Wanganui* | *10* | 86 | 5 | 11 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| *Manawatu* | *11* | 128 | 13 | 24 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 10 | 1 |
| *Horowhenua* | *12* | 69 | 3 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Wellington* | *13* | 624 | 56 | 159 | 54 | 10 | 1 | 21 | 91 | 18 |
| *Wairarapa* | *14* | 42 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| *Nelson Bays* | *15* | 124 | 8 | 18 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 4 | 5 |
| *Marlborough* | *16* | 65 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| *West Coast* | *17* | 38 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| *Canterbury* | *18* | 367 | 27 | 54 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 12 | 8 |
| *Aorangi* | *19* | 58 | 5 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| *Clutha-Central Otago* | *20* | 23 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Coastal-North Otago* | *21* | 179 | 12 | 32 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 | 4 |
| *Southland* | *22* | 101 | 6 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 5 | 8 |
| *Islands and overseas* | *23* | 5 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Total* | | 4004 | 322 | 688 | 78 | 29 | 2 | 124 | 204 | 82 |

TABLE 5: Number of submissions by gender

| | *Number* | *Percent of subtotal* |
|---|---|---|
| *Female* | 2242 | 66.6 |
| *Male* | 1122 | 33.4 |
| *Subtotal* | 3364 | 100.00 |
| *Not specified* | 2604 | 44% of total |
| *Total* | 5968 | 100 |

TABLE 6: Number of submissions by age group

| | *Number* | *Percent of subtotal* |
|---|---|---|
| *0–12 years* | 18 | 1.5 |
| *13–29 years* | 210 | 17.8 |
| *30–60 years* | 667 | 56.4 |
| *61 years and over* | 287 | 24.3 |
| *Subtotal* | 1182 | 100.0 |
| *Not specified* | 4786 | 80.2% of total |
| *Total* | 5968 | 100 |

Submissions were also classified according to ethnic group (Maori, Pakeha, Pacific Island, Other) wherever it was clearly identified in the submission. Only fifteen percent of the submissions were classified. Details and discussion of submissions received at marae can be found in section 3.3.

The second part of this analysis provides a breakdown by region and by content. The structure used to quantitatively identify what the people said in the submissions used a number of key words which were developed from the classification of the submissions and followed the framework within which the Royal Commission worked.

TABLE 7: Range of subjects covered in the submissions

| *Topic* | *Region* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Totals | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 | 22 | 23 |
| *Group One* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Quality of life* | 211 | 5 | 41 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 5 | 12 | 8 | 3 | 8 | 3 | 53 | 3 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 27 | 4 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 0 |
| *Natural rights* | 223 | 9 | 64 | 3 | 10 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 59 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 16 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| *Human needs* | 455 | 19 | 93 | 3 | 26 | 27 | 5 | 7 | 25 | 15 | 3 | 17 | 6 | 114 | 1 | 15 | 6 | 3 | 36 | 9 | 0 | 18 | 7 | 0 |
| *Entitlements* | 17 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| *Self-esteem* | 263 | 14 | 57 | 8 | 12 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 5 | 60 | 2 | 10 | 7 | 1 | 20 | 5 | 0 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| *Identity* | 85 | 2 | 19 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 21 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| *Security* | 83 | 4 | 15 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 23 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 |
| *Participation* | 101 | 6 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 24 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 3 | 0 | | |
| *Group Two* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Impact* | 79 | 4 | 7 | 6 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 22 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| *Access* | 47 | 1 | 11 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 14 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| *Opportunity* | 374 | 18 | 76 | 7 | 17 | 23 | 9 | 4 | 16 | 19 | 2 | 18 | 1 | 95 | 7 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 23 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 7 | 0 |
| *Food* | 32 | 1 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| *Health* | 1572 | 82 | 303 | 22 | 83 | 106 | 9 | 29 | 49 | 48 | 33 | 71 | 23 | 330 | 17 | 58 | 20 | 13 | 144 | 18 | 7 | 65 | 41 | 1 |
| *Housing* | 689 | 34 | 190 | 11 | 32 | 38 | 5 | 7 | 29 | 20 | 11 | 23 | 10 | 156 | 4 | 21 | 9 | 5 | 47 | 8 | 0 | 19 | 11 | 1 |
| *Employment* | 1581 | 95 | 294 | 21 | 81 | 109 | 13 | 31 | 78 | 48 | 23 | 51 | 14 | 340 | 14 | 43 | 24 | 8 | 149 | 27 | 8 | 75 | 38 | 1 |
| *Income* | 711 | 35 | 180 | 12 | 38 | 41 | 3 | 8 | 29 | 18 | 12 | 20 | 8 | 159 | 3 | 20 | 9 | 3 | 75 | 11 | 4 | 27 | 18 | 0 |
| *Wealth* | 83 | 4 | 12 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 28 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| *Education* | 1988 | 123 | 400 | 28 | 98 | 155 | 17 | 31 | 119 | 66 | 33 | 73 | 24 | 372 | 24 | 42 | 26 | 19 | 152 | 20 | 7 | 88 | 50 | 1 |
| *Culture* | 148 | 10 | 35 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 4 | 8 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 39 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 10 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 0 |
| *Arts/Recreation* | 190 | 11 | 47 | 3 | 7 | 11 | 2 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 47 | 2 | 8 | 1 | 3 | 19 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 2 | 0 |
| *Justice* | 312 | 18 | 90 | 7 | 15 | 24 | 7 | 5 | 17 | 6 | 3 | 8 | 5 | 44 | 2 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 28 | 4 | 0 | 11 | 6 | 0 |
| *Children* | 1410 | 84 | 285 | 22 | 70 | 94 | 8 | 25 | 72 | 42 | 27 | 41 | 26 | 251 | 20 | 46 | 17 | 12 | 150 | 15 | 6 | 77 | 38 | 2 |
| *Youth* | 412 | 29 | 95 | 8 | 18 | 25 | 5 | 13 | 19 | 22 | 6 | 11 | 8 | 78 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 5 | 26 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 15 | 1 |
| *Solo parents* | 188 | 2 | 45 | 2 | 20 | 12 | 0 | 8 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 29 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 3 | 0 |
| *Marriage* | 202 | 5 | 47 | 2 | 18 | 15 | 1 | 8 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 5 | 23 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 24 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| *Disabled* | 419 | 12 | 94 | 2 | 20 | 35 | 1 | 8 | 14 | 11 | 7 | 18 | 8 | 89 | 2 | 17 | 4 | 1 | 33 | 8 | 1 | 26 | 8 | 0 |
| *Women* | 1004 | 42 | 181 | 10 | 59 | 59 | 10 | 11 | 46 | 34 | 28 | 39 | 21 | 185 | 13 | 24 | 8 | 6 | 118 | 17 | 4 | 64 | 21 | 1 |
| *Aged* | 473 | 24 | 105 | 8 | 23 | 25 | 1 | 14 | 12 | 10 | 10 | 18 | 4 | 114 | 1 | 23 | 4 | 2 | 28 | 8 | 3 | 32 | 8 | 0 |
| *Race* | 833 | 83 | 175 | 17 | 57 | 54 | 11 | 30 | 43 | 29 | 12 | 22 | 20 | 120 | 8 | 12 | 13 | 7 | 47 | 6 | 3 | 36 | 29 | 1 |

*Continued*

TABLE 7: Range of subjects covered in the submissions—*Continued*

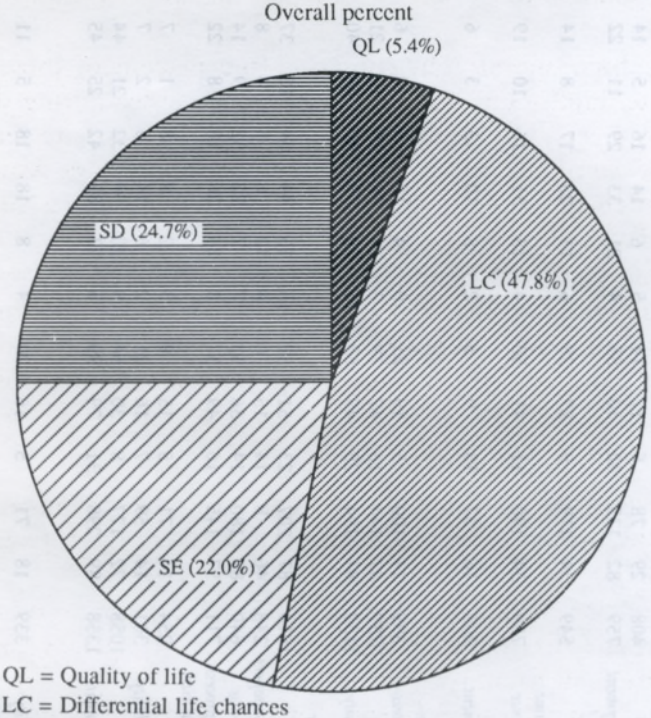
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Group Three* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Migration* | 249 | 15 | 55 | 1 | 7 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 4 | 11 | 4 | 85 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| *Economy* | 408 | 29 | 78 | 6 | 17 | 14 | 5 | 6 | 14 | 16 | 5 | 14 | 5 | 105 | 5 | 14 | 2 | 0 | 33 | 8 | 3 | 15 | 14 | 0 |
| *Unemployment* | 759 | 82 | 135 | 32 | 30 | 55 | 4 | 21 | 33 | 29 | 11 | 22 | 7 | 107 | 5 | 31 | 13 | 5 | 64 | 18 | 3 | 27 | 25 | 2 |
| *Earnings/ Savings* | 549 | 34 | 119 | 9 | 27 | 28 | 6 | 11 | 23 | 17 | 8 | 14 | 10 | 122 | 3 | 12 | 3 | 4 | 51 | 8 | 3 | 19 | 17 | 1 |
| *Tax/Income maintenance* | 759 | 34 | 190 | 11 | 41 | 50 | 4 | 15 | 31 | 16 | 10 | 19 | 10 | 166 | 10 | 24 | 7 | 7 | 71 | 7 | 1 | 22 | 13 | 0 |
| *Energy/ Environment* | 205 | 16 | 37 | 13 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 8 | 10 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 47 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 3 | 1 | 11 | 4 | 0 |
| *Trans- port/Com- munications* | 399 | 14 | 100 | 5 | 19 | 21 | 0 | 4 | 16 | 8 | 18 | 6 | 5 | 78 | 12 | 14 | 7 | 5 | 33 | 5 | 3 | 18 | 9 | 1 |
| *Family* | 757 | 47 | 144 | 16 | 47 | 79 | 3 | 14 | 38 | 19 | 13 | 21 | 12 | 127 | 12 | 25 | 8 | 7 | 67 | 9 | 0 | 33 | 18 | 0 |
| *Community* | 1132 | 84 | 194 | 25 | 49 | 63 | 11 | 29 | 39 | 40 | 28 | 40 | 15 | 230 | 18 | 39 | 14 | 12 | 92 | 18 | 8 | 52 | 32 | 2 |
| *Group Four* | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Policy* | 1014 | 87 | 207 | 23 | 51 | 52 | 15 | 15 | 44 | 34 | 12 | 37 | 9 | 247 | 7 | 28 | 11 | 5 | 85 | 6 | 2 | 39 | 14 | 2 |
| *TV/Newspapers* | 248 | 46 | 8 | 14 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 8 | 32 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 5 | 21 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 6 | | |
| *Legal process* | 640 | 88 | 180 | 14 | 36 | 53 | 7 | 7 | 22 | 32 | 9 | 14 | 8 | 96 | 4 | 13 | 5 | 6 | 46 | 4 | 2 | 22 | 8 | 2 |
| *Political process* | 711 | 57 | 145 | 16 | 49 | 37 | 8 | 26 | 26 | 18 | 8 | 22 | 8 | 142 | 10 | 21 | 14 | 5 | 43 | 9 | 3 | 18 | 26 | 0 |
| *Individual citi- zenship* | 254 | 14 | 71 | 5 | 15 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 7 | 1 | 56 | 0 | 10 | 3 | 0 | 25 | 3 | 1 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| *Responsibility* | 301 | 14 | 59 | 7 | 16 | 21 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 90 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 0 | 19 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 9 | |
| *Funding* | 1058 | 72 | 177 | 8 | 30 | 64 | 8 | 20 | 58 | 32 | 21 | 44 | 11 | 260 | 10 | 34 | 10 | 13 | 88 | 10 | 1 | 51 | 24 | 0 |
| *Direct benefits* | 1358 | 89 | 298 | 31 | 79 | 99 | 5 | 23 | 82 | 42 | 25 | 45 | 11 | 238 | 11 | 34 | 18 | 9 | 122 | 30 | 3 | 44 | 39 | 1 |
| *Monitor- ing/Ac- countability* | 339 | 18 | 71 | 5 | 16 | 20 | 4 | 8 | 18 | 18 | 5 | 11 | 5 | 87 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 28 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 4 | 0 |
| *Service man- agement* | 323 | 17 | 64 | 6 | 13 | 15 | 3 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 5 | 10 | 8 | 97 | 2 | 8 | 3 | 6 | 25 | 3 | 1 | 12 | 4 | 1 |
| | 25624 | 1569 | 5317 | 457 | 1314 | 1622 | 209 | 464 | 1141 | 799 | 437 | 833 | 347 | 5314 | 259 | 734 | 308 | 202 | 2169 | 328 | 90 | 1057 | 610 | 24 |

The topics indicated down the left column in table 7 indicate the range of subjects covered in the submissions. They can be grouped into broader subject areas following the experiential perspective.

1 Those concerned with the quality of life and subjective personal experience, such as, natural rights, human needs, self esteem, identity, security and participation.
2 Those concerned with life chances where the individual experiences the effects of different social circumstances. These are found in the second grouping.
3 Those covering broader aspects of the socio-economic structure and political culture, in the third group.
4 Those concerned with the provision, management, funding and delivery of social services, in the final section of the table.

Figure 2 shows the proportion of submissions which cover each of the four areas above.

FIGURE 2: Pie chart showing breakdown of submission topics



# 3 An Analysis of Different Types of Submissions

## 3.1 *Analysis of Freephone Submissions*

### *Introduction*

Over the three days, 15–17 September 1987, women throughout New Zealand had the opportunity to have their say on any area of social policy. The freephone facility through which this occurred was the combined initiative of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA), and the Royal Commission on Social Policy (RCSP). It was set up to ensure that women's views and concerns would be voiced.

Preliminary analysis from the Ministry of Women's Affairs revealed that the largest initial source of information about the freephone facility was through the newspaper (50 percent). Other major sources were radio at 15 percent and *The Listener* at 10 percent.

Freephone submissions comprise 16.6 percent of those on the database. Eight hundred and seven were recorded during the three days by freephone operators and another 172 written submissions were received as a direct result of the freephone (these women said that they had written in because they had tried ringing during the three days and could not get through).

What were the main areas of concern raised by these 979 women? Were all ages and all regions represented? The following analysis addresses these questions, and attempts to provide an insight into the views expressed in the freephone submissions.

### *Quantitative Analysis*

1 BY REGION The freephone submissions, like the main body of the submissions, were grouped according to local government regions.

Of the 22 regions (table 8) from which freephone submissions were received, 15 had a similar percentage frequency to that of population distribution (within 1 percent). Of the other seven regions, four were under-represented (Auckland, Thames Valley, East Cape, Southland) and three were over-represented (Wellington, Canterbury, Coastal-North Otago).

TABLE 8: Analysis of freephone submissions

| *Region* | *Code* | *Number of freephone submissions* | *% Frequency* | *Population (% Female from 1986 Census)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Northland* | 01 | 34 | 3.7 | 3.7 |
| *Auckland* | 02 | 154 | 16.6 | 27.1 |
| *Thames Valley* | 03 | 5 | .5 | 1.7 |
| *Bay of Plenty* | 04 | 51 | 5.5 | 5.7 |
| *Waikato* | 05 | 68 | 7.3 | 6.9 |
| *Tongariro* | 06 | 8 | .9 | 1.2 |
| *East Cape* | 07 | 4 | .4 | 1.6 |
| *Hawkes Bay* | 08 | 43 | 4.6 | 4.3 |
| *Taranaki* | 09 | 30 | 3.2 | 3.3 |
| *Wanganui* | 10 | 26 | 2.8 | 2.1 |
| *Manawatu* | 11 | 34 | 3.7 | 3.5 |
| *Horowhenua* | 12 | 22 | 2.4 | 1.7 |
| *Wellington* | 13 | 156 | 16.8 | 9.9 |
| *Wairarapa* | 14 | 13 | 1.4 | 1.2 |
| *Nelson Bays* | 15 | 19 | 2.1 | 2.1 |
| *Marlborough* | 16 | 16 | 1.7 | 1.1 |
| *West Coast* | 17 | 11 | 1.2 | 1.0 |
| *Canterbury* | 18 | 123 | 13.3 | 10.6 |
| *Aorangi* | 19 | 20 | 2.2 | 2.4 |
| *Clutha Central Otago* | 20 | 12 | 1.3 | 1.5 |
| *Coastal North Otago* | 21 | 70 | 7.6. | 4.3 |
| *Southland* | 22 | 16 | 1.7 | 3.1 |
| *Islands* | 23 | – | – | .1 |
| *Not specified* | | 44 | | |
| *Total* | | 935 | 100.9 | |

Perhaps the most interesting results were from the three main centres. Only 17 percent of the freephone submissions came from the Auckland local government region, where 27 percent of the population resides.

The opposite was true for Wellington with 17 percent of submissions compared with 10 percent of population, and Canterbury (although by a lower margin) having 11 percent of population and 13 percent of submissions.

2 BY AGE Table 10 shows that of the 65 percent of women whose age could be identified, the majority came from women in the middle age category.

On the basis of population distribution it can be seen that females in the age categories <12 and 13–29 are under-represented in the number of freephone submissions.

TABLE 9: Freephone and female population distribution by age

| | *No. of freephones* | *% of subtotal* | *% of female population* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Child <12* | 1 | .2 | 19.9 |
| *Youth 13–29* | 93 | 15.1 | 29.3 |
| *Middle 30–60* | 567 | 71.7 | 34.4 |
| *Elderly >60* | 86 | 13.5 | 18.2 |
| *Subtotal* | 636 | | |
| *Not specified* | 343 | | |
| *Total* | 979 | | |

[1] Different categories to Royal Commission
Middle = 30–59, Elderly >60
*Source:* Department of Statistics, 1986 Census of Population and Dwellings

3 BY TOPIC The majority of the freephone submissions referred to a range of topics or concerns, rather than focusing on a single issue. This is understandable, given the multiple roles which women play in society. The diversity of topics, however, was not so great as to prevent an identification of main issues and concerns. The major issues which dominated are listed in table 10.

TABLE 10: Major issues of concern; freephone

| *Topic* | *Total % of freephones* |
|---|---|
| *Income (including income maintenance, living standards, poverty, costs, benefits)* | 37.9 |
| *Education* | 33.7 |
| *Mothers* | 28.1 |
| *Women and Work* | 24.7 |
| *Child Care* | 22.9 |
| *Concepts of wellbeing, dependence, self-esteem, and status* | 20.3 |
| *Family* | 19.9 |
| *Health* | 18.3 |

These topic areas are not mutually exclusive, and some overlap considerably. For example, of the 242 submissions on women and work, 144 of them also mentioned mothers. Similar overlaps occurred between mothers and childcare, mothers and family, income maintenance and women and work.

One fifth of the women who called on the freephone directly mentioned their own wellbeing, self-esteem and status. This was made in relation to work, mothering, and personal relationships.

Other topics worth noting are parent education, which was the concern of 8 percent of the freephone submissions, and abortion at 7.2 percent.

Only fifty three (5.5 percent) of the freephone submissions mentioned stress. However, this is one quarter of all the submissions on this topic. It is significant when it is considered that the freephone submissions comprise only 17 percent of all submissions.

## *Qualitative Analysis*

INCOME MAINTENANCE Income related issues were mentioned most frequently by women and among these issues benefits received greatest attention, including the domestic purposes benefit, family benefit, women alone benefit, and a caregivers benefit.

The range of comments was varied, with just as many women making complaints from a consumer perspective, as those looking from the 'outside in', many of which focused on perceived abuse of benefits, especially the Domestic Purposes Benefit.

Financial independence was the concern of many women. A number were concerned that benefits promoted a handout mentality and felt that some form of tax relief would be more appropriate than increasing benefits.

The need for a more equitable distribution of wealth was also echoed throughout freephone submissions, and suggestions were made which could improve the situation.

Below is a sample of comments on income maintenance:

1 Women should pay less tax, so they wouldn't need to get family support. [1034]
2 A woman's purchasing power should not depend on her husbands credit rating. [1269]
3 The name of the DPB should be changed. [1070]
4 Tax policies should assist single income families. [1569, 1307, 1325, 1326, 1368, 1370, 1798]
5 Concern that the woman alone benefit is not payable before the age 50 years. [1047, 1051]
6 Need for company tax that cannot be evaded. [1319]
7 Concerned about high costs of living and mortgage rates. [1048]
8 Discourage the use of the DPB. [1554]

EDUCATION Education was mentioned in over 300 freephone submissions. Issues were not limited to those dealing specifically with women in the field of education. In fact, a wide range of topics were mentioned.

A number of comments were made on the education system itself, its structure, curriculum and effectiveness. Some women felt that there should be more emphasis on the teaching of social skills [eg 1813, 1831, 2040], while others wanted the ten commandments and moral values to be promoted first and foremost [eg 1291, 1242, 1701].

The importance of parenting skills and education was emphasised in over 70 freephone submissions. All were in favour of it and wanted to see it encouraged [eg 1044, 1533, 1629, 1568].

Women who were considering re-entering the workforce after child-rearing were concerned about appropriate training and re-education [eg 1331]. A few women [eg 1361, 1831], were in favour of continuing education programmes on television.

Other topics covered in this area included special education for gifted children [1765], improved education for doctors in the area of women's health [1751] and women in policy making positions in education [1828].

MOTHERHOOD There were 275 submissions concerning mothers or motherhood. Every single one wanted more recognition for the job, whether they were asking for support, more status, or financial incentives to allow mothers to stay at home. Most of the submissions about working mothers also referred to mothers at home and vice versa.

Women identified a need for support from the community as well as emotional support and the majority were in favour of financial incentives to stay home, such as a benefit, tax concessions or a direct payment. A minority (5 callers) did not think payment was either desirable or necessary, but believed that something needed to be done to raise the status and self-esteem of mothers at home.

Following is a range of comments from the callers:

> More community and emotional support for women who want to stay at home, and more recognition for women who want to be mothers. [1038]
>
> Women's experience as mothers should be recognised as a qualification in job training. [1317]
>
> Society must increase the status of homemakers, funds now being used to subsidise daycare centres should be used to encourage mothers to stay at home. A homemaker wage is not really the answer as we're a bankrupt

> nation. Society is forcing women out to work and husbands encourage it. Mothering at home is not seen to be a worthwhile job. Other countries are now encouraging women to stay home instead, for example, West Germany, the Soviet Union. [1394]
>
> Equal treatment for women staying at home to look after children . . . One suggestion is income splitting for families on single incomes, for tax purposes. Also teaching or training for parenting support through schools, television programmes supporting family units, recompense women for their caring functions at home, and encourage community support for the carers. [1044]
>
> Mothers at home tend to be forgotten, and have no voice. If you want to stay home you need financial support so you don't need to work. Income splitting is one way. [1253]
>
> If someone stays home to look after dependants, the one income should be split for tax purposes between the two adults. [1478]
>
> High time recognition was given to the economic value of the input of the mother in the home. [1479]
>
> Allowances should be paid for all carers of children aged up to 15 who have no other income. This would make a woman independent whether she is married to a millionaire or otherwise. [2018]
>
> Mothers who choose to stay home to mind their children should not be discriminated against but encouraged. [2123]

It was suggested that there are many social advantages to mothers who stay at home, so they should be encouraged (financially) for doing so, and have creche facilities available to give them time off.

WOMEN AND WORK The 242 submissions on women and work deal with some or all of the following: domestic work, voluntary work, other unpaid work, and paid work.

Although a wide range of opinions are expressed in this group of submissions, the overwhelming point made is that of recognition for women's work in the home, including child rearing and domestic work. Many were in favour of financial reward either through a caregivers benefit or through tax exemption. Within this group there was some small distinction between callers taking a liberal perspective, and those with a conservative point of view. The latter often felt that a woman should stay at home because it was her natural role and she should not be forced out to work because of the economic climate, while the former were more concerned that a woman should be able to choose whether to be engaged in paid employment or to stay at home.

A number of women made the point that the skills acquired in managing a home and family should be recognised by employers.

Some women also expressed concern about the attitudes of males to women in the workplace.

WORKING MOTHERS Of the above, there were 103 submissions concerning working mothers. The majority were opposed to women being forced to go outside their homes and take up paid employment. Many pointed to the economic pressures on single income families that resulted in women having to go to work. Others, however, saw it as a social pressure, so that even though there is no financial need for her to, a woman feels she must get a paying job to have some sort of social status and self-esteem.

Several submissions advocated recognition that working mothers were actually doing two jobs and their special needs should be taken into account by employers. Some of the recommendations were that women needed to be given a real choice, to work if they wanted to, but not to be forced to go into the paid workforce because of either economic necessity or social pressure.

Analysis of the submissions shows that the age group most concerned with this issue was that in the 31–40 years range. Thirty-nine women in this age group mentioned women working outside the home. The next largest group came from the 21–30 years old range with 16 women mentioning the issue. Eleven women each in the 41–50 and 51–60 years ranges spoke about it, and four women in the 60+ group. Twenty-one women who raised this issue did not give their ages, although several spoke of having young children themselves; a further three classified themselves as grandmothers. It is interesting to note that no-one who identified herself as under 22 years spoke on this subject. Whether this is because fewer younger women called, or whether they have different concerns, is not clear.

Eighteen of the calls about working mothers came from Waikato, mainly from the Hamilton area. Of the rest, fourteen came from urban areas in the Bay of Plenty, twelve from Auckland, eleven from Hawkes Bay, ten from Canterbury, nine from Wellington, and the rest scattered throughout the regions.

The following statements illustrate the range of concerns:

> The cost of living and G.S.T. means mothers have to go out to work, even if the husbands have what is considered 'higher' salaries. [1108]

> Women are pressured economically and socially to go out to work. Some money needs to be allocated to women to give them a choice over working or not. [1173]

Housing should be available with lower interest rates. The present rates mean women have to do two jobs: look after children and work in the paid workforce. [1572]

Women encouraged to stay home and look after the family. Women should examine their needs versus their wants, and not work unless they need to, it takes away jobs from younger people and makes men feel threatened. [1460]

Have to go to work for financial reasons, even if they don't want to. If they were able to stay home minding their children, their jobs would become available for more people who are unemployed. It would also free up mothers to help in schools, and similar groups. Mortgage rates are so high, women feel they have to go to work to meet the mortgage, for example it takes up three-quarters of my husbands wage. [1715]

Radical change in the taxation structure to ensure women are not forced to go to work because of economic circumstances. Women should have the choice to be able to stay home or go out to work. However, one wage should be able to support the family. [1798]

Mothers be allowed to care for their own children and not forced to go out to work to supplement the family income. [1363]

CHILDCARE Of the 224 submissions which mention childcare, over half referred to childcare facilities, or community childcare. The majority of these submissions were in favour of childcare in some form.

The highest number of calls on childcare were made from Canterbury. Other regions followed similar trends to the overall freephone distribution. There were no calls on the subject received from East Cape and Southland.

The majority of the callers in favour of childcare recommended that more quality childcare centres be made available, and many thought that funding was the responsibility of the state. Others wanted childcare available at specific times, such as after school and during school holidays; when the mother was ill or in hospital; when she needed, for example, to do her shopping; while several thought that 24 hour, seven days a week childcare should be available.

The following extracts from submissions show the range of attitudes expressed:

1 Childcare subsidies should not be cut off at 5 years, but should be available until the child is 16 years. She calls for realistic tax rebates for childcare which she suggests should be provided for pre- and after-school care, and for emergencies. [1672]

2 Childcare should be the responsibility of government and employers and childcare facilities be built into every new building. [1544]

3 Everyone should have good access to quality childcare with creches available at large workplaces. Employers must help meet the costs. [1277]

One woman described many of the problems faced by rural women, especially access to and the cost of daycare. She thinks rural women need assistance with childcare. [1396]

In contrast to the above, concern was expressed that daycare centres cause distress and insecurity to the child, and that love and attention cannot be given adequately there. It was suggested that instead of funding more centres, the money should be better spent on paying a wage to mothers at home, or increasing the family benefit to enable them to stay at home. [1648, 1649]

CONCEPTS OF WELLBEING It has already been pointed out that as well as women talking about practical topics, concepts of wellbeing and self-esteem were an important thread running through many submissions. There is a direct link, for example, between the recognition which women want for work in the home, and their self-esteem.

The following are some points made by women in this area:

1 While women have taken on new roles, men have not adapted, which results in higher stress levels. [1100]

2 There should be more freedom and choice for women. [1622]

3 Women who choose to stay at home are made to feel guilty and lacking in ambition. [1425]

4 Concern that advertising trivialises the role of women. [1407]

5 The need to re-educate men to understand the reality of women's lives. [1398]

6 Mothers need greater respect in the community. [1140]

7 The male success ethic being so ingrained in our culture. [1141]

The issue of affirmative action is directly related to the recognition and self-esteem as well as to women and work. Affirmative action was identified as a discussion point in 32 calls, of which 25 were in favour and seven were not in favour.

Those who were against affirmative action fell into two categories. The first group felt that affirmative action for women was undermining their traditional roles, and that the promotion of women was leading to the devaluation of mothers. One woman commented that she did not like the emphasis that men and women are the same, and felt that their roles should be complementary. Some women who expressed these views were also opposed to homosexuality and the Bill of Rights.

The second group was concerned with Maori affirmative action, feeling that it would result in a backlash from Pakehas.

Support for affirmative action covered a range of areas. Most wanted equal opportunities for women in the workplace. Also mentioned were power sharing, discrimination and self-determination. Some commented that affirmative action was needed in education, both at the tertiary level and through school, giving girls encouragement to participate in traditionally more male dominated subjects, such as physics.

Another issue was the promotion of a positive image of women in the home and the workplace, and assertiveness in the area of health.

HEALTH ISSUES Approximately 250 callers rang in about various health issues, including abortion. The views put forward on many health issues and aspects of health provision were varied but some concerns were widely commented on.

1 *Better access to health care* This was a major concern to many women, particularly elderly women, low to middle income families and people with chronic health problems, such as asthma. They all felt that the costs of general practitioners, specialists and health aids were far too high and caused stress for many people. The removal of antihistamines and laxatives from the free prescription list was also strongly criticised as it primarily affected chronic ailment sufferers and the elderly. Many women asked for a free health service for all if possible, but definitely for children and chronic ailment sufferers.

2 *Birth* There was a considerable lobby of women wanting better access to home birth facilities and more education about this birthing choice. These women also wanted birth in hospitals to become more responsive to the woman's wishes so that women had control of their birthing experiences.

3 *Free sanitary protection* This was a surprisingly large specific lobby which requested free or subsidised sanitary protection as they

thought that to many women it was a financial burden and as a universal requirement for women, this need should be catered for.

4 *Doctors' attitudes* Several women who rang criticised doctors' attitudes to women. They felt they were not listened to by doctors and specialists and were sometimes badly treated. Two women suggested that all doctors undertake mandatory training in learning about racist and sexist attitudes and how to combat them.

