

The April Report

VOLUME I

New Zealand Today

Report of

The Royal Commission on Social Policy

Te Kōmihana A Te Karauna Mō

Āhuetanga-Ā-Iwi

April 1988

Report of the Royal
Commission on social
policy



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11 MAY 1988

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

TE KŌMIHANA A TE KARAUNA MŌ
NGĀ ĀHUATANGA-Ā-IWI

Sir Ivor Richardson *Chairman*

Ann Ballin *member*

Marion Bruce *member*

Len Cook *member*

Mason Durie *member*

Rosslyn Noonan *member*

Warrant

Royal Commission on Social Policy

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God Queen of New Zealand and Her Other Realms and Territories. Head of the Commonwealth. Defender of the Faith:

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved The Right Honourable Sir IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, of Wellington, a Judge of the Court of Appeal, REUBINA ANN BALLIN, C.B.E. of Christchurch, Psychologist, MARION EDNA BRUCE, Q.S.O., of Porirua, Community Worker, MASON HAROLD DURIE, iwi *Kauwhata* and *Rangitane*, of Feilding, Medical Practitioner, and ROSSLYN JOY NOONAN, of Wellington, Trade Unionist:

GREETINGS

KNOW YE that We, reposing trust and confidence in your integrity, knowledge, and ability, do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint you, the said The Right Honourable IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, REUBINA ANN BALLIN, MARION EDNA BRUCE, MASON HAROLD DURIE, and ROSSLYN JOY NOONAN, to be a Commission to inquire into the extent to which existing instruments of policy meet the needs of New Zealanders, and report on what fundamental or significant reformation or changes are necessary or desirable in existing policies, administration, institutions, or systems to secure a more fair, humanitarian, consistent, efficient, and economical social policy which will meet the changed and changing needs of New Zealand and achieve a more just society:

And, in particular, to receive representations upon, inquire into, investigate, and report on—

- (i) The extent to which New Zealand meets the standards of a fair society and the main reasons why New Zealand falls short of any of these standards, and, in particular,—

—To investigate whether the ways in which responsibility for social wellbeing is currently shared among individuals, families, voluntary social groups, ethnic and tribal affiliations and other communities as well as local and central government hinders or assists the achievement of a fair society:

—To investigate both how existing government systems and policies assist or hinder the achievement of a fair society, and whether any hindrance results from inappropriate or conflicting objectives or inappropriate processes:

—To identify the constraints on the achievement of the standards of a fair society:

- (ii) The principles, derived from the standards of a fair society and based on the social and economic foundations of New Zealand, which government may apply to all policy;
- (iii) The guidelines for the application of these principles in each of the areas of social wellbeing;
- (iv) The nature and extent of change in policies and institutions which will enable New Zealand to meet the standards of a fair society with greater effectiveness and efficiency;
- (v) The criteria and mechanisms by which the social impact of policies may be monitored and assessed;
- (vi) Your priorities for the implementation of your recommendations;
- (vii) Any associated matter that may be thought by you to be relevant to the general objects of the inquiry:

And We Declare that, in carrying out this Our Commission, the standards to which you shall have regard as the standards of a fair society are—

- dignity and self-determination for individuals, families, and communities;
- maintenance of a standard of living sufficient to ensure that everybody can participate in and have a sense of belonging to the community;
- genuine opportunity for all people, of whatever age, race, gender, social and economic position or abilities to develop their own potential;
- a fair distribution of the wealth and resources of New Zealand including access to the resources which contribute to social wellbeing;
- acceptance of the identity and cultures of different peoples within the community, and understanding and respect for cultural diversity.

And We Further Declare that, in carrying out this Our Commission, you shall have regard to the social and economic foundations of New Zealand, namely—

- democracy based on freedom and equal rights;
- adherence to the rule of law;
- collective responsibility of New Zealand society for its members with continuing roles for individuals, families, voluntary social groups, ethnic and tribal affiliations and other communities as well as local and central government;
- the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi;
- the operation of a mixed economy with private, co-operative and public activity;
- the responsibility which all people have to be independent and self-reliant to the best of their ability and to contribute to society;

—a commitment to the children of New Zealand and regard for the future generations of New Zealand;

—the equality of men and women, and the equality of all races:

And We hereby appoint you, the said The Right Honourable IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, to be the Chairman of the said Commission:

And for the better enabling you to carry these presents into effect you are hereby authorised and empowered, subject to the provisions of this Our Warrant, to make and conduct any inquiry or investigation under these presents in such manner and at such time and place as you think expedient, with power to adjourn from time to time and from place to place as you think fit, and so that these presents shall continue in force and any such inquiry may at any time and place be resumed although not regularly adjourned from time to time or from place to place:

And you are hereby required, in carrying these presents into effect.—

—To consult widely, in ways which show regard for the dignity of individuals, of Maori and other ethnic groups, and other social groups, and for the modes of communication to which they are accustomed:

—To adopt procedures which encourage people to participate in your proceedings:

—To draw upon the findings of reviews such as those by the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Maori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare, the Task Forces on Income Maintenance and Social Welfare Delivery, the Health Benefits Review Team and the Officials Review of the Accident Compensation Scheme:

—To conduct research through your secretariat and through contracts with independent researchers and Government departments:

And you are hereby empowered, in carrying these presents into effect, to prepare and publish discussion papers from time to time on topics relevant to the inquiry:

And it is hereby declared that the powers hereby conferred shall be exercisable notwithstanding the absence at any time of any one or any two of the members hereby appointed so long as the Chairman or a member deputed by the Chairman to act in the place of the Chairman, and at least two other members, are present and concur in the exercise of the powers:

And We do further ordain that you have liberty to report your proceedings and findings under this Our Commission from time to time if you shall judge it expedient to do so:

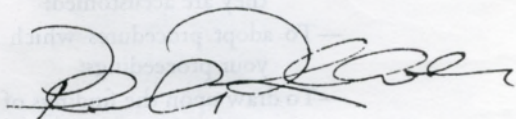
And, using all due diligence, you are required to report to His Excellency the Governor-General in writing under your hands, not later than the 30th day of September 1988, your findings and opinions on the matters aforesaid, together with such recommendations as you think fit to make in respect thereof:

viii W A R R A N T S

And, lastly, it is hereby declared that these presents are issued under the authority of the Letters Patent of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second constituting the office of Governor-General of New Zealand, dated the 28th day of October 1983*, and under the authority of and subject to the provisions of the Commissions of Inquiry Act 1908, and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council of New Zealand.

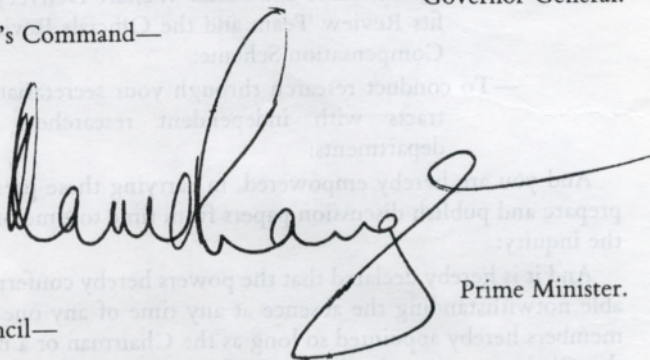
In witness whereof We have caused this Our Commission to be issued and the Seal of New Zealand to be hereunto affixed at Wellington this 30th day of October 1986.

Witness The Most Reverend Sir Paul Alfred Reeves, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, Principal Companion of The Queen's Service Order. Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over New Zealand.



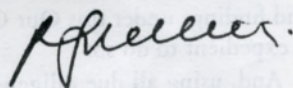
Governor-General.

By His Excellency's Command—



Approved in Council—

Prime Minister.



Clerk of the Executive Council.