5 *Deinstitutionalisation and community care* This issue was commonly mentioned and while supported in principle, many women felt that it was used as a way of saving government funds. They felt there were not enough resources in the community to cope and that the burden of caregiving would largely fall on women. They believed that caregivers of disabled people should be paid and that there should be support systems in place so that they could have time off from this 24-hour job. They also believed that many disabled people were better off in an institution as society was not ready to be caring and non-discriminating to these people.

6 *Disabled women* Disabled women also rang in with a variety of concerns directly applicable to them. A major issue was financial independence for married women with disabilities. They felt they should be eligible for the invalids benefit because otherwise their disability was a financial burden on their husbands. This was seen to be inequitable as it meant they could never be as well off as two income families, which caused financial stress. These women also spoke about access problems (many places were inaccessible to them), the lack of transport available and the discrimination they encountered in the workforce and in social attitudes.

7 *Preventive health* Preventive health measures, health education, alternative health and community health were all issues commonly mentioned. Many women said they wanted a greater emphasis on preventive measures, including health and parent education, which encouraged greater personal responsibility for nutrition, exercise and wellbeing.

Other measures suggested included more community-oriented health care with culturally appropriate methods for ethnic minority groups, and better health services for mothers and children. Support services for easing the stresses of motherhood were also requested. The new well-women clinics were advocated as a good way of caring for women's health needs. Several women said that a national screening programme for cervical cancer should be carried out. Alternative health care was also frequently mentioned with

requests for more funding and research in this area, particularly in connection with allergies, and degenerative diseases.

8 *Medical ethics* The issues of informed consent, patients' rights and monitoring of medical professionals were also discussed by several women—some in reaction to the cervical cancer inquiry at National Women's Hospital. These women were frustrated and angry at the power medical professionals have and want more accountability and monitoring of their actions to prevent such things happening. They believe too many women have been conditioned to believe that doctors know best and must not be challenged.

9 *Abortion* Seventy of the freephone submissions had an opinion on abortion. Of these the anti-abortion opinion was held by approximately 60 percent.

Of the remaining submissions, about half were pro-abortion and the rest were in favour of fewer abortions and more counselling for adoption.

Callers who were against abortion expressed conservative views on other issues. For example, they supported the traditional family in which mothers stay home with their children, and were in favour of religious instruction in schools. Many were asking for a Bill of Rights or a Charter to protect the unborn child from conception onwards, so that abortion would be defined as murder.

Those in favour of abortion believed that abortion was a woman's right and should be available on request. While not advocated as the ideal form of contraception, the callers felt it was a necessary and important part of family planning and a far better choice then having an unwanted child.

The callers who were neither anti- nor pro-abortion largely felt that abortion should be the last choice and should not be available on demand. They advocated that women should have more counselling and that adoption should be considered as a real option. Some also thought that if women were given real support then many would be able to keep their babies.

RURAL WOMEN Although only 36 freephone submissions were about rural women or rural communities, the effect of recent government restructuring on rural areas makes it important to gauge feelings and be aware of the rural perspective.

Most of the callers were concerned about rural services, mainly, health, education and transport. One caller from the Waikato was concerned with the inequity between rural and urban dwellers in

terms of social service provision [1336]. These feelings were directly linked to isolation which featured as an issue in many of the submissions concerned about rural services.

A few women made recommendations for mobile vans for women's health clinics, for example [1282]. Other concerns included safety and stress.

In addition, women were concerned at the lack of consultation between government and the regions before decisions were made which had an effect on the rural areas.

## 3.2 *Analysis of Oral Submissions*

### *Introduction*

More than 1,000 oral submissions were heard at over 60 public hearings and hui throughout the country. Over 30 formal and informal hearings were heard on marae. These meetings were held in urban and rural areas from Kaitaia to Bluff. There were also talkback sessions on three radio stations. These opportunities meant that approximately 1,500 people were able to speak to Commissioners on how they thought a fair and just society might be achieved. Transcripts of tapes recorded at these meetings and hui, and summaries made by the Commissioners present, form the basis for this analysis of oral submissions.

The oral submissions compared closely with the written submissions. There were however two major differences. The first seemed to be that because a public meeting removes anonymity, extremist views were largely absent, especially on controversial issues such as immigration, sentencing for violent crimes and state assistance for solo parents which were common among the written submissions. The submissions all either highlighted a problem, suggested how a problem might be solved or did both. None advocated regressive steps such as the introduction of the death penalty or resorted to using the Commission as an avenue for verbal minority bashing. The second difference was in Maori representation. Approximately one third of the oral submissions dealt with concerns of the Maori people for a fair and just society. The issues they raised were the same as those raised by Maori people in the written submissions. The oral method of consultation, however, seemed to attract more Maori participants.

## *Standards and Foundations of a Fair and Just Society*

The oral submissions displayed a wide variety of views similar to those shown in the written submissions on the role of a Royal Commission on Social Policy, and on the importance of its role in determining future directions for social policy in this country. The formation of the Royal Commission generally met with approval and was seen to be independent from the political processes of government, which appears to have encouraged contributions from organisations and individuals holding a myriad of perspectives on a vast range of topics.

An opinion commonly expressed about the Royal Commission was that its existence is a positive move towards assessing and monitoring the social situation in New Zealand. However, there was concern about how seriously the recommendations in its final report would be taken by Government. This cynicism about the Royal Commission's effectiveness is mentioned in several submissions. One speaker [566] stated that he met apathy before a hearing at Whangarei when talking to people who saw this measure as a window dressing exercise by the Government, which has already determined social policy. The Canterbury Community Workers [243] expressed concern that the activities of the Royal Commission would be yet another diversion by a government whose track record on the consultative process with the public left much to be desired. This group was also interested to know how much agreement there would be between the recommendations and comments made by this Commission and the Ministerial Task Forces on Social Services and Income Maintenance.

A similar view is held by a speaker from Dunedin [626] who felt that the Commission would become the most recent in a long list of commissions sent to his area who would hold meetings, discuss many issues but result in 'no real action'. Some submitters felt that apparent ineffectiveness of bodies like the Royal Commission resulted from the generally monocultural perception of society the members held. The inclusion of Dr Mason Durie as a Commissioner was seen as only a partial resolution of this problem by a speaker at the Te Wananga O Raukawa Marae at Otaki:

> I'm prepared to accept Mason making all the judgements on things Maori. I'm not prepared to accept that Mason has to convince the other five Commissioners . . . unless he has five votes, then I see a partnership. [2297d]

Another factor considered in many submissions to be an important basis upon which New Zealand's social policy should be based is christian principles. One speaker [638] regretted that explicit mention of christianity had been omitted from the Royal Commissions Terms of Reference as it was a basis for concepts of fairness and justice. The Combined Churches in Northland [577] wanted social policy based on christian principles and biculturalism, with changes in social attitudes as well as policies and the time for both to evolve together.

The ideal of equal status for all was mentioned as a founding principle by many oral submissions, which often expressed the desire for social policy to return to the original intentions of the establishment of the welfare state in the 1930s. As stated in the New Zealand Federation of Labour and Combined State Unions' oral submission [222]:

> . . . the responsibility of Government is to intervene to ensure that there's an adequate disbursement as of right to all of the people that make up our society, in all regions of the country, that people do have fundamental rights that arise from and directly out of the contribution made by previous generations in building and developing our society as a whole, and that brings us quite strongly into a point of opposition to some of the sort of vague concepts about free marketism, and the user pays, and these sorts of principles that appear to be gaining some favour, both within Government circles and wider public circles.

The removal of inequities in areas such as health, education, social welfare and housing were clearly top priorities in most of the oral submissions, and the role of the present Government in either alleviating injustices or exacerbating them was a common problem expressed by many people.

One submitter [639] felt that New Zealand should take as its social policy models, examples of Scandinavian countries, for their policies on youth and the elderly. This contrasts with another speaker who has had enough of 'British Sovereignty' and wants the country:

> Planned, controlled and run by New Zealand born persons. [566]

## *Treaty of Waitangi*

The fact that some parts of our society feel somewhat alienated by processes of government and administration as typified by a body such as the Royal Commission, is often felt to be due to the lack of recognition the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi receives in practical terms as a social contract. The original intent of the Treaty was to

establish common government based on the rights of individuals rather than groups or tribes, and as such the history of social policy in New Zealand should have had as its priority the individual rather than the collective [488]. A commonly expressed view was that the Treaty provides a 'creative mandate for bicultural partnership and an initiative for initiating better human relationships' [612]. Several people believed that adherence to the original principles of the Treaty were paramount to all other aspects of social policy.

> . . . if you are going to neglect the principles and the spirit thats laid down that we have a partnership in this land, we can forget about anything else. [2298]

However, this woman did not want it to become part of the common law because that could allow it to be altered.

An example of negligence of the Maori cultural perspective by government bodies was given by one speaker [592] in the area of fostering and subsequent adoption of Maori babies by Pakeha families. Departmental policy is based on the concept of the nuclear family, and little or no regard is paid to the Maori concepts of whanau, hapu or iwi, so the extended Maori family is not usually consulted in the adoption process, nor does it have legal status comparable to that of the adoptive parents.

This exemplifies a strong concern in the oral submissions about social policy, that monoculturalism in our social institutions and processes tends to favour one group in the community over others. This situation is at variance with trends shown in the written submissions and is almost undoubtedly due to the manner in which the hearings were held. Of the 59 books transcribed from the hearings, 12 were from meetings on marae. Maori groups and individuals were better represented, as standing up to speak in the centre of ones community is more appropriate to traditional Maori culture than formulating a written opinion on an issue. Therefore, concerns about non-abidance to the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi as a major cause of injustices and inequity in society is a more strongly represented viewpoint in the oral submissions than in any other category of submission.

The multicultural aspect of New Zealand society was raised in some oral submissions. Other ethnic groups in the community wanted their views taken into account in policy formation. The

Ethnic Affairs Council [2645] expressed the view that multiculturalism must be represented in any social policy making as a fundamental principle. Policy should also reflect the reality of individuals in society generally, and not be based on lofty philosophical ideals with which most people will not be able to identify and so will ignore. Another submission suggested that our:

> Society could be one that emphasised unity but encompassed diversity. [643]

## *Women*

It is difficult to draw any conclusions from the oral submissions about social policy as it affects women. However, views held were similar to those found in freephone submissions. These were primarily calling for the recognition of women in either the paid work force or in the home as caregivers [5799, 2290]. Other submissions dealt with health problems of minority women [5786], disadvantages of the Matrimonial Property Act [1960], the lack of promotion and representation of women in professional groups, that is the small number of women Justices of the Peace [4660, 5020], the stress placed on rural women to enter the paid workforce due to the economic downturn [5022, 5023], equal pay [720], the eligibility of the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB), the needs of Maori women, status of women in university and the need for all women to be equally represented in decision making. The Auckland Women Lawyers' Association made a number of recommendations in their submission towards women in the paid workforce:

> that the Commission recommends to the Government that the Government adopt a firm anti-discrimination policy, and that affirmative action be taken to combat the effects of discrimination against women. [4660]

An equal number of submissions called for the need to recognise women in the unpaid work force. The Dargaville Maori Women's Welfare League expressed concerns that were expressed in a number of individual submissions:

> We find more mothers are going to work to help pay the bills. Leaving children at home, with maybe one of the older children who should be at school or pay out from their wages to keep them in a daycare centre. [5799]

They advocate that mothers be paid the unemployment benefit to stay at home and look after their young families.

## *Social Wellbeing*

The view of social wellbeing in oral submissions appears to be conceptual rather than functional. The concept of wellbeing ran through many submissions dealing with personal experience stories; the delivery and access of social services such as health, housing, education and social equity; the need for self esteem for Maori people, stress in the community; and the need for Government to seek out the potential of every citizen and reduce their dependency on the state. One submission spoke of the need for the development of human potential as a major objective of social policy [370]. Another submission advocated a universal grant whereby:

> . . . every New Zealander is to receive a grant sufficient to meet the basic requirements of existence. [2630]

The general view from the oral submissions was that economic and social policies should be considered concurrently:

> It is not possible to look at social policies in a vacuum . . . they are very related to the economic policies of a country. [300]

The Manukau Emergency Houses Inc addressed the need for economic policy to be linked to social policy in order to combat rising mortgages, interest rates and rentals [324]. One submission urged that the Treaty of Waitangi become the basis of all policy, especially social policy [667].

There was criticism from the rural sector over government policies on environment and transport. The feeling was that the discontinuation of certain post offices and rural school bus services has serious flow on effects in the areas concerned and was expressed as being 'culturally damning' with no thought of the social ramifications [88, 449, 930, 2726, 2733, 5813].

Strong views were expressed about the Coromandel Peninsula in that the Mining Act holds no provision for measuring, quantifying and justifying a concept such as 'quality of life'. The Act's justification to override the Land Use Act was seen as part of the national interest, and there was concern that there is no burden of proof or accountability [4648]. This submission by a resident and community worker stated that:

> A high percentage of residents would uphold values that are incompatible with mining in a sensitive physical environment, and actively identify features they value in a non-industrialised social environment. [4648]

Though the specific concern on mining in the oral submissions is small, more evidence can be found in the written submissions [for example, 396, 4648].

Other issues on environment ranged from concerns of overfishing [926] and the need to improve Maori partnership with the Commissioner of Conservation [672, 2730], to the need for more scenic areas for prisons [5049]. All these issues were seen as important to the wellbeing of people.

### *Work*

A large number of oral submissions were concerned with work, more specifically lack of work and government employment policies. The general theme was the need for re-evaluation of government policies in this area, and there were a number of submissions relating to job creation schemes, either the reinstatement of Project Employment Programme (PEP) schemes and group work schemes [85, 5048], and the promotion of job schemes [5373, 5495, 544, 91] and that such schemes be directly related to the local labour market [918, 5504], or criticism over present policies [5909, 2870, 556, 558, 927]. The following comments appear to be typical of submissions received from rural areas:

> That in the East Coast/Gisborne area in particular, there is a finite need for both employees and for business initiatives—and that we are throwing money at training for work which is not there, and at new businesses which will only threaten existing ones. Rather than chasing development we could better distribute the resources that are available to lessen the gap between rich and poor. . . . As far as employment/unemployment is concerned, we are a community made up of overworkers and underworkers—many who work full time would happily work less—freeing up work for the unemployed. [917]

The common theme throughout the submissions dealing with the issue of work is articulated in a submission presented at the Terenga Paraoa Marae, Whangarei, that:

> A basic human right is the right to work and there should be observation on both moral law as well as economic law. [568]

Recognition for voluntary/community workers and caregivers was well supported in oral submissions with such recognition to be given either in cash terms as a benefit or as tax concessions [90, 491, 2641, 2725, 2722, 5026].

There were several oral submissions made on working conditions and industrial relations. Issues raised included hospital cleaners' conditions [298], entitlement to adequate employment

[6002], minimum wage and 35 hour week [394], work related illnesses [5012], incentives to work (181), government responsibility for creation of employment opportunities [4907], and the New Zealand industrial relations system [4907].

There was considerable concern from rural areas over employment issues, particularly in rural depopulation in search for work with its concomitant downgrading in rural amenities. One submission suggested:

> An economic policy to encourage industries to come south [and that:] ultimately unless this solution is addressed it could have serious consequences for the nation as a whole. [86]

There were calls for new initiatives for rural areas and complaints over women returning to the paid work force [86, 88, 503, 930, 2721, 2733, 449, 5022]. Employment concerns of racial minorities were voiced on the wage system, unemployment and conditions for Pacific Island workers [5763, 5767, 5784].

## *Delivery of Social Policy*

Most oral submissions which discussed funding of social policy were concerned that the Government should remain the principal provider, especially in the areas of health, education and welfare. For instance, one submission suggested that there should be no need for health corporatisation or health insurance [332]. It was also noted that there is a need for greater co-ordination between government departments if social services are to reach those in greatest need. [3826]

It was suggested that the provision of these services could be made more efficient if funds and control were devolved to the community [2271, 2773]. Tribal authorities, if empowered and funded, could become providers of health care [3027] and low cost housing could be developed on Maori land [2558]. These are just two examples of how devolution could work for the people through their community.

Current voluntary provision of social services was highlighted for its effectiveness. However, lack of funding was seen as a major impediment to expansion of this sector. Funding is needed in such areas as care of elderly, children at risk, deinstitutionalisation and matau whangai [333, 3018]. Also, if training of voluntary workers is to reach its full potential, then it must receive funding [333, 3018]. The most urgent necessity is for an increase in decision making

powers for communities and tribal groups [3353] coupled with adequate funding and resources.

Balancing this call is the desire for devolution to be better understood by the community before further action is taken [3826]. Devolution should be a gradual process [3348, 3349].

Political and legal processes received considerable attention in the oral submissions. The major concern with both processes was that they were not appropriate or representative of the wishes and desires of the tangata whenua. The first past the post system of representation was seen as unfair to Maori and other minority groups as it could not adequately reflect their interests [3021]. It inevitably led to a lack of Maori representation and recognition [2581, 2588]. Government departments and officials need to be held more accountable to Maori needs [3023]. Pre-European Maori control of natural resources and systems of justice should be respected [3032].

It was suggested that government departments should work more closely with local bodies and regional development should be promoted [2777]. The amalgamation of councils has led to loss of control for smaller councils [2778]. In a fair and just society the regions would have the same access to and control over resources and decision making processes as the urban areas have. Those oral submissions addressing access to social provision were generally concerned with inequities in access, largely due to the nature of governmental and welfare organisation in this country.

One community health service group [532] stated that bureaucratic divisions hindered delivery of integrated social services, and suggested the establishment of one local authority with all government departments being part of the same authority, particularly in regional areas, to overcome this difficulty.

Duplication of services often added to the myth that people receiving welfare payments are exploiting the system [931]. Often there was not enough communication between departmental workers to avoid duplication of services.

Eligibility for various welfare payments was also seen to be inequitable. A number of submissions spoke about the unfairness of the Accident Compensation scheme which compensates people who are injured as a result of their own or someone elses actions, but not to those who are born with or develop physical disabilities. One speaker felt that the term used to justify Accident Compensation Corporation (A.C.C.)payments, quality of life, should be reviewed,

and compared with the quality of life for sufferers of diseases such as multiple sclerosis, for which there is no similar payment [2741].

A broader definition of access to social provision was taken in several oral submissions. Some speakers, particularly in rural areas, interpreted it as continuation of services such as school buses and post offices. Generally, the current decline in such functions was seen as bad governmental policy, another example of inequity in social provision between urban and rural areas or between regions generally.

Apart from this aspect, the oral submissions were similar in their views to the other types of submissions. More consultation was sought from those in policy-making spheres, and people wanted to have their views more accurately represented.

### *Income Maintenance and Taxation*

Income maintenance and taxation were of concern in many oral submissions. They ranged from the call for tax rebates on husbands' incomes to pay for income for mothers at home [2674] to the desire for tax exemptions to be available for families supporting tertiary students [2534]. On income maintenance the concerns ranged from the need for motherhood to be valued more [2536] to the need for better pay for those on ACCESS schemes as opposed to the unemployment benefit [2776]. The submissions in this area did not differ significantly from the written submissions.

### *Policy Making and Monitoring*

The nature of the oral submissions, by comparison with the written ones, affected how much was contributed in the way of constructive thinking as to how we should go about government policy making and management in the future. Most of the oral submissions from individuals were observations of what were seen as inequities or injustices in social systems, and often did not include any specific practical way of resolving problems. With the written submissions, there tended to be more input as to how problems could be solved, often in the form of lengthy research papers. Obviously, such an approach was impractical at the Royal Commission's hearings, though presentation at a hearing of written material detailing a researched solution was appended to an oral submission.

The oral submissions largely echoed the view prevalent in all other submissions that the Government should be more representative of what is of concern to society, and should consult more with interested groups before making policy changes that affect them. Once policy is in place, there should be more information on its effect on people, and access to and delivery of social services should be more efficient and equitable.

Government should also be seen to be addressing the needs of society. Information and awareness of what is going on is important, to displace inaccurate impressions held by many people as to what services are or are not available to them. Government agencies must not only improve their social policy delivery through better co-ordination, they must also advertise their functions and abilities more efficiently.

User-pays was not a popular policy among those who made oral submissions. Their main concern about the Government relinquishing its role as primary provider is that there will be less assessment and monitoring if it is left to the community to care for those not completely capable of caring for themselves.

In some submissions it was suggested that the Royal Commission on Social Policy was a constructive vehicle for the assessment and monitoring of social policy directions.

The most marked difference in the area of policy making and monitoring between the oral submissions and all others is the strong lobbying for the implementation of the Treaty of Waitangi as the basic principle of a fair and just society. The general feeling among Maori groups and individuals is typified by one speaker [2729] who stated that even though many committees and other forms of administrative bodies had Maori representatives, they were only there in an advisory capacity. He felt Maoris should have full control of their own destiny, particularly when decisions are made affecting land and other issues important to the Maori people.

## *Social Perspectives*

A number of important issues were isolated for special consideration by the Royal Commission. Many of these are discussed in the next section of this analysis where they were issues which arose in the oral submissions.

HEALTH is discussed in almost one quarter of the oral submissions. The nature of opinions expressed here on various facets of health and health services in this country are similar to those expressed in the written submissions.

Funding was a common topic in the hearings, with most special-interest groups represented wanting greater financial support, either directly through government aid or indirectly through tax concessions for voluntary agencies and their workers [541]. Most people opposed user-pays in health services.

Increased health education was wanted by many groups for example [276], as was more research into what caused common ailments and what should be done to prevent them [92].

The organisation of health services was of concern to some submitters, with several mentioning the need to co-ordinate systems. Bureaucracy was a problem often mentioned. For instance, the Tauranga Hospital Board's Community Health Services Group felt devolution of services from central government to local authorities would improve the situation by reducing fragmentation and compartmentalisation [532]. One speaker suggested that area health board boundaries be based on Maori tribal boundaries in recognition of the special needs of Maori health [528].

Concern at the concept of community care was also often expressed in terms of the current trend towards increasing the community's responsibility for the provision of health needs. One reason given for this concern was that patients might not be constantly monitored [595]. This tendency might increase inequities perceived in the present health system.

EDUCATION This is another issue that was addressed by a substantial number of oral submissions, in keeping with the trend in the written and freephone submissions. The larger representation of Maori viewpoints in the oral submissions was noticeable by the length of discussion on bilingualism and biculturalism in schools. Funding was also considered to be important, with most submitters being against any form of user-pays in education.

Many of the oral submissions featuring education commented on the curriculum and how it could be improved. Most speakers felt there is a lack of life skills taught at school, particularly parenting skills, the need for these becoming evident in later life [527].

Kohanga reo was also a commonly mentioned issue. Many believed that this programme was either being only half-heartedly addressed by the Department of Education, or was ineffective

because bilingualism was not a priority at secondary school level [447].

Speakers in rural areas felt there were regional inequities. The most common complaint was of the practical difficulty of retaining school bus services in the face of cost-cutting governmental measures [507 ]. The whole issue of funding education was felt to be important in rural communities; one speaker believed the increasing costs of early childhood education and tertiary education were reducing accessibility to lower socio-economic groups and adding to the elitism of education generally [502].

The most common concern expressed about tertiary education was the level of the tertiary bursary. Several speakers felt that this should be reviewed in relation to the amount of the unemployment benefit, so that students no longer felt they were being penalised by attempting to further their education and increase their skills and qualifications. It was generally felt that the bursary should reflect the reality of the cost of living more.

JUSTICE The main area in which the oral submissions differed from the written submissions in the justice issue, is the virtual lack of speakers demanding stricter sentencing and other measures in an attempt to restore law and order. There were more requests for marae-based courts and legal systems. One speaker felt the placing of offenders in prisons did not reduce the crime rate. He suggested that marae-based courts could have a more constructive result [571]. Another group felt that the introduction of tribal courts would be an appropriate recognition of Maori authorities by government departments [2878]. Several speakers suggested that a priority area the Department of Justice should address is the resolution of the land claims under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Other structural changes to court procedures were suggested. There was support from one Nelson group for the recent moves in some child abuse case trials to lessen the trauma for the victim in giving evidence. They also had further recommendations to make:

> In summing up, our five points are (1) expert evidence must be allowed; (2) the adversary system is an unsuitable and damaging system in which to conduct sexual abuse hearings; (3) children's evidence must be given by video interview with a skilled interviewer; (4) there must be a minimal time lapse between complaint and prosecution and the timing must be determined by the needs of the victim; (5) court waiting rooms must have provision for privacy. We think these five steps would go some way towards making a more just society. [2333]

There were some calls for changes in legislation. In keeping with tendencies shown in the written submissions, one speaker [1960] wanted the Matrimonial Property Act reviewed as its terms are perceived to be biased towards men who, because they are invariably in a better financial situation, are able to recover more quickly in economic terms than women from a separation or divorce. This is particularly true if the woman has custody of her children. Other submissions were concerned about penalties for drinking and driving, and the need for electoral reform to improve parliamentary representation.

PERSONAL SOCIAL SERVICES The most common issue in this area brought up in the oral submissions was the lack of government funding and support to voluntary groups. This is similar to trends shown in the written submissions, and solutions to the problem were also alike. Many organisations wanted either direct funding from the state or indirect funding in the form of tax relief for voluntary workers and agencies, which would also upgrade the official status of this sort of work.

The financial situation of voluntary organisations was seen by such groups to affect the quality of assistance available to their clients. One marriage guidance group felt their counselling service would become inaccessible to many clients if fees were to be increased. The quality of service available would also be affected; it was felt that there were not enough Maori counsellors to meet the needs of Maori clients [442].

The role of support groups in relation to professional social services was also of concern. Most groups felt they were performing an important and necessary function which was often not specifically catered for by welfare services, and by their own nature as voluntary agencies could not guarantee that a monitoring process would be consistent. One support group [291]claimed that professional health services did not serve rural areas sufficiently with regards to anorexia and bulimia, and felt there was an urgent need for more public information in this area. It was often stated that with more funding, voluntary groups could bridge the gaps in professional social services.

The current trend towards mainstreaming and community care was addressed by some submissions. The potential lack of assessment and monitoring was of concern to one speaker:

> The DSW has stated that they are relying on the community to take the overflow. The community can't cope with what they've already got. Anyway who is the community? [96]

Many believed that there were not enough resources or trained personnel to cope with the increased stress voluntary groups would be faced with if this were to become an established policy.

ENERGY Only five oral submissions appeared on the database dealing with energy. The Ministry of Energy in its preliminary submission outlines the role and necessity of energy in society and how it should be administered [114]. A larger number of oral submissions were concerned about high electricity and gas prices, especially as they affected the elderly [921, 3351].

EQUALITY OF THE RACES Most submissions on this issue agreed that New Zealand's social policies should reflect either the biculturalism or the multiculturalism of its populace. At present this is not happening enough to redress imbalances. In some cases attempts have been hampered by conflicting aspects of officialdom. The oral submissions were generally quite positive about attempts at affirmative action for ethnic minorities, and submissions complaining about negative aspects of such policies were not often heard at the oral hearings, though they occurred regularly among the written submissions.

Whether New Zealand's social policies should be based on multicultural rather than bicultural grounds was addressed by the Ethnic Affairs Council of Wellington:

> . . . biculturalism is a philosophy but multiculturalism is the reality . . . The genius of multiculturalism is that all the concerns of Maoridom can be accommodated within it. The tragedy of biculturalism is that it is hypercritical, racist and operates to the detriment of others by not only putting Maoridom first but excluding from consideration all other cultures. [2645]

Other submissions mentioned that Maoris are a disadvantaged group in our society and that increasing bicultural policies and institutions was not being racist against non-Maoris but was:

> . . . trying to be pro-Maori, to try and lift Maori up to an equivalent status at least to our Pakeha counterparts. [2302]

The democratic process was also seen to hinder the progress of minority groups by its very structure, so affirmative action is seen as righting wrongs and redressing imbalances rather than guaranteeing preferential treatment for one group over all others.

Concern was expressed in many submissions that inequities in social policy seemed to polarise racial groups. Many noted that

unemployment is highest among Maoris, and problems such as inadequate housing are more manifest in Maori and Pacific Island groups. This tendency was generally seen to be the result of the lack of power-sharing between ethnic groups and the failure of the white-dominated society to accommodate other cultures in its institutions or patterns of thinking. [2878]

AGED Concern over superannuation appeared to be the major issue for, and about, the aged. One speaker believed surtax discourages people from working [1491], another that the present scheme is heading for collapse and New Zealand should return to the 1972–75 scheme immediately [2736]. There was also concern that national superannuation is not always able to ease the problems of old age. The speaker for the Hutt Valley Association of Pensioners and Beneficiaries spoke of the deteriorating financial condition of pensioners and beneficiaries and their difficulty in managing. He drew attention to the fact that many were doing without food and heating and made a firm recommendation that the inflation adjustment period should be three monthly and not six monthly and that the level of assets which was allowed before help was available from the DSW be raised from its current level of $1,000 [543]. One submission called for superannuation to be exempted from means testing and no surcharge imposed [2731]. However, another submission advocated income testing of all social security beneficiaries, including the elderly [1977].

Care of the increasing population of elderly people in our society was a cause of concern. A number of submissions referred to the demands and pressures on present rest homes, the anomalies between funding of private rest homes and those run by voluntary, religious and welfare organisations [546], the need to review subsidy levels for church homes as there are elderly people 'wasting away in hospital geriatric wards rather than being helped into rest homes' [564]. A submission from Northland, concerned with the lack of rest homes, subsidies and recognition for the elderly complained that a liaison service between the elderly and service organisations failed because of lack of funding from Government [575]. Another submission supported the idea to help elderly and disabled people to stay in their own homes by signalling when they require help [547].

The loss of social services in rural areas was a major concern to the elderly. The closure of post offices would cause increased expenditure on their part and therefore reduce the value of their

superannuation [2880, 88]. One submission illuminated the difficulties the elderly have in remaining independent when their savings have been substantially reduced in value by inflation. The speaker believes it should be a right to receive compensation for inflation related losses:

> . . . inflation has taken the value of their savings away from them, and that is why they are dependent. [364]

The financial problems the elderly face, particularly as their health needs increase with no increase in benefits or superannuation to compensate, was detailed in one submission [1027]. Another submission was concerned that drug addicts receive a sickness benefit while the elderly do not get free prescriptions [964].

A number of positive suggestions were made to help deal with the problems facing the elderly, such as, the establishment of an agency responsible for the elderly [408]; a Ministry for the Elderly [634, 641]; a Commission for the Elderly [646]; a visit to Scandinavia by the Commission to see how they deal with the problem [639] and need for a commitment by Government to deal with problems of the elderly [625]:

> . . . to ensure that the needs of the elderly are met we believe that it is essential for there to be a strong voice for them in Government. [646]

DISABLED A major theme throughout the oral submissions was the concern with the deinstitutionalisation of the disabled; that they are being placed back into the community before it has the facilities and resources to cope [526]. One submission, from a voluntary group, expressed their concern about the deinstitutionalisation of disturbed children, due to closures of Education Board and Social Welfare homes, and believes that as the community is not ready for the influx, the children will get poor treatment in comparison with what they have currently and there needs to be careful planning and integration of all associated services [96]. Concern was felt by elderly parents caring for a disabled child at home about what is to happen to that child in the future [954]. The Disabled Persons Assembly made a number of requests which reflected similar views held in other submissions regarding the disabled persons' eligibility to an income. In summary these views are:

1. People's disabilities should be integrated with the rest of the community to the fullest extent that their disability will allow.
2. People with disabilities should receive an income which is at least sufficient to enable them to make choices and to

> participate fully with equality and dignity in the normal life of the community. [142]

It appeared that the option of mainstreaming in education is an unpopular one. One person believed it may mean that a blind child would miss out on many facilities and techniques [294]. Others believed mainstreaming would impose considerable stress upon the disabled and caregivers [2299, 391].

Many submissions advocated government funding for organisations dealing with a particular disability such as phobias [946] and aural disabilities [949, 391].

There were also calls to improve the living conditions of the disabled, the need for better access to public buildings, a change in attitude towards the disabled, policies that promoted independence and the need for equity of services, greater employment flexibility and legislation changes in some Acts, that the state be responsible for providing care services and equality under the Human Rights Legislation [365, 391, 392, 432, 524, 1961, 2741].

YOUTH Most views towards young people expressed concern with the lack of prospects available to them, either due to youth unemployment or the lack of parent responsibility. Suggestions were made towards combatting the youth 'problem' ranged from a change in the education system to providing more rights and recognition to the young.

Ideas for changes in the education system consisted of increased access to social welfare officers for children, so teachers who encounter pupils with social problems are able to refer them to these officers [84]; introducing children to courts and court procedures while still at school [3436]; raising the school leaving age to 18 years [2773]; raising the tertiary study bursary to a higher level than the unemployment benefit [2535]; increase bi-cultural education to help change the negative attitudes Maori children have of themselves and their place in society [325].

The issue of parent responsibility was raised by a mother of four children who believed that:

> . . . children today are under a lot of pressure and influences that are not good for them. [922]

She would like to see more censorship of videos and better quality of television programmes dealing more realistically with human relationships. On a radio talk back one person was concerned that there is an anti-parent feeling and parents are being blamed for all their children's adverse behaviour when other factors influence

them, such as school and media [3339]. Another speaker from the same talk back believed that the Government was taking away all parents' responsibility for their children, via the welfare state [3540]. Yet another believed parents should take more responsibility for their children who become street kids [4983].

Suggestions to combat unemployment included raising the school leaving age [2773], not paying the unemployment benefit to school leavers or replacing the dole with food and housing vouchers to encourage the young to find work [5801, 921]. One speaker expressed concern that young people in rural areas find little incentive to find work outside the area as the travel costs are too high [2733]. There was also concern that Training Assistance Programme Schemes (TAPS) and ACCESS schemes give false impressions because there are no jobs at the end of training. The same speaker felt Pakehas were getting the jobs and not Maoris and that land for self sufficiency of the youth was an important issue [558]. Another speaker supported the return of young people to isolated rural communities and spoke of the importance of being domiciled on their own land in a papa kainga situation, operating the whanau as a basic social structure. The Gore branch of the New Zealand Labour Party, spoke of the problems in Southland, where the 16–25 years age group is under-represented due to the migration to urban areas to look for work.

A speaker at the Terenga Marae, Whangarei, pointed out that social policies must reflect the rights of children.

> Children have very little political clout. Often, New Zealand's social policies do not reflect the rights of children. This is evident in the health camp populations which, increasingly, have had to address serious mental health problems in children. The provision of preventative services for children are limited. [570]

Another speaker felt the rights of children are not being sufficiently protected by the courts and another submission advocated child protection teams to cope with the child abuse problem in rural communities [3823].

Other issues raised consisted of the costs of child custody [664], the inaccurate image of young mothers on DPB and the need for more attention towards gangs and violence [4987].

UNEMPLOYED A common topic in the oral submissions as well as the written ones was unemployment, which was considered to be one of the major problems of today's society. Several submissions noted the detrimental effects unemployment, especially when

long-term, can have on the unemployed. A group of ACCESS trainees submitted that the loss of self esteem associated with lack of occupation affects self confidence, which is necessary if you are to consider yourself as a possible contender for a job vacancy. Unemployment also led to domestic disturbances and violence, as members of families were all at home every day with not enough funds to explore alternatives to paid work or to take the family out. This group preferred doing constructive activities to help their community and environment, such as improving road and footpath surfaces, rather than sitting idly at home [2642].

One speaker [5765] said the decline in manufacturing jobs is affecting Pacific Island people profoundly, and adding to the usual problems already faced by recent immigrants to this country.

The high proportion of unemployed people in rural areas is badly affecting communities demographically. In order to reduce the number of unemployed one speaker [786] suggested subsidies be made to people and industries moving to Southland, as the more population an area has, the more industries it can sustain and the community as a whole will benefit from the on-going effects of such activity. At present, rural communities are losing many people who move to cities to find work, and this results in reductions in services for those who are left.

One speaker [402] felt there should be a place for young unemployed Maori in secondary schools such as Hato Petera College in Northcote where they would not only receive further training and educational skills, but they could also gain self-confidence and develop a feeling of self-worth because they would be studying only with other Maori students in a manner suited to their own cultural identity.

An unemployed workers' union believed that education needed to be restructured from the bottom to the top to counter the increase in unemployment [426]. Problems such as illiteracy were commonplace and further exaggerated unemployed individuals' difficulties when, for instance, forms had to be filled in at the Department of Social Welfare. This problem is not restricted to young unemployed people, but occurs to those of all ages having to resort to applying for benefits.

Government policies to deal with unemployment came under scrutiny in several submissions. Some wanted a return to the previous Government's PEP schemes because they suited the economic activities of rural areas better than the current ACCESS schemes [85].

The number of people on the unemployment benefit was also remarked on. In several submissions it was noted that young people are not being encouraged to further their education because it is more lucrative to leave school or tertiary education and receive the unemployment benefit than to continue their study. Eligibility was another item for discussion with one speaker suggesting it was unfair that married women are ineligible for the benefit, when in some families' circumstances the wife's income was just as necessary as the husband's to cover living costs [5766].

CONSUMER AFFAIRS Of the 75 oral submissions that dealt with consumer issues specifically, 56 of those were consumer complaints. However, these figures do not indicate the number of submissions which dealt with consumer issues in a more general sense, or as a small part of a larger submission.

The main areas discussed, excluding consumer complaints, included consumer protection (for example, the need to provide some sort of monitoring of price controls [5776]); the administration of energy [114]; and a recommendation that the Ombudsman has jurisdiction over the Electricians Registration Board for better accountability [4975]. There were submissions discussing consumer choice or lack of it, for instance, blind children who are mainstreamed in schools [294]. Another speaker spoke of people with disabilities who have a basic human right to participate in and contribute to all aspects of the New Zealand community and that the voice of the consumer should be given a special place in determining service delivery. Ways of looking to improve the health care system in New Zealand were discussed by one speaker who believed that health care in both public and private hospitals should reflect consumer needs as opposed to health professionals' needs [2632]. Another speaker believed it is important that the needs of children, the need for funding of preventive measures and an awareness of consumer demands be recognised [2600].

Consumer needs identified by the Service of Development Group through consultation with women of the community included the need to be informed and to share in decision making. Their hypothesis was that if support services are provided for

women then the health status of women and their families would improve [3878]. Another submission advocated that a service development group for women's health be set up with representatives of all relevant professionals, community and consumer interest groups to plan the further development of maternity services [2606].

Consumer rights and access appeared to be the issues most discussed, including the concern to get power and resources to the consumers and providing access to services in all regions [5038].

The main issues of consumer complaints included concern by superannuitants that inflation and surtax will have a devastating effect on their wellbeing [259]; the discriminatory treatment of Maori people in hospitals, funeral homes, government departments, land compensation deals and particularly in the education system [356, 927, 2589, 2573, 2575, 2584, 2580, 2581, 2587, 352]; the inadequacy of Government's unemployment policies [393, 919, 917]; the present standard of accommodation and the need for more housing especially for low income earners. One submission spoke of the appalling housing conditions in South Auckland and how people were 'tolerating atrocious conditions' which affected their health [331]. Other complaints included working conditions [298], the legal system [1971], children's rights [922], fishing rights [924, 926], and the disabled, with a call for a Ministry for the Mentally Disabled [2552].

FAMILY Of the oral submissions approximately 8 percent discussed the position of the family in society. A major issue was how the family should be defined. Many speakers felt the stability provided by the traditional two-parent family unit was crucial to the upbringing of children who would become socially well-adjusted adults, and wanted government policy-making to encourage this family model. Others felt policies needed to cater equally for all the different types of family structures found in New Zealand society today. Income maintenance for family groups was an important concern for advocates of either view.

Most were concerned with means by which support might be given to families. One major issue was the need for the provision of an appropriate caregiver's benefit which reflected the important function of childcare and other domestic work [22, 2641, 3022]. These submissions were adamant that family benefits should be continued. However, there was no clear consensus as to whether

the benefit be provided universally [2721, 0394] or be means tested [2722].

One submission recommended the establishment of a Ministry of Family Affairs [2640], another expressed the need for information on parenting skills [2600], while another advocated the establishment of family crisis centres.

The importance of whanau to the Maori people was highlighted [2574], while another submission stated that the Department of Social Welfare provisions do not accommodate the concept of whanau [927].

A group of submissions from Pacific Islanders highlighted their difficulties in obtaining family support. One suggested that it was unjust that family benefits be discontinued for children who visit the islands for more than a year [5787]. Another suggested that parents of Tongan children born in New Zealand should receive family support [4989], while yet another suggested that immigration restrictions regarding bringing relatives to New Zealand are far too strict and culturally inappropriate [5770].

COMMUNITY ORGANISATION Approximately 14 percent of oral submissions discussed community organisations.

The major concern of these submissions was that funding and recognition of existing community organisations be increased. Some submissions for example, [260] recommended that the business community be involved in a system whereby they directly contribute a percentage of their profit to their local community for the provision of social services and community development. However, most submissions discussing funding recommended that the Government should be the major provider [2602, 2627].

The slow reaction time of government organisations to human crises such as child abuse was highlighted. Community organisations were seen as more effective in dealing with such problems [409]. Many submissions felt that community organisations would be able to cope with the provision of services if devolution takes place, but there was a desire that this be accompanied by efficient resource allocation and funding with emphasis placed on cultural issues [2324].

The deinstitutionalisation debate reflected this with most speakers suggesting that the community could cope if resources and time were made available [3342]. However, some submissions did suggest that devolution could create too great a workload for existing

community organisations [2722] and that the work would inevitably fall back on women [2290]. One solution to this problem could be a re-organisation of work hours so that a percentage is spent in both part-time and community sectors.

Rural areas were seen as being less well catered for in the provision of community organisation assistance. This was especially so in such areas as counselling which required trained workers [442]. More appropriate funding was again cited as a means by which this position could be improved.

Many of the submissions which discussed the relationship between Maori people and community organisations cite this as yet another area in which inequalities are evident. The same situation arises for Pacific Islanders and other minority groups. Community development is seen as competing for the same scarce resources as iwi and hapu development schemes [2297c]. This raises the question of what should be the order of priority for directing funds.

## 3.3 *Nga Kohikohinga Mai No Nga Putea i Whakairia ki Nga Tahuhu o Nga Whare Tupuna*

## *An Analysis of Views Expressed on Marae*

### *Introduction*

Before the public hearings commenced the Commission was advised that Maori participation would be high, particularly if hearings were held on marae. It was sound advice. Not only did marae hearings lead to well attended meetings with high levels of involvement, but the issues discussed and their collective development were so distinctive that some additional consideration, apart from the main analysis of all submissions, seemed desirable. While each submission received on a marae has also been considered in the overall analysis, this paper draws together the views expressed at meetings and hearings held on marae throughout the country and reviews them from appropriate perspectives. Some of those perspectives were developed at length in submissions; others were conveyed in formal speeches of welcome, in waiata, and in the procedures adopted during the Commission's visit.

The decision to hold any hearing on a marae was made only after an invitation had been received from elders. The Commission had made it known that it would be pleased to meet with people in a number of situations, either formally (at hearings) or at informal meetings. There were numerous requests for visits though unfortunately not all could be met. An effort was made to spread the hearings throughout both islands so that the major tribal groups could participate.

There were of course many submissions from Maori groups and individuals presented at other public hearings or mailed directly to the Commission but they have not been considered in this paper. Rather the focus has been on marae discussions and debate.

Most formal hearings were tape recorded and later transcribed but for technical and other reasons, that was not possible on all marae. Commissioners made extensive notes and summary sessions before each hearing closed were useful to recheck the main points and underline themes. There were 639 submissions made during the marae hearings. Many of these were oral (later transcribed or

summarised in writing) but very extensive written submissions were also presented amounting sometimes to several volumes and representing comprehensive historical, social, economic and cultural perspectives of tribal groups. Because the Commission's terms of reference were so wide, many people considered that their previous submissions to other enquiries were still pertinent, particularly when no action had been evident, and those submissions were often repackaged for the Commission.

While due consideration was given to each submission, the Commission was also influenced by the many views expressed outside formal hearing times: on the marae atea, in prayer, over meals, while taking leave, in describing the features and history of a marae or its buildings. Some people were content to let the practised speakers make submissions on their behalf, but often found quiet opportunities to reinforce those views and add their own particular comments.

Marae visits were rich, not only in the numbers attending and in the quality of submissions, but in the total and varied modalities through which aspects of social policy were described and New Zealand's future examined.

### *Schedule of Marae Visits*

It has already been noted, and should be emphasised, that at many general public hearings, a Maori presence was highly visible. For example, at Te Kuiti, the Maniapoto Marae Pact Trust and Maniapoto Trust Board spoke and at Auckland hearings several major Maori organisations made submissions: Pu Hao Rangi, Mana Motuhake, Ngati Paoa Development Trust Board, Nga Whare Watea, Tamaki Makaurau and Te Umere Branches Maori Women's Welfare League, Auckland Branch National Council Maori Nurses, Te Whanau a Waipereira. At Manukau city Maori representation included the South Auckland Whanau Youth Network, Te Kotahitanga ki Manurewa, the Maori Health Foundation, and the South Auckland Urban Runanga. The Waiariki District Maori Council, Awhi Whanau (Bishopric of Aotearoa), Manga Kaha and Te Reo Maori o Aoteroa attended and spoke at the Rotorua hearings while in Gisborne there were submissions from Te Runanga-o-Turanganui-a-Kiwi, Tuhoe ki Turanganui, the Tairawhiti District Council of the Maori Women's Welfare League, Te Parekireki, and the Tautoko Work Trust. The Aotea District Maori Council, the National Council of Maori Nurses and

the Wanganui Employment Authority made lengthy submissions at Wanganui while at Napier, Tautoko Wahine, The Bulldog Trust, and the Maraenui Community Trust addressed the Commission and in Wellington the Wellington District Maori Council submission was heard in the National Library. Similarly at other venues throughout the country, Maori people, as individuals and groups, brought their particular concerns to public notice.

The purpose of this analysis, however, is to review 4 types of meetings, described as 'marae visits', which contributed immeasurably to the Commission's understanding of social policy issues relevant to Maori people. Included in the analysis are:

1 Formal hearings held on marae;
2 Formal hearings not actually held on marae but arranged by Maori groups and conducted according to marae standards;
3 Informal meetings held on marae;
4 Visits by the Commission to marae functions.

Four invitations were extended to the Commission to attend hui as guests: the Maori Women's Welfare League Conference in New Plymouth, the National Council of Maori Nurses Conference at Rongopai, the Poukai at Waahi and the dedication of a papakainga housing project at the Hiruharama Marae, near Ruatoria. At all 4 hui, the Commission had the opportunity to hear debate on a wide range of social and economic issues, to be part of the discussion and to raise particular matters relevant to the Commission's inquiry.

Those and other marae visits are itemised. It can be seen that, apart from the 4 special hui described above, 1584 attended the marae meetings representing 3 major runanga, 8 Maori Trust Boards, nearly 50 hapu and marae groups, numerous community and welfare organisations and several thousand individual Maori. While the majority of marae submissions were made by Maori, other New Zealanders also attended and spoke. Some marae hearings were in fact the only hearings held in those localities.

Schedule of Marae Visits

| | | Date | Major groups present | Numbers attending | Formal submissions | Type of meeting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Burnell Place, Wellington | 21.3.87 | National Executive, Maori Women's Welfare League | 20 | | Informal |
| 2 | Murihiku, Invercargill | 4.5.87 | Kati Mamoe<br>Kai Tahu<br>Matua Whangai<br>Ngai Tahu Trust Board | 35 | 15 | Hearing |
| 3 | Awarua, Bluff | 6.5.87 | Awarua Marae Committee | 12 | | Informal |
| 4 | Arai-te-uru, Dunedin | 7.5.87 | Ngai Tahu Trust Board<br>Maori Women's Welfare League<br>Ministry of Women's Affairs<br>Maori Wardens Assoc. (S.1)<br>Matua Whangai | 38 | 16 | Hearing |
| 5 | War Memorial Hall New Plymouth | 13.7.87 | Delegates to Maori Women's Welfare League Conference | 300 | | Conference |
| 6 | Rehua, Christchurch | 21.5.87 | Ngai Tahu Trust Board<br>Dept. Maori Affairs<br>Dept. Internal Affairs<br>M.W.W.L<br>Nga Hau e Wha<br>Matua Whangai | 55 | 13 | Hearing |
| 7 | Takahanga, Kaikoura | 22.5.87 | Ngati Kuri | 16 | | Informal |
| 8 | Omaka, Blenheim | 26.5.87 | Rangitane<br>Ngati Kuia<br>M.W.W.L<br>C.A.B<br>Matua Whangai<br>Health Dept | 75 | 30 | Hearing |
| 9 | Waipatu, Hastings | 28.5.87 | Te Runanganui o Kahungunu<br>Matua Whangai<br>Rongomaiwahine<br>Nga Tama-a-Rangi<br>Kindergarten Teachers Association<br>Maori Women's Welfare League | 60 | 16 | Hearing |
| 10 | Turangawaewae House, Ngaruawahia | 9.6.87 | Tainui Maori Trust Board | 35 | 5 | Hearing |

Schedule of Marae Visits

| | Date | Major groups present | Numbers attending | Formal submissions | Type of meeting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 11 Hato Petera, Auckland | 9.6.87 | Hato Petera<br>Auckland District Maori Council<br>Te Ngahurutanga<br>Onepoto House<br>Kohanga Reo<br>D.S.W<br>Auckland Regional Council<br>Carrington Polytechnic | 64 | 11 | Hearing |
| 12 Tumahourangi, Rotorua | 16.6.87 | Whanau o Ngati Whakaaue<br>Te Arawa Trust Board<br>Tuhoe Trust Board<br>Minginui<br>Kaingaroa | 34 | 15 | Hearing |
| 13 Tamatea-Pokai—Whenua, Judea, Tauranga | 18.6.87 | Ngati Ranginui<br>Tauranga Moana Trust Board<br>Maori Affairs Dept<br>Tuwhera Trust<br>Kohanga Reo | 35 | 23 | Hearing |
| 14 Terenga Paraoa, Whangarei | 24.6.87 | Kaumatua Committee<br>Marae Trustees<br>Maori Health Service Development Group<br>Ngati Wai<br>Unemployed, Beneficiaries Union.<br>Maunu Health Camp<br>Combined Churches<br>Maori Affairs Dept | 50 | 16 | Hearing |
| 15 Rongopai, Patutahi, Gisborne | 8–9.7.87 | National Council Maori Nurses Aitanga-a-Mahaki | 250 | 13 | Conference and Hearing |
| 16 Raukawa, Otaki | 15.7.87 | Raukawa Trustees | 45 | | Informal |

Schedule of Marae Visits

| | | Date | Major groups present | Numbers attending | Formal submissions | Type of meeting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17 | Waahi, Huntly | 7.10.87 | Tainui Maori Trust Board.<br>Waikato Polytech<br>Kirikiriroa<br>Rakaumanga School<br>Waahi Management<br>Housing Corp.<br>Tainui Awhiro | 70 | 28 | Hearing |
| 18 | Waahi, Huntly | 8.10.87 | Te Kahui Ariki Tainui | 300 | | Poukai |
| 19 | Te Wananga O Raukawa | 10–11.10.87 | Raukawa District Maori Council<br>Raukawa Trustees<br>Te Wananga o Raukawa<br>M.W.W.L (Te Kowhai)<br>Ngati Kauwhata<br>Tu Manawa Taitoko Whanau.<br>Te Rourou Trust | 46 | 14 | Hearing |
| 20 | Awarua, Bluff | 20.10.87 | Kati Mamoe<br>Kingswood School<br>Bluff School<br>Ngai Tahu | 42 | 20 | Hearing |
| 21 | Tutanekai Owhata, Rotorua | 28.10.87 | Ropu-a-Nga-Matua | 20 | 10 | Hearing |
| 22 | Mataatua, Ruatahuna | 29.10.87 | Tuhoe<br>Tuhoe Maori Trust Board.<br>Dept. Maori Affairs (Waiariki)<br>S.S.C. Social Impact Unit.<br>Sacred Heart Parish | 47 | 15 | Hearing |
| 23 | Hairini, Tauranga | 30.10.87 | Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board.<br>Tauranga District Maori Council.<br>Maccess Committee | 20 | 12 | Hearing |
| 24 | Waitara | 4.11.87 | Te Ati Awa<br>Taranaki Maori Trust Board<br>Kohanga Reo<br>Taranaki Mauri Foundation<br>Youth at Risk<br>Owae Marae | | | |

Schedule of Marae Visits

| | | *Date* | *Major groups present* | *Numbers attending* | *Formal submissions* | *Type of meeting* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25 | Waihi, Tokaanu | 7.11.87 | Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board.<br>Te Ropu Tautoko i te Pono.<br>Foundation Youth Development.<br>Turangi Enterprise Agency.<br>Dept. of Maori Affairs | 55 | 24 | Hearing |
| 26 | Maori Affairs Room, Parliament | 11.11.87 | Board of Maori Affairs. | 14 | | Informal |
| 27 | Maimaru, Awanui | 12.11.87 | Aupouri<br>Ngati Kahu<br>Rarawa<br>Pawarenga<br>Hokianga Action Group<br>Kaitaia College<br>C.U.B.A.<br>Kia Mataara Resource<br>Te Kawariki<br>M.W.W.L (Mangonui)<br>Kohanga Reo (Kaitaia)<br>Ngati kahu Trust Board | 58 | 22 | Hearing |
| 28 | Otiria, Moerewa | 13.11.87 | Hokianga Values Pty<br>Waimate North Access<br>MATLO<br>Ngati Hine<br>Waimate North Maori Committee.<br>Opua River Protection Society. | 52 | 17 | Hearing |
| 29 | Methodist Centre, Dargaville | 14.11.87 | Maori Women's Welfare League.<br>Tangiteroria Marae<br>Nga Puna Waihanga<br>Dargaville High School Whanau Support.<br>Te Whanau Aroha<br>Nat. Council Maori Nurses.<br>Federated Farmers<br>Dargaville Maori Committee. | 52 | 24 | Hearing |

Schedule of Marae Visits

| | Date | Major groups present | Numbers attending | Formal submissions | Type of meeting |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 Taihoa, Wairoa | 19.11.87 | Wairoa Council Community Affairs.<br>Nth Clyde School.<br>C.W.I<br>Wairoa College<br>Matua Whangai<br>Dept. of Maori Affairs<br>Community Child Care Centre. | 40 | 17 | Hearing |
| 31 Hiruharama, Ruatoria | 21.11.87 | Ngati Porou Housing Corp.<br>Dept. Maori Affairs | 250 | | Dedication Papakainga Housing |
| 32 Rahui Tikitiki | 21–22.11.87 | Te Runanga o Ngati Porou.<br>Tairawhiti District Maori Council.<br>Waiapu Hospital Board<br>Ngati Porou Outdoor Pursuits.<br>Te Reo Irirangi o Ngati Porou.<br>Te Puna Waihanga. | 53 | 26 | Hearing |
| 33 Ngati Kapo, Auckland | 24.11.87 | Ngati Kapo | 24 | 4 | Hearing |
| 34 Tahuna, Waiuku | 26–27.11.87 | Ngati Te Ata<br>Huakina Development Trust.<br>Ngati Tama-oho | 45 | 14 | Hearing |
| 35 Manuariki | 12.1.88 | Kotahitanga Church Building Society.<br>Manuariki Marae Trustees. | 122 | 4 | Hearing |

## *A Framework to Analyse Submissions*

Submissions may be analysed in various ways according to particular interests. The main analysis of all submissions follows the pattern adopted in the Commission's report by examining, phase by phase, the issues as they relate to the standards and foundations, the Treaty of Waitangi, women, work, wellbeing, the inter-relationship of social and economic processes, and so on.

One method of prioritising marae submissions would have been to rank them according to their frequency. Some issues were raised at almost every marae: the Treaty of Waitangi, Kohanga Reo, employment policies, Matua Whangai, health, education and housing. That approach, however, tends to ignore relative emphasis and balance as well as the extremely pertinent comments made on marae in addition to the formal submissions. Invariably the Commission was offered a broad and perceptive view from elders and leaders during the formal welcome and later when the hearing was being concluded. Those views and opinions, while not recorded as submissions nonetheless should be considered and this paper seeks to incorporate them within the total perspective that characterised marae hearings and meetings.

For convenience, the analysis is divided into 3 sections:

1 Concerns of today;
2 Objectives for social policy;
3 Directions for tomorrow.

At every hearing those 3 sections were noted and some submissions addressed them all: problems currently faced, the main objectives that should be part of all policies, and the methods by which aims could be realised. A pattern to marae hearings evolved. Many submissions dwelt on particular problems or concerns that could not be adequately understood outside the broader framework woven as the hearing progressed and evident only when the contributions of all speakers were integrated. Some people introduced themes, others qualified them, so that the overall conclusions had a collective focus. It was a process that brought out the limitations of an analysis based on individual submissions alone, without reference to the context in which they were made. It was further reason for considering marae hearings in this separate paper.

## *Concerns of Today*

1 Inequality;
2 Alienation;

3 Frustration.

INEQUALITY

*Unemployment* The first public hearings of the Commission were held in May and June 1987 when Maori concern about the effects of corporatisation was high. It was not surprising therefore that inequalities in the labour market formed the substance of many individual and group submissions. At Tumahourangi, John Keel estimated that 80 percent of unemployed at Kaingaroa were Maori and that being 'on the dole' was a new and unpleasant experience for them. 'Work not handouts is what we want.' Freda Rewi had similar concerns about unemployment at Minginui where '98 percent of the casualties are Maori'. When sudden changes occur, like the unannounced closure of a mill, 'the whole community is affected. The land was given over to forestry and even that is no longer available at times of crisis'.

The social impact of policies was a point further developed at length in two submissions, by Merepeka Sims. Tahi Tait looked at the effects of long term unemployment and saw disadvantage for many Maori youth in the transition from work oriented programmes such as YPTP, and TAP to access training. He estimated that 600 positions would be lost. 'Employment programmes should not always be pointed at jobs; success in other areas might be more important for some of our people.'

Te Rori Nathan and Major Herewini speaking at Turangawaewae House and at Waahi, highlighted the consequences of redundancy for the Huntly coal miners. 'The families were left with no work, no support at all. State Coal gave it to the corporation and the corporation dropped us just like that!' 'They know when redundancies are coming on—why don't they spend three months training us, Maori and Pakeha, for new jobs.'

Joanne Murray, a high school student told the Commission (at the Terenga Paraoa Marae, Whangarei) about the effects of unemployment on families. 'People are having to leave home to go and find a job in Auckland and this is a shock for a family that has been so close together and then gets separated. We need jobs, but not just for the young, for our fathers too.'

All marae hearings in Taitokorau emphasised the lack of employment opportunities, the mismatch of training programmes to actual jobs available and the ill effects following short and long

term unemployment. At Otiria, Richard Dargaville discussed training programmes and all the needs of trainees—educational ('illiteracy and innumeracy are high'), cultural ('mono-cultural packages turn them off') and their relationship with the rest of the community ('we need to develop our resources better by working together').

*Education* The development of marae based training programmes such as Maori Access revealed that many trainees had low levels of literacy to the extent that, except for the most menial jobs, work would always be hard to find. The relationship of education and labour policies was often raised with recommendation that they be more closely integrated so that young people would be better equipped to face a technological world. At Taihoa, Hine Hau discussed an educational training programme suitable for unemployed youth and based on approved teaching methods, while at Te Wananga o Raukawa, Te Rourou Trust recommended that 'the system has to be aware of masked learning disabilities. Finance should be available to deal with special disabilities.'

Other submissions were concerned about poor Maori performance in the educational system generally and were critical of the increasing disparities and apparent inability to reverse negative trends.

Te Roopu o Nga Maatua (Owhata Marae) identified several reasons for Maori inequalities in the school system: narrow criteria for teacher selection and lack of attention to 'basic education, reading and numeracy skills; parenting skills are never taught; social earning is not maximised'. They described an alternative school, Awhina for 'difficult pupils' which has a roll of 25, 24 of whom are Maori.

For many, poor achievement was linked to a minimal Maori presence among the teaching or counselling staff as well as inadequate Maori studies programmes including language. Robert Paraki, at Murihiku, requested that the Commission 'have a really good look at the plight of our Maori children in school. There's only one way to sort those kids out and this is to have the Maori people themselves come into the school.' In describing his own language programme at an Invercargill high school he added: 'so far we have been successful but only because we have had a kaumatua who spends a great deal of time with the children.' Speaking at Waipatu, Te Oraiti Calcott expressed concern about the suspension system and the numbers of Maori students involved. 'Its high

time we had Maori guidance counsellors, people who can link the school with the community, not only with the parents but the wider community.' Similar concerns about suspension were raised at the Tokahanga Marae, Kaikoura where it appeared that suspensions of Maori children had increased after (unsuccessful) attempts to introduce a language programme.

Pembroke Bird (Waahi) raised the issue of inadequate resources within a bilingual school: 'an urgent commitment from the Government is necessary. We need trained teachers, many more than the present system produces. And we need teaching resources appropriate to our kaupapa so that our scarce teachers do not have to spend hours and hours printing and producing their own resource material.'

Another aspect of educational achievement was introduced by Helen Wynyard at Omaka. 'The error is not always in the school system. It is also in the home. As a Maori I would like to see a lot of our things introduced into the schools. But more than that, I would like to see Maori parents become involved with their children and to value every educational opportunity.'

*Housing* Extreme concern about the inadequate housing of Maori families was raised on urban and rural marae. At least two problems were identified: an absolute shortage of housing stock and a failure to integrate housing schemes with social and community development. Moana Ranui made an extensive submission about criteria for adequate housing; the need for security of tenure, affordability, accessibility to other facilities, no overcrowding, safety. She was particularly concerned about the housing needs of young people given their limited resources. In supporting papakainga housing schemes, she also saw a need for legislative protection so that security over time could be guaranteed.

A submission on housing presented at the Mataatua Marae (Ruatahuna) made the point that although surrounded by timber resources, there was an absolute shortage of quality homes in the Uruwera. Major problems with obtaining mortgages; inability to build near marae and seemingly unnecessary expenses all contributed to a situation which 'should form the subject of a special inquiry.'

Emergency housing was described as particularly necessary in Blenheim. Ina Power (Omaka Marae) commented 'there are so many young people coming into our district looking for employment but until we have emergency housing, people will not be

able to take advantage of what work does come up. Much of it is seasonal, so expensive homes are not what they need.'

The importance of the home was stressed by Albert Walker at Waipatu. 'The things the Commission is interested in, education, health, justice, welfare; they all start in the home. So therefore we should be addressing the housing problem prior to addressing any other problem. Too many Maori people are unable to obtain housing loans, even if they are working regularly, because they are caught in a poverty cycle—not enough money to afford loan repayments but sometimes too much to qualify for special loans.'

At Rongopai, Eunice Hustler was critical of state housing allocation to Maori particularly in Auckland but was also concerned that opportunity for establishing small rest homes to meet the housing needs of elderly or frail Maori people was unnecessarily restrictive.