Warrant

Addition of Member to Royal Commission on Social Policy

ELIZABETH THE SECOND, by the Grace of God Queen of New Zealand and Her Other Realms and Territories, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith:

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved The Right Honourable Sir IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, of Wellington, a Judge of the Court of Appeal, REUBINA ANN BALLIN, C.B.E., of Christchurch, Psychologist, MARION EDNA BRUCE, Q.S.O., of Porirua, Community Worker, MASON HAROLD DURIE, iwi *Kauwhata* and *Rangitane*, of Feilding, Medical Practitioner, ROSSLYN JOY NOONAN, of Wellington, Trade Unionist, and LEONARD WARREN COOK, of Wellington, Statistician:

GREETING:

WHEREAS, by Our Warrant dated the 30th day of October 1986*, We constituted you, the said The Right Honourable Sir IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, REUBINA ANN BALLIN, MARION EDNA BRUCE, MASON HAROLD DURIE, and ROSSLYN JOY NOONAN, to be a Commission to inquire into the extent to which existing instruments of policy meet the needs of New Zealanders, and report on what fundamental or significant reformation or changes are necessary or desirable in existing policies, administration, institutions, or systems to secure a more fair, humanitarian, consistent, efficient, and economical social policy which will meet the changed and changing needs of New Zealand and achieve a more just society:

And whereas it is desirable that you, the said LEONARD WARREN COOK, be appointed to be an additional member of the said Commission:

Now know ye that We, reposing trust and confidence in your integrity, knowledge, and ability, do hereby appoint you, the said LEONARD WARREN COOK, to be a member of the said Commission:

And it is hereby declared that all acts and things done and decisions made by the said Commission or any of its members, in the exercise of its or their powers, before the issuing of these presents, shall be deemed to have been made and done by the said Commission, as reconstituted by these presents, and as if you, the said LEONARD WARREN COOK, had originally been appointed to be a member of the said Commission:

And We do hereby confirm Our said Warrant and the Commission thereby constituted save as modified by these presents:

And, lastly, it is hereby declared that these presents are issued under the authority of the Letters Patent of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second constituting the office of Governor-General of New Zealand, dated the 28th day of October 1983†, and under the authority of and subject to the provisions of the Commissions of Inquiry Act 1908, and with the advice and consent of the Executive Council of New Zealand.

x WARRANTS

In witness whereof We have caused this Our Commission to be issued and the Seal of New Zealand to be hereunto affixed at Wellington this 5th day of October 1987.

Witness The Most Reverend Sir Paul Alfred Reeves, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, Principal Companion of The Queen's Service Order, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over New Zealand.

[L.S.]

PAUL REEVES, Governor-General.

By His Excellency's Command—

DAVID LANGE, Prime Minister.

Approved in Council—

C. J. HILL.

Acting for Clerk of the Executive Council.

*Gazette, 1986, p. 4650

†S.R. 1983/225

Amendment: S.R. 1987/8

Letter of Transmittal

To His Excellency The Most Reverend Sir Paul Alfred Reeves, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Victorian Order, Principal Companion of The Queen's Service Order, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over New Zealand.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY

Your Excellency by Warrant dated 30 October 1986 appointed us the undersigned IVOR LLOYD MORGAN RICHARDSON, REUBINA ANN BALLIN, MARION EDNA BRUCE, MASON HAROLD DURIE, and ROSSLYN JOY NOONAN, to report under the terms of reference stated in that Warrant.

Your Excellency by further Warrant dated 5 October 1987 appointed the undersigned LEONARD WARREN COOK as a Commissioner.

We now submit this report.

We have the honour to be
Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

Ivor Richardson *Chairman*

Ann R. Ballin *Member*

Marion E. Bruce *Member*

L. W. Cook *Member*

Mason Durie *Member*

Rosslyn J. Noonan *Member*

Dated at Wellington this 29th day of April 1988.

Contents

Warrants

Letter of Transmittal

Preface

SOCIAL POLICY IN NEW ZEALAND: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1

W. H. Oliver

I The Nineteenth Century — II The Early Twentieth Century — III The Later Twentieth Century

THE PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND

47

Department of Statistics

- 1 Population Growth — 2 Fertility — 3 Mortality —
- 4 International Migration — 5 Population Age Structure —
- 6 Ethnic and Cultural Diversity of Population —
- 7 Geographic Distribution of Population — 8 Internal Migration — 9 Labour Force — 10 Marriage and Marriage Dissolution — 11 Family and Household Structure —
- 12 Children — 13 Solo Parents — 14 The Unemployed —
- 15 The Elderly

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

201

An Analysis of Submissions to the Royal Commission

- 1 What Happened to the Submissions
- 2 A Quantitative Analysis of the Submissions
- 3 An Analysis of Different Types of Submissions
- 4 What the People Said in the Submissions

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

397

A New Zealand Survey 1987

Department of Statistics

- 1 Survey Results — 2 Explanatory Notes — Appendix A: Household Form — Appendix B: Personal Questionnaire — Appendix C: Study of Non-Respondents

A CHRONOLOGICAL NARRATIVE OF THE INQUIRY 701

1 Establishment — 2 Beginnings: February 1987 — 3 Early Days: March/April 1987 — 4 The First Visits: May/June 1987 — 5 In Wellington: July to September 1987 — 6 The Second Travel Period: October/November 1987 — 7 December 1987 — 8 January 1988 — 9 Towards the April Report

Contents of Other Volumes

VOLUME II FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Future Directions: An Introduction

The Treaty of Waitangi *Directions for Social Policy*

Te Tiriti O Waitangi *He Tohutohu: Te Kaupapa Mō Ngā Āhuatanga ā Iwi*

Women and Social Policy *Part 1 Māori Women*

Women and Social Policy *Part II*

The Inter-relationship of Economic and Social Policy

Social Wellbeing

Work

Outcomes of Social and Economic processes

The Funding of Social Provision

Income Maintenance and Taxation

Social Provision: Access and Delivery

Policy Development, Assessment and Monitoring

VOLUME III FUTURE DIRECTIONS:

ASSOCIATED PAPERS Part 1

Standards and Foundations

Ngā Tikanga Me Ngā Ritenga O Te Ao Māori *Standards and Foundations of Māori Society*

Standards and Foundations for Social Policy

The Treaty of Waitangi

Te Reo o Te Tiriti Mai Ra Ano *The Treaty Always Speaks*

Ngā Take i Puawai Mai i Ngā Wānanga *Issues Raised in the Discussions*

Women

Statistical Profile of Women in New Zealand

Social Wellbeing

Objective Measures of Social Wellbeing

Me Āro ki te hā o te Tangata *Let the People Speak*

Restructuring The State: Restructuring Society

What the Novelists See

The S-Factor: Taha Wairua

The World We Have Gained

The Negative Mirror: *Social Wellbeing as Reflected in the
Philosophy of Normalisation*

Te Hono ki te Wairua *The Spiritual Link*

Work

Statistical Profile of Work

Wage Determination

Labour Market Policy and New Zealand's Welfare State

An Overview of Developments Since World War II

Active Labour Market Policies

The Placement Service and Benefit System

Regional Policy

Evaluation of Employment Programmes *A Background Paper*

VOLUME III ASSOCIATED PAPERS Part 2

Outcomes of Social and Economic Processes

Housing Issues

The State or the Market *The Impact of Housing Policy on Women*

Middle Class Capture: A Brief Survey

How Fair is New Zealand Education

Fairness in Māori Education

Income Maintenance and Taxation

General Considerations

The Social Security System

Families with Children

The Sick, the Injured, and the Disabled

The Elderly

Social Provision: Access and Delivery

Social Policy and the Move to 'Community'

Social Policy and the Move to 'Community' *Practical Implications
for Service Delivery*

xvi CONTENTS

Te Reo O Te Tai Tokerau *Community Evaluation of a Māori*

Language Programme

Current Systems of Social Provision in New Zealand *A Directory*

Policy Development, Assessment and Monitoring

Hapū and Iwi Resources and their Quantification

Assessment and Monitoring *The State of the Art*

VOLUME IV SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

Social Perspectives *An Introduction*

Health

Māori Education for a Just Society

Education

Housing

Justice

Personal Social Services

Energy and Social Policy

Rents in the New Zealand Energy Sector

The Environment

Transport: Access or Isolation

Social Policy and the Media in New Zealand

The Mass Media *A Māori Perspective*

Recreation and Leisure

Immigration Policy

Towards Ethnic Equality and Diversity

Pacific Island People's Perspectives

Family

Perspectives on the Elderly in New Zealand

Rangatahi: Youth Perspectives

People with Disabilities

Consumer Affairs

Preface

The Royal Commission was established to undertake a nationwide inquiry designed to set social policy goals and to recommend what needs to be done to make New Zealand a more fair and just society.

Social Policy as a subject encompasses a whole range of social behaviour. Crucial to the inquiry has been the assessment of the values, concerns and goals New Zealanders have as a society. For that we have reflected on our history, on the values that have shaped social policy, on current social arrangements, and on what we have learnt in the course of the inquiry, particularly from the submissions received. These submissions, while numbering approximately 6,000, actually represent through national and community organisations, and individuals involved, some hundreds of thousands of people in every part of the country.

This report is the outcome of that work. Volume I is called *New Zealand Today*. This first volume contains the following papers: *Social Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Overview*, by Professor W. H. Oliver; *The People of New Zealand*, a demographic profile prepared by the Department of Statistics; *The Voice of the People: An Analysis of Submissions; Attitudes and Values: A New Zealand Survey*, a report on the extensive attitudinal survey carried out for the Commission by the Department of Statistics to complement the submission material; and *A Chronological Narrative of the Inquiry*.

Volume II is called *Future Directions*. It discusses in fairly extensive overview chapters the broad areas around which the work of the Royal Commission was organised. As explained in the introductory chapter, the first 6 broad areas—*Standards and Foundations* which is addressed in the introduction, *The Treaty of Waitangi: Directions for Social Policy*, *Women and Social Policy*, *The Inter-relationship of Economic and Social Policy*, *Social Wellbeing*, and *Work*—approach in different ways and with different emphases the features of today's society which we consider should govern social policy. There are 5 further overviews in the volume. The first is called *Outcomes of Social and Economic Processes*, a title which speaks for itself. It is followed by *Funding*, *Income Maintenance and Taxation*,

Social Provision: Access and Delivery, and *Policy Development, Assessment and Monitoring*. These papers raise questions of principle of wide general application. It has seemed sensible to adopt this approach rather than to go directly to particular functional areas such as health, education or housing, or to specific perspectives on social policy such as those of the elderly, the young, the disabled, or ethnic minorities. Supporting papers relating directly to the overview papers in Volume II are included in Volume III, called *Future Directions: Associated Papers*, and follow the same subject sequence.

Volume IV, called *Social Perspectives*, contains position papers prepared for the Commission on functional areas and special perspectives by writers with special expertise in the particular subjects. They draw on the submissions and other work of the Commission and each was prepared in consultation with the Commissioner having responsibility for that subject area. The short overview that precedes the position papers expresses certain conclusions which the Commissioners have reached within the substantial time constraints under which this early report has been prepared. As we said publicly in January, when announcing the intention to present an early report, this has meant that the present analysis is necessarily limited and we have not had the advantage of presenting working papers for comment and discussion as a step in the process of developing the report.

The Commissioners have received quite exceptional assistance from all members of the secretariat, from the large team of phase managers and consultants, from government departments, national, local and community organisations, and individuals directly involved in the inquiry. Our special thanks go to all those who made submissions to the Commission and assisted us to a better understanding of contemporary New Zealand.

SOCIAL POLICY
IN NEW ZEALAND:
AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

W. H. Oliver

Social Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Overview

W. H. Oliver

This paper takes 'social policy' to include all those things deliberately done by government to promote wellbeing and to limit the effects of misfortune, primarily in terms of material advantages and disadvantages. Further, because there need to be losers if there are to be winners, some attention is paid to those at whose cost social policy goals were achieved. The opening definition, unless qualified, is broad enough to include the patronage of the arts and of recreation. That breadth is not encompassed here: education, for example, is discussed, but only because it is believed to enhance opportunities for material wellbeing. The compass of the paper, even so, remains broad, and breadth has been purchased at the cost of depth and detail.

The paper is divided into 3 chronological (though overlapping) sections:

- 1 The nineteenth century: the state as the agent of settlement
- 2 The early twentieth century: the state as the agent of welfare
- 3 The later twentieth century: the climax of the interventionist state?

These sub-headings point only to main trends. 'Settlement', in the broad sense of providing resources for people to use, 'welfare', as a set of measures to prevent the worst consequences of poverty and incapacity, and 'intervention', in the sense that the state is always having an effect, through what it chooses not to do as well as what it chooses to do, all to a greater or lesser degree characterise all 3 periods.

I The Nineteenth Century

In social policy the decades from the beginning of significant Pakeha settlement to the first world war show marked continuities with the period that follows. There are 2 kinds of continuity: first, in welfare provision, and second, in social policies which will here be called 'enablement'. Though, before the 1930s, there is no sign of an implicit 'welfare contract' for the redistribution of benefits and obligations according to life cycle stages, there was an abundance of devices of a 'rescue' kind to provide a hedge against poverty and misfortune. These remain to the present day: they have changed only in becoming more elaborate.

Of greater significance is the continuity which begins with the panoply of nineteenth century 'enablement' policies. These directed public resources to enhance the life opportunities of people who were expected to have enough enterprise to take advantage of them and quite quickly repay the cost. Such 'enablement' policies are concerned with land (where, for the Maori, they amount to 'disenablement'), public works, the labour market, and education. (From a twentieth century perspective the most striking omission is health.) In the twentieth century, 'enablement' policies came to embrace a much wider range of activities. There is a continuing belief, over the 2 centuries, in the capacity of the state to enable people to live better lives, and in the propriety of using the state to promote that goal.

Land Settlement and 'Native' Policy

The starting point for social policy, then, is not welfare but land settlement. Simply because New Zealand was, from a Pakeha standpoint, a new society, and because its one reliable long term resource was land, settlement policy and social policy are almost co-terminous.

The Maori tribes were at once the great source of land, and the great obstacle to access to it. What was known as 'native' policy from the 1840s to the 1940s, is not peripheral but central. It is, then, correct as well as fashionable to begin with the Treaty of Waitangi, through which the Crown became the channel for the movement of land from Maori to settler. Exercising its right of pre-emption, the Crown from the 1840s to the mid-1860s was the sole buyer of land from Maori. The first instrument of social policy

in New Zealand was the system set up by William Hobson in 1840 for the purchase and re-sale to settlers of Maori land. Because many settlers and some Maori rejected this monopoly, the first public controversy over social policy arose from the demand that private purchasing be allowed. In 1844 the campaign was successful but only for a few months.

Under the 1852 constitution, native policy and land acquisition were reserved to the Governor exercising the powers of the Crown. However, the same constitution set up representative institutions and gave them the power of the purse, so that the pace and direction of change in these policies was greatly influenced by settler demand. In the later 1840s Crown purchase proceeded steadily and peacefully, sufficiently ahead of settler demand. In the 1850s the pace quickened as settlement expanded. Especially on the interior peripheries of the Pakeha beachheads, Maori opinion turned around, from (often) a willingness to sell for the commercial advantages expected to follow, to (in the main) an effort to prevent further sales. The King movement was the major institutional result. War, beginning in Taranaki and spreading to Waikato, the East Coast, and the Wanganui district, arose from this conflict more than from any other cause.

War, followed by confiscation, was one way of implementing social policy. The law was another, more widespread and persistent in its effects. The appetites of settlers (and of speculators) became dominant in the early 1860s. The pre-emptive right of the Crown gave way to private purchase; the central government set up the Native Land Court as a permanent agency for the movement of land from Maori to Pakeha possession.

By the 1890s, these twin instruments of social policy had effectively done their work—a major part of the usable land of the North Island was in Pakeha hands. Almost the whole of the South Island had gone this way by Crown purchase in the 1850s. There was no war in that island because none was needed.

Creating and operating the devices for separating Maori from their land was a task for the central government. Distributing it and providing the infrastructure without which it would remain unproductive were functions for the provincial governments from 1853 to 1876, when the central government inherited the tasks. In the provincial period a cluster of separate land settlement policies grew up. All aimed, more or less, at 3 goals: public revenue for

public works, advantage for large owners and speculators, and sufficient scope for small settlers to encourage them not to despair. For the time being, until depression came in the late 1870s, there was (generally speaking) enough land to achieve all 3.

Even so, in the provinces before 1876 and nationally thereafter, debates between the advocates of large and small scale settlement flickered and flared, the more fiercely in the 1880s as the stock of accessible land dwindled. This debate over social policy, in which the advocates of the small settler attacked the entrenched position of the large landholder, was the genesis of New Zealand radicalism. By the end of the 1880s (with significant ideological inputs from Great Britain and the United States) it amounted to an effective articulation of the right of the humble to a place in the sun, and to a claim upon the services of the state in finding it for them.

Public Works and Immigration

There was considerable debate, too, about infrastructure (roads and railways) and labour (assisted immigration). There were deep differences of opinion over the extent to which such development should be based upon overseas borrowing. When, by the later 1880s, the colony's financial plight precluded further borrowing, debate focused upon the social incidence of taxation (property and income, or articles of everyday consumption) and upon the direction of retrenchment—education was a favourite target of the economisers.

Public works and immigration policies had an intimate connection with 'native' policy. In the 1860s some roads were constructed for military as well as economic purposes; others grew out of Armed Constabulary tracks. South of Auckland especially, the city was protected by an outlying ring of pensioner settlements—armed farmers who could be called into service. The central government recruited its own troops on a promise of a grant of land; often they were located on confiscated land in the vicinity of the resisting tribes.

The extension of settlement in the North Island was seen as an instrument of pacification. Roads and farming communities would draw Maori within the reach of 'civilising influences', and also within the reach of the merchants and land buyers, who first tempted Maori into debt, and then took them to the land court to secure title to land so that they could sell it to meet their debts. It

was hoped that work on roads and farms would draw Maori into the cash economy and expose them to the needs they would have to earn money to satisfy. From the period of the wars to the end of the century and beyond, the state provided an almost endless series of legislative, administrative and legal measures by which land continued to pass from Maori to settler use. In the 1890s the Liberal government, in the interests of closer settlement, revived Crown pre-emption in part, and bought considerable areas of the Maori land that remained in the North Island. Land is the basis from which all else flowed, and the keynote to social policy throughout this period.