Ranginui Walker (Hato Petera) made two recommendations: (1) that 100 percent long term (that is, 40 years) housing loans be made available to all people on the basic minimum wage and (2) a graduated scale of loan finance for housing beginning at 95 percent and reducing down to 75 percent for those above the minimum wage, be introduced at appropriate rates of interest.

*Health* Disparities in health status are well documented and the relatively poor Maori standing was emphasised at all marae hearings. The Awarua Marae Committee was particularly concerned about prevention and access to innoculation against hepatitis B. They were planning their own fund raising drive to pay for vaccines but generally felt frustrated by a lack of information and professional support. Jim Tyler, at Otiria, spoke of a need to shift resources from a focus on sickness to health and saw smoking, alcohol, nutrition and motor vehicles as public health issues needing much greater attention. Margaret Te Rangiita (Waihi) also felt that health services should be more visible within communities. Nurse practitioners and community-based specialist services would enable greater co-operation with homes, community groups and tribal authorities.

At Waitara, Rose Wellington made a case for home care, particularly for the terminally ill. If families were to care for their own, major changes in circumstances were often required and financial and social support was necessary. Aroha Fitzpatrick covered broad and specific health issues when presenting her submission at Ruatahuna. She highlighted hearing problems occurring in Maori children and the infrequent screening services to rural areas. 'I'd

like to see hearing tests come out more frequently, even twice a year. Even when they're picked up, there's usually a 12 month wait before specialist attention can be given at a public hospital.'

Any reduction in health services on the East Coast was strongly opposed by Lou Tangaere at Tikitiki. The development of a responsive health service depended on community involvement and that was the philosophy at the Te Puia Hospital. It was unlikely that an area health board administered 'miles away' would be able to take into account the social and economic circumstances of the people.

The duties of Maori health professionals were outlined by Yvonne Enoka at Rongopai. She described the many tasks of Maori nurses, including their crucial roles in facilitating access to services, and in co-ordinating many activities in Maori communites. Inequalities could be reduced if their full potential was encouraged and not confined to the demands of a sickness-oriented service.

Joanne Aoake (Owhata) reiterated the need to shift resources to primary health care and recommended a state-funded system with salaried general practitioners based at marae clinics. Too many Maori patients required hospital treatment only because early intervention had not been affordable.

Progress reports from the Rapuora Programme were given at the Maori Women's Welfare League Conference. Hepatitis B, rheumatic fever prevention and immunisation programmes were felt to be especially important and the Rotorua delegates urged active Maori commitment to reduce smoking, improve nutrition and increase exercise. Poor access to health care led the Kahuranaki Branch to recommend an extension of marae based health clinics with full medical and dental assessment.

The Commission was able to visit the Health Clinic at the Waahi Marae and Tutata Matatahi described its objectives, emphasis on prevention and close links with other marae and tribal programmes.

*Income* Long standing differences in income, between Maori and Pakeha were felt at many marae to have become increasingly obvious with Maori people becoming progressively poorer. It was seen as one of the fundamental inequalities from which other social problems, health, education, housing, developed. Maori Marsden's submission at Maimaru highlighted the trends relating to Maori economic status.

1 The rise and dominance of investment and development corporations over the production and manufacturing corporations.

Over the post-war-years, production and manufacturing companies have had an exclusive dominance in the top ten most profitable companies, with Forest Products and Watties at the top.

Last year, 1986, the 2 categories were evenly balanced with 5 each, Forest Products maintaining its position at the head. This year, Brierly's, Equiticorp, Carter-Holt-Harvey hit the top in that order whilst Forest Products dropped to fifth, and Watties to seventeenth.

2 The economy linked as it is to the international economy is subject to the international market forces and the fluctuations reflected by the stock market which was obviously an unrealistic state of affairs when the various countries almost without exception were in debt, should crash so resoundingly.

3 There is a widening gap between the rich and the poor. More millionaires have been created under 'Rogernomics' time than in the whole history of New Zealand.

This development has seen the growth of class distinctions which must inevitably lead to class conflict and employer-labour conflict. Inevitably too, race conflict will heighten as Maoris become more deprived, and a larger Pakeha section joins the ranks of the poor and competes for the few jobs available.

4 With the government emphasis on profitability and cost-effectiveness those SOEs that have been corporatised will centralise their operations by phasing out many of their branch operations. The Post Office has already begun this process.

5 Other cost-cutting devices will be achieved by cutting labour costs through the introduction of high-tech. Together then, (4) and (5) will mean massive redundancies and escalating unemployment which in turn will escalate welfare service costs.

At Hato Petera, Waireti Norman noted that 'whatever criteria or social indicators are used, Auckland Maori are an undeveloped people within a highly developed region.' It was a theme frequently heard at the Maori Women's Welfare League Conference when discussion focused on household income; a high proportion of Maori workers earning less than $20,000 (much worse for Maori female), the concentration of Maori in low income brackets with average Maori incomes remaining at 20 percent less than non-Maori incomes.

The basic principles underlying productivity and resource management strategies were addressed in the Raukawa submission:

Rewards from increased productivity (more output for each unit of input) can be shared with:

1 Workers;

2 Managers;
3 Shareholders;
4 Customers, and
5 Government.

It is recommended that urgent action be taken to find ways to alter our wage and salary systems, ownership and profit sharing systems and tax systems to encourage increments in productivity. Examples of actions which are recommended:

1 Searching for well designed systems of worker and manager participation in incremental gains;
2 The introduction of a flat tax rate of, say, 15 percent on all increments due to productivity gains.

Accountants and lawyers would be busy designing suitable systems (and they would enjoy this, the rest of us mightn't). The following benefits would be available to us:

1 The present tax take would be protected;
2 Workers, manager and shareholders would be encouraged to be more productive;
3 There would be a shift out of low or no growth areas (including Government) into high growth areas.

ALIENATION Three themes relating to alienation were repeated on each marae. There was acknowledgement that not everyone attending the meeting was familiar enough with Maori custom to participate fully; there was disappointment that Maori participation in the wider New Zealand society was marginalised; and there was regret that many sections of society were not able to make their views known to decision making bodies. These three levels of alienation were felt to contribute in a direct way to inequalities and disparities within New Zealand society.

*Cultural Alienation* The alienation of Maori people from their own institutions and culture was regarded as a serious obstacle to economic and social progress. Of major concern was alienation from language, a fundamental corner stone for wellbeing. Godfrey Pohatu (Arai Te Uru) lauded the Kohanga Reo movement but regretted the limited opportunities for Maori adults to learn their own language and was concerned that unless similarly nurtured, the parents of Kohanga children would not be able to encourage the learning process, nor themselves participate in Maori society. He outlined for the Commission his own proposal for adult (Maori) education. Terewai Grace told the Commission (at Waihi) of her disappointment in the reducing resources made available to primary schools to promote Maori language and saw it as part of a wider problem which had led to increasing alienation of Maori

people from their own language; 'in the early 19th century the scholars in New Zealand were our Maori people but when the state took over and changed the system, we lost those scholarly training situations'.

The loss of Maori tikanga (values and procedures) was also viewed as an alienating mechanism which diminished confidence and reduced participation. At Waahi, Dawn Retimana raised three issues relating to Maori values: immunisation, post mortems and embalming, the aborted products of conception. Her theme was that Maori clients will be alienated from their own families, and from health institutions, if long held beliefs and values are not allowed expression.

At Waihi, Wharepumautanga Downs was critical of prison procedures which did not respect the importance of separating the various bodily functions. It led to loss of self esteem, shame and withdrawal.

George Te Au (Murihiku) had been denied access to his ancestral land and was thereby alienated from an important part of his own cultural heritage. In referring to Codfish Island and its use as a bird sanctuary with access only by the Wildlife Service he expressed hurt that 'I can't go to my turangawaewae, put my feet where my tipuna walked, walk over it; because the Government says no'.

Alienation from land was frequently discussed with the Commission. It was the substance of the Huakina Development Trust submission (Tahuna Marae) in which the alienating process of raupatu was seen in terms of social and economic deprivation, injustice and 'cultural genocide'. 'The results: our tupuna and their descendants lost land, a place to stand, our livelihood, our homes, our traditional fishing grounds, our lakes, rivers and streams, our bird sanctuaries, our bush, our swamps and our spiritual wellbeing. The psychological situation and its effects on our people had a far more devastating ultimate result than the immediate economic consequences. Maoridom had this feeling of utter despair of justice at the hands of the Pakeha. The result left hapu after hapu, whanau after whanau and in fact, the whole of Tainui, bleeding as we were forced to leave our homes.'

More recent alienating policies were described at Tikitiki, Waitara, Rotorua and Tauranga in connection with urbanisation policies and the rating of land.

Bill Tapuke (Waitara) recalled 'times when there was a directive coming from Government and that was to move Maori people

from the land to the town, because farms were supposedly uneconomic. It seemed common sense at the time but it finally made Maori people landless because although they still owned the land, access was blocked by long term leases which had been arranged for them.' Also at the Waitara hearing was Ted Tamati who blamed rating regulations for alienation of land in New Plymouth. 'Only last year a small portion of the Taranaki County went into the New Plymouth City. It was bare land. They tried to retain it but eventually it became a burden on those owners living locally and the property had to be sold.'

Mate Baker, speaking at Tikitiki proposed that traditional land should attract rating methods other than those used for commercial ventures. Rates on land in some parts of the East Coast had been artificially inflated by the presence of vineyards, and even after the vines were destroyed the rates held high.

At Hairini, Huikakahu Kawe maintained that rating demands should take into account the history of the land and not only its current capital value. 'It is not often appreciated that traditional land has particular limitations. It cannot be readily disposed on the open market.'

Alienation from fisheries was a particular theme at the Waipatu hearing. Joe Reti, Moana Whaanga and Rangi Hemapo were unhappy about government failure to respect, and protect traditional fisheries. The separation of the tribe from the management of the traditional industries had created a sense of frustration with an increasing realisation that an important economic and cultural resource was becoming inaccessible.

The alienation of the family from the wider community, and of individuals from the family concerned Gloria Herbert at Maimaru. She outlined a number of social processes, including the promotion of alcohol and drugs, which effectively reduced family involvement and undermined the crucial role that families had played in Maori society. Madsen Elkington (Rongopai) discussed similar concerns and the need for children to be nurtured alongside other positive community structures, such as marae, particularly if their own parents lacked the necessary skills.

*Alienation from Decision-making* Maori involvement and participation in society is under-represented, particularly at decision making levels. That theme was a recurring one at almost all marae hearings. Inadequate representation of Maori people on government bodies, and scepticism about methods used to obtain Maori advice

were raised at Whangarei by Christine Lynden. 'I am concerned about the number of Maori secretariats and bodies that have been set up within government departments. It is more of a veneer to cover up basically a mono-cultural bureaucracy. What is needed is true power sharing.'

At Hato Petera, three submissions dealt with Maori representation in specific situations. The Auckland District Maori Council recommended 'that community committees be established in local areas to liaise with the Departments of Social Welfare, Labour and Maori Affairs to establish community work programmes that are not only useful but personally fulfilling as well'. W. Norman concluded that 'Maori people should be represented on all important government organisations such as regional authorities, harbour boards and hospital boards. These bodies need to become more sensitive to Maori needs. From experiences at the Auckland Regional Authority (A.R.A.), it is essential that Maori representation be legislated for, that it is assured rather than based on the vagaries of political elections.' Titewhai Harawira itemised a number of opportunities for hospital boards to demonstrate partnership and recommended that 'any area health board should have at least 50 percent of its membership drawn from local tribes and inter-tribal organisations and these appointments not be subject to elections or selection whereby those who receive the majority of votes are appointed'.

Several marae speakers were critical of the arrangements for Maori representation in Parliament and considered that an effective voice was limited by outdated notions of democracy. The unbending application of majority rule had led to Maori feeling increasingly alienated within their own country. Te Maharanui Jacob (Te Wananga o Raukawa) submitted that 'all those organisations whose policies, activities and decisions affect Maori people, to which Government has power to make appointments, at least 50 percent of those appointments shall be Maori, approved by Maori people whose interests are affected by the policies, activities and decisions of those organisations'. He used hospital boards as an illustration that 'democratic election of members has in the past and will in the future deny a reasonable representation of Maori people'.

Ratu Tibble (Waahi) had other specific suggestions. 'I am concerned about Maori representation and would apply a 15 percent requirement to all our institutions. It is a visionary requirement

rather than a short term one but it is something within grasp that we should work towards—at all levels and in all systems. Only 15 percent Maori in prisons; 15 percent Maori on university staff; 15 percent Maori on all local authorities; 15 percent (only) of school suspensions should be Maori.'

The process by which decisions are made and policies formed alienates many Maori people. This conclusion was often illustrated by reference to the composition of the Commission (one Maori, no Maori women) and its terms of reference. Timi Maipi, at Waahi, asked the Commission, 'How many of you are Maori? I come back to the point that a document was signed between two people. How are people appointed to a Commission? If the principles of the Treaty are important why is partnership not seen in the Commission itself?' At Awarua, Stephen Bragg asked a similar question and gave his view that 'with the Treaty in mind, and partnership, there should be more Maori Commissioners up there'. At Raukawa, the response to the Terms of Reference of the Commission concluded 'we are deeply disappointed, and we protest almost to the point of refusing to acknowledge the Commission's existence, because the principles of partnership and bicultural development of the Treaty of Waitangi were denied by the Crown in the:

1 'Drafting of the Commission's terms of reference;
2 Selection of the the membership of the Commission.'

Similar considerations were seen to apply in other situations. The amalgamation of local authorities, for example and the closure of post offices did not appear to respect Maori social structures and tribal boundaries. The Tangiteroria Marae Trustees (Dargaville) were 'concerned in regard to the closure of the local post office and Tangiteroria shop. The marae is in the process of erecting Kaumatua flats and we need to be assured that essential services are maintained. We the tangata whenua deplore the fact that the cultural aspect is overlooked and that we were not given this information earlier, before our plans were advanced.'

At Maimaru, Rima Edwards maintained that the Hokianga had its own identity, 'a separate spiritual reality' which would be diminished by amalgamation. Proposals for a 'bigger authority' had not been well canvassed within the community, there was little local support for them, and no guarantee of any material or cultural advantages. Toni Herewini (Mataatua, Ruatahuna) pointed out the incongruity between Government and tribal boundaries. 'Some social services centre on Whakatane, others on Rotorua. None

appear to recognise the Tuhoe reality or the distances involved in travelling so far in opposite directions. Health services are also split so we can never make smooth arrangements for consultation or partnership. If the departments cannot agree it might be better to acknowledge the boundaries that have existed in New Zealand for hundreds of years.'

The Chairman of the Tainui Trust Board (Hare Puke) expressed his concern at Waahi that widespread alienation of Maori people had occurred through imprisonment, youth policies which were discriminatory, and a type of democracy which was 'used to intimidate and castigate rather than support and encourage'.

FRUSTRATION OF EXPECTATION The Commission was received on all marae with respect, hospitality and genuine regard. At the same time there was a high degree of scepticism about the value of making submissions and the likelihood of fundamental changes ever being made to alter the position of Maori. Over the years, and particularly in recent times, there have been a number of official inquiries and considerable consultation with community groups. The Committee inquiring into a Maori perspective within the Department of Social Welfare visited many marae; the Royal Commission on Electoral Reform held five hearings on marae; the Justice Department Report, Whainga i te Tika drew heavily on Maori opinion as did the Department of Social Welfare Task Force on Benefits and the Education Department's curriculum review.

Not unexpectedly there was a degree of confusion about the multitude of separate but related inquiries and the Royal Commission on Social Policy, taking a broad overview, was often seen to be dealing with matters already covered. It led to two impressions: either the earlier submissions (to other inquiries) had not been taken seriously and needed to be restated, or the earlier submissions had been lost to departmental records and were no longer accessible for research.

Consultation fatigue, analysis paralysis and submission depression were terms frequently used to convey a sense of weariness and futility in the face of 'yet another' inquiry.

At Arai-te-uru, Andy Philips expressed it this way: 'For years I and many hundreds of others, have been making suggestions and passing remits in reference to the social wellbeing of the people. Recommendations have been made but they've been left hanging in the air. I urge this Commission to act to the best of their ability to produce answers to what has been spoken to from the floor'.

Barney Taiapa was less optimistic; 'the Commission will come up with the findings of the people from the Bluff right up to North Auckland. All of our people are saying this, saying that. They'll put out a book but it will just become another book on your shelves. The problem will still be there.'

Christine Te Ariki had similar misgivings when making her submission at Waipatu. 'I doubt there is anything new in our submissions. We've heard it all before. We've bared our souls before other Commissions like the Social Welfare Puao-te-ata-tu and although there is commitment to change, whose terms are the changes being made from? Once again it's going to come from the top down.' One of the speakers with a delegation from Whangarei churches, Grant Bergan, indicated that there was 'a growing cynicism among Maori people. In the last five years numerous groups have toured the country to consult with the people, but they have yielded little or no results. The unfortunate thing is that the reports themselves have contributed in a negative way to the integrity of those people involved in making submissions. I want to say that it is dangerous folly to expect us to suffer these indignities time and again and so it is that we look to the Royal Commission on Social Policy to convey to the Government once again the cry of the tangata whenua for justice within our country, for the right to control our own land, for a right to share in the decisions which affect our future, and just as importantly the right to share the power.'

More longstanding frustration, however, was related to a perceived lack of progress over several decades. George Te Au (Murihiku) thought that the concerns of today were essentially the same that had worried his parents. 'The problems that we are pushing today were pushed in 1840. I can remember around 1930 going to the Maori Land Court with my Taua and Poua and they were on about the same things that we're talking about now.'

Others saw contemporary social turmoil as a reflection of frustration and unmet expectations. Robert Mahuta (Waahi) sounded a sombre note. 'I believe that the frustration within our people is going to be such that if political insensitivity continues much longer then the people who are trying to provide advice to both the Government and our own people will not be responsible for what our young people will vent on society in frustration.'

New ventures and raised hopes had sometimes led on to frustration when programmes did not deliver or were inadequately serviced. Matua Whangai, for example, had generated excitement, enthusiasm and the promise for a shift from negative institutional interventions to positive preventative strategies. But insufficient resources and administrative obstacles had created disillusionment. At the Maori Women's Welfare League Conference the tripartite base of Matua Whangai was seen to remove 'vibrancy and leadership', as well as creating misunderstanding about funding and accountability. The Tu Manawa Taitoko Whanau Support Group (Raukawa) raised other frustrations relating to an apparent conflict over models, a clash between a community support model and an iwi development model.

The rapid emergence of the Kohanga Reo movement was often seen as a sign of Maori vitality, thwarted somewhat by a primary school system unable to keep pace or provide continuity in language development. Parental enthusiasm often turned to frustration. Marama Furlong (Judea Marae, Tauranga) was concerned that children from 16 Kohanga Reo in the area went to primary schools which together had only one Kai-arahi, and at that stage no bilingual school. The same issue was raised at Maimaru by the Kaitaia Kohanga Reo Trust Training Branch. Gains made in language at Kohanga were unlikely to be continued, for most children, once they reached primary school. Only one school in that area was able to address the need seriously.

One further source of frustration, and it was mentioned often to the Commission, was the perceived slowness in implementing findings of the Waitangi Tribunal. At Tahuna, and at Waitara, Nganeko Minhinnick and Aila Taylor respectively, described their deepening pessimism as environmental pollution continued, despite specific Tribunal recommendations made some years previously. A submission from Rangi Nicholson (Te Wananga o Raukawa) noted only partial response to the Tribunal's findings as they related to te Reo Maori. He saw urgency in the situation and recommended that 'a Royal Commission on the full revival of the Maori language, based on the principles of partnership and bicultural development of the Treaty of Waitangi, be established in 1989 and which should report to Government no later than June 1990—the 150th year commemoration of the signing of the bilingual Treaty of Waitangi.'

Another Royal Commission to deal with Maioro, a block of land which Ngati Te Ata claimed should not be mined because of its spiritual associations, was recommended at Tahuna by Alex Kaihau. He too had exhausted other avenues and felt unable to have the seriousness of that situation recognised.

This section 'The concerns of today' has introduced some of the issues identified by people attending the marae hearings. The intention was not to compile a detailed list of problems and difficulties, but to convey something of the feeling and the depth of concern which was so openly shared with the Commission.

## *Objectives for Social Policy*

The promotion of social wellbeing has been identified as an overall objective for social policies. Submissions heard at marae hearings were in accord with that aim but adopted a distinctly Maori view point that affirmed the importance of culture to wellbeing.

Social policies cannot be considered outside the broadest of social, economic and environmental contexts. While there are many similarities in the economic and social structures of all societies, the differences are significant enough to warrant some examination of essential cultural values at least as they pertain to the formulation of social policy.

During the marae hearings and meetings, the Commission learned some of the basic Maori values upon which traditional New Zealand society was built, and discovered that many of these were widely regarded as central to contemporary beliefs and to future aspirations.

PRINCIPLES Three principles central to social policy underlay many of the specific issues raised in submissions. They were stressed, in the formal speeches of welcome and were further evident in the way marae meetings were conducted.

1 In all social policies spiritual and material dimensions must apply (spirit).

2 The wellbeing of people can only be assessed in the context of the group, the environment, and the associated cultural values (interdependence).

3 Time is essential to wellbeing; it should enable rather than constrain. Social policies need to reflect the past, the present, and equally the future.

These three principles—spirit, interdependence, time—were applied by speakers to the foundations of social policy and to those human qualities essential to wellbeing.

FOUNDATIONS While various foundations for society and social policy have been described, the marae hearings invariably gave emphasis to Te Ao Turoa, Turangawaewae, Whanaungatanga and Taonga-tuku-iho—the environment, a place of security, the bonds of kinship, cultural heritage. If social wellbeing is an aim of social policy, then all foundations should be enhanced in a co-ordinated, and holistic manner. Submissions frequently assessed the impact of social policies according to the positive or negative effects they had on those particular foundations.

*Te Ao Turoa* The inter-relationship of people with their land, forest, rivers, fisheries, and lakes was regarded as critical for effective and efficient social and economic policies and the Commission was advised to consider Maori people as an integral part of that wider environment.

Te Runanga o Ngati Porou (Tikitiki) placed strong emphasis on land in their submission. Of particular concern were Part 24 Development Schemes, incorporations and trust, family lands, reserves. The protection of land was seen as a matter for urgent government action, with a need to recognise the 'protective clauses afforded by the Treaty'.

The relationship of poor social standing to land loss was central to the Auckland District Maori Council's submission (at Hato Petera):

> land, the very basis of tribal identity was alienated by its transformation into a commodity for sale in the market place. In contradiction of the promise of Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi to protect the Chieftainship of the land, 3 million acres were confiscated after the Land Wars of 1860. A further 13 million acres were alienated in the North Island by legal theft through the operations of Native Land Court. The social consequences of these policies which were pursued right up to 1970 are:
>
> 1 Economic impoverishment of the Maori who in our time is now a charge on the state as recipient of welfare and unemployment benefits.
>
> 2 Educational failure leading to school dropout and the creation of the deculturated brown proletariat.

3 Urbanisation leading to loss of tribal and extended family mechanisms for social control and of social anomie. Its gross manifestations are street kids, gangs and one of the highest imprisonment rates in the world.

The Mahia Maori Committee and Te Whanau o Rongomaiwahine, at the Waipatu Marae, focused on the rights of tribes to traditional fisheries and raised two significant concerns: Kaimoana are not for the use of individuals but are for the tribe as a whole; government (conservation) departments have not consulted adequately with tribal authorities in the past and have not recognised the tangitu line, within which tribal interests are paramount.

They strongly advocated more active measures to identify resources which have cultural and historical importance to the Maori of the district, particularly the foreshore, and they were critical of a local body which had allowed depletion and pollution of the Oraka pipi bed.

The close relationship of Tuhoe to their environment was a recurring theme in their several submissions (Mataatua Marae).

> In acknowledging traditional or customary rights and uses of resources of forests, lakes and rivers, these should be identified with particular hapu (subtribes) and whanau (families) who act as kaitiaki, trustees. Such rights and uses are not defined as Maori rights in general.
>
> Traditional rights of Tuhoe' should be based upon customary use and should include:
>
> 1 The right to hunt, take or use for cultural and personal needs;
> 2 The right to hunt using horses and dogs;
> 3 The right to gather various plants for food and medicinal use;
> 4 The right to use tracks that have been used for generations;
> 5 The right of access without let or hindrance;
> 6 The right to build homes, inhabit traditional kainga (places of abode).
>
> These rights to be without permit, charges or restrictions and to be applicable over all areas of Te Urewera including areas of special status (such as wilderness areas). Tuhoe people should not have to feel guilty or be secretive about following their traditional rights and customary use of their own resources.

Similar issues were raised by Tuwharetoa (at Waihi) in connection with Lake Taupo and the question was asked 'were certain lands designated Lake Shore Reserves for the protection of the lake or was it just another means of land acquisition?'

Ngati Hine (Otiria hearing) were disappointed they had not been consulted when plans for a marina were made. Noema Williams, in stressing the need for Maori values to be respected, was adamant that affluence for a few should not determine environmental development, nor should it be at the expense of traditional food sources.

The natural environments of Tuwharetoa and Ngati Porou were described in submissions from James Maniapoto (Waihi) and Joe McClutchie (Tikitiki) as ideal for sport, recreation, and outdoor education and 'should be preserved for the future health of our people'.

*Turangawaewae* Essential to individual and group wellbeing is the concept of Turangawaewae. It has several dimensions. Ngati Porou referred to Mount Hikurangi as an integral part of their identity; Te Atiawa (at Waitara) encompassed Mount Taranaki in reference to themselves, Ngai Tahu (at Rehua) spoke of Aoraki as a source of tribal affirmation; Tainui people at the Waahi hearing saw strong continuing links with Mount Taupiri and at the Waihi Marae the special significance of Mount Tongariro to Tuwharetoa was clearly evident.

Some submissions explained turangawaewae as a right of access determined by whakapapa, extending to all the traditional lands, waterways and coastlines within tribal boundaries. Koro Dewes (Tikitiki) for example made reference to the depleted sea food resources on the Tokararangi coast to illustrate its close relationship with the Matahi Marae and Whanau-a-Hunaara.

Many other submissions focused on the central importance of the marae to contemporary Maori wellbeing. Collectively owned land, imbued with cultural as well as social and economic properties was seen to reinforce the individual—group alliance and the distinction between the status of tangatawhenua (as custodians) and manuhiri (as visitors).

While various special institutions have developed in New Zealand, Maori social development has been inextricably linked with the marae. Invitations to hold Commission hearings on marae asserted, rightly, that Maori viewpoints, particularly regarding social issues, would be more clearly articulated in that setting and would be more accessible to Maori people.

An earlier written submission from the Department of Maori Affairs identified the marae as one of four raukura (plumes) that Maoridom would like to see recognised.

> In the past, these plumes have been ignored in social policy, for instance, pepperpotting of Maori housing ignored whanaungatanga. At the marae, kinship and love of the ancestral land are tied together in a physical setting that is the only place where Maoritanga can be celebrated without Pakeha constraint. There are over 600 functioning marae in Aotearoa. They are created and sustained by whanau, hapu and iwi with minimal government assistance. No social or economic policy that does not recognise their mana can be truly effective.

Alfred Tarewa (Judea, Tauranga) described the marae as 'the centre of learning'. It was a symbol of Mana Maori and the nurturing place of Maoritanga. On the marae, the spirit of collaboration and shared endeavour was still very much in evidence, the people usually being united through a common whakapapa. At the same meeting, John Ohia referred to the marae as 'one of the few remaining bastions of Maoridom' and saw it as the base from which 'Maori control over things Maori could be planned'.

Hinepare Gemmell, in presenting submissions on health for Te Runanganui o Kahungunu described the marae as a basis and centre for health and made a case for a variety of services being provided at marae complexes including antenatal care, primary nursing, medical consultation and health planning hui.

For Kati Mamoe, the Awarua marae was regarded as 'the most positive social institution in Bluff'. It had given a sense of identity and purpose at a time when uncertainty was very much a part of social and economic life in the town.

Ngati Kapo established their own marae in Parnell, Auckland as a centre from which advocacy, support and information could be disseminated to visually impaired Maori people throughout New Zealand. The marae had compensated for some of the shortcomings in the Royal Foundation for the Blind programmes and enabled the Maori group, Ngati Kapo, to contribute in their own way.

In discussing Maori development, Elsie Davis (Otiria Marae) saw the marae as a necessary base from which social aims and objectives could be developed. 'There, and probably no where else, we can find the true meaning of dignity and plan in a positive way for the future.'

At Hiruharama, members of the Commission were able to share in the dedication of marae-based papakainga housing project and observed similar projects including Kaumatua flats, at other marae including Arai te uru, Tahuna, Waahi and Manuariki.

*Whanaungatanga* At all hearings, submissions to the Commission singled out the family as having a special role for the wellbeing of

New Zealanders. Marae hearings emphasised that point and described three levels of family organisation: a whanau level where relationships extended to include relatives linked over three or four generations and numbering some 60–100 members; a hapu level consisting of an aggregation of related whanau; and an iwi level in which were incorporated hapu that shared ancestors, distant in time. Whakapapa determined affiliation. Whanaungatanga was the term used to give recognition to the links and to describe the social order that they conferred. Submissions made it quite clear that whanau—hapu—iwi systems had their own methods to ensure education, care and support, the management of resources and liaison with other groups outside their immediate purview. Whanaungatanga was seen as particularly relevant to contemporary Maori development and central to the notion of tribal care and responsibility.

Ray Heta, speaking at the Omaka Marae saw a need for positive family development in New Zealand. 'The Matua Whangai scheme has shown that the whanau concept of support can produce good results and offers long-term advantages of a positive nature. The whanau model has much to offer all New Zealanders but it needs strengthening and further encouragement.'

Protection of whanau rights and responsibilities was also raised by Hilda Halleyard-Harawira in Kaitaia. She was critical of the proposed Children and Young Persons Act which 'allows for the corporatisation of children and could rapidly lead to an erosion of family care and responsibility'.

An obligation to care for its citizens was seen by the Tainui Maori Trust Board as a role of the state, but they noted that 'this creates a tension, for in the minds of many the state is impersonal, remote and therefore incapable of the kind of attention and nurturing that lies at the heart of the concept of care. Within Maori society, the obligation to care, manaakitanga, is intimately linked with the community of kin, whanaungatanga and is therefore basically tribal.'

Tuhoe-ki-Turanganui identified family development as a major goal. 'The whanau needs encouragement. We must help people to think of their natural family. Solo parenthood is totally foreign to Maori thinking and practice and would never have happened if whanaungatanga had retained its central position in Maori society.'

A positive role for the tribe was advocated by Malcolm Perry at Hato Petera. 'I believe tribalism is going to be our next vehicle for

social development. Having leaned heavily towards the church, the tribe will resume its own prominence and will be the way by which Maori people will become part of this nation and society.'

At Waitara, Peter Love speaking for the Taranaki Mauri Foundation, saw whanaungatanga as one answer to the problems faced by youth at risk. 'The younger generation often don't have the option of moving back to their family. Half of them may be stranded in regional areas but the other half are lost in cities and are in a worse position because they are also disconnected from their whanau, their hapu and iwi.'

The importance of parental education, within the tribal arena was stressed by Waka Vercoe at Tumahourangi. 'The needs of young families are paramount and deserve attention from Government, but also from our own organisations and Maori authorities.'

Mere Whakatope and Lillian Adsett (Taihoa, Marae) discussed parenting roles in the context of whanau and hapu responsibilities. They thought it particularly important that those roles should not be undermined by legislation and that the supportive and protective functions of whanau should be respected during legal proceedings and inquiries. If parents themselves were not available, whanau parents should be consulted.