Closer Settlement

From the 1880s (in national legislation, for there were provincial precedents) to well into the twentieth century a long series of enactments and administrative arrangements attempted to foster 'closer' settlement. Another series sought to encourage farming efficiency. If land, Reeves said, looking back on the 1890s, was seldom the first matter in any parliamentary session, it was invariably the second. Village settlement schemes, tenurial reforms, deferred payment systems, re-purchase of large estates for subdivision, the routing of surplus labour into subsistence farming and rural labouring, provision of loans for land purchase and improvements, a renewed onslaught upon Maori held land, technical education and assistance, quality control measures for dairy exports, and a new department of state for agriculture, all demonstrate the zeal of the Liberal government of the nineties to look after the men on the land and to increase their numbers.

These policies were not thought to be simply material. The towns were growing at the time; rural virtue was held to be the great antidote to perceived urban degeneration. The small dairy unit, in particular, was praised because it was a family operation and likely to stabilise a basic social institution. It is certainly the case that the rural economy depended upon a large input of child and female labour. A good deal of Maori labour was also absorbed, on road building and seasonal work.

This was the central theme of social policy from the middle 1890s to the first world war. The extent to which policy was responsible for either the spread of closer settlement or the higher level of production is open to debate. The general view is that its

role was less than determinative but more than marginal. The trend was set in those directions in any case, by improving prices and wider markets for new and old farm exports, technological change affecting food exports, and rising land values stimulating rising prices. Private owners, when it proved profitable to do so, subdivided without compulsion. Financial institutions were ready with credit, and the private sector threw up meat and dairy processing plants. The state, through its legislators, administrators and inspectors, worked with the tide, but they did not cause it to flow.

Urban and Social Dimensions

Though these policies had a rural character, urban business interests were well to the fore. It has been argued that Liberal land settlement was essentially a townsmen's policy. It is the conventional wisdom that the countryside called the towns into existence to service the rural economy. The reverse argument has as much truth in it—that the towns summoned the farms into existence for the profits to be gained through sub-division, shopkeeping, handling farm products, and providing financial and legal services. Urban businessmen needed rural clients and customers; the closer settlement of the land multiplied them. Land remains the great resource, but the ways of utilising it are more complex than simply cultivating it.

The social dimension of land settlement was always prominent. As policy goals were re-set to include the small owner and occupier, there was a shift of emphasis away from economic growth to social wellbeing. Small farms were of marginal economic significance until refrigeration brought a major dairy export industry into existence in the early twentieth century. Nevertheless, small scale settlement was promoted from the beginning of the 1880s. Proprietorship was a goal in itself. On the outskirts of the cities, tiny blocks were subdivided for town workers so that they could grow their own food. Small farmers on larger blocks could at least feed themselves and their families, produce a surplus for cash sale on the local market, and escape from the demoralisation of urban unemployment. That the small farms of the emergent dairying districts (Taranaki, Manawatu, Waikato, Southland) were later to become a significant source of exports was not the result of policy, but of market growth and technology.

Agricultural Efficiency

Nevertheless, the government and the private sector were aware of the prospects presented by technology. The first hesitant steps were taken in the 1880s, but it was in the next decade that agricultural promotion and regulation became a prime object of policy. If the Department of Agriculture, set up in 1891, did not create the dairy industry, it was at least its midwife, nurse and mentor, through inspection, monitoring, and advisory services from the point of production to the point of export. There were strenuous efforts to raise the quantity and quality of horticulture and viticulture, which, however, stubbornly refused to become major industries. Scab and rabbits, the twin scourges of the pastoral industry, were attacked—so, too, without much effect, were the depredations of small birds upon grain and seed crops.

Throughout the country Land Boards supervised the activities of state tenant farmers, watching over the conditions of settlement attached to the tenures. The Agricultural and Pastoral Associations, nurtured and consulted by the government, became important agencies of improvement and sources of advice to the government. Through the Advances to Settlers Office the state became an important source of farm finance, typically acting as a means through which the farmer could re-finance upon less onerous terms.

Liberal land policy, overall, was a deliberate and sustained effort, carried through with intelligence and information, to put more men and their dependents on the land, and to help them to become more efficient, for their own sakes, for the sake of an economy dependent upon farm exports, and for the sake of a healthy, moral society. All this can be properly represented as social policy, and it is wholly without welfare connotations. The principles of user-pays and cost-recovery—not that the terms were current then—were rigorously enforced.

Labour and Unemployment

Governments made no direct financial payments to the unemployed in this period, but in the 1890s the Liberals intervened with some effect in the labour market. Through the Bureau of Labour, set up in 1892 as the nucleus of the new Department of Labour, it

provided a colony-wide employment agency. It shifted large numbers of men around the country, mainly from the towns to farm and construction work. Many of them were immigrants from depressed Australia.

Arbitration (and conciliation) was a much more significant government intervention. An act of 1894 strengthened the bargaining position of the unions through a system of conciliation and arbitration through which they would have a voice in the settlement of disputes and, given a sympathetic court, an influence upon the outcome. It was not that a strong union movement demanded a share of power and won it. It was rather that middle class radicals, such as W. P. Reeves, the responsible Minister, and Edward Tregear, the permanent head of the department, were so impressed by the weakness of the labour unions in the 1890 maritime dispute, that they set out to support them by eliminating direct action. The state reshaped the labour movement, though the work force remained far from wholly unionised. The Arbitration Court exercised a dominant influence upon wages and conditions of work for three quarters of a century. Though the history of industrial relations has been persistently disputatious, it has been geared to compromise solutions.

The Department of Labour policed working conditions, prosecuted employers for breach of awards, and enforced minimum conditions of hygiene and safety. Though, in good measure, rural employment lay outside the system, thanks to the strength of the rural lobby, shearers' accommodation was brought within regulation. Women factory workers benefited from government inspection, and an effort, at least, was made to regulate the activities of agencies supplying domestic labour.

Cost Recovery

The profligate seventies gave way to the penny-pinching eighties, struggling under a load of debt servicing. The Liberals in the 1890s were committed to frugality and retrenchment, and opposed to overseas borrowing. During their 20 years in office they modified this policy by a cautious return to overseas borrowing for development. But they were never lavish. They expected those who benefited from policies to pay for them, and by and large they did. State tenants paid their rents and state mortgagees met their obligations; railway rates were set to provide a return upon invested capital;

roads were maintained by rate-collecting local authorities. Even the surplus town labourers sent to the country with a one-way ticket were expected to pay for it later, and to a surprising extent they seem to have done so. Co-operative gangs on railway construction (chiefly the North Island main trunk) worked under strict supervision and had to pay for their tools as well as for food, clothing and shelter. The Liberals 'targeted' policies towards people capable of paying their way. Policies were administered with a care bordering on parsimony.

Education

A more conventional field of social policy, education, was free (and secular, if not yet, except in principle, compulsory), but only at primary level. But though the government paid the bills, it was confidently believed that costs would be recovered in the near future, in the form of a literate, numerate, docile and virtuous labour force, both industrial and domestic. Virtue was a goal as prized as skill. Even the arguments advanced by the churches for religious education emphasised civic virtue rather than religious truth.

Women were an essential part of this labour force, as the nurturers of breadwinners, the bearers and raisers of children, and the bastions of domestic virtue. Maori children, too, were to be absorbed (literally) into the mainstream, through its language, its values and its skills. In its expected impact upon the poor, the Maori and the women, state education was a hegemonic system designed to secure the interests of a middle class, white, male establishment. The fact that many of the poor, many Maori, and many women enthusiastically co-operated in the programme serves only to underline its hegemonic efficacy.

There is no evidence of efforts to undermine the system, nor to provide a rival system. The arduously constructed Catholic parish school system limited its separateness to cultic values and practices. Its social goals matched those of the public system. Those who passed through either system had held out to them the prospect of individual betterment and were equipped to achieve it. But it was betterment within a prevailing and regularly reinforced consensus. Cost-recovery, with the return seen in terms of reinforced social values and norms, was real and continuous. The public system was permeated with an ethos of economy, efficiency and accountability. Payment by results controlled grants; inspectors kept the system

lean and trim; school committees recruited from the respectable kept teachers in their place—and it was a humble one.

Public Health

Public schooling, until the end of the century, was essentially elementary schooling for the less well-to-do. The better off were expected to send their children to fee paying schools. It was much the same with health: those who could afford to do so were expected to see to their own needs. Those who could not were served by hospitals, and the benevolence of practitioners forgoing their fees.

Nineteenth century public health, unlike education, is not a system at all, but a collection of regional and functional fragments. Officials, both national and local, had some responsibility for sanitation, quarantine, vaccination, food hygiene, public nuisances and notifiable diseases. Direct state responsibility was limited to the care of the insane, including many alcoholics. For other illnesses, the provincial system bequeathed a patchwork of boards which administered a further patchwork of hospitals of diverse origin, financed by local, voluntary, and central government contributions. The whole was subject to the supervision of a department of state that remained minute and incapable of enforcing policy until the twentieth century, with responsibility not only for the sick but also for the aged and the indigent.

However, permeating this administrative welter, the elements of a health policy can be detected, one which was little more than a rescue operation. The poor who fell sick had to have somewhere to go: those who met other misfortunes could find at least some support in charitable aid. Both treatment and support were administered through the hospital system. A high proportion of those inside the hospitals were the permanently incapable—the old, the chronic, and the feeble-minded. Hospitals provided custodial care at a rather primitive level, but not unrelieved by instances of good sense and kindness.

Little attention was paid to the promotion of health in the interests of social efficiency, as education was designed to promote efficiency. It appears to have been widely expected that the advantages of a new society would be enough. As evidence to the contrary piled up in the later nineteenth century, there was a good deal

of public anxiety, but little actual policy. Sexually transmitted diseases, a high level of infant mortality, insanity and mental disorder, cholera and typhoid, all seemed to show that the old world, far from being left behind, was reproducing itself in the small colonial cities. Further evidence lay to hand in the high perceived level of criminal and immoral behaviour. Remedies were proposed in abundance—a curfew on the young, the punishment of parents of delinquent children, labour camps in the country, censorship, prohibition, and religious education. But prospective policy faltered at the door of legislative and administrative capacity. Concern remained concern—it has stayed that way to the present day. Public health, after the bubonic plague scare of 1900 and then the influenza epidemic of 1919 presented real threats, remained at the sub-policy level.

The least healthy section of the population was an object of less concern. Maori had easily the worst mortality and morbidity rates of the later nineteenth century. They suffered from epidemics, localised but still devastating. Successive censuses seemed to point to a solution which precluded the need for policy—that the Maori would die out after contributing a submerged exotic element to a new white race of better Britons. Through the native schools, the Education Department—or more precisely the Inspector of Native Schools, James H. Pope—tried to inculcate more hygienic habits, but this approach was not inconsistent with the ‘humane’ desire to ‘smooth the pillow of a dying race’.

However, the censuses of the early twentieth century suggested that the Maori were not, after all, dying out. More determined efforts were then made, through the Department of Health (specifically by Peter Buck, Te Rangi Hiroa) to improve sanitary and living conditions in the villages. For a time, many Maori communities responded vigorously. As with the Pakeha poor, the conscience of the times could not let the Maori poor go wholly without some provision for sickness. But the gap in rates of morbidity and mortality between even the 2 poorer sections of the population remained. When the influenza epidemic struck in 1919, the Maori death rate was spectacularly higher than that of the Pakeha.

Welfare and Charitable Aid

Though the term 'welfare state' should not be applied to the period, it is true that the nineteenth century presents a variety of public and private welfare institutions, policies and practices—too great for easy summary. But they do not have the characteristics of the modern welfare state, except with that persisting 'safety net' of rescue operations which deal with the casualties of society.

The nineteenth century label for welfare was 'charitable aid'. Too various to be called a system, it was a complex mix of locality, region and centre, and of public, corporate and individual agency. In effect, it was a colonial Poor Law. Under the 1852 constitution, the provinces had been charged with responsibility for the indigent, and each had discharged it by subsidising voluntary institutions, by setting up their own, and by channelling through them a modest amount of money for the relief of indigence among the elderly, deserted women and families, and children in need of care. In principle, it was laid down by the Destitute Persons Act of 1877, that responsibility lay with the near relatives of the indigent. In practice, many families were absentee, broken, or otherwise incapable. There was a wide gap to be bridged in other ways, if it was to be bridged at all.

The protestant ethic proposed that helping the poor was a Christian virtue and should be a charge upon the Christian conscience through donations. A number of institutions were established, mostly by churches, and in part supported by private charity, including hospitals, refuges for fallen women, and homes for destitute and neglected children. But private charity was never enough. It was held that the local poor should be a charge upon the local community through rates. But as ratepayers people were as reluctant as they had been as donors, especially when many of the applicants for aid were not local at all. Refugees from rural unemployment homed in upon the charitable opportunities of the cities. So government contributions were required, and normally provided upon a capitation basis.

The provincial inheritance added to the complexity. After abolition the central government (but not until 1885) set up a colony-wide system of Charitable Aid Boards, in most cases identical with Hospital Boards, so that the hospital became the characteristic

charitable aid institution administering 'outdoor relief'. But further, the Boards presided over a medley of private voluntary institutions. During the provincial period, each province had evolved in its own manner. The legislation of 1885 simply incorporated the existing variety. There was variety, too, in the level at which these programmes had been financed. Not surprisingly, Otago and Canterbury, the 2 wealthiest provinces, had been the most generous. They inherited, after abolition, a lion's share of central government provision. Again, the indigent migrated to better opportunities, especially in the later 1880s, when depression hit hardest in the North Island.

By the end of that decade it was clear that the problem was a national as well as a public one. The response was more administrative than legislative, and more a reinforcement of contemporary attitudes than a new departure. The public servant in charge of the system, Duncan MacGregor (also Inspector of Lunatic Asylums) attempted over a long tenure of office both to bring in some element of unity and to apply the most rigorous nineteenth century 'benevolent' principles. These were to make relief as unattractive as possible, and to do everything to avoid encouragement of 'pauperisation'. The undeserving were to be excluded, and even the deserving were to be discouraged. The boards and other local institutions, less able to ignore pressing local demand, frustrated him at every turn. There was more charity at the periphery than at the centre.

Officially, the able-bodied did not receive relief. Unemployment in the 1880s led to some provision, in a haphazard and discontinuous way, as governments handed out money to local bodies for road works. Charitable Aid Boards were sometimes forced to supply food and fuel to the families of the out of work. Nevertheless, the accepted targets of assistance were those more obviously unable to fend for themselves—the aged and the young, and, because the young were frequently in the care of an unsupported female parent, women.

Children and Women

The problems presented by destitute, neglected and criminal children perplexed policy makers. The family, through the dereliction of one or both parents, was not a sufficient answer. Though the notion that healthy moral children were an investment in the

future was not widely current until the early twentieth century, the view that delinquent children were a threat to it was a nineteenth century commonplace. Social Darwinian, and eventually eugenicist, notions played their part. It was necessary to ensure that the best stock was preserved and that the worst was either neutralised or made better. The paradox that the worst stock was carelessly fertile, and so well equipped for survival, was always present and never resolved.

The problem of children in need of care lacked neither laws nor corrective institutions. It was a prime object of philanthropy: most orphanages were run by churches and voluntary groups, subsidised by the government. For criminal, and also orphaned and illegitimate children, the state maintained industrial schools. In both the regime was austere and economical. So, too, was the lot of children sent out to fostering, often a source of income and unpaid labour for those taking in children. Stories of mistreatment, exploitation, and malpractice are plentiful enough. 'Child welfare' is not an appropriate term until well into the twentieth century.

Contemporaries were convinced that these institutions did no more than scratch the surface of the problem. It seemed to many alarmed observers towards the end of the century that the colony was breeding a race of lawless, violent and immoral young people, and that the fault lay with parents over-intent upon pleasure and wealth. The widespread belief that the young were in peril and the future in jeopardy led, in the next century, to major reforms in education and in the justice system.

Delinquent young women were seen as an especially menacing phenomenon. Their sins, especially extra-marital fertility, forcibly demonstrated the consequences of a bad childhood, and their offspring threatened to transfer the evil to a new generation. There were maternity homes which normally dealt only with 'first falls' and 'rescue homes' devoted to the reclamation of 'fallen women'. They were characterised by the customary austerity, discipline and economy.

The Aged Poor

At one end of the life cycle, the young could be regarded as incapable of self help and so as 'deserving'. At the other end, the indigent aged were also accepted as deserving, but for the sake of the past,

not the future. The maleness of the colonial population, the difficulty in finding marriage partners, and the general fragility and dispersal of families, all contributed to the plight of the helpless aged, especially derelict old men. There were numerous old people's homes, and hospitals were forced to devote a share of their resources to those of advanced age and without support. The characteristic nineteenth century blend of private and public initiative dealt with this problem until 1898.