*Taonga Tuku Iho* Cultural heritage is the matrix upon which people are able to develop skills and values in order to meet the challenges of the modern world. Usually knowledge from earlier generations is incorporated without conscious effort and may even be taken for granted. When cultures mix, however, some traditions are suppressed and can only become accessible if they are actively fostered and re-developed. Submissions to the Commission recognised the endangered nature of some aspects of Maori culture and recommended policies of positive promotion and deliberate protection. They linked the demise of language, for example, to low self esteem and social maladjustment, and the lack of respect for knowledge with educational underachievement and cultural abuse.

Patrick Heremaia (at Hato Petera) was concerned about the preservation of Maori authenticity. 'What I strongly advocate is the establishment of tribal and urban whare wananga or centres of learning that preserve the kaupapa Maori and the philosophy for each tribal group. Those wananga will be the resource centres for all Maori learning. Authority will remain with tribal groups for language, pakiwaitara, waiata; and school authorities would

develop Maori curriculum requirements after consultation with those elders. Our language belongs to our people and should be nurtured by our elders within their institutions. Otherwise our most precious treasures will lie in polytechs, schools and universities with drastic disadvantage to Maori people.'

A centre of learning, Te Wananga o Raukawa was the venue for one hearing. It was described to the Commission as a tribal resource with objectives relating to the promotion of research and study into the origins, history, literature and contemporary developments of Ngati Raukawa, Ngati Toa and Te Atiawa. The submission from Pu Hao Rangi listed a number of aims and objectives including the establishment of the Maori resource centre based on Maori tikanga and under Maori control.

'A clash of cultural values is a cause of considerable inequity for Maori people.' Sir James Henare made this observation in his submission at Otiria. 'The relationship of the state to Maori people must strive for greater balance between individualism and collectivism and the values of acquisitiveness must often be seen to clash with a basic Maori value: aroha. Can Maori people overnight leave their traditions and become members of a nuclear family tomorrow? The culture of the people will live, come what may and language will always be a key to that survival. The role of Kohanga Reo in the process cannot be underestimated.'

Other cultural clashes were identified. At Waitara and Taihoa, the application of GST to koha was seen as inappropriate particularly when it required the separation of 'catering costs' from the wider understandings of koha: its obligations based on historical association, acknowledgement of the marae and its future requirements, the development of reciprocol relationships.

Kath Hemi (Omaka) was 'concerned about the taking of the kiekie and pingao. We don't have a great deal of this in the South Island and if it is vandalised it takes a long long time before it regenerates. I have seen kiekie rotting because it was picked haphazardly. I don't know what you can do about that one but it is a great concern because that is one of our taonga and if we didn't have it we couldn't have these tukutuku panels that you see in this house.'

QUALITIES There are certain human qualities and characteristics which are conducive to wellbeing. Marae submissions gave priority to those associated with collective values and known to be important in Maori society: mana, manaakitangi, kotahitanga;—

authority and control, caring and sharing, unity. Effective social policies will promote those qualities but policies which diminish them will be, inefficient and inconsistent with the standards of a fair society.

*Mana* The term mana, while often interpreted literally as authority or prestige, conveys similar understandings to phrases used in the Commission's Terms of Reference: dignity, self determination, sense of belonging, genuine opportunity, the development of potential, understanding and respect for cultural diversity. It was not a quality applied to particular individuals in isolation from their social environment. Marae hearings used the concept as it related to the standing, autonomy and resourcefulness of groups (usually tribes) and the way in which they were able to care for their own people, negotiate with their neighbours and develop the physical and cultural resources passed down from ancestors. The close links between mana and wellbeing were noted on several marae and in many submissions.

Te Runanga o Ngati Porou (Tikitiki) distinguished between mana rangatiratanga and mana whakahaere. They had never lost mana rangatiratanga but mana whakahaere, control and administration over their own resources had been steadily eroded. At Waahi, John Ahu spoke of a need to 'return authority to tribal leaders. What we would like to see is the powers of our kaumatua given back to them so that minor offences can be brought before our tribal committees and dealt with by the iwi according to tribal laws.'

Carmen Kirkwood (Waahi Marae) in the Huakina Development Trust submission made a case for the return of confiscated ancestral lands and concluded 'our lands, waahi tapu, urupa and forests were confiscated. Our other taonga including our natural waters, air space, language, and the most precious of all taonga, our people, must receive the appropriate recognition, which is vital for the retention of our mana to enable us to maintain our protective responsibilities.'

Whatarangi Winiata (Te Wananga o Raukawa) noted the differing attitudes of people to the accumulation of wealth but did not accept that Maori people were incapable of promoting economic prosperity. 'We saw in the 1860s and 70s that our people had large acreages in wheat, they ran flour mills, flax mills, owned and operated vessels, were engaged in international trade. The best explanation I can find is that they sought to maximise mana. The goal was

not personal wealth, it was the capacity to be generous, and mana is derived from generosity. Economists have a terrible time trying to explain generosity. It is fundamental though to Maori economics.'

Mange Tautari (Otiria) blamed previous social and economic policies for loss of mana. 'When you are no longer able to make your own decisions, or speak your own language or care for your own resources, then your mana is violated. The main goal in life should not be money, at least not according to a Maori code of ethics. Our goal is to restore our mana: revive the language, stand as tangata whenua and manage our own affairs.'

For Alfred Tarewa (Judea) the symbol of Maori mana was land and until illegal confiscations were made good, mana would not be realised.

*Manaakitanga* Sharing and caring are qualities with implications for wellbeing. They create expectations that in Maori society have a bearing on the way in which the needs of family, and visitors, are met. To the extent that whanau, hapu and iwi have fundamental obligations to people, one measure of the effectiveness of social policy is the degree to which it enhances manaakitanga, that is the capacity of people to care for their own and to ensure that visitors are accorded respect and hospitality. The Commission was often on the receiving end of that obligation and came to learn, first hand, how important it was, not only on a marae, but in the diverse social situations that confront Maori people.

In the Tainui Maori Trust Board submission (Turangawaewae House) the obligation to care was regarded as having different meanings for the state and for Maori communities. 'It is parents or communities rather than the state that give effect to a system of care delivery. Within Maori society the obligation to care, manaakitanga, is intimately linked with the community of kin, whanaungatanga, and is therefore basically tribal.' They added 'Tainui is task oriented, more concerned with caring for the people and for their development than political protest or posturing. Tainui has a strong tradition of local respect for particular hapu, marae . . . and has always recognised its obligations as tangata whenua to all Maori people from whatever tribe who reside within its region. But it has always jealously guarded its historical responsibility as tangata whenua even though it was massively dispossessed of the natural resources from which it could service the needs of its own and of all.'

For some tribes, obligations derive from the fact that they are custodians for the resources in their environment and are fully expected to share with visitors. It is a hallmark of hospitality. But that demonstration of manaakitanga is compromised when those resources are polluted or otherwise inaccessible.

As environmental spokesperson for Te Atiawa, Aila Taylor (Waitara) outlined the factors contributing to coastal pollution and the difficulties the tribe faced in correcting them. Among other things it had serious implications 'for the Owae Marae and other coastal marae which look to the support of marine eco-systems for their mana and their ability to entertain people from other tribal areas in customary manner. Ka haere mai te tangata, ka noho te tangata, ka whangai ai te tangata. People come, people stay, people are fed. And I think that it is very important in 1987 terms, to enhance and to uphold a lot of our traditions which have since been swept away by the tides of time.'

*Kotahitanga* Differences in the emphasis accorded to individuals or to groups when social policies are considered depend to some extent on cultural bias. Western traditions have tended to place the individual at the centre of social justice while Maori emphasis has been more on collectives. At several marae hearings, the Commission learned that Maori wellbeing had been considerably undermined by policies which created divisions and favoured individualism. Kotahitanga was the term used to describe the reverse process, that is the fostering of unity and group cohesion. The comparison was often made between policies which advocated individual competition (and were an anathema to Maori thinking) and those which stressed co-operation and consensus.

The Manuariki submission saw an undermining of kotahitanga in the origins of the Maori Land Court:

> . . . constituted for the following principal purposes:
>
> 1 To settle and define the proprietory rights of the Maori 'inter se' in the lands held by them under their customs and usages;
>
> 2 To convert the Maori customary title into a title cognisable under English law;
>
> 3 To facilitate dealings with Maori lands and the peaceful settlement of the country;
>
> 4 To remedy the invidious position of the Crown.

At Hairini, Brown Reweti and Wiremu Ohia led a discussion on individual and group rights, with respect to land. Traditionally

land was held 'in trusteeship' by successive generations but provision for separate titles had accelerated individualisation and it had become extremely difficult to ensure that a perpetual title was held by trustees on behalf of the tribe. They favoured a system which recognised individual rights to usage (deriving from family) but not to ownership. Peggy Wetini agreed that individuals within a tribe had rights of their own but the whanau as a group had other collective rights. Multiple ownership of land was seen to present problems to local authorities more than to Maori owners and the method of collecting rates was given as an example. The onus should be on the rating authorities to identify the owners and apportion rating responsibility, rather than simply sending a rate demand to one owner who would be expected to act on behalf of all owners.

The Tainui Maori Trust Board (Turangawaewae House) provided the Commission with some cultural understanding and analysis of the Terms of Reference.

> To reach an understanding of principles one must seek to understand the deep structure of basic values which lay behind Maori society in classical times, which helped the people keep direction as they steered their way through the adversities of the loss of land, warfare, decimation through disease and the destruction of their economy and basic institutions and which apply still. The value that lies behind all values is that of kotahitanga, the sense of being whole, of being distinct, of being different, of holding together certain truths which are self evident—in a cultural sense. So long as there are people who call themselves Maori, they will seek to bring one another and all things together in a basic ground plan or kaupapa Maori.

Kotahitanga at a different level was the subject of a submission from Jack Hohaia (Otiria Marae). Intermediate schools divided families and even communities. If there were advantages in bringing together large numbers of form 1 & 2 children, there were also serious disadvantages arising from the splintering of smaller country schools. The Chairman of that hearing, Don Ngawiti, gave many examples to support the statement and added his own emphasis to the demoralising effects on a community when the quality of kotahitanga is needlessly undermined.

This section has examined social policy objectives according to principles (spirit, interdependence, time); foundations (Te Ao Turoa, Turangawaewae, Whanaungatanga, Taonga tuki iho); and qualities (mana, manaakitanga, kotahitanga). Marae speakers concluded that these needed to be recognised, enhanced and promoted

for reasons of efficiency and equity and to enable social wellbeing within Maori society.

*Directions for Tomorrow*

Although many submissions dealt with current problems and the injustices of the past, many more were concerned with New Zealand's future and the policies that would advance Maori well-being. Three distinct themes emerged:

1 The right to be Maori;
2 The Treaty of Waitangi;
3 Self determination.

THE RIGHT TO BE MAORI The feature which distinguished marae hearings from others, was the distinctively Maori way of doing things. It was apparent at formal welcomes, during the meetings and in the hospitality afforded the Commission and other guests. A Maori approach to the range of issues within the Commission's inquiry was also raised in submissions with repeated demands that Maori views, practices and priorities be able to prevail, as of right. It was argued that policies should be developed so that Maori participation could in fact be Maori in nature, with due recognition of Maori styles of management, ownership, accountability and decision making. Criticism was made of those policies which required undue compromise to accommodate Maori perspectives, or which saw Maori aspirations only as part of the concerns of ethnic minorities.

The right to be Maori was particularly evident in those submissions which discussed land, education, health and justice and the place of Maori values and skills.

Huia Kipa (Rehua Marae) made a case for the employment, with additional training, of Maori community leaders, a process that would be less expensive and more useful than using Maori experts to train Pakeha professionals. 'We see ourselves as woking better with our own people because the racial barrier is not there. When Maori people talk to professionals, social workers, probation officers, immediately a barrier goes up because of the helper being European. If they are dealing with their own people the message is direct and clear.'

Te Hata Olsen, also at Rehua, had become discouraged with efforts to assist radio and television journalists to pronounce Maori words correctly and recommended that an increase in Maori language programmes, 'at least 12 percent of the total' should be

introduced with correct pronunciation made a priority. Further, he recommended that 'a group comprised of the same number as the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra be given the same financial resources to perform nation wide in Maori culture. This New Zealand Aotearoa Culture Group could be set up in the same way as the NZSO giving young people an incentive and initiating a positive contribution to New Zealand as a whole, by way of cultural acknowledgement.'

Other submissions were also concerned with the media and the poor transmission of Maori news. At Murihiku, Robert Paraki considered that local radio and television should include Maori news in its regular broadcasts and complained that 'not once has our regional television news contained items of local Maori interest. It prevents us from keeping in touch with ourselves and fails to recognise that what we are interested in, is not the same as others in our community.'

At Judea, Whare-angiangi Pita, Wiremu Ohia and Anaru Kohu discussed Maori qualifications and the need for them to be recognised, particularly in schools, Justice and Social Welfare Departments. 'Where Maori development is relevant 50 percent of staff selection panels should be Maori. In any case those departments should appoint kaumatua to their permanent staff.'

Judy Waititi (Hato Petera) presented a submission from Te Ngahurutanga, an organisation representing ten Maori church secondary schools. In describing the advantages of Maori schools, and their outcomes, she was critical of the Curriculum Review Report's attitude to separate Maori schools at secondary levels and went on to assert that 'we are different people with different aspirations, expectations and goals and we should be accorded the right to determine our own educational goals in the context which best suits us'.

Charles Pirini (Dargaville) supported a continuation of the Atakura Programme in Taitokerau. 'We need Maori teachers in our secondary schools. There are a lot of Maori students in school who need us in there to guide them. Now we are standing up to speak for ourselves so that we can be part of society, be part of the education curriculum and teach our people and Pakeha students who wish to learn Maori.'

Education at primary school levels and the advantages of bilingual schools was a theme at most hearings. At Waahi, pupils from the Rakaumanga School presented their own submissions, in

Maori, and their principal explained the rationale behind bilingual education. 'We're bringing back mana to our children, mana tuturu. We talk about history, our own history, about cultural and ethnic identity and the three R's. Is the Maori language capable of transmitting knowledge, mathematics, reading, science? I give you an unequivocal, unqualified yes. It does do that.'

There were other expressions of a right to be Maori. At the National Council of Maori Nurses. Conference (Rongopai Marae), Puhiwahine Flight saw a difference between tacit agreement and commitment to change. Unless Maori people were able to be Maori, 'at a flax roots level and without needing to be apologetic' then they would simply be caught up in an illusion with rhetoric that lacked substance. It was a matter of considerable importance to health and to the role that Maori nurses might play.

Henry Kingi (Taihoa Marae) gave several examples that made planning difficult for tribal authorities. Seldom did the boundaries of other local bodies and territorial authorities acknowledge Maori criteria. At Awarua, Robert Whaitiri was critical of a mental health system that penalised Maori simply because there was very limited understanding of Maori thinking. Te Roopu Tautoko i te Pono (Waihi) wanted prisons 'phased out' and replaced by other mechanisms which would allow offenders to share in Maori social development.

Underlying all these concerns was a theme of realising potential in a society that allowed cultural expression, without the expectation that Maori values would only be appropriate in limited circumstances.

TREATY OF WAITANGI On all marae, the Treaty of Waitangi was seen as central to policy-making, policy implementation and the delivery of all social services and, at another level, to the establishment of trust and confidence between New Zealanders. It was regarded as something more than a guideline for ethnic and cultural harmony. Most submissions saw it as an agreement binding the Government and Maori people in a relationship characterised by loyalty, protection and partnership.

It was described variously as a blueprint for social policy, the basis for power sharing, New Zealand's only constitution, a prescription for good health and a determinant for future democracy in New Zealand.

At the Rehua Marae, Hohua Tutungaehe discussed the Treaty of Waitangi in the context of positive development of Maori people.

'Although the Treaty had implications for government protection of Maori people, there was no evidence of active effort in that direction and at times the Government appeared to have deserted the Treaty.' He saw it as a Bill of Rights which could be compromised by the introduction of another Bill of Rights.

Speaking for Te Kawariki at Maimaru, Hone Harawira recommended that the Treaty of Waitangi 'not be made part of or object to statute laws, but that it be entrenched as the only constitution of Aotearoa to which all proposed legislation must conform before being passed into law.'

It was a subject also dealt with, at length, by Rev. Maori Marsden and he concluded:

1 That the Treaty of Waitangi be entrenched in law. A Bill of Rights for Maori would be superfluous should this be done;
2 That the Commission support the principle of granting judicial powers to the Waitangi Tribunal;
3 That any further alientation of Maori lands cease;
4 That ways be found to restore lands alienated under Glasgow perpetual leases . . .

The Manuariki submission dealt with the Treaty under two headings:

1 A spiritual settlement (and Manuariki was offered as a suitable venue to establish discussion) with legislation of Te Ngira o Aotearoa;
2 A material settlement with an eight person Waitangi Settlement Council reporting back to the House of Representatives with plans for a full settlement that satisfies all people.

Eva Rickard (Waahi) advised the Commission that 'before you think of anything else, you should think about the Treaty and the agreement between your Government and us'. A similar submission came from Whaia McClutchie at Tikitiki 'the mana of the Treaty must be recognised —it is a way of avoiding dependency on the state and it is the basis of New Zealand's past, and its future'.

Recommendations in the Auckland District Maori Council submission (Hato Petera) saw the Treaty as a covenant for a policy of biculturalism and the basis for a transformation of the social and political institutions with the inclusion of a Maori dimension.

The Tauranga Moana Trust Board (Hairini) regarded the Treaty as crucial to Maori social and economic development and saw its implications for partnership extending beyond central government

and Maori people. They described their own moves towards partnership with the Tauranga City Council and their dual roles of advocacy and consultation.

Sir James Henare (Otiria) had always accepted the Treaty as a solemn and binding covenant and referred the Commission to its implications for social policy. It was not for Maori people only, rather for all New Zealanders and could become a focus for much needed patriotism in this country.

SELF DETERMINATION Enthusiasm for Maori values and Maori management and delivery systems was considerable during marae hearings. Self determination was the term used to signify greater control over Maori human and physical resources, a partnership with central and sometimes local government. Many speakers, in voicing dissatisfaction with present methods and systems, were uneasy about arrangements which would depend only on occasional Maori advice to Government, fearing that particular (for example, tribal) concerns would not be adequately reflected. There was, however, strong support for real power sharing with a transfer (to the community) of resources, decision making and accountability.

Major tribal authorities presented substantial submissions outlining in detail proposals for economic and social reform based on their own perspectives and addressing their own situations. The main objectives appeared to be the more effective and efficient use of resources, and a form of administration that consistently incorporated values and ideals appropriate to the tribe.

A major advantage of a Maori delivery system was said to be its integrated approach with economic, social, cultural and environmental policies being interwoven. This was well summarised in the Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board (Waihi) submission which considered economic, cultural, and social development by trusts, incorporations, local business, marae and kokiri organisations.

Three principles were identified by that Board:

1 Partnership between the Crown and the iwi;
2 Autonomy of iwi, trusts, incorporations;
3 Opportunity/Assurances for example, for values and interests to be provided for in legislation.

Kohanga Reo was discussed enthusiastically at all marae, within the broader context of Maori development as well as early childhood care and education. The Whangara/Turanga Te Kohanga

| Iwi development (Tuwharetoa Maori Trust Board) | | |
|---|---|---|
| Economic | Cultural | Social |
| | Iwi | |
| | Wairua | |
| | Rangatiratanga | |
| | Mana | |
| Trusts | | Marae |
| Incorporations | | Kokiri |
| Local Business | | Organisations |
| Land Development | Mauri | Health |
| Agriculture | Kawa | Housing |
| Energy | Whenua | Employment |
| Fisheries | Te reo | Incomes |
| Forestry | Whakapapa | Education |
| Minerals | Whanaungatanga | Social welfare |
| Tourism | Mahi-a-ringa | Justice |
| Other | Aroha | Community services |
| | Manaaki | |
| | Waiata | |
| Finance, services and programmes | | |
| Policies and legislation | | |
| Central and local government | | |

Reo Trust recommended that the Commission note 'Te Kohanga Reo is a whanau-based, holistic approach to producing and preparing bilingual and bicultural New Zealand citizens for life; and that it is not simply a Maori childcare centre or a Maori pre-school centre.' They also described some operating difficulties. 'The current situation of funding by, and accountability to, six different government agencies is untenable; adaptation and modification of the Te Kohanga Reo concept in order to meet the requirements of these agencies is misbegotten and oppressive and commitment by Government to Te Kohanga Reo, as demonstrated by these multiple agencies, is discrete, irresolute and uncertain.'

At Waahi Marae, the Rakaumanga Bilingual School submission developed at length the relationship between Maori education and tribal advancement; a link which Timi Maipi suggested might be strengthened if the Tainui Maori Trust Board had some greater responsibilities for that school in particular, but possibly, in partnership with the South Auckland Education Board, for other schools in the area as well. It was a point also made at the

Ruatahuna hearing, the need for greater local control and input so that schools were more closely integrated with communities of interest. Tuhoe concern was also with secondary education and the long distances in daily travel from Ruatahuna. When possible, pupils were sent to boarding schools, usually Maori ones, where the standard of Maori language and culture was known.

The Commission often heard that within secondary schools Maori pupils did not fare well and that more Maori teachers and counsellors would make some differences in determining the overall attitude of the school and its curriculum. Rev. Rio Katene (Murihiku) also supported a role for kaumatua in schools though saw some need for education boards to review regulations to accommodate them in an appropriate manner.

Maori interest in university education and greater tribal involvement was heard at Waahi and at Te Wananga o Raukawa. The Centre for Maori Studies, on behalf of the Tainui Trust Board submitted a proposal for the establishment of an endowed college at the University of Waikato, a strategy aimed at 'making an effective and sustaining connection between students and the institution as a whole. An endowed college will act as a magnet for Maori students from the university's hinterland and afford them ready access to their home marae. The college will also enable their hapu and iwi to participate in the life of the university.' Another model was evident at Te Wananga o Raukawa. The Raukawa University, established by the Raukawa Trustees, is very much a tribal resource and offers degree courses in administration, Maori, health, law and philosophy, without assistance from the University Grants Committee.

Two other programmes were given particular attention at marae hearing: Mana Enterprises and Matua Whangai. Economic growth that included the creation of new jobs, was seen by the Tauranga Moana Maori Trust Board (Hairini Marae) as proof of the success of Mana Enterprise schemes involving the Board. They were enthusiastic about the concept, the opportunity for partnership with central Government and the promising early results that demonstrated clearly the positive directions Maori authorities could chart for their own people. Similar encouraging results were reported by the Tainui Maori Trust Board (Waahi), the Huakina Development Trust (Tahuna) and Ngati Raukawa (Te Wananga o Raukawa) who described the programme as making 'the assumption that iwi authorities are in a better position to provide training

for employment and to provide a sound basis of commercial enterprises for the employment of their own people. This model holds great hope for the future.'

A substantial employment programme was observed by the Commission at Manuariki where 100 trainees, tutors and volunteers were involved in the erection of a large multi-purpose building, under direction of the marae authorities.

The provision of social services by Maori authorities was raised often. Matua Whangai was one model, though not everyone agreed that it had yet achieved its objectives. Peggy Tombs (Omaka Marae) submitted that Matua Whangai would be more effective if it were given greater powers so that conflicts with the Department of Social Welfare could be avoided. At Waipatu, Ruruhira Robin described how Matua Whangai had strengthed family ties and rehabilitated alienated youth but successful ongoing placement had been thwarted by insufficient funds. Dave Miller (Arai te uru) highlighted the tension which often develops between tribal objectives and government programmes which are grafted on to them.

At Waahi, Rick Maipi proposed a contractual model that would enable an iwi authority to develop Matua Whangai to the full, rather than being constrained by a government view. 'We have the mechanism in place, the networks, the tribal structure. We know what we want. Let us get on with the job.'

An issue of major concern to many iwi authorities was that the effectiveness of Maori management would be seriously reduced if it were simply an extension of the machinery of Government.

Inevitably the impact of devolution on self determination was raised with the Commission:

1 There was recognition that the devolution of certain government functions to Maori authorities was generally in accord with the desire for greater control and self determination;
2 There was, however, some concern that hasty devolution without adequate material and human resources could lead to failure;
3 A need for ongoing partnership between Maori authorities and Government was seen as a necessary pre-requisite for successful outcome;
4 Maori development was not synonymous with devolution and the plans and schedules of various tribal authorities

needed to be seen alongside government timetables, and respected;

5 Devolution required not only resource allocation, but clear statements about decision making, accountability and control.

Maori Marsden's extensive submission on devolution (at Maimaru) supported a move towards self determination but in partnership with a revamped and responsive Department of Maori Affairs (Kauru Tapuhi), responsible through a Kauhanganui Maori (Maori Policy Commission) to the Minister. He made proposals for new administrative structures at both government and tribal levels and saw them as necessary before devolution continued further.

Apirana Mahuika and Koro Dewes speaking for Te Runanga o Ngati Porou (Tikitiki) had some reservations about devolution and emphasised that its strength should be its people.

> It is important that devolution is actually to people and not simply to those who can afford (because of their employment) to make themselves available as trustees.
>
> Present devolution models (Mana, Maori Access) are typified by large numbers of intermediary bodies. The Runanga should receive direct funding from the Government and should act as an intermediary bank for local (hapu, whanau) projects.
>
> Decision making and the evolution of policies should be from the community upwards, rather than from central authorities downwards. Many policies that are written are not appropriate in rural communities nor are they relevant to all tribal groups. Local involvement in policy formation is essential. It may be more time consuming (because of time needed to reach concensus) but it does ensure greater participation and a higher likelihood of practical policies being formulated and then put in to effect. It creates diversity, an asset, rather than a drawback.

Active planning for devolution was also considered important by the Runanga Ngati Porou:

> PT XXIV schemes provided opportunity for both devolution and partnership. The land should not simply be handed back to people for ongoing management without adequate resources. At this stage it might be fairer for the owners to become involved in a participatory manner in planning and management so that the departmental resources are not 'suddenly' withdrawn.

Self determination, tribal development and iwi delivery of social provisions were not necessarily considered to be cost saving ventures. Indeed, such evidence as was presented to the Commission at hearings, pointed to the failure of programmes which had been inadequately resourced. Several avenues of funding were described:

a transfer of public funds from various departments, directly to Maori authorities; utilisation of tribal funds, including those derived from compensation for land grievances; the transfer of Crown land to dispossessed tribes so that they might provide more effectively for their own.

Sir James Henare (at Otiria) reviewed the many aspects of the relationship between the state and Maori people then returned to his earlier theme, the Treaty of Waitangi. He doubted that devolution could be seen outside the concept of partnership and saw a need for each partner to be brought to similar levels of preparedness before rushing into contracts that might be attractive in the short term and even politically expedient, but that would not necessarily be able to promote wellbeing on a long term basis.

## *Conclusions*

The terms of reference of the Royal Commission on Social Policy required extensive consultation and marae visits were part of that consultation process. The Commission considers that the marae hearings enabled the expression of views, feelings and proposals that were of immense value to its inquiry. It is unlikely that those same views could have been conveyed adequately in other settings or that each submission would have had the same impact if it were divorced from the overall context of the marae and its people.

Not only did the Commission hear, in graphic terms, the problems facing many Maori people today, and leading to inequality, alienation and frustration but positive directions for tomorrow were also outlined. The right to be Maori, the Treaty of Waitangi and self determination were three avenues highlighted on each marae, and discussed with enthusiasm. They were advanced within the wider context of New Zealand society and in the light of the understanding of partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi.

There was a distinct Maori dimension at marae hearings and Maori concepts of social wellbeing and social policy were seen to derive from long standing values and traditions. The Commission was told that three principles, spirit, interdependence and time, should be recognisable in all policies. Effective and efficient policies were those which would enhance the foundations of society: Te Ao Turoa (environment), Turangawaewae (a place of security), Whanaungatanga (the bond of kinship) and Taonga-tuku-iho (cultural heritage). Wellbeing required the promotion of particular

qualities: mana (authority and control), manakitanga (caring and sharing), kotahitanga (integration).

Although the concepts were old and not easily measured, their application to the 21st century was advocated with optimism and with the very strong conviction that Maori values and ideals were required to reverse the current economic and social position of Maori people.

Finally if participation in the Commission hearings can be used as an indicator, then the Commission believes that the marae itself is a vital institution in New Zealand society and that it will play a crucial role in future Maori development, just as it has been an anchor stone in the past.

# Appendix I

## Analysis of Questionnaires distributed by Northland Urban-Rural Mission, Whangarei

### *Introduction*

A questionnaire was drawn up by the Northland Urban-Rural Mission to try and help people make submissions to the Royal Commission on Social Policy.

The Northland Urban-Rural Mission is an inter-church agency set up three and a half years ago by the major denominations of the church. It is a community development agency and its task is to reach out into the community to try and support those initiatives that are occurring there.

Background information for the questionnaire came from The New Zealand Planning Council book 'Social Policy Options'. Approximately 50 key statements were uplifted and used in the questionnaire in an attempt to cover the whole range of issues being faced.

Distribution of the questionnaire was fairly wide throughout Northland, including reproduction in a weekly give-away paper which reaches every house in Whangarei. Through the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services it was distributed throughout the country.

There were differing versions of the questionnaire; some versions included several pages of information reprinted from 'Social Policy Options' while others had only a brief explanatory preamble.

The questionnaire was comprised entirely of affirmative statements, many containing more than one issue, which made it difficult for respondents to discriminate in their responses to the different parts.

Some statements were very general and difficult to disagree with, for example, Q6—'Policy-making should be based on sound planning and include the setting of priorities and objectives. It should take into account the consequences of policy decisions.' One respondent strongly disagreed!

The extent to which responses were affected by structure, content and context of statements can only be a matter of conjecture. However, the results do show a strong bias towards affirmative responses. This also indicates a basic design fault. Although it was no doubt quite unintentional, a questionnaire designed in this way does tend towards predetermining the way people respond, and the validity of the research exercise must therefore be in question.

Respondents were asked to indicate on a scale from 1–5 their degree of agreement/disagreement with each statement as follows:

1 Agree strongly with statement;
2 Agree;
3 Neutral—have no view on the matter;
4 Disagree;
5 Disagree strongly with statement.

This was followed by the statement: 'The questionnaire is based on The N.Z. Planning Council paper "Social Policy Options" and reflects the point of view adopted by the Council as a result of their research over recent years. Space has been left between each question to allow for comments.' Some versions omit the last sentence, others have it but do not leave the promised space, and some provide space at the end under the heading 'Additional Comments'. This is a problem with layout, not necessarily the responsibility of the sponsors.

The frequency distribution of responses to each question and the aggregate pattern are heavily loaded onto the affirmative side, with a few exceptions: 12C, on free state housing; 23A, on targeting by central government; 26, on middle-of-the-road between universality and selectivity; 27, on universal non means-tested benefits; 42, on the individual as the unit of entitlement.

The first impression from reading the questionnaires and comments, was that respondents fell into two groupings: the majority, who were largely agreeable; and a much smaller minority, who were inclined to strongly agree or disagree, question by question.

The frequency response table (Table 1) and bar chart (Figure 1) are accompanied by summaries of comments on specific questions

grouped under the questionnaire sub-headings and the additional comments section provided at the end of some questionnaires.

It should be borne in mind that these summaries are an amalgam of comments from a number of respondents, each of whom may have commented only in a fragmentary way. It is tempting but misleading to assume a more generalised perspective was in any particular respondent's mind.