Why the state should have brought in direct benefit payments for the elderly poor in that year is not at all clear. Seddon, a keen advocate of the measure both for its own sake and for its electoral promise, came from the West Coast, where the receding gold industry had left an especially high proportion of helpless old men. He spoke, movingly, of the merits of those who had borne the brunt of pioneering and now deserved the thanks of a grateful nation. But, for all the rhetoric, the payments were neither lavish nor indiscriminate. They were to be limited to the deserving of those 65 years of age and over; tests were provided for moral fitness as well as for residence and financial need. These were enforced with some rigour, especially as the pensions bill mounted in the early twentieth century. By 1904, those receiving the pension had been reduced to 35 percent of those qualifying by age and residence. Nevertheless, though contemporaries might have been dismayed, New Zealand had moved irreversibly into income maintenance. Where the aged led, widows, the blind, miners suffering from pulmonary disease, dependants of victims of the 1919 epidemic, wives of mental hospital patients, low income parents of large families, the sick, and the unemployed were to follow, well within a half century.

The extent to which Maori shared in the welfare and pension provision of the later nineteenth century has not been investigated. It may be that it occurred to few of them to seek assistance from hospitals and charitable aid authorities. It is known that some were rejected as applicants for the old age pension, whether on residential, financial, or moral grounds is unclear. Their needs were probably met by their communities in a traditional manner. Schools alone, of the whole jigsaw of social provision, were used widely by Maori families. From the 1870s on, Maori leaders in many regions supported the native schools and exhorted their people to acquire the advantages of a European education.

Summary

For the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the prime examples of social policy lie well outside the welfare realm. It must be added that this has not been the consensus of historians. It has been their habit, with their awareness shaped by the welfare achievements of the 1930s, to see in the Liberal era the foundations of the welfare state. 2 assumptions are made: first, that welfare provisions were then a dominant theme in social policy, and second, that they closely resemble those of the middle twentieth century. Other than old age pensions, little can be advanced by way of evidence.

This section has concentrated upon the Liberals' 2 decades in power (1891–1911) because in that period the main themes of nineteenth century social policy were brought together and taken further. In land and labour the Liberals were significant innovators. In welfare they made one major departure—old age pensions. Closer settlement, mortgage finance, improvements in efficiency; labour direction, industrial regulation, arbitration; income maintenance—here the Liberals either significantly accelerated existing trends or made fresh departures. The activist, not the welfare, state is their legacy to the twentieth century.

Even so, the limits to their activity were much narrower than the country would become accustomed to in less than half a century. Further, it is all too easy to exaggerate the effects of their intervention. Though the state was a major agent of closer settlement, the provision of credit, and the spread of technology, once world commodity prices and land values recovered, the private sector proceeded briskly in the same direction and with much greater effect. The hidden history of a multitude of financial institutions, stock and station agencies, importers and manufacturers of equipment, chemical and fertiliser companies, co-operative and private dairy companies and freezing works, Agricultural and Pastoral Associations, and farmer groups contains the major impetus toward the same outcomes. The role of the state, however, as a participant in the process, and as a participant which often took the lead, remains profoundly significant.

II The Early Twentieth Century

During the first half of the present century, the emphasis in social policy shifts from development towards welfare. Underlying this shift are a number of demographic and social changes. The population becomes older, more urban, and more gender-balanced; more settled in its occupational pattern and less inclined to see solutions in geographical movement; more fixed in institutions and interest groups and so more capable of bargaining for sectional advantage; more governed and more bureaucratised and so more likely to believe that solutions can be found for problems; more vulnerable to depression and so more likely to be spurred into a quest for solutions; less secure in the world economy and so more inclined to diversify its natural and human resources.

The welfare state which emerged in this period was the product of a more mature society which had enjoyed a lengthy period of growth and prosperity terminating in an unprecedented experience of insecurity in the early 1930s. In these circumstances there occurred, first, a broadening of the range and magnitude of welfare provisions, and second, a marked growth in other social policy fields, especially education and health. These changes culminated in a rapid burst of activity between the mid-thirties and the mid-forties.

Land and Public Works

The old concern with land and public works did not vanish, though the quest for new land diminished as the unsettled area receded, and the need for new construction grew less as transport and communications developed. In another way, however, land remained the basic; the economy was still dependent upon farm exports. The efforts of the state to improve production, marketing and transport intensify, with (in the 1920s) the creation of industry boards to manage overseas marketing, the wider provision of rural credit, an acceleration of scientific research, the improvement of roads, and the generation of electricity.

From the later 1920s to the second world war farming was in such a depressed condition that the major policy goal became simply to keep on the land those who were already there, and

improve their efficiency, not extend the farming frontier. The regulation of the exchange rate, the dismantling of the arbitration system, the adjustment of farm indebtedness, the expansion of mortgage finance, a guaranteed price and controlled marketing for dairy exports, were all products of the great depression of the thirties. During the war export production became a patriotic and strategic duty; exporting came under detailed government regulation, which lasted till well after the end of the war. These moves, though they matched with the ideology of the Labour government after 1935 (and with the approach of Gordon Coates in the preceding Coalition government), were responses to special wartime and post-war circumstances.

Public works policy, though no longer as central as it had been, remained important. In the 1920s Coates (as Minister of Public Works) began a process of rationalisation. New construction of railways declined and the retirement of uneconomic lines began. Coates created the State Highways Board for major roads and fixed upon local authorities the responsibility for local roads. In the 1930s the renewal of construction was a depression and post-depression programme to provide work for the unemployed. Again in the 1920s, Coates carried through a major reorganisation of electricity generation and supply combining a national grid for generation and reticulation with retail distribution by regional authorities. Electricity had its greatest effect upon houses and streets, and to a lesser extent upon production, on farms and in factories.

Marketing Boards

The most significant policy development in the 1920s was the establishment of industry based boards to manage exports, insofar as they could be managed. The Reform government from 1919 to 1928 was too dependent upon rural support to ignore the belief that the producer was being deprived of his due rewards by the shipping lines and the London merchants. Sharp practice there undoubtedly was, but the main cause of the plight of the producer lay in a high level of farm debt and in declining export prices. The government was cautious. It did not enter the marketplace itself, but set up industry boards for most primary exports, to deal with shippers and merchants as best they could. The record, at best, was patchy; the attempts of the Dairy Board to manage the market

failed; the less ambitious efforts of the Meat Board to rationalise supply did rather better. Wool producers, suffering much less from the free market, stayed outside. There was little these boards could do in the depression, but they were put to use by the Labour government after 1935. All these forms of public action were to be self-financing. They were designed to help people to grasp, and to pay for, improved opportunities.

Housing

The same is true, in intention, of the activity of the state in housing. To some extent (e.g., in mortgage finance) this was so in practice. But in state rental housing, rents did not turn out to provide anything like a full recovery of costs. Housing, with health and education, becomes a case of investment made in the expectation of future, not immediate, social returns.

The housing problem had been a source of alarm since the later nineteenth century. The growth of suburbs at first seemed to be a solution. However, the inner city blots did not go away. The first minute step was taken with the Workers' Dwellings Act in 1905, but only a small number of rental houses were built, and let at rents beyond the capacity of the urban poor. These were still left to the sub-standard accommodation provided by the private sector.

Much more was done for those able to borrow and meet their obligations. The Advances to Workers Act of 1906 provided mortgage finance for urban housing, a major step towards the State Advances Corporation of 1936. This was a development especially dear to Reform, a party which extolled the virtues of proprietorship, whether rural or urban. But, for all the success of these policies, the problem of the urban poor was untouched.

The depression of the 1930s increased the number of the poor and caused a rapid deterioration to the country's housing stock. The change of government in 1935 brought a spectacular development of policy in state rental housing. Some in the new Labour government hoped that the state would itself build houses. But in fact the work was done on contract by construction firms, the most notable that of James Fletcher of Auckland. Between 1937 and 1944 the state financed the construction of over 15,000 good quality rental houses and flats. The state house suburb became a feature of New Zealand cities and towns. Private construction also picked up rapidly, stimulated by increased finance from the State

Advances Corporation. Housing construction also had a welcome effect upon employment.

All this was directed chiefly to the towns, and in the towns predominantly to the Pakeha. The Maori movement to the towns had not gone far by the 1940s; it would take many years before they became major occupiers of state houses. In the meantime little was done for Maori rural housing, and that little, especially in remote districts, was inadequate until after the second world war, when a great deal of sub-standard housing was replaced.

Education

Education policy and administration evolved steadily from the later nineteenth century on, more under the impetus of administrators such as George Hogben, who became head of the Education Department in 1899, than of politicians. Behind the administrators were changes in the level and character of popular demand. The national system created in 1877, and the parallel system of Catholic parish schools, was of schooling at the elementary level. Secondary schools were places for those who could afford them. They received some public money (as well as income from earlier state provided endowments) but they catered overwhelmingly for fee paying pupils.

By the end of the 1890s there were signs of change. Better times were encouraging a demand for access to opportunities which, it was held, only secondary education could give. Primary schools developed 'Standard 7' tops; district high schools moved in the same direction; high schools and colleges were induced to increase the number of free places. New high schools were started in the growing towns. Many older high schools joined them as part of a secondary tier in the public system.