## *Analysis on Questionnaire Responses and Comments*

(a) GENERAL—Qs 1–7 Questions 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7 have multiple elements and are couched in very general terms. Not surprisingly perhaps, they received overwhelming support in the questionnaire as it was difficult to see what could be disagreed with. Few respondents made any extra comments. Where respondents did do so, their views are included in this analysis. The numbers involved are small.

Two respondents commented that Q5 should not be taken to imply different rules for different groups. On Q7 one respondent commented that if social equity was the goal, then policy must determine economic trends and restrain profiteering and speculation.

Questions 3A, 3B and 4 permitted a genuine choice on one issue. Unfortunately 3A was omitted from 34 returned questionnaires.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On 3A | 67 percent agreed, | 24 percent disagreed |
| On 3B | 94 percent agreed, | 4 percent disagreed |
| On 4 | 88 percent agreed, | 7 percent disagreed |

On 3B one respondent commented that the trouble often lay with the way policies were implemented.

(b) LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION—Qs 8–11

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On Q8 | 91 percent agreed, | 7 percent disagreed. |

One respondent commented that government was not necessarily the best agency to set and monitor standards, another that people should be free to do as they wish so long as it does not infringe the freedom of others.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On Q9 | 91 percent agreed, | 4 percent disagreed. |
| On Q10 | 68 percent agreed, | 23 percent disagreed. |

One respondent commented that state intervention should be restricted to law and order issues, another that it should regulate profiteering and speculation.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| On Q11 | 78 percent agreed, | 9 percent disagreed. |

One respondent commented that government was not the sole party responsible, another that the family had greater responsibility, another that government should fund support for local people who provide face-to-face help.

(c) PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PROVISION OF SERVICE—Qs 12–15

On 12A 94 percent agreed, 6 percent disagreed.

One respondent argued for removal of disruptive pupils and financial support for education later on in life.

On 12B 89 percent agreed, 8 percent disagreed.

On 12C 42 percent agreed, 41 percent disagreed.

One respondent asked what housing is free now, another wondered why unemployed people could not help build their own homes.

On 13 86 percent agreed, 9 percent disagreed.

Four respondents stated health and education should be exempt from 'user-pays', one stated that it was the government's duty to provide for the welfare and security of all its citizens, another that the state should ensure that 'losers' got a fair deal.

On 14 77 percent agreed, 16 percent disagreed.

Five respondents argued for some form of means testing, two that compulsory charges would drive away the poor, and another that the lifestyle of the rich squandered massive resources.

On 15 66 percent agreed, 17 percent disagreed.

One respondent commented that this was the only way the poor would get the resources to access the system, another that the rich and companies should pay a fair share, another that 'user-pays' would produce a 2-tier system, reduce social mobility and further disadvantage the poor, minorities and women, another that 'user-pays' can have a destructive effect on some parts of the economy.

(d) COLLECTIVE OR INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY—Qs 16–22

On 16 97 percent agreed, 1 percent disagreed.

Two respondents said concern for others should be learnt in the home and school, another that New Zealand men should be encouraged to be less 'macho' and more compassionate.

On 17 61 percent agreed, 21 percent disagreed

Two respondents said the delivery system was less important than the service, so that receivers got the service they needed.

On 18 79 percent agreed, 8 percent disagreed.

Responses included: training and a support network would be needed; the state would have to monitor performance; it would be cosmetic rather than real change.

On 19 83 percent agreed, 8 percent disagreed.

One respondent said this would be messy at first but local management skills would develop as the empowerment process began to operate.

On 20 93 percent agreed, 5 percent disagreed.

One respondent asked how this might be achieved in practice.

On 21A 78 percent agreed, 12 percent disagreed.

On 21B 87 percent agreed, 7 percent disagreed.

One respondent suggested central government should allocate block funding and local community determine detailed spending.

On 22 79 percent agreed, 6 percent disagreed.

One respondent said self-help groups could be ineffectual, another that the expertise of national organisations enabled them to use funds more economically and effectively.

(e) UNIVERSAL VERSUS SELECTIVE—Qs 23A–27

On 23A 42 percent agreed, 49 percent disagreed.

On 23B 74 percent agreed, 20 percent disagreed.

Three respondents suggested co-operation between central and local bodies was necessary, to provide expertise, monitoring and a combination of broad and detailed perspectives. One respondent thought there was a danger of invasion of privacy if too much responsibility was given to local groups.

On 24 71 percent agreed, 16 percent disagreed.

One respondent said there would be fewer in need for less time if inequality was reduced and people were trained in practical living skills, another that meeting the needs of the disadvantaged entailed reducing inequality.

On 25 82 percent agreed, 9 percent disagreed.

One respondent stated there should be no extra handouts as free benefits are not valued.

On 26 35 percent agreed, 39 percent disagreed.

One respondent said such a scheme would generate a vast amount of paperwork, another said that people should work in order to qualify for a social wage, while a third suggested that benefits be distributed by local caring groups.

On 27 24 percent agreed, 59 percent disagreed.

Three respondents said universal benefits invited abuse.

(f) PREVENTIVE OR REMEDIAL—Qs 28–35

On 28 98 percent agreed, 0.5 percent disagreed.

One respondent advocated home births as a cheaper and safer alternative to 'high-tech' hospital births.

On 29 95 percent agreed, 0.5 percent disagreed.

Comments included suggestions that it should be part of, rather than the basis for, social policy; that much illness is caused by smoking, drinking, or AIDS and may be expensive to treat, so prevention makes most sense.

On 30 79 percent agreed, 8 percent disagreed.

Among the suggestions were: that it should be means tested; that moral responsibility rather than the cost needed emphasis; there would be difficulties with the mentally ill; parents and peers were often to blame, brewers, cigarette manufacturers, and environmental despoilers and polluters should take some responsibility.

On 31 79 percent agreed, 13 percent disagreed.

Three respondents said such patients should pay some part of the cost as an indication of their responsibility and the costs to other people, two saw difficulties in some cases, for example, the side effects of taking contraceptive pills.

On 32 89 percent agreed, 6 percent disagreed.

On 33 68 percent agreed, 16 percent disagreed.

Four respondents suggested rehabilitative assistance rather than monetary handouts, one suggested money benefits tied to participation in remedial educational programmes.

On 34 94 percent agreed, 1 percent disagreed.

On 35 88 percent agreed, 3 percent disagreed.

The need for monitoring and ensuring democratic decision making and publicity were noted.

(g) CENTRALISED OR DECENTRALISED—Qs 36–38

On 36 85 percent agreed, 7 percent disagreed.

Two respondents said decentralisation required tighter monitoring, another that competent people were essential.

On 37 90 percent agreed, 7 percent disagreed.

On 38 85 percent agreed, 6 percent disagreed.

One respondent said community groups might run programmes for which professional training is not required.

(h) EQUITY VERSUS EQUALITY—Qs 39–47

On 39 96 percent agreed, 2 percent disagreed.

On 40 69 percent agreed, 17 percent disagreed.

Comments included: affirmative action was vital to achieve true equity; it was possible to over-react; the most vociferous rather than the most deserving got the attention.

On 41 95 percent agreed, 3 percent disagreed.

On 42 45 percent agreed, 40 percent disagreed.

One respondent said it would result in individuals in rich households receiving benefits undeservedly, another said it would remove the current advantage in being single rather than married.

On 43 85 percent agreed, 5 percent disagreed.

One respondent said the level of benefit should be set lower than the pay of the lowest paid woman.

On 44 92 percent agreed, 4 percent disagreed.

One respondent thought this proposal was impractical.

On 45 91 percent agreed, 5 percent disagreed.

Two respondents said purposeful activity of any kind should be recognised, one that voluntary work was sometimes more socially beneficial than paid work, another that the social and psychological importance of women's work with children should be recognised. Similar comments were made in other submissions.

On 46 89 percent agreed, 1 percent disagreed.

One respondent said that as the trend was for technology to replace human labour, an alternative to paid work as a way of distributing resources equitably was needed.

On 47 88 percent agreed, 8 percent disagreed.

Three respondents were concerned that the unemployed should have some incentive to look for work, one that caregivers be provided with a reasonable income.

(i) ADDITIONAL COMMENTS Comments about the family, which were relevant to several areas included the teaching of parenting, caring and home budgeting skills; the Domestic Purposes Benefit for solo mothers should be conditional on attending such courses; a need for increasing family benefits; a means-tested minimum family income; a stable family and upbringing should be the basis of moral development and social adjustment.

The role of Government in social policy was covered in such comments as: 'the free market produces private affluence and public squalor as regards quality of service'; 'welfare benefits should not be bandaids for those suffering the effects of market forces'; 'welfare benefits were no substitute for access to quality health, education and employment'; 'inflation and interest rates should be slashed'.

One respondent said the government was responsible for setting and maintaining standards, but people should be encouraged to provide for themselves and their families, another said communities and individuals need to feel responsible for the society they live

in, seven respondents said universal benefits encourage sloth and irresponsibility.

The question of decentralisation was raised. One respondent saw decentralisation to local authorities and local authority amalgamations as contradictory trends, blocking genuine commitment to provision of service based on informal, personal contact and knowledge. Another warned that decentralisation can lead to domination by minorities, privileged groups and parochial interests. It was also noted that some aged/handicapped and the incontinent or prematurely senile could retain more dignity in professional care than if placed at home with relatives who might find them a burden. The able aged were seen as a potential rich resource for community work, and as child carers.

Several respondents made further comments on unemployment. Eight said the unemployment benefit should be conditional on the performance of some form of socially useful work, five mentioned community work, one suggested that local communities select local priorities, two suggested a basic benefit below low paid work but with freedom to earn more from part-time employment. One respondent urged affirmative action to employ the disadvantaged, encourage early retirement and work sharing, one recommended increasing the birth rate as a stimulus to the economy, and one recommended taxation and income redistribution. Five respondents linked employment to self-esteem and responsible citizenship.

TABLE 1: Questionnaire Response Grid

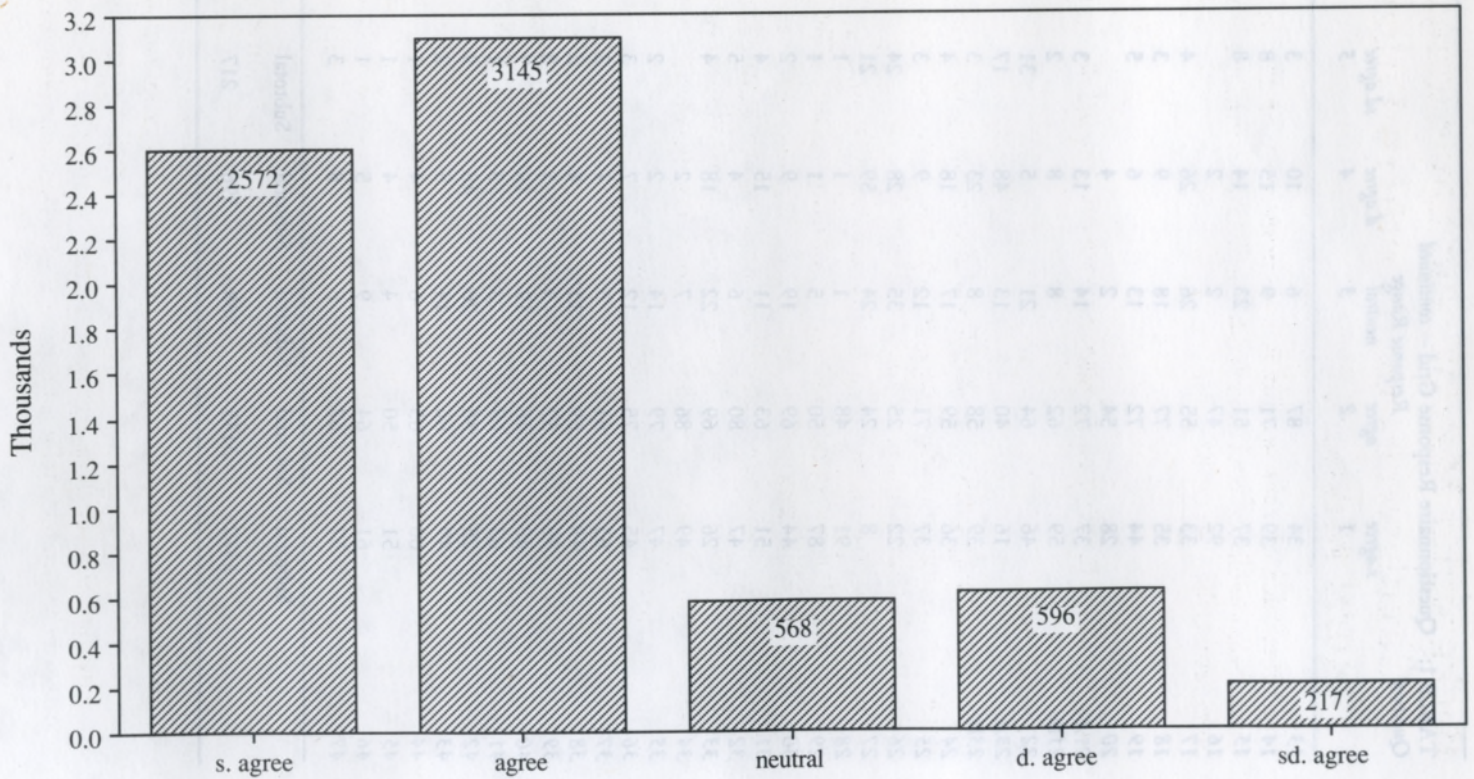
| *Question* | *Response Range* | | | | | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *s.agree* | *agree* | *neutral* | *d.agree* | *sd.agree* | |
| | *1* | *2* | *3* | *4* | *5* | |
| *1* | 59 | 75 | 5 | | | 139 |
| *2* | 56 | 63 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 140 |
| *3A* | 25 | 49 | 10 | 15 | 11 | 110 |
| *3B* | 56 | 76 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 141 |
| *4* | 47 | 73 | 8 | 7 | 2 | 137 |
| *5* | 60 | 67 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 139 |
| *6* | 81 | 52 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 138 |
| *7* | 54 | 77 | 4 | 1 | | 136 |
| *8* | 56 | 70 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 138 |
| *9* | 64 | 62 | 7 | 5 | | 138 |
| *10* | 32 | 61 | 13 | 25 | 6 | 137 |
| *11* | 44 | 55 | 16 | 6 | 6 | 127 |
| *12A* | 98 | 36 | | 3 | 5 | 142 |
| *12B* | 87 | 39 | 4 | 7 | 4 | 141 |
| *12C* | 23 | 32 | 23 | 44 | 10 | 132 |

*continued*

TABLE 1: Questionnaire Response Grid – *continued*

| *Question* | *Response Range* | | | | | *Total* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *s.agree* 1 | *agree* 2 | *neutral* 3 | *d.agree* 4 | *sd.agree* 5 | |
| *13* | 34 | 87 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 140 |
| *14* | 39 | 71 | 9 | 15 | 8 | 142 |
| *15* | 37 | 51 | 23 | 14 | 8 | 133 |
| *16* | 92 | 47 | 2 | 2 | | 143 |
| *17* | 33 | 55 | 26 | 26 | 4 | 144 |
| *18* | 35 | 77 | 18 | 9 | 3 | 142 |
| *19* | 44 | 72 | 13 | 6 | 5 | 140 |
| *20* | 28 | 54 | 2 | 4 | | 88 |
| *21A* | 37 | 72 | 14 | 13 | 3 | 139 |
| *21B* | 59 | 62 | 8 | 8 | 2 | 139 |
| *22* | 46 | 64 | 21 | 5 | 31 | 39 |
| *23A* | 16 | 40 | 13 | 48 | 17 | 134 |
| *23B* | 39 | 58 | 8 | 23 | 3 | 131 |
| *24* | 36 | 59 | 17 | 18 | 4 | 134 |
| *25* | 37 | 71 | 12 | 9 | 3 | 132 |
| *26* | 22 | 25 | 35 | 28 | 24 | 134 |
| *27* | 8 | 24 | 24 | 59 | 21 | 136 |
| *28* | 91 | 48 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 142 |
| *29* | 87 | 50 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 144 |
| *30* | 44 | 69 | 19 | 9 | 2 | 143 |
| *31* | 51 | 63 | 11 | 15 | 4 | 144 |
| *32* | 47 | 80 | 6 | 4 | 5 | 142 |
| *33* | 26 | 69 | 22 | 18 | 4 | 139 |
| *34* | 49 | 86 | 7 | 2 | | 144 |
| *35* | 47 | 79 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 144 |
| *36* | 45 | 75 | 12 | 7 | 3 | 142 |
| *37* | 63 | 61 | 5 | 7 | 2 | 138 |
| *38* | 48 | 69 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 138 |
| *39* | 75 | 57 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 138 |
| *40* | 49 | 46 | 19 | 16 | 7 | 137 |
| *41* | 63 | 69 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 139 |
| *42* | 25 | 36 | 20 | 45 | 9 | 135 |
| *43* | 49 | 66 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 136 |
| *44* | 60 | 65 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 136 |
| *45* | 51 | 50 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 111 |
| *46* | 61 | 64 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 140 |
| *47* | 57 | 67 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 141 |
| | Subtotal | Subtotal | Subtotal | Subtotal | Subtotal | Grand total |
| | 2572 | 3145 | 568 | 596 | 217 | 7102 |

Questionnaire Response Frequencies



# Background Material and Questionnaire Circulated by the Northern Urban Rural Mission.

The remainder of this section is a reproduction of the material which was developed and circulated, on their own initiative, by the Northern Urban Rural Mission.

## *Submission to Royal Commission on Social Policy*

### *Introduction*

The following questionnaire has been drawn up in an attempt to make it easier for individuals or groups to make their views known to the Royal Commission on Social Policy.

The questionnaire is based on the New Zealand Planning Council booklet called *Social Policy Options* (Available from NZPC P.O. Box 5066, Wellington.)

An effort has been made to adhere as closely as possible to the *Social Policy Options* booklet. You would probably find it valuable to refer to the *Social Policy Options* paper It will provide a more comprehensive background to the questions.

If you are dissatisfied with the questionnaire then don't use it. It will have served its purpose if it prompts you to take up your pen and write your submission in your own words. Alternatively you can add your own comments and send them with this questionnaire.

### *Background Information (From Social Policy Options)*

There are some clearly indentifiable trends emerging in society and the economy. These fall into three groups—people, social and economic.

1 PEOPLE Fertility is at its lowest level ever. Population growth over the next 25 years is not expected to be more than 0.6 percent annually. The population will be still less than 4 million by the year 2000. Migration flows have important policy implications in terms of labour force structure household formation patterns and demands made on services, for example health and education. Indications are that many of the young, single, skilled people who have

left New Zealand would return if income and employment prospects were to improve.

*Ageing:* A decrease in the group under 25 will continue with a reduction in youth dependency. Dependency by the aged population will not grow to a great extent till after the end of the century when the present large 15–40 age group reaches retirement.

Ethnic structure of the population will change. The Maori—Polynesian percentage of the population has been levelling off. There will be a decrease in the younger age group while numbers in the over 60 age group will double by the end of the century. Both Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian populations are concentrated in the northern region. They are heavily represented in the lower socio-economic group.

Labour force or supply is expected to grow by 18 percent over the next 20 years and the part-time labour supply by 38 percent in the same period. The demand for labour depends on economic circumstances. The balance between the two will determine the level of unemployment. There is a persistent shortage of skills in some areas. Most of the unemployed will be young, unqualified, female, Maori and Polynesian.

Regional distribution is likely to show continued concentration of growth in Auckland. Retirement migration to warm climates will become an important aspect of internal movement. Policies on regional economic management must take into account expansion and contraction of large-scale projects and industries.

2 SOCIAL TRENDS Household size is falling and will continue to do so. Single person households are the fastest growing type in New Zealand. Two person households are also growing rapidly. Over half of those are married or living as married. Many younger couples are likely to remain childless for longer or never have children. The traditional nuclear family will become less important as a household type. One parent families are increasing rapidly in number and are an important group in terms of their need for support in various forms. They could constitute as many as 10 percent of households by the end of the century.

Numbers of marriages have remained about the same. The average age at marriage has increased. There is an increasing number of de facto marriages especially common among young people and divorced and separated people. Policies will have to take this into account especially because de facto marriages are less stable than legal unions. The proportion of the population married will

decrease with increases in separated, never married and widowed groups. There will be fewer one parent households resulting from marriages breakdown but more arising from widowhood as a result of delayed childbearing.

The family is changing to become more diverse, and may require support and redefinition if it is to retain its underlying function as the primary care giver.

Demand for housing will continue despite low population growth. Greater variety of all types—low rise, granny flats, cluster—housing must be expected to match the greater variety in household types.

Rural depopulation could be turned around in many areas allowing regrowth of services such as schools and shops. In more remote rural areas the problem of providing services similar to those enjoyed by urban dwellers will remain.

Kinship is recognised as a means of giving people a sense of identity and origin. With instability in the nuclear family, wider kin may have a part to play in caring for members of society who need support by virtue of age, incapacity, or temporary distress. Although the state has taken over the financial support of solo parents, the elderly, sick and unemployed, studies in New Zealand show that the kinship system is still strong and probably more flexible than state programmes.

The kinship structure is also more appropriate in the supply of emotional and cultural support. The largest amount of caring and personal services is still carried out informally by families and kin, often with little back up or relief from social services agencies, for example caring for sick and elderly at home.

Employment is a major determinant of status, power and material comfort. Those who have no paid work or who become unemployed experience lower status and become financially dependent on either the state or on others.

If current trends continue people will enter the labour force later and depart earlier; working hours will be shorter and more flexible including the growth of part time work; job sharing will allow for shared parenting, greater involvement in the community and more leisure. Technological change will demand retraining. Improved communication will allow decentralisation of workplaces.

There are positive and negative aspects to such trends requiring responses from government and the private sector. The development of quasi—voluntary work, that is not fully remunerated at market rates, is another possibility.

The challenge is to maximise gains from technological change while bearing in mind both its social and economic implications.

The results of the changes in work, leisure and family life, which have been outlined, suggested that people will use their time differently in the future. Social policy must take this into account.

Communication between groups in society is an area where conflict is present. Cross cultural communication is being improved through greater acceptance of ethnic diversity and the validity of cultural values. Language is a very important element in this type of communication and the recognition of Maori as an official language is likely. The dominant culture may come to adopt aspects of other cultures, for example approaches to decision, stewardship of land and resources. Considerable cynicism is apparent in New Zealand society and an 'use-them' communications gap between the powerful and the powerless. Future conflict must be expected in these areas but could produce a positive outcome if it is contained and channelled in constructive ways.

Of major importance to the school future of New Zealand is the growing emphasis on multi-culturalism, particularly the assertion of Maori cultural values which find expression in the Maori language, place names, resource-planning and land use and which focus on the Treaty of Waitangi.

Changing values have often been associated with the growth of crime and violence of all types in society. Links with alcohol and drug abuse, with unemployment and economic deprivation, are apparent but will require further exploration in the policy context.

This brief overview of trends points to a growing diversity of value systems in this country. If the institutions of society are slow to change then groups will become alienated and conflict will result.

The challenge is to see that social and cultural diversity has the potential to be positive and enriching.

3 ECONOMIC TRENDS Strong to moderate growth will occur in non traditional areas such as horticulture, fishing, mineral products, manufactured goods and services while pastoral goods continue to decline.

Economic policy changes aim to hasten and broaden this process of adjustment amongst the import substitution and service sectors of the economy.

Major changes are occurring in the type of productive activity undertaken in the rural sector with significant implications for rural income distribution.

The major features of economic policy changes involve a continuation of the diversification process from traditional pastoral farming to horticulture, goats, deer, rabbits and even opossums.

High country sheep farming will decline further resulting in a major adjustment of rural sector service industries.

The effects of these changes will flow into those areas of the business sector and labour market which have strong ties with traditional pastoral farming (such as rural finance companies, fertiliser manufacturers, freezing works, stock transport and contracting).

The projected growth rate for horticulture for the next decade is an average of 15 percent per annum.

Service industries such as the finance sector, tourism and transport are expected to provide the major source of new jobs. The next decade is likely to see major changes in the structure of economic activity in New Zealand. The main features of this will be an increased diversity in export goods and services, greater mobility of resources (including people) between industries, and an increase in the relative importance of the service sector.

Overall growth is likely to be higher than during the last ten years (3 percent through to 1995). In the absence of social policy changes this could be accompanied by a considerable changed and less equal distribution of income. Moreover economic growth may tend to be less evenly distributed geographically than in the past with widening gaps between rural and urban income shares.

These developments may influence population redistribution even further in favour of the north of the North Island. Much greater flexibility will be required particularly of education and work training programmes, social services, transport systems and housing development to support these adjustments.

# Social Policy Submission
# Submission to Royal Commission

NAME ..... No .....
(Your own name or name of group with number in group)

ADDRESS .....

PHONE No. .....
(Again for verification purposes only)

(IT IS IMPORTANT TO IDENTIFY YOURSELF OR YOUR GROUP FOR THE SUBMISSION TO BE ACCEPTED AS GENUINE)

MAIL THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE WITH ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS TO:
The Royal Commission on Social Policy,
P.O. Box 5192,
WELLINGTON.

## Questionnaire

PLEASE ANSWER BY PLACING A CROSS OVER THE NUMBER AT THE END OF EACH STATEMENT WHICH BEST INDICATES YOUR VIEW THE NUMBERS REPRESENT THE FOLLOWING:

1 AGREE STRONGLY WITH STATEMENT
2 AGREE
3 NEUTRAL—HAVE NO VIEW ON THE MATTER
4 DISAGREE
5 DISAGREE STRONGLY WITH STATEMENT

THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS BASED ON THE N.Z. PLANNING COUNCIL PAPER *SOCIAL POLICY OPTIONS* AND REFLECTS THE POINT OF VIEW ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL AS A RESULT OF THEIR RESEARCH OVER RECENT YEARS. SPACE HAS BEEN LEFT BETWEEN EACH QUESTION TO ALLOW FOR COMMENTS.

### *General*

1 The challenge is to design a social policy capable of developing equity, stability, and cohesion, while becoming more diversified in its allocation of responsibility and its delivery 1 2 3 4 5

2 The trends in the background paper suggest that social policies for the 1980s and beyond must not only aim for a better quality of

life for all but in so doing must increasingly accommodate diverse lifestyles. 1 2 3 4 5

3 A Bi-culturalism is a necessary gateway to multi-culturalism. 1 2 3 4 5

B Multiculturalism will require new approaches to policy making. 1 2 3 4 5

4 Multiculturalism will require changes in the processes of formulating and implementing these new policies. 1 2 3 4 5

5 Future policies must be more responsive to a variety of cultural values, diverse family structures and relationships and regional differences. 1 2 3 4 5

6 Policy-making should be based on sound planning and includes the setting of priorities and objectives. It should take into account the consequences of policy decisions. 1 2 3 4 5

7 Policy-making must take into account both social and economic trends and aim at being flexible in shaping and implementing policies. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Levels of Government Intervention*

8 Government has a role in setting basic standards and seeing they are maintained. 1 2 3 4 5

9 Government has a role as guardian in areas where the individual or smaller groups of people would be powerless to act. 1 2 3 4 5

10 Government has a role in limiting individual rights and freedoms so that society can function peacefully and equitably. 1 2 3 4 5

11 Government has a responsibility to support those of its members who are suffering personal crises or misfortune. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Public or Private Provision of Services*

12 The state should continue to provide some services free to all. These would include:

A Education 1 2 3 4 5

B Health 1 2 3 4 5

C Housing 1 2 3 4 5

13 This approach may involve a sharing of costs by the state and the users. 1 2 3 4 5

14 At least a part payment by users is essential to ensure proper valuing of the service and as an incentive to avoid waste. 1 2 3 4 5

15 This 'user pays' approach must be accompanied by income redistribution. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Collective or Individual Responsibility*

16 Society must have a concern for others and show this by caring for those who are not able to act for themselves—especially children, the sick, the disabled, the elderly and the unemployed. 1 2 3 4 5

17 The state's role is primarily to support and fund services rather than to provide them. 1 2 3 4 5

18 There should be a shift of emphasis book to informality, with the family (whanau, hapu, iwi), workplaces, unions, employers, neighbourhood groups, voluntary societies assuming more importance than in the past. 1 2 3 4 5

19 This shift of responsibility cannot be effective unless it is accompanied by a significant transfer of resources (funding) to the local community. 1 2 3 4 5

20 Resources should be targeted in a way that increases self reliance. 1 2 3 4 5

21 The transfer of resources should have structures for accountability to:

A Central government 1 2 3 4 5

B The Local community 1 2 3 4 5

22 A shift to community based support must go beyond national organisations like IHC and Foundation for the Blind which Government can more easily control to self-help groups which are often closer to the community and meet the needs of a wider range of the people. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Universal or Selective*

23 All government provided benefits or services should be targeted to those who need them most. Targeting is best done by:

A Central government 1 2 3 4 5

B Local community 1 2 3 4 5

24 Government's aim must be to provide some security against events and situations which may threaten well-being, such as the

death of a provider, sickness, unemployment rather than reduce inequality. 1 2 3 4 5

25 Where, because of diversity in cultural values, income levels or other factors, a group has unequal access to resources, such as health or education then Government should put in place selective policies aimed at providing equal access. 1 2 3 4 5

26 A middle of the road approach between universality and selectivity is to make one general benefit (social wage) available to everyone over school leaving age whether waged or unwaged, married or single, old or young, sick or well and then make adjustments through the tax system. 1 2 3 4 5

27 Assistance ought to be given to everyone within a certain classification, for example unemployed, sick, elderly regardless of individual circumstances. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Preventive or Remedial*

28 Prevention is not only better than cure in terms of meeting social objectives but can also be more effective in terms of resource use. This is especially obvious with regard to health. 1 2 3 4 5

29 Programmes which make people aware of how they can reduce risks to their health and encourage them to adopt such behaviour ought to form a basis for social policy. 1 2 3 4 5

30 Policies should aim at ensuring that people pay for the social costs that their actions generate. 1 2 3 4 5

31 This may mean charging patients who require health care as a result of their own action/behaviour, for example conditions resulting from substance abuse, sports' injuries, motor accidents where alcohol was a factor. 1 2 3 4 5

32 The dependants of such individuals should not be unduly penalised and may require community support. 1 2 3 4 5

33 The security of society would be improved if assistance were given to those groups which are over represented in the criminal statistics. 1 2 3 4 5

34 Community based services have been linked with the preventive approach because such services have the potential to influence lifestyle and to work on factors in the social environment which create problems such as unrest among young people. For this reason they should be promoted. 1 2 3 4 5

35 Community based services are more accessible to those who need them particularly disadvantaged groups. They allow for a

concentration on positive action. Many of the current programmes within Maoridom follow this community development approach. They deserve consideration for expansion elsewhere. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Centralisation or Decentralisation*

36 Real change of policy must involve the transfer of powers and resources from central government to lower levels of decision making and outlying areas. A more relaxed approach to the development of local answers to local problems would be good for the community an the economy. 1 2 3 4 5

37 Greater regional variations in the provisions of services could provide substantial economic and social benefits and improve the use of all resources. Central government should retain the role of co-ordination and ensuring that minimum standards are met in areas such as health and education. 1 2 3 4 5

38 There is need for a shift from the institutional approach towards a style of delivery involving the community with greater responsibility for social programmes being given to structures other than Government. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Equity Versus Equality*

39 Equity (equal opportunity or fairness) is central to policy making in a democratic society. Equity demands that equal opportunity and equal access should be important policy objectives.

40 An approach based on equity demands more than providing equal opportunities for access. It must move into the area of positive discrimination or affirmative action. 1 2 3 4 5

41 The challenge is to produce equitable policies which respect social and cultural diversity. 1 2 3 4 5

42 The unit of entitlement for government income support/benefits/services should be the individual rather than the household/family. 1 2 3 4 5

43 Central to social policy must be an effective and efficient means of ensuring adequate income either from paid work, tax relief for the low paid or through a transfer system. Equity must be an important part of the system of income distribution. 1 2 3 4 5

44 Economic policies must be set in place which will promote growth in national income throughout the whole country. With

growth distributed throughout the country the process of redistribution is easier and less painful. Social and economic policies must work not in competition but towards the same ends. 1 2 3 4 5

45 The provision of paid work as the most appropriate means of income (as well as having social and psychological importance) must be a central aim of the policy strategy. 1 2 3 4 5

46 Economic policies which put emphasis on the demand for labour and increased skills-training should form the basis of an employment strategy. 1 2 3 4 5

46 Economic policies which put emphasis on the demand for labour and increased skills-training should form the basis of an employment strategy. 1 2 3 4 5

47 An adequate income must be provided for the unemployed and for households and families on low income and/or with dependants. 1 2 3 4 5

## *Additional comments*

The New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services is compiling a comprehensive submission on behalf of its constituent agencies. It would be helpful to have some idea of the number and content of the submissions which have been sent in based on or prompted by this questionnaire. To help us with this project would you please complete this form and mail it to:
NORTHLAND URBAN RURAL MISSION,
P.O. BOX 5098,
WHANGAREI.
(If you write "FREEPOST 54" on top right hand corner of the envelope you do not need a stamp.)

PLEASE FILL IN THE GRID TO INDICATE HOW YOU ANSWERED THE QUESTIONNAIRE:

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | |
| 3A | | | | | |
| 3B | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | |
| 6 | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | |
| 8 | | | | | |
| 9 | | | | | |
| 10 | | | | | |
| 11 | | | | | |
| 12A | | | | | |
| B | | | | | |
| C | | | | | |
| 13 | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | | | | | |
| 16 | | | | | |
| 17 | | | | | |
| 18 | | | | | |
| 19 | | | | | |
| 20 | | | | | |
| 21A | | | | | |
| 21B | | | | | |
| 22 | | | | | |
| 23A | | | | | |
| 23B | | | | | |
| 24 | | | | | |
| 25 | | | | | |
| 26 | | | | | |
| 27 | | | | | |
| 28 | | | | | |
| 29 | | | | | |
| 30 | | | | | |

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 31 | | | | | |
| 32 | | | | | |
| 33 | | | | | |
| 34 | | | | | |
| 35 | | | | | |
| 36 | | | | | |
| 37 | | | | | |
| 38 | | | | | |
| 39 | | | | | |
| 40 | | | | | |
| 41 | | | | | |
| 42 | | | | | |
| 43 | | | | | |
| 44 | | | | | |
| 45 | | | | | |
| 46 | | | | | |
| 47 | | | | | |
| | | | | | |

# 4 What the People Said in the Submissions

Approximately 6,000 submissions were received ranging from one word—anarchy—from an anonymous individual, through accounts of personal experiences of perceived or actual inequalities, to over 500 pages of detailed analysis of a fair and just society from the viewpoint of a government department.

The submissions came in several different forms—from personal handwritten letters and submissions to lengthy researched reports, even a book. A group concerned with homeless people sent a book of photographs; video tapes were sent to supplement written material. Radio talkback shows, the freephone exercise, telephone calls—the comments of all callers were noted and registered as a submission, and of course there were over 1,000 oral submissions from the public hearings and informal meetings the Commissioners held throughout the country.

The question of how to provide an overview of the content of the submissions is obviously a complex one.

Many of the submissions reflect the interaction between individuals, primary groups (such as the family), neighbourhood characteristics, the broader context of social formations and institutions, the demographic and economic structure, and the structure of central and local government.

These concerns are as much part of political and economic debate as they are of everyday experience. Therefore it should be possible to compare the concerns of individuals and small groups with those on which professional bodies have focused.

This analysis sets out to address the issues in the submissions so that the smaller voices are heard as clearly as the larger, louder voices—to analyse what the people of New Zealand said to the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1987 and 1988. This agenda is addressed according to the framework.

Many submissions were made on specific issues. Some people stated the issues as if they were distinct and separate while others made links between issues. Others stated their views on a number of issues, often unrelated, but all important issues to the submitters.

The range of topics covered by the submissions highlighted the different concerns of the different groups of New Zealanders—men, women; Maori and Pacific Islanders, minority ethnic groups;

government departments, private sector organisations; voluntary organisations; trade unions, professional bodies. Their fundamental beliefs were clearly evident across a range from very liberal to very conservative.

The focus of this section is to highlight the issues raised in the submissions. Where possible the issues are illustrated with ideas and quotations from the submissions.

In this section of the analysis, little attempt is made to quantify the number of submissions which were made on the issues covered in the analysis. Where submission numbers (in brackets) are shown, they indicate examples of the submissions which discuss specific issues. They do not represent the total number of submissions which dealt with that issue. That sort of information can be found in section 2.

For many years social policy has been generally equated with social welfare. A feature of the submissions to this Royal Commission has been the range of issues which people have included in their view of social policy, such as an efficient transport system for moving (new) furniture around the country or soil erosion—a topic which has more often been viewed as a scientific or agricultural problem rather than a social problem. Social welfare issues certainly have taken the centre stage with income maintenance, health, and education being discussed in over half the submissions. For example:

> The most important thing to be considered when framing government social policy should be the maintenance of human dignity, particularly in upholding the fundamental human rights to work and to shelter. [740]
>
> . . . if the Royal Commission on Social Policy concentrates only on welfare, ignoring or even giving insufficient attention to economics, then any proposals will be cosmetic whereas the real problem does not lie in the welfare system as such but in the economic system. [1921]
>
> We are constantly encouraging and supporting local bodies in our area to develop policy regarding alcohol and drug usage in the Marlborough area. This greater social responsibility must also be adopted at a higher level with government initiatives in these areas. While it is obvious that legislation in these areas is contentious, we feel that there must be some national guidelines to support local body endeavours. [3712]

Many people commented on the close inter-relationship between social and economic policy. Generally the feeling was that neither could be dealt with in isolation.

However, a number of submissions discussed factors other than economic policy which were important underpinnings of social

policy. Although not all were expressed in such terms, a number did directly say so:

> It is essential for [social] policy to be aimed towards enhancing cultural development. [0241]
>
> [There is a] need to recognise the role of demographic factors when formulating social policy. [4235]
>
> Social policy must allow individuals the opportunity to reach their full potential of spiritual, cultural and physical development. Social policy must, we believe, start from the most at risk and move from that point. It must empower those without power and provide a balancing out of the inequalities structured in the organisations and economics of our country. [0238]
>
> The consultation of lay opinion . . . should be the determinant factor in [social policy] decisions made. [95]
>
> Social policy principles should be determined by ethical principles not economic principles. [2219]
>
> One of the major failings occurs in the artificial separation of 'social policy' as distinct from economic policy. Social policy should be an integral part of any policy consideration. It should be proactive not retroactive. [0122]
>
> The goal of social policy needs to release the natural potential of individuals to support the wellbeing of Mother Earth. [2325]
>
> Anecdotal evidence is as valid as so called scientific objectivity in research. [0050]

This section of the analysis of submissions largely follows a framework in the way the Royal Commission set about its task. We begin with submissions which told us what people said about standards and foundations of a fair and just society, the Royal Commission's Terms of Reference (and the Royal Commission itself), and history and principles of social policy.

Against this background we can then set current issues of social policy such as social wellbeing, the interdependence of economic and social policy, the Treaty of Waitangi, women, and work. Income maintenance and taxation, policy making, accountability, assessment and monitoring conclude the first part of this section of the analysis.

## 4.1 *Standards and Foundations of a Fair and Just Society*

While the Royal Commission must base its report on a set of standards and foundations, it is clear from the submissions that a broad spectrum of values are held by New Zealanders, all of which are

valid to the people holding them. However, to include them all in a statement on standards and foundations would not only be a major contradiction but in some cases would not be true to the Terms of Reference seeking a fair and just society for all New Zealanders. For example:

> We define a just, fair society as one in which the right of every individual citizen regardless of age, race, gender, social or economic status or innate ability to an equal opportunity to develop to the extent of their potential is respected. It is further argued that this is only achievable within the context of a caring, sharing community at the local, regional and national level. [2467]

> The right to gainful employment is seen as a fundamental human right espoused by a just, fair society and we expect our social planners to direct their energies towards the solving of our vexed unemployment situation. [2467]

> A fair society cannot be provided entirely by legislation. It is dependent on a social conscience as no government or ideology has yet been able to change the individual's moral standing. [1004]

> Failure to secure reasonable opportunities for good economic performance is directly unfair to the community at large, as that failure means that we have missed an opportunity to push back one of the main barriers to a fair society. This is unfair because it causes lower standards to be achieved by people both now and in the future. [176]

Some submissions suggested Christianity should be one of the foundations of our society [638]. Others, however, accept that the Church is no longer meaningful in many people's lives in New Zealand today. The St Andrews Trust for the Study of Religion and Society notes that:

> While the church has ceased to be for most people a relevant forum in which social issues can be addressed, we see no evidence of an alternative one. [2219]

It has been suggested, however, that an alternative sought by the St Andrews Trust might be found in Maori spirituality and cultural values. One submission linked Maori spirituality with Christian values.

> Maori spirituality teaches us that wairua, tinana, hinengaro and whanau—spirit, body, mind and family—are interrelated. We see this connection as closer to the Christian gospel than the individual competitive model developed by European society. [118]

There were a number of people who were strongly opposed to any intrusion of Maori values into their lives. Some suggested that these values were pushed by Maori activists—extremists—who did not reflect the values or views of Maori people generally.

The interrelationship of people with their land and te ao turoa was an important consideration made in some submissions.

> The base of good health of Maori people is the relationship with our land. The colonial history of this country is that we have been steadily alienated from the land. . . . Maori health will improve when we have been restored to our land. [242]

> Land, the very basis of tribal identity was alienated by its transformation into a commodity for sale in the market place. [224]

A number of submissions looked back to 'the good old days' particularly in relation to the welfare state. For many people the security offered by the welfare state after the depression in the 1930s is no longer there. Unemployment, housing, health care were often cited in submissions as results of the current economic policies which have led to this feeling of lack of security. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Auckland summed up this feeling:

> Since this Royal Commission has taken on the aspect of a review, after 50 years, of a social system designed in the 1930s, we must point out that the feeling of 'security' created by that system of 'social security' has disappeared. People are once again worried about the future, often indeed about the present. The previous system's predictability gave a security which is not given today now that people are exposed to the vagaries of market economic forces as seen in, for example, interest rates, exchange rates, unemployment. Some now live in fear of want, afraid that basic human needs such as food, housing and employment will not be satisfied. [235]

It became clear early in the consultation process that a number of New Zealanders were dubious about the worth of a Royal Commission on Social Policy. After all, as people pointed out, there have been lots of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry, where people have made many submissions, and have been consulted for their views. Yet too often the Government is perceived as going its own way, apparently ignoring what was heard from those people.

'Consultation fatigue' and 'submission fatigue' are terms which have become common phrases in recent months. While approximately 50 submissions have been openly cynical towards this Royal Commission, another 40 have equally openly expressed support for the Commission. Some have supported the Royal Commission but are sceptical whether the Government will take any notice of the report. Early in the consultation process (29 June 1987) concern was expressed that this Royal Commission's task would be preempted by other taskforces and reviews [689]. The relationship

between the Royal Commission on Social Policy and other reviews was raised in several submissions [595, 621, 719, 4526, 5372].

> We are concerned that the Royal Commission's task is being pre-empted by various reviews, etc. in key areas of social policy such as the 'Gibbs' Hospital Related Services Taskforce and the education reviews. Decisions by those reviews should be referred to the Commission. [689]

It was noted that many submissions made on Maori issues over the years have not been acknowledged or given official recognition.

> You're tired of responding, you get hoha because not much time to prepare it in, you get nearly hoha because you think is it another circus coming around to see us and do we stand up and do the same old act again. [630]

> About three years ago . . . there was a ministerial trip around the country, talking about the Maori perspective in social welfare, where it was going, what was happening and we're still waiting for the answers. Since then they've also had an educational curriculum review . . . [585]

> We did submissions when that Social Welfare thing came around and the reality is that our submission is not in that book and I believe that the exact same thing will be replicated with this Commission. [631]

> We often wonder about the real value of the effort that is put into making . . . submissions to Royal Commissions, Committees of Inquiry, Select Committees and so on. [300]

A journalist was concerned at the speed at which social change was being implemented and hoped the Royal Commission could report before it was too late.

> My fear is that during the period the report is being produced events will have moved on so fast, they will have kept up the same pace as they have in the last two years, and decisions will have been made already. They will have been made in the light of pretty tough economic and social pressures. As a journalist I've seen a good many reports, I've given lots of coverage to them. I've seen many of them sink without trace because there hasn't been the political will to implement them. But I have some hopes for the Commission, that the Commission itself becomes part of a political process of change. So that I hope that the Commission can itself become part of the political process of developing new policies by asking questions, by talking to other people, by cajoling, by ensuring that politicians know what you're up to, keep them up to scratch, so they don't make moves that go contrary to where you're heading. [260]

The large number of submissions received by this Royal Commission indicates the value many New Zealanders see in yet another series of consultations. Apart from those who openly expressed their support for the Royal Commission, it is important to remember almost 6,000 other submissions, which covertly supported the

Royal Commission simply by sending in their submission so that their voice might be heard.

It was noted in one submission that consumers of social policy have very little to say in the development of social policy [316].

Another submission hoped the Royal Commission would:

> . . . have consideration for taking [the] issues back out to the people . . . that it doesn't just become another collector's volume in some library somewhere. [300]

> Royal Commissions, Think Tanks . . . are a necessary and (hopefully) effective way of debating solutions to social ills and anomalies. The voice of the common man [sic—from a woman] has a place and use also. I hope you will heed this one. [4885]

> I am assisting the Commission in making my submissions in verbal and in written forms. I have the honour to convey to you . . . our support for your important work on behalf of us all. [4951]

In view of the large number of submissions detailing personal experience, the request from a group of 11 people (called the 'Royal Commission Think Tank') asking that the Royal Commission give due weight to anecdotal evidence should be noted [50].

## 4.2 *Treaty of Waitangi*

The Treaty of Waitangi as a philosophical basis for a fair and just society drew a varied response. Many believed it should be the only New Zealand Constitution, a blueprint for social policy. This view was held by Maori, Pakeha and other ethnic groups.

> My submission is to you to go back and make sure that the Treaty is ratified . . . [628]

> Te Hahi Weteriana o Aotearoa, the Methodist Church of New Zealand has a vision for our society . . . This vision begins with, and is based on, the covenant made between Maori and Pakeha in 1840, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the Treaty of Waitangi. It recognises the sacred promises set out in it that there would be a partnership of the two peoples. This document acknowledged the Maori as tangata whenua, people of this land, so that Europeans and all other peoples who have come subsequently are manuhiri, visitors. [118]

> I believe that the Treaty of Waitangi should be the primary document upon which our nation is built. I do not think it should be part of another document, and any constitution or similar statement should be an outworking of the Treaty. Implicit in these statements must be the renewal of the Maori people as equal partners in the development of New Zealand . . . [4737]

A submission from the school committee of a bilingual school noted that the Treaty was a basic document to their school.

Several local authorities noted the importance of the Treaty in local authority policy making and planning. For example, Wellington City Council [4953] suggested the cultural and spiritual significance of the Treaty should be incorporated into local government policies; Auckland City Council [4653]was aware of the implications of the Treaty in planning decisions; Taupo County Council [4195] discussed local authority commitments to the Treaty and the likely effects of decentralisation and devolution on the power of local authorities.

A smaller number of submissions suggested that the Treaty had no part to play in creating a fair and just society and there should be no special treatment for Maoris or any other ethnic group. From the available information in the submissions it appeared that this view was held largely by Pakehas.

> The constant barrage over the Treaty of Waitangi—why? That was history, we should look to the future! [1857]

> I am totally opposed to the Treaty of Waitangi being considered as valid. I believe that the Treaty is in fact deeply splitting New Zealand society. [3759]

> I wish to make the following submissions. (1) That the four Maori seats in Parliament be abolished. (2) That the Treaty of Waitangi be changed whereas it safeguards our beaches, rivers and fishing to all New Zealanders. [4959]

Of those submissions which were not in favour of the Treaty of Waitangi as a basis for New Zealand society, a number did not want affirmative action policies for Maoris. Such policies were seen as 'preferential treatment' or favouritism towards Maoris [66, 3693, 5729], non egalitarian [1912]. One person suggested that Maori culture should be preserved but not at the expense of human rights [3693].

> We are strongly opposed to special conditions for Maori people or any other particular ethnic group in New Zealand. [66]

Some submissions appeared to equate egalitarianism with monoculturalism, where all people are New Zealanders, not Maori, Pakeha or any other ethnic group. Others felt that there was a possibility of racial tension stemming from Maori 'radicals' who stirred up trouble [5267, 2863].

A woman who identified herself as a Pakeha believes that 'the key to the Maori-Pakeha relationship is the need for us, Pakeha, to fulfil our obligations under the Treaty especially in terms of power sharing, that is decision making-sharing at all levels' [4893].

The media were criticised for promoting the views of extremists [2853], negative aspects of Waitangi celebrations [1856] and Pakeha sectional interests [264].

A multicultural perspective towards the Treaty is provided in submissions from immigrant ethnic groups [718, 2645]. The Interchurch Commission on Immigration and Refugee Settlement suggested that the Treaty could assist future immigration if it was recognised as the first immigration statement of New Zealand [718].

Other suggestions as to how the Treaty could be recognised today included:

1 Ratification of the Treaty;
[624, 3550, 4656]
2 Incorporate the Treaty in legislation;
[241, 3384, 3868b, 5658, 850]
3 Base social policy on the Treaty;
[118, 628, 643, 365, 4294, 5251, 5148]
4 Basis for power sharing, bicultural partnership;
[569, 612, 446, 5255, 4893]
5 Treaty as New Zealand Constitution.
[602, 4737]

## 4.3 *Social Wellbeing*

The importance of social policy to the wellbeing of New Zealanders was clearly demonstrated in almost all submissions. This is not surprising given definitions of social wellbeing. One submission specifically incorporated social wellbeing into social policy:

> Social policy is everything which contributes to social wellbeing. This includes—social welfare, health, education, justice, finances/economics, politics, defence, immigration, environment, resources/land. [118]

The Royal Commission has viewed social wellbeing as being:

> . . . recognised by the extent to which all have a reasonable expectation of those things which are generally accepted as necessary for a healthy, happy life.

The Royal Commission itself played an important part in promoting social wellbeing just by being there. People found they had the opportunity to be heard, an opportunity to air grievances and maybe a point for resolution of them. In the transcripts of oral hearings, advice and clarification from individual Commissioners is evident.

Lack of opportunities to have a say in policy making, lack of access to health services, employment, education, information, the legal system, were among the variety of issues which affected wellbeing.

Choice was an important issue. For instance, a large number of women wanted their contribution in the home valued so that they could remain at home instead of having to work outside the home [1018, 2012, 2799, 3090]; disabled people wanted the right to choose freely to work and for fair pay rather than live on a benefit; access to services in rural areas featured frequently—mainly education, health, transport and social services. The elderly often found they had little choice in the sort of care they could get, difficulty of access to health aids, health care, financial security, lack of educational opportunities. Submissions from Maori people expressed similar views.

> In recent years it has become apparent that rural New Zealanders are missing out on many of the services and opportunities their urban counterparts enjoy. [4244]
>
> . . . Government should maintain all services necessary not only to prevent the erosion of rural New Zealand, but to foster thriving communities. [4438]

For many the problem of getting information or having the opportunity to express themselves and be heard affected their wellbeing. This covered personal as well as policy issues. Where policy directly affected the people, the personal became political.

The issue of deinstitutionalisation or community care for mentally disabled people drew many comments. Most frequently people were concerned with the lack of resources for community care, that it was being seen by Government as a cheap option and that the burden would fall on women.

> We feel institutions are being dismantled too quickly—at the rate the Government decides, rather than at the rate the community can adapt to receive them. [715]
>
> When considering deinstitutionalisation of disabled persons to the community, the cost to the users, not only in financial terms but also in terms of health, wellbeing and restriction of choice, must be included in the cost effectiveness equation. [3732]
>
> Recognition and encouragement for what I do day after day as a mother working hard at home has been my yearning. [2057]

Alternatives in health, education and justice were discussed. Many of these detailed alternative proposals rather than simply stating dissatisfaction with the present choices.

It was important to many people that the majority viewpoint was not imposed on everyone. Submissions on this issue ranged from marijuana smokers who felt they were being discriminated against [106, 3025] to domination and oppression of the Maori [2918]. The ability to hold a particular belief and be respected was also sought after. Maori people were particularly concerned at the ignorance shown towards the spiritual meaning of place names [3024] and other taonga. Women too had problems getting acceptance of their views and beliefs.

Tolerance towards diversity in lifestyle and values was sought in many submissions, though there were also submissions on maintaining one value system for all New Zealanders regardless of ethnic group. As well there were those who felt there should be one type of family (nuclear—with father working and mother at home caring for children), and no room for lesbians, homosexuals, gangs and other 'deviant' groups.

> In discussing the family, we want to talk about the 'ideal family'. By this term we refer to a family comprising *both* parents committed to one another in marriage and rearing their children . . . We believe a child needs a mother *and* a father. [3687—original emphasis]

> To your minds concepts such as homosexual marriage and adoption of children by homosexuals or lesbians would be a gross affront to the dignity of the family. [3687]

Another important aspect of social wellbeing is preserving resources for the future generations, especially the people resource—through education, research, state responsibility. The key to the future of New Zealand was described as:

> . . . developing a society [which] is thinking positively, with hope for the future, where people are not segregated, do not have fingers pointed at them, and have activities which keep their minds thinking. [2968]

Under-utilisation of the people resource was noted in rising unemployment [4162, 5071, 5375], lack of recognition for the value of women's unpaid work [1426, 1828, 2545, 3484], rising abortion rate [1024, 2009] and Maori [990, 3802, 4677].

Land rights continue to be an issue for Maori people and contribute greatly to their wellbeing or lack of it.

> Most importantly for Aotearoa, we have the continuing and festering injustice of ongoing Pakeha failure to adequately and effectively honour the Treaty of Waitangi provisions, especially Pakeha behaviour regarding land. So long as these remain unaddressed, an unfair society is being perpetuated by us Pakehas, and the feelings of grievance and frustration will continue, to the detriment of everyone in the nation. [94]

> At present, Maoris have more opportunity of obtaining Crown land than whites. They also have opportunities to get land previously bought from them by the Crown, often for far less. Whites don't have this opportunity . . . A common law should be set up for land . . . I'm not trying to knock Maoris just equal rights for every Kiwi. [2667]
>
> I should like to object to the way that the Government is talking about giving away the Crown land. Crown land is held in trust by the Government, and is therefore owned by all the people of New Zealand, and I heartily object to any part of it being given, or sold to any minority group, be they "Maori" or "private enterprise"! [2971]
>
> . . . greatest social imbalance in Aotearoa caused by bias and prejudice against the Maori race . . . even where discrimination outlawed as in the Human Rights Act and offending laws repealed effects of past practice still remain . . . Maori Affairs Department should be renamed Crown Affairs Department for taking Maori land—there has never been a really Maori trustee. [967]

Cultural and environmental conservation were also issues closely associated with social wellbeing. Although land was clearly an important issue for the Maori, land ownership was also suggested as being beneficial for every New Zealander [12]. Preservation of clean harbours, clean air, native bush, water and soil conservation were also important to future social wellbeing. Issues in cultural conservation included Maori language, cultural heritage in taonga, artifacts, literature and other arts [15, 4274].

## 4.4 *Interdependence of Economic and Social Policy*

One common and strongly expressed view was that economic policy should not be seen in isolation from social policy but in fact social policy should lead economic policy. The traditional role of social policy as reactive rather than proactive, playing a secondary role to economic planning [145] was frequently noted and challenged.

> Social policy currently seems to function to patch up the results of economic policy. [50]
>
> Social policy in our present society is unfortunately destined to be fashioned after our economic policies are firmly in place. This remains a classic example of putting the 'cart before the horse'. [398]
>
> To achieve [a fair and just society] social policy must be determined alongside economic policy. There will be no fair and just society where economic interests have precedence over human welfare. [2325]
>
> The objectives of social policy should be determined by ethical principles. Economic policies and social policies each set limits within which

> the other must operate. Society can crack under high levels of unemployment and inadequate social services as surely as it can fail under bad economic policies; neither can operate without regard to the other. [2219]

The views are in direct contrast to a preliminary submission of the Social Policy and Government Services Branch of Treasury that the implementation of social policy is dependent on economic policy. [176]

> . . . We would emphasise the significance of recognising the scarcity of resources as a constraint which makes it more difficult to achieve a fair society. It is this scarcity of resources which means that many of the decisions that have to be made in social policy are economic decisions. One of the key factors which determines the amount of resources available is the performance of the economy. [176]

In some submissions it was suggested that the current free market economic policy causes great inequality and that it focuses on materialist dimensions rather than on cultural, recreational or spiritual dimensions [235].

The Ashburton Borough Council [4236] identified lower standards of social services for the Aorangi region as an inequitable result of current economic policy.

## 4.5 *Work and Non-Work*

A major part of social policy revolves around the issues of work and non-work. These issues are closely inter-related—use of leisure (or non-work) time, unemployment, paid and unpaid work.

### *Paid Work*

The main point in a number of submissions, was that paid work is far more important than simply providing money to buy the necessary commodities for living. Paid work provides self-esteem, status, companionship, social integration, to name but a few. The Textile & Garment Manufacturer's Association believe that employment is:

> A primary vehicle for making a contribution to society. [4664]

Also:

> Employment gives people a sense of belonging and esteem. [4652]
>
> The question of work is at the very centre of social questions. [235]

The corollary of this means that people who are not in paid employment often feel that they are second-class citizens. Many women called for greater recognition of their unpaid caring work—of children, disabled and elderly. Caring work often meant

women could not undertake paid work which would increase their social status as well as their economic status. Often submissions called for an 'increase in status' of women in the home.

The Disabled Persons Assembly suggested that people with disabilities perceived a fair society as one which:

> . . . recognised and implemented the concepts of full participation and equality. [142]

These concepts could not be achieved without equal employment opportunities. They suggested that an Equal Employment Opportunity programme for disabled people should:

> . . . recognise that an important means of providing people with disabilities with the opportunity of achieving dignity, self-respect, material and social wellbeing is to ensure that they have the same opportunity as others to engage in appropriate and personally satisfying employment. [142]

Cultural attitudes towards the significance of work differed. Group Employment Liaison Service [3297] and the New Zealand Employers Federation [3270] have observed that Maori and Pacific Island people especially preferred group work—a pattern which does not fit into the perceived labour market and economic model image of individual job seekers.

Where such attitudes were reproduced in government department policies, alternative working styles were impeded, for example, the appointment of Pacific Island social workers was not accompanied by freedom to develop programmes outside departmental regulations. A group of government social workers from Porirua wanted a simpler bureaucracy and much broader definition of affirmative action. [686]

Maori people had their own ideas about employment programmes. The submissions from Maori groups generally indicated that some major changes in government policies were needed before there would be significant improvement in the areas of Maori unemployment. This also affected Maori economic, social and cultural development.

> Our people must have tribal control over our own economic, social and political affairs to retain our cultural identity. [3332]

> By giving Maori people the opportunity (denied them by the democratic process) to manage those affairs which affect them and to solve some of the problems which beset them, an abundant and willing source of Maori energy could be harnessed. [2563]

> There will be no progress in these matters until the Government provides heaps of resources for Maori providers to deal with Maori problems in the Maori way. [3339]

A number of submissions from Maori groups noted that job creation was seen as highly desirable for Maori in order to fulfil social objectives [for example, 199, 997, 716, 4676, 2840]. Job creation in rural areas where there was high unemployment could keep intact the strong spiritual and cultural ties with the area. Imperative to the wellbeing of the Maori community was the need to create employment, particularly for Maori youth.

> Development and exploitation of resources would be based on generating jobs rather than on maximum profit. [2865]

> Marae enterprises are an alternative to the high-tech capital intensive production orientated business which to be successful, must hold down labour costs and which therefore has very little potential for dealing with either the numbers of unemployed or the fact that they are largely unskilled. . . . Such enterprises allow people ways of organising employment that have Maori cultural objectives, that are part of our tradition and not just ways of fitting Maori people into the Pakeha economy. [199]

Unemployment was of considerable concern and many submissions noted the ill effects unemployment had on the wellbeing of the unemployed people. Studies were quoted which showed links between unemployment and aspects of mental and physical health [3297, 4903]. Youth unemployment was of particular concern [4903, 3365]. The New Zealand Police noted that stress caused by unemployment was one of the factors leading to release of violence. They were particularly concerned at the rise in juvenile crime and youth unemployment [155].

> The decline in job opportunities, rising unemployment and a greater social disillusionment has led to an increase in the young of all ethnic groups truanting and adopting a street culture. [155]

The cost to society of crime and other anti-social behaviour, poor mental and physical health was also frequently expressed.

Under-utilisation of people and their skills was an important issue which is a major social and economic cost to society.

> Being unemployed for any length of time must adversely affect a person's self esteem and in some cases lead to alcohol abuse, antisocial behaviour or even crime. [797]

> We say economy is most important. What is economy? Is it more important than having employed, occupied, happy people or idle, frustrated, unemployed people and as a result, CRIME. [834].

> An individual's lower quality of life can lead to health problems, which then become costs to the health system. [1984]
>
> There can be not "dignity and self-determination" living in these circumstances (with the only income for family coming from the current Access programme and or social welfare payments). [3825]
>
> At present youth are not being given a fair chance and a considerable amount of potential is lost through unemployment. [3365]
>
> Unemployment has profound affects on the families of those concerned and is a soul-destroying experience. [860]

A number of submissions suggested that people on the dole should do some sort of useful community work. However, few made any clear links between promoting community work for the unemployed, and reducing crime.

The high value put on paid work has led to an examination of the segregation of the labour market. As a result of finding that:

1. women still earn a lower average weekly wage than men in spite of equal pay legislation; and
2. women (and ethnic minority groups such as Maori, Pacific Islander) are segregated into lower paid areas of the labour market;

there has been considerable comment in submissions about the undervaluing of employment primarily carried out by women [3792, 1004, 3328, 3280 and many others].

> The wages women receive not only affects their economic position, but affects their status, confidence and self-worth. [3278]
>
> . . . the old Equal Pay Act 1972 is no longer effective and in order to remedy this, new carefully designed legislation for equal pay for work of equal value [should] be introduced. [3792]

The Coalition for Equal Value Equal Pay [3792] also wants to see a mechanism whereby the value and wages are the same for female intensive occupations as male intensive industries. They say that where the value of work is the same (in terms of skills, effort, responsibility and working conditions) then so too should be the wages. However, the Employers Federation cannot see any validity in the idea that comparisons can be made across industries and occupational groups. They suggest that:

> . . . to attempt to evaluate dissimilar jobs on a macro-basis to try to establish across diverse forms and industries some 'non-market value' based on a subjective and generalised notion of 'worth' would be to impose new and unacceptable rigid relativities and bring havoc to the wage fixing system and to the labour market. [3270]

Where there is 'occupational segregation' and 'gender valuation' of work, there will be a need for affirmative action programmes to work towards equality in employment opportunities. The Human Rights Commission would like to see 'affirmative action made mandatory' using legislation if necessary [3273]. Four groups were identified by the Public Service Association [3280]as disadvantaged—women, Maoris, Pacific Islanders, disabled; while the National Council of Women pointed out that in employment 'many Maori and Pacific Island women are doubly disadvantaged' [1004].