It was still a long way from secondary education for all, or even for most. Until 1938 a stiff Standard 6 examination filtered out all but a high-achieving minority of primary leavers. But, with 'Proficiency' gained, and a family able to do without a child's earnings, the route to secondary education was open. 'Competency', in the same examination, opened the way to trade and commercial education in the technical high schools the state had opened in the period of early twentieth century expansion.

The Labour government made its impact here, too. One of Labour's top 3, Peter Fraser, took the education portfolio, thereby

symbolising the new government's devotion to equality of opportunity. But the work of civil servants, such as C. E. Beeby, was as important. The Standard 6 filter was abolished, the leaving age raised, and secondary education made free for everyone who enrolled. The decisive examination verdict was moved up towards the end of a high school career. Prosperity enabled more parents to do without children's earnings. Rural schools were consolidated, and a school bus service took country children into town schools. The curriculum was humanised to some extent by an injection of social studies. Bursaries and scholarships encouraged those who could qualify to go on to university. Teacher training colleges were re-opened.

If education was dear to the new Labour government, so too were the twin pillars of the welfare state, the health and benefit systems. Education, health, and benefit policies were to ensure for all citizens a basic wellbeing and a fair opportunity 'from the cradle to the grave'. Health and benefits were presented together as the essential bases of 'social security'. Though there was marked innovation in both policy fields, this was less than total. A good deal had occurred earlier in the century to lay down the foundations.

Health

Since the beginning of the century an increasing concern with national efficiency had made health policy a more urgent matter. Horror at the 'fertility of the unfit' and at the prospect of deepening 'degeneracy', together with a fear that 'white' (and especially British) supremacy was under threat from more hardy Asians, focused attention on the nurture of children, and so upon the social function of women. This was an international movement of opinion; Truby King, the most notable New Zealand exponent, became a world figure. King's system for enforcing upon women a regimen revolving around infant nurture was propagated by the Plunket Society (founded in 1907) with weighty official and social patronage. His disciples were influential in the Department of Health and the medical profession.

Similar concerns had their effect upon education and penal policy towards children and juveniles. By the 1920s, the school medical and dental services had been established, together with juvenile courts and the beginnings of the probation system. The Child Welfare Act of 1925, the first comprehensive measure of its

kind, set up Children's Courts and the Child Welfare Branch of the Education Department, and gave wide power to child welfare officers.

Over the same period, advances in medical technology transformed public hospitals. As they acquired equipment which could be afforded and operated only by large institutions, they ceased to be simply places for the poor. The well-to-do, who had generally been treated in their homes, began to pay for hospital treatment. Two classes of patients, those who paid their way, and those who had to show that they could not, were treated in the same institutions, a situation which the egalitarian conscience found intolerable. A similar discrepancy obtained in general practice. In theory it was wholly fee-paying; in practice fees were paid by those who could afford them (or belonged to friendly societies), while doctors exempted their poorer patients. Practitioners managed a primary health care system and applied their own means-testing criteria. There can be no doubt that many stayed away to avoid such humiliation.

Benefits

Neither form of inequality was acceptable to the new government elected in 1935. Nor was it impressed by the haphazard pattern of benefits and pensions which had proved quite inadequate for the distress of the depression years. By the mid-1930s old age pensions had been supplemented by benefits for miners suffering total incapacity from pulmonary disease, widows with children and the widows of servicemen, the blind (alone of the disabled), and the victims of the 1919 influenza epidemic. The age at which women qualified for the old age pension was dropped to 60. The first hesitant step towards child benefits had been taken by the Family Allowances Act of 1926, by which a benefit on third and subsequent children was payable after means-testing. Assistance, in money or in kind, continued to be distributed by hospital almoners—the last vestige of charitable aid. During the depression, voluntary charity had been organised locally to deal with the large number of the impoverished in the towns. Unemployment policy adhered to the 'no pay without work' principle, but in practice payments were sometimes made to those for whom relief work could not be found.

Social Security

The social security legislation of 1938 was intended to achieve 2 goals. First, it was to provide for inability to earn by a wide-ranging system of benefits covering all those 'who through various misfortunes of age, sickness, widowhood, orphanhood, unemployment, or other exceptional conditions came to want' (in the words of the official paper of 1950). All benefits, except a tiny universal 'superannuation' for the aged, were to be means-tested. However, a significant change came in 1946, when the family benefit became 'universal'—i.e., payable irrespective of parental income or other means. Second, it would provide primary, specialist, hospital, maternity and other medical care, and prescriptions, without charge to the patient. The system was to be financed from taxation, a special social security levy on all income. Health services were to be universally available without further charge.

The benefits came into effect at once, but the health reforms had a protracted and untidy passage. The medical profession held out for its right to charge patients directly. Not until 1941 was a compromise reached, by which the government paid a fixed sum and practitioners could directly charge the patient above that level. In this way the future was lumbered with a legacy of controversy and discontent. Between 1939 and 1947, medical benefits were progressively extended to cover all hospital services and pharmaceutical supplies, physiotherapy, X-ray and laboratory services, district nursing, and domestic assistance.

By the early 1940s 'social security' was in place. For more than 40 years it has stayed there, often questioned, sometimes examined, but only marginally altered. More than had ever before been the case, Maori shared in the effects of these changes. The Labour-Ratana alliance of 1932, at least to this extent, paid off. Apart from the effect of social security, health standards had improved as a result of departmental initiatives in the 1930s, especially directed against tuberculosis, and also easing access to nursing services, doctors and hospitals. Cash benefits from social security (especially the family benefit), more employment and better wages, and (from the 1940s on) the effect of urbanisation in bringing people closer to medical services, had a major impact on Maori morbidity and mortality rates. However, the gap between Maori and non-Maori rates remained, as Pakeha health levels also picked up.

The Labour government of 1935 was the first in New Zealand which could be said to have been aware that it had a social policy. Earlier, piecemeal policies had been produced for special circumstances. In the 1930s, the initiatives from politicians, administrators, interest groups, and a handful of academics and intellectuals coalesced to make social welfare a continuing concern of government. The social portfolios, especially health, education and social security, rose higher in the cabinet pecking order, especially as they became bigger and bigger spenders. Large and ever growing departments of state employing an expanding body of professionals helped to evolve policy as well as to administer it. Issues of social policy became matters of persistent public interest and at times of intense public concern. Social policy, with a strong welfare emphasis, had come to stay. Its cost, absorbing an ever growing share of the tax dollar, ensured that it would be a constant subject of criticism and debate.

Economic Policy

In addition, social policy in a broader sense—the promotion of economic and material wellbeing—remained a basic concern. Before 1935, but in a government that had very little time or luck, Coates had made a start. After 1935, the new government showed itself committed to the belief that economic planning was possible and necessary—in industrial promotion, export marketing, import control, overseas exchange, prices and incomes, industrial relations, and the development of infrastructures. Paradoxically, it was concerned to move the state more emphatically into precisely those fields of policy from which its successor, 50 years on, is equally concerned to withdraw it.

One of Labour's slogans during the depression had been 'insulation'. The party's leaders could hardly have believed that they would be able to separate the country from the world economy, but the slogan was a valid expression of anger at the 'importing' of depression from Europe and America. An effort was made to minimise economic pressures from overseas. They were not part of a grand strategy, but piecemeal in nature and short-lived in effect. Yet the long term consequence of this aspiration is considerable—the conviction that the economy could be managed in precise detail by the state, a view as novel in the 1930s as it has become unfashionable in the 1980s.

The new government certainly believed that it could and should stimulate the growth of secondary industry. During the depression a future cabinet minister had denounced the view of New Zealand as 'one gigantic cowyard'. Industrial promotion was justified in the name of insulation, but the goal in fact was diversification. Secondary industries were dear to Labour hearts as sources of jobs, especially of jobs not within the gift of the rural capitalist employer, the farmer.

Before the war little was attempted and that little was ineffective. An Industrial Efficiency Act was passed in 1936 to rationalise industrial development; its results were minuscule. The exchange crisis of 1938 presented greater opportunities. Import and exchange controls, brought in to restrict the flow of money overseas, were also expected to encourage industrial growth. Their efficacy had hardly been tested before war brought a much more stringent form of import control. Scarce shipping could not be wasted on inessentials. After the war, import and exchange controls continued well into the peace.

That industrial growth and diversification were in fact fostered is by no means certain. It has been argued that while the war stimulated industrial growth, it also distorted it into unprofitable channels and had little to do with factories and finished goods. Over the long term, secondary industry shows a fairly steady and unspectacular growth from the 1920s to the 1960s. There was, certainly, a continuing expansion of plants for assembling and further processing imported components. This increased jobs, but it had little effect upon the country's dependence upon imports.