> People should not be discriminated against because of gender or because of the roles they choose. [142]
>
> Government agencies, employers, polytechnics etc develop in consultation with Maori people, the implementation of affirmative action, employment programmes to put Maori on an equal footing with the rest of the community. [4677]
>
> Implementation of affirmative action policy for all women, together with implementation of equal pay for work of equal value would be of enormous benefit to lesbians. [3329]

Several submissions discussed ways in which the overall status of women in the workforce could be raised [2907, 881 plus a number of freephone submissions]. Many submissions wanted to see employment practices better suited to women's requirements including:

1. More permanent part-time work;
2. Access to affordable quality childcare;
3. Parental leave for those with family responsibilities;
4. Flexible working hours [3328].

These suggestions were made in freephone submissions as well as written submissions from individuals and major women's groups.

Adequate childcare was seen as the major barrier to women's ability to remain or join the paid workforce or even to train for paid employment. The National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women included the value to society to:

> . . . help retain skilled and experienced women in the paid workforce, thus promoting optimum use of New Zealand's human resources . . . [2907]

Four women believed that childcare is inaccessible and meets the needs of only a small group of people [1937]. Others commented on what childcare had or would cost them [1428, 1474]. One women said she had enjoyed working but found there was not much money in it. State funded creches were seen as a viable

option in a number of submissions with a range of suggestions that they should be either fully funded, subsidised or tax deductible [3006, 1473, 1451, 2489, 2441 and many others].

The National Council of Women stated that—

> The provision of affordable quality childcare is basic for equal opportunity for women in the workplace. [1004]

Submissions opposing childcare were fewer in number than those in favour. The following arguments were put forward: an economic climate where families could live on one income [1297]; women are pressured into paid employment [1242]; mothers at home provide the best childcare [1449, 1550].

Part-time work is another area which is of vital interest to women as over 80 percent of part-time workers are women. Flexible working hours also assist women to undertake paid work more readily. A large number of individual submissions wanted to see more part-time work available, more security for part-time workers, and promotion opportunities [1301, 1148, 1543, 1477, 1059]. One woman on the DPB would like to work but found it difficult to get suitable hours [1543]. Job sharing was also recommended [3702].

> Alternative employment, such as job sharing should be encouraged. Benefits should allow for part-time work, so people can work part-time and receive a benefit to add up to a living wage. [3702]
>
> We are concerned that the investment made in training teachers is wasted by not providing job security to enable some good teachers, both women and men, to work part-time in schools and teachers colleges, or to share jobs. Competence should not be equated with full-time commitment. [3338]

This submission [3338] also commented that to provide a balance of role models in schools and teachers colleges to help overcome gender-role stereotyping, women especially should be able to work part-time. It was also stated that:

> Part-time positions are usually low status and without opportunity for promotion. [3338]

Another side to the part-time work/job sharing coin was also expressed:

> Paid employment should be made more flexible so men can play a greater part in the domestic scene. [1398]
>
> What is needed for change to occur is the parallel development of child care services and family-conscious conditions of employment for both men and women. [881]
>
> The promotion of part-time work is seen as being of utmost importance in achieving a fair society. We applauded the acceptance of permanent part-time work . . . into the State Service; we deplore the fact that not all

> State Owned Enterprises have taken this on board; we look for and encourage its adoption by the private sector. [1004]

The concept of parental or paternity leave rather than just maternity leave also increases the flexibility of both parents to continue to work as suits them best. A number of submissions from both organisations [for example, 2907, 300, 3278] and individuals [for example, 1321, 1496] were in favour of paid parental leave.

> We recommend that some form of payment for parental leave should be established so that parents are able to take full advantage of the opportunities to combine parenting and paid employment offered by the [Parental Leave and Employment Protection] Act. [2907]

The Working Party on Payment for Parental, Maternity and Paternity Leave sent a report to the Royal Commission as a submission. The report concludes that:

> There are strong arguments for the payment of parental leave on the grounds of equal opportunity for men and women to continue their careers in employment. [140]

They believe that such payment would reduce the conflict between family and employment responsibilities. However, they are very aware of probable conflict with employer groups if employers had to pay for parental leave. For a number of reasons, they recommend that there be no statutory payment for parental leave in the meantime.

## *Unemployment*

It has already been noted that paid work has greater social consequences than simply providing money for basic necessities of life. It is inevitable then that unemployment will have far greater impact on people than simply not enough money for these necessities—that the impact of unemployment will extend to other aspects of people's lives such as health (mental and physical), self esteem, and social wellbeing generally.

Eight hundred submissions (approximately 13 percent) expressed views on unemployment. Many made suggestions to assist the unemployed and to deal with the structural problem of unemployment. The physical and social wellbeing of unemployed people was of considerable concern and probably behind the most commonly expressed idea that unemployed people should do some sort of community work.

The experience of the Department of Internal Affairs was that the most successful responses to youth unemployment had been:

> 'Small-scale programmes to build self-esteem and social skills, while at the same time offering employment training opportunities.' [4274]

Among the submissions covering the issue of unemployment, some consideration was given to ways of reducing unemployment. Examples of the suggested solutions include:

1 Market solutions;
2 Job creation and/or training programmes;
3 Redistribution of work;
4 Cultural solutions.

1 MARKET SOLUTIONS The New Zealand Employers Federation strongly believed that market solutions were the only solutions to unemployment.

> Only the promotion of economically viable, permanent, unsubsidised employment in the private sector can overcome unemployment [3270]

In contrast however, the Auckland Manufacturers Association believes that advocating a 'free market' philosophy may appeal to the purist, but:

> Means little to the unemployed. Policy formation must accord a higher priority to work formation. [4774]

The Group Employment Liaison Service (GELS) field workers believe that the free market approach is:

> Monocultural, takes no account of collective values, ignores visiting structural inequalities, and creates greater inequalities. [3297]

2 JOB CREATION Job creation or training programmes were seen by the Federation to be doomed to failure unless geared to New Zealand market demands.

They suggest that job creation is especially useful and necessary in rural areas such as North Auckland, East Coast (N.I.) and Bay of Plenty.

The Employment Network [4968] emphasises that the first step to overcoming unemployment is for the Government to admit that there is a significant structural problem. They believe the Government should make a political and economic policy decision to full employment. Training schemes need to be adaptable within the labour market. The Network does not see this happening.

> Without a state commitment to job creation—all that large scale training schemes will do is raise the skills level of the unemployed.

Therefore training and job creation must be done together and be closely related to labour market needs. Such a philosophy may bring closer the views of the Employers Federation and the Employment Network.

GELS also suggests community based solutions and subsidies which are seen as genuine investment for the future, limited to medium and longer term cultural and local economic development strategies.

Other suggestions in submissions from individuals include:

1 Subsidising private employment [1984, 32];
2 Military service [1925];
3 Reducing the unemployment benefit in favour of training and education [2535, 5375, 3693];
4 Training programmes [2508, 253, 2391, 2048];
5 Community work in return for the dole [3759, 2420, 25, 2253 and many others];

> Money spent on the dole would be better used on creating work which would give people dignity. [1918]

3 REDISTRIBUTION OF WORK Another group of submissions had a range of suggestions for reducing unemployment which included job sharing, increasing the number of part-time jobs, a shorter work week, raising the school leaving age and reducing the age of retirement. This latter suggestion seems to assume that the young unemployed adult can step into the jobs held by the over 60s:

> Allow retirement on a reduced payment at ages below 60, this would allow jobs to filter down and reduce the unemployment situation. [2241]
>
> It seems absurd, that people are working into their sixties when young adults are unemployed. [3750]
>
> Re-education of those already employed in a 40-hour per week situation to recognise that alternative systems and hours of expected employment will be needed . . . [2174]
>
> Increase opportunities for work-sharing. [2174]

The National Council of Women admitted that solutions to the problems of unemployment were hard to find. Some of the suggestions from their members included:

1 Raising the school leaving age;
2 Retraining schemes;
3 Financial encouragement for small businesses;
4 Job creation;
5 Shorter working weeks;
6 Early retirement [1004].

They also suggested that:

> Society needs to rethink its traditional definition of work and several respondents stressed the need for education for leisure.

and:

> Flexible work hours, more widely available part-time work, shared jobs, the acceptance of more inter-changeable roles.

4 CULTURAL SOLUTIONS Submissions about unemployment among Maoris indicated that this issue is of great concern to Maori people. Many identified the link between unemployment and poor Maori health, the high rate of Maori offending, violence and abuse, and lack of self-esteem [for example, 2871, 3358, 3371, 3823, 3910].

The Tainui Maori Trust Board submission deals with proposals to reduce Maori unemployment and increase Maori development. For example:

> Our people always think holistically so we want to be part of the visitor business as a whole: the accommodation, the transport, the hospitality [etc.]. We do not want to be on display, but we want to organise the display and carry it through. [199]

They are keen to gain benefits and not just undergo the exploitation that too often happens. The submission lists 30 recommendations from the Maori Tourism Task Force on the best ways to go about Maori development in the tourism industry.

Another suggestion is to:

> Develop the structure of the tribe so that the people will be able to create employment for themselves. [199]

Other Maori groups support this call for Maori development through Maori initiatives, and marae based programmes.

### *Unpaid Work*

A large number of submissions expressed views on the low status accorded unpaid work, especially that done largely by women in the home and as caregivers.

Over 700 submissions were received from voluntary organisations, many of which suggested that voluntary work was not given the recognition it deserved. The following quotes are representative of attitudes towards ways of acknowledging voluntary work.

> Community work picks up where social policy breaks down, community workers were unrecognised by government but government departments used them. [694]

The single most common proposal for recognition of voluntary work was through tax rebates.

> [We] suggest [voluntary workers] be rewarded by their or their spouse getting a further measure of relief in their tax return [708]
>
> The Social Welfare Department, or the appropriate government department, [should] negotiate with the Inland Revenue Department, to make

> a reasonable tax deduction for the voluntary worker on her/his annual tax returns. [707]

Unpaid work falls largely on two groups of people—Maori and women. Several submissions from Maori groups and individuals addressed lack of recognition; the large amount done and costs to unpaid workers of unpaid work. Ngaati Porou [2873] attributed the relative peace and harmony to community work of Maori leaders but expressed concern at the difficulty in keeping up their work effectively during such rapid social change.

A Tuhoe submission provided a list of unpaid work which:

> . . . reflects not only the Maori and rural way of life but also the lack of access to many social services. [2865]

This view is echoed somewhat by the submission from the Women's Studies Association which suggested that women in their unpaid capacity:

> . . . are an invisible but essential element in the economic equation. [3328]

Lack of recognition for those who do unpaid work in the home and in the community was a very common complaint in submissions. Financial recognition was sought for several reasons, for example:

1. To raise the status of unpaid work:
2. To raise the self esteem of those who did it;
3. To assist women who want to stay at home instead of going into paid employment.

> I don't believe the work women do as parents is valued. [1141]
>
> Our generosity to provide such services [as Maatua Whaangai, hospitality or entertainment] is being exploited and aroha should not be used as an excuse for getting it on the cheap. [199]
>
> Recognition is required for the dignity and worth of each woman, both in the workplace and at home. [1004]
>
> . . . legislation to upgrade the status of women in the home. [1370]
>
> More encouragement and support for women who stay at home. [1439]
>
> Some money for women to stay at home, women who are forced to go to work to subsidise the family income. [1371].

The concept of deinstitutionalisation and the 'return' of people to community care was criticised in many submissions. Many of the critics were concerned that the burden would fall on the women of New Zealand—mothers and daughters of those who needed the care. Others saw it as a cheap option.

While some women may be willing to look after elderly or disabled family members the question of choice was raised by the

Ministry of Women's Affairs. In their submission they identified the costs of community care as limiting women's choices 'causing them to take on further unpaid work without compensation' [5266] and increasing stress on women.

Some of these issues relating to women's paid and unpaid work are explored further in section 4.6.

## 4.6 *Women*

There are difficulties in attempting to analyse the submissions relating to women and social policy. This is because, as is noted in the Commission's overview of Women and Social Policy, all policies affect women. Many submissions which discuss aspects of social policy are not necessarily 'women's issues', but they are frequently raised by women because they have a direct and immediate impact on women. Examples of such policies are income support for families, deinstitutionalisation, child care, part-time work conditions and the Treaty of Waitangi. The freephone submissions' exercise that was undertaken by the Royal Commission illustrates the wide range of issues that are of concern to women.

At the same time, many issues related to 'women and social policy' are raised by men and by groups of men and women, and not just by individual women or women's groups.

Finally, there is a further complication in efforts to quantify submissions in that many submissions about 'women and social policy' discussed several issues, and were not 'single issue' submissions. For example, submissions about violence against women often discussed sex-stereotyping in education, parenting, and media images. This is clearly a reflection of the inter-connectedness of different areas of social policy. In addition, submissions from women frequently emphasised the links between social and economic policies which have been discussed elsewhere in this analysis of submissions. Women are keenly aware of the way in which low incomes and financial dependence lead to inability to obtain adequate health care, food and housing.

At a very general level, it is possible that a large number of submissions addressed 'women and social policy' matters. An analysis of the submissions reveals the following major concerns: women's paid and unpaid work, women's economic position (including income maintenance), women's role as care-givers, violence against women, and women's housing, health and education needs.

## *Women's Paid and Unpaid Work*

The subject of women's work, both paid and unpaid, as contained in submissions, is developed in the analysis of submissions on work. In this section some aspects will be explored further.

Many submissions emphasised the need for women's work to be properly valued, especially the effect which the care of dependants has on women in relation to participation in the paid workforce.

From the submissions it was clear that women generally have the major responsibility for the care of dependants at several different times in their lives. Numerous submissions, from both those groups (such as unions) which are actively involved in promoting the interests of paid workers, and individuals involved in caring work, recommended parental leave provisions and a care-giver's allowance:

> I feel that those women who are at home, raising children, should receive an allowance. Perhaps this could be considered the most important task of all, the upbringing of a family, but society sadly puts little recognition on this role. [2983]

> Along with the sacrifices comes the privilege of rearing members of a future society who will be wholesome, secure and well-balanced in their character and lifestyle . . . Who will give this goal recognition and honour? [2152]

Another concern was for women to have real choices about the work that they did. This applies to both paid and unpaid work. Some women wanted to do unpaid work in the home (caring for children, in particular) and felt that there was a pressure (in terms of both their household's financial need and wider social expectation) for women to take up paid employment outside the home. Others sought paid work outside the home but found that their choices were exceedingly limited, due to a range of factors—their child care responsibilities (and the lack of part-time work, domestic leave provisions, and child care services); their lack of skills; the need to have access to transport; and the high level of unemployment and few job vacancies in their area.

A number of major organisations promoting better opportunities for women in the labour market made submissions to the Royal Commission. These included the Coalition for Equal Value Equal Pay [3792], the National Advisory Council on the Employment of Women [2907], the Human Rights Commission [3273], and the Women's Training Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council [0014].

In addition, many other submissions from women's groups and organisations mentioned the importance of changes to the conditions of women's paid and unpaid work [for example, 881, 1004, 5266].

A number of submissions concerned with women's position in the paid workforce identified training as an issue which must be addressed if women's entry into the labour market is to be facilitated.

The Women's Training Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council, which is concerned specifically with the special needs of women in entering or re-entering the workforce, argued:

> It is not in women's interests to be clustered in a labour market segment with poor work conditions and with little or no opportunity for training, re-training and career development. Funds should be allocated by the Government to training programmes which assist women to receive appreciable and tradeable skills. This policy is essential from an economic point of view: to develop the potential labour skill thereby increasing productivity and economic growth.
>
> Training programmes will only be successful if women are provided with adequate financial assistance and childcare. Financial support for women to undertake training is an essential consideration . . .' [0014]

Two particular areas of policy which impact directly on the usually unpaid work of women are those of deinstitutionalisation (or community care) and child care services. The former was discussed in section 4.5 on work.

### *Deinstitutionalisation*

The current social and economic policy which is at present directed towards the deinstitutionalisation of services and the 'return' of people to community care was raised as a concern by almost all of those submissions discussing the responsibility for the care of dependants. For further details see section 4.5.

### *Child Care Services*

Submissions discussing the position of women in the paid workforce frequently cited child care as a crucial factor affecting women's participation. In order for women to actively undertake paid employment, submissions argue that child care must be accessible, affordable and of high quality.

Submissions from the union movement have identified the provision of accessible, affordable, quality, community-based child

care as central to the needs of working parents, especially working women. Problems which submissions identify are:

1 Child care is too expensive for many, and therefore unsatisfactory, informal arrangements are made for the care of pre-school and school age children;
2 Child care services are not widely distributed geographically and transport provision is poor so that services are not easily accessible.
3 Quality of child care services is variable because of shortage of trained staff, high staff-child ratios, and underfunding of child care services.

The inequities between funding for kindergarten services and child care services is discussed in a number of submissions. While the kindergarten sector is seen as affordable, accessible and providing quality services, the child care sector is seen as the poor relation in comparison. Kindergartens, however, do not meet the needs of the working families because they do not provide full day care.

> We believe the state must provide and fund free childcare which is available to all children to enable the workers we represent to participate in the paid workforce on an equal basis. The provision of childcare affects the ability of women in particular to participate in the paid workforce on an equal footing. [4348]
>
> . . . childcare is not currently able to meet the real needs of communities because of insufficient funding, training and advisory services, shortage of childcare places and lack of co-ordinated planning for early childhood services. [3791]
>
> New Zealand society is unfair in its treatment of women and therefore children. This has been demonstrated many times before and the issue deserves final resolution. We believe society's expectations with respect to childcare reflect the disadvantages faced by women in participating in New Zealand society. Improved childcare must improve this issue. [1937]

Intimately connected with women's paid and unpaid work is women's economic position. This will be discussed in the next section.

### *Women's Economic Position*

The economic position of women, or their level of material well-being, was a common focus of submissions relating to women and social policy. 'Economic position' refers to things like income (whether from salary/wages or from benefits or other sources), housing, access to credit, and so on. People's economic position is

not something separate from other aspects of wellbeing, because one's economic position can allow or prevent one from buying or otherwise acquiring other goods and services (particularly education, health care, and recreation) that are important to general social wellbeing. One's economic position has a very immediate impact on one's ability to make choices and to realise one's full potential.

The Women's Studies Association in its submission [3328] said:

> Women's economic vulnerability is very evident following a marriage breakdown. At the time of the breakdown the matrimonial property should be divided equally. But that is where the equality ends. A divorced woman, caring for dependent children on the Domestic Purposes Benefit has not the resources to refinance herself into her own home, nor frequently the employment history to secure a highly paid job. The DPB in fact reinforces her dependency because of the limits imposed on her ability to earn any extra money. Her economic position will inevitably have an impact on her children. A poverty cycle is established—one which carries high financial costs in the long run.
>
> Broadly speaking, we seek a social policy which promotes an egalitarian society, and by that we mean not merely one in which all men are equal, but one in which men and women are of equal status.
>
> We seek a social policy in which the state provides social services such as health and education to a high standard, as of right and for all, as well as the provision of housing, income, child care and similar services for those in need.

The feminisation of poverty is a concept which underlies a majority of the submissions relating to women and social policy. That the position of women in New Zealand society has an economic base is described in detail in women's submissions.

The disadvantaged position of women in the labour market, and the relationship between paid and unpaid labour, is described in submissions. Many submissions are concerned that the free market policies pursued by the present Government are exacerbating the social and economic position of women, and that the formulation of economic policy should not be carried out in isolation from social objectives.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs has described this separation of economic and social policy as the 'compartment model', based on the assumption that life can be divided into separate areas which can be viewed almost in isolation. The effects are described as:

'1 The perpetuation of economic decisions based on prevailing economic theories which have themselves been developed on the basis of sexist and racist assumptions, and hence

2 Social policy designed to fit economic policy which not only does not enhance women's economic and social position but further entrenches their existing unequal position.' [5266]

The Ministry of Women's Affairs states that it receives many letters from women which are 'testimony to the fact that women's social 'problems' are nearly always the result of economic policy which at best has failed to understand their needs and at worst has ridden roughshod over them' [5266].

In its submission, the Federation of Labour/Combined State Unions (FOL/CSU) states:

> It is not possible to look at the welfare state or the changing nature of social policy without looking at how that affects women in the family and in paid employment. Social policy to a large extent is about the work of women (paid or unpaid) in caring for other people. [0300]

It argues that an analysis of the role of women is central to a study of social policy in New Zealand.

### *Women's Health*

Issues covered in the area of womens health in written submissions were similar to those received in the freephone submissions. As with the freephone submissions, there was a wide variety of opinions expressed, experiences described and policy options recommended. For an analysis of the issues raised in the freephone submissions; better access to health care, birth, free sanitary protection, doctor's attitudes, deinstitutionlisation and community care, disabled women, preventive health and abortion, refer section 3.1.

Unlike the freephone submissions, quite a few of the written submissions were from organisations. These usually covered more ground and went into more detail. On the issue of abortion for example, the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC), in its submission argues that the state has the responsibility to protect the right to life of all individuals and that unborn children are individuals with democratic rights which require further definition within our laws.

There is some common ground between certain pro—and anti-abortion groups. SPUC argues that the fostering of abortion for

either birth or population control is unacceptable [0893]. The Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRANZ) in its submission [0044] maintains that abortion should not be used as a form of contraception/birth control and efforts should be made to increase public awareness about contraception through, for example, sex education and the extension of family planning services. There is general consensus that unwanted pregnancies are a cause for concern.

Both pro- and anti-abortion individuals and organisations believe that the current situation should be re-examined.

### *Violence Against Women*

The wish to live in a society free of violence is a sentiment expressed by a large number of women in their submissions. Women expressed concern at a perceived increase in violent crime, particularly sexual violence against women.

The main factors identified in submissions as creating a climate which causes/encourages violence in general are social and economic factors (1) stress associated with prevailing economic conditions which include high levels of unemployment; (2) the role of the media which shows a high level of violence in general. The media are also identified as portraying men and women in traditional stereotyped roles which encourage male domination of women.

> The 1960s saw females portrayed on screen as half-witted sex objects, as never before. This insidious trend has continued of course, to the depravity of the 1980s. Little wonder women are treated so violently and disgustingly by males. [2267]
>
> . . . tightening up censorship of television, films and video [with regard to] violence against people . . . particularly sexual violence against women. [1342]

Submissions discuss the need for positive and educational material in the media. Implicit in this is the notion that there is a direct causal link between the portrayal of violence and actual direct violent acts.

A large percentage of submissions from women and women's groups, as well as some submissions from men, cite violence in general as a major concern. Much of this violence is recognised to be violence against women, sexual violence, child abuse, and domestic violence.

The education system is highlighted as a potential agent of social change. Many submissions discuss the need for material to be introduced into schools which encourages positive ways of looking at

men and women and relationships between men and women which break down traditional stereotypes of the sexes.

Assertiveness and self-defence courses are mentioned in a number of submissions as a positive means to counter violence against women by teaching women that they can fight back against violence. Submissions supporting assertiveness and self-defence courses recognise the harmful elements in the traditional roles and relationships between men and women.

> [We recommend] that physical education teachers learn self defence appropriate for women at training college—to be included in all schools as part of the phys ed programme. [0421]
>
> . . . [more] self defence taught in the school curriculum, . . . [1116]

Substantive submissions were received from women's groups working in the area of violence against women: for example, women's refuges, rape crisis centres, the HELP Foundation. These submissions emphasised the 'ambulance at the bottom of the cliff' nature of these services and the continual need for more government funding to sustain their work.

> [This Refuge] has been, until recently, the busiest in the country and we see a need to continue this vital service . . . Funding described in our submissions will provide a more effective service. [5608]
>
> The focus of our concern is that although violence in our society has loudly been proclaimed as an urgent concern of Government, . . . organisations . . . which have been working in this area for years receive barely enough financial support to survive. [5687]
>
> . . . greater support for [men's groups] working to change male stereotypes. [1103]

A number of agencies identified the problems which many women encounter concerning rehousing if they have been forced to/choose to leave their home. One improvement suggested is that women in this position have concessional rates of interest available to them to buy a home for themselves [3093].

### *Pornography and Sexist Imagery*

There has been some concern with the perceived link between pornography and sexual violence against women. Women against Pornographys' (WAP) definition of pornography is:

> Material which depicts women or children as sexual subordinates, or mere objects for the sexual gratification of men, in a manner which misrepresents the nature of female sexuality and in a context which endorses that depiction. [0662]

A large number of submissions which discuss the relationship between pornography and actual violence against women are based

on the belief that exposure to sexually violent pornography can lead to antisocial attitudes and behaviour.

> [Pornography tells] lies about women, children and sexuality. Women are still seen as guardians of communities' morals. Men must start taking responsibility. [0287]
>
> . . . women are certainly denigrated . . . I submit that all films and video recordings now and in the future that carry a classification 'R 18 sexual content may offend' be banned and so eliminated from the screens. [0216]
>
> The Commission [is] to have a policy and commitment to eradicating passive violence towards women and children in the media. [0421]

Submissions advocate two major means to attempt to counter pornography and sexist advertising. They fall into:

1 Strict censorship of pornography.
2 Preventive measures which include positive images of women in the media and the role of education.

In general, those submissions which specifically raise pornography as an issue which is seen to detrimentally affect women, cite censorship as the means to deal with it.

Submissions which discuss the portrayal of violence in the media as an issue of concern in general recommend that these programmes be removed and replaced with educational material. The actual details of what constitutes violence is not defined. The frequency that violence in the media is mentioned as an important issue is of significance.

That social policy should take into account the portrayal of violence and sexist advertising in the media is proposed by these submissions.

## 4.7 *Income Maintenance and Taxation*

As the Royal Commission on Social Policy Discussion Booklet No. 4 points out, 'money, income and wealth are a large part (though not all) of the resources needed to achieve the standards of a fair society' (p 2).

It is no surprise then, that many public submissions made comments on this topic including benefits, costs, income maintenance, taxation and living standards. *Approximately 40 percent of submissions on the database comment on one or more of the above topics.* Comments range from pleas to increase or reduce a certain benefit, to providing a detailed analysis of an alternative taxation system.

Table 11 gives a list of topics which have been isolated out to give an indication of main areas of concern or interest.
As the percentage frequencies indicate, there is considerable overlap between topics. This is understandable, given that a discussion

TABLE 11: Main topics about income maintenance and taxation

| *Topic* | *No. on Database* | *% Frequency* |
|---|---|---|
| *Total: (income or benefits or living standards or costs or poverty or taxation)* | 2481 | |
| *Benefit/Beneficiaries (incl. DPB)* | 1491 | 60 |
| *DPB* | 299 | 12 |
| *Tax/Taxation* | 800 | 32 |
| *Low income earners/Poverty* | 263 | 11 |
| *Department of Social Welfare* | 101 | 4 |
| *Superannuation/Surcharge/Surtax* | 440 | 18 |

on taxation for example, may naturally follow on from one on superannuation. Similarly, 'benefits' are likely to be covered in a submission which deals with the Department of Social Welfare.

It is not an easy task to analyse nearly two and a half thousand submissions without becoming bogged down with definitions, and at the same time capture the flavour of as many of the submissions as possible. As well as the variety of topics, within each topic there is a pot-pourri of views and suggestions.

A simple dichotomy can be made however which provides a useful framework for analysing the public submissions. This dichotomy involves the appreciation that in dealing with any country's economic and social development, there is not only the issue of the wealth and income itself, but of the distribution of that wealth.

The majority of submissions on income maintenance and taxation fall into the latter category. This is understandable in that social policy tends to become more important when the question of distribution arises.

Submissions dealing with distribution tend to be of two varieties. Firstly there are the ones which make reference to terms such as redistribution, equity and inequity. For example:

> . . . an integrated equitable social distribution of wealth with a feasible and consistent framework. [301]

Approximately 18 percent of the submissions in this area made reference to distribution and the equity of that distribution. These submissions echo feelings of those who believed that they are not getting a fair go, many of whom are on the lowest rungs of the

socio-economic ladder. It is fair to say that the wealthier members of society had little comment to make about the redistribution of wealth.

The second type of submissions are not so easily identified, and in fact they border on being solely on income/wealth. They include justifications for the need for increased government spending in a particular area. Although these submissions are more pragmatic than philosophic, they still indirectly discuss how funds should be distributed. It is difficult to quantify these submissions, but there are a significant number of them.

Another distinction which can be made is between those who made comments as if there were no limits to funding, for example requests for 'more government assistance' [290] and 'more funding' [655], and those who took the limiting factor into account, for example discussing direction of government funding [2022].

It would be fair to say that the former is the most common type of submission. This is to be expected, given that gauging personal responses is exactly what the Royal Commission asked for! As well, some of the best ideas can be developed when no restrictions are present.

### *Benefits and Beneficiaries*

Although it is difficult to ascertain just how many people believed benefits to be too generous, in comparison with how many believed that benefits were not providing an adequate standard of living, there were large lobbies on both sides.

As expected, it was the beneficiaries themselves who took the latter stance. One submission dealing with the disabilities benefit, for example, commented that:

> . . . there is a need for a general increase. At present the beneficiaries, rate of income gives them few choices. [5028]

Some submissions do not directly request an increase in benefit but describe their living standards. One couple stated that they 'have to live on $90 a week' and are 'living in total poverty' [198].

A theme common to such submissions was that the low levels of certain benefits meant that the majority of that income was being spent on necessities such as food and rent, and low self-esteem was associated with struggles to make ends meet.

Another comment made in some submissions was that the level of benefits in comparison with wages, was too low. However, submissions saying the opposite, that benefit levels were too high compared with wages far outweighed them.

The argument behind such comments was, as one woman pointed out, that the lack of difference between the unemployment benefit and the basic take-home pay, is a significant factor in the lack of initiative to seek alternative work [3700]. Another submission pointed out that wages paid for a job should be such that it is worthwhile to work, rather than to go on the unemployment benefit [2505].

One woman suggested that the DPB be given a name change because of the stigma currently attached to it [1070].

A number of people expressed the difficulties which they, or people they knew, were having in reducing their dependency on the state and often felt that the Government was not making it particularly easy for them.

The majority of people then appreciated that not all beneficiaries could move off benefits and become completely independent of the state, but there was a general feeling that the benefit system must encourage and equip its recipients to become, as far as possible, self supporting. In support of this claim, analysis of the submissions revealed that few people advocated abolition of any particular, or all benefits. More common were comments such as the following:

> 'Payment for jobs and the dole payment should be kept in a balance where the incentive to work is greater than the payment for doing nothing.' [4092]

People then, are seeking redefinition and a tidying up of the benefit system. Even one woman who calls for the abolition of the DPB and Family Benefits, suggests that they be replaced by a weekly wage to any person who is at home looking after children [4479].

Another fairly common comment was that benefits should not be paid to mothers under the age of 18 or 20 [for example refer 2210, 2530].

Some submissions voiced concern over benefit system rip-offs. As one person stated:

> Someone gave me a figure of 200,000. True or not, it is well known that many are ripping off the system. Amended legislation is necessary here. [203]

Rather than opting for absolutes then, the majority of submissions desired restructuring with the objective of reducing dependency on