Beginning with import and exchange controls, and prompted by the need to manage the war effort and to prevent the post-war economy from diving into depression (memories of the depression of the early 1920s were still sharp), the government acquired a massive, and in the end unmanageable, armoury of controls—over exchange transactions with other countries, over the disposal of export earnings, over domestic credit and interest rates, and over incomes and prices. During the war, these controls had extended over the labour force in the shape of 'manpower' direction.

Labour Policy

But 'manpower' direction was a temporary measure. Of more significance was Labour's long-term effort to manage the labour

market in an orderly and an equitable manner, chiefly by strengthening (while domesticating) the trade unions, and by improving the bargaining machinery in which they were expected to work. And, as events were to show, the effort included a readiness to punish unions which tried to work outside the system.

During the depression the unions had been severely weakened. A ruinous series of hopeless strikes in the midst of massive unemployment had reduced most to impotence. The Coalition government had taken the compulsory provisions out of the arbitration system. Labour restored compulsory arbitration. It also made union membership compulsory for occupations covered by awards. The unions became larger, more professional, and more able to deliver satisfaction to their members. The greater number worked through the arbitration system; a powerful minority (particularly transport unions) did so too but added the threat or the reality of direct action.

In wartime the strength of the Federation of Labour was essential to the government's 'stabilisation' policy—in effect New Zealand's first effort at a prices and incomes policy. But the attempt to keep both down in the post-war period was defeated by the end of the 1940s. Unions with the power to do so made greater gains outside the system, following the trend set by other income earners beyond any form of control. The climax was the 1951 waterfront dispute, a major defeat for militancy, and a renewed enforcement (by the new National government elected in 1949) of conformity upon the union movement. These developments established a strongly interventionist role for government in industrial relations. Governments would enter the lists against militant unions, but they also sustained machinery through which a minimum wage was settled regularly by general wage orders. Powerful unions could bargain effectively for advances upon this basic level.

Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation was a striking instance of intervention, by its nature a temporary one, directed to the situation of the men leaving the armed forces. Again, memories of the failures of Reform in the early 1920s were keen. The overall goal of the 1941 Act, and the Rehabilitation Department administering it, was to ensure that those who had served did not suffer as a result. A wide range of assistance was provided—loans for housing, for tools of trade and

for setting up business, and for the purchase of farms already basically developed by the state; assistance for training and further education; guarantees that promotion opportunities would be preserved; special disability benefits; and medical rehabilitation programmes. In effect, the whole range of welfare and assistance programmes was heightened and concentrated upon a particular group of the especially 'deserving'.

The Spectrum of Social Policy

Compared with previous decades, the 1930s and the 1940s witnessed an explosion of social policy, across the total spectrum from welfare to economic management. Labour's achievements were in themselves considerable. But more considerable was the heightened level of expectation bequeathed to succeeding generations. Compared with the earlier twentieth century, people from the 1940s expected more and better medical care, a better standard of housing, a longer period of education, a wider and more generous range of benefits, better access to mortgage finance, better wages and conditions of work, and more time and opportunity for leisure and recreation. The state became the focus of these aspirations. From that time to near the present, governments have encouraged the belief that they could satisfy them.

Welfare services attempted to meet every contingency and misfortune, not simply with benefits, but also with the professional services of a burgeoning army of social workers. Though many of these services were provided by voluntary organisations, especially residential care for the aged, they were in considerable measure subsidised by the state. Welfare remained, at heart, a rescue operation, but a more extensive and more generous one than the country had known before.

Outside the boundaries of this kind of welfare, the advantages that accrued from housing finance, the family benefit (including after 1958 its capitalisation for house purchase) and a tax structure tending to flatten real incomes, chiefly benefited young families in the process of formation. This pre-supposed a kind of social contract—a bargain struck with the recipients that they would exchange the benefits they accepted in their time of need for obligations when their needs had been met. It has been persuasively argued that this was, in the event, a contract which would not be fulfilled. This argument holds that as times worsened from the

later sixties, those who had benefited earlier clung to their advantages and were able to block the delivery of comparable advantages to the new generation of rising families. But this was not a shadow over social policy at the end of the 1940s, nor for many years to come.

This section has been devoted largely to the period of the first Labour government, 1935 to 1949, not because everything was then made new, but because (as in the earlier Liberal period) once again the threads of past aspiration and policy were brought together, more consciously and deliberately than before, and woven into a pattern which persists, rather frayed by the passage of time, to the present day.

Cultural Policy

To this conviction that government should safeguard and enhance life chances a further element was added in the 1940s. From then on it is possible to speak of cultural policy as a further mode of social policy. The year 1940, in that simpler age straightforwardly the centenary of British New Zealand, brought the state to the forefront of cultural activity. The war, and in a modest way a developing sense of nationalism, led in the same direction. Individual and group effort came first and led by some distance, but in the later thirties and the forties the state took on a commitment to the promotion of cultural activities—literature, music, film, and the theatrical and visual arts. It has never been a lavish patron, but (as yet) it remains the major one.

III The Later Twentieth Century

It is difficult to give an orderly account of developments in social policy since the second world war. The collective memory has not had time to sift through the pay-dirt of evidence and leave a few gleaming grains to catch the historian's eye. Further, as most commentators agree, the period has been an untidy one, lacking any watershed of fresh thought and action to give a perspective on the whole. Perhaps the changes of the late 1980s will prove to be such a watershed. But the historian's bag of tricks does not include a crystal ball.

Perspectives

Lacking a vision of the future, the period can be examined from the vantage point of the policies established in the thirties and forties. They created an expectation that governments will intervene to prevent distress and promote wellbeing. Governments, in their turn, have shown a keen awareness of the electoral rewards and penalties which flow from that expectation. All changes of government in the period—1949, 1957, 1960, 1972, 1975, 1984—bear a close relationship to perceived failures of performance in economic management. And though, in the last decade, governments seem to have moved away from the traditional programme of promises, it is still to be seen if a readiness to ignore this expectation will last until the 1990 election.

Public attention has been directed more consistently to economic policy than to social services. From time to time education, health and benefits have risen to the forefront of public debate. But such issues as state aid for private schools, the length of public hospital queues, and the domestic purposes benefit, have not excited prolonged debate. The one welfare-related issue that has done so is superannuation. Its capacity to persist and grow from the early 1970s to the late 1980s may be the first sign of a shift in public attention.

Thus far, however, it has been attention of a severely limited kind. The focus has been upon cost, and the capacity of the community to continue to bear it. This concern has not yet provoked a reappraisal, comparable to that of the thirties, of the goals of social policy in a society in many ways most unlike the one in which still current programmes were laid down.

Economic Development

If social policy, narrowly conceived, settled into a rut from which it has only partially emerged, social policy in its wider definition—managing the economy in order to promote wellbeing—has been a constant source of debate and decision. One may say of economic development in the third quarter of the twentieth century what was true of land settlement in the final quarter of the nineteenth—that though other issues caused more clamour from time to time, it has provided the prevalent themes of public debate.

Exports, Imports and Manufacturing

As early as 1932 the Ottawa Commonwealth Conference served notice upon New Zealand that the British market for farm exports was neither elastic nor immortal. But the second world war reinforced dependence upon that market. Not until the 1960s, when British entry into the Common Market became a possibility, was a major effort made to diversify the composition and the direction of exports. Both changed considerably over the next 20 years. Producer boards and governments worked together to seek out new markets and retain as much as possible of old ones. The land-based industries were encouraged to shift from traditional products to new ones; horticulture and forestry, especially, grew in importance. Products were processed to a more finished condition before export. The response of producers to the prospect of profit remained the basic factor, but governments encouraged change with advisory services, market research, taxation incentives, and development finance. These policies were designed to make an economy still dependent upon exports less vulnerable to movements affecting a narrow range of products and markets.

Export and import dependence go hand in hand. In import policy, too, government has been active. The traditional goals of maintaining and diversifying employment, of using import licensing to ration foreign exchange, and of promoting industries thought to be desirable, have operated over the period. A major effect of import licensing has been to alter the composition of imports, towards raw materials and machinery. It has also been frequently charged with keeping uneconomic industries in existence. In the main through licensing, governments have encouraged manufacturers to produce finished goods either from local products or from imported raw materials for the home market and for export.

Factory production of manufactured goods has been encouraged in order to preserve an economy in which a satisfying life could be led. It has not been based upon an abundance of natural resources awaiting exploitation, so much as an abundance of human needs requiring satisfaction. There has been, however, an abundance of one form of energy, electricity. By the 1970s this abundance was being advanced as a major reason for industrial development. Electricity, largely generated from hydro resources, underlay such state promoted enterprises as aluminium smelting and ironsands

exploitation. Natural gas and oil exploration and extraction were encouraged and the capacity to refine imported oil was increased. The so-called 'Think Big' projects of the National Government after 1975, incorporating these and other energy based industries, were a major development, though a highly controversial one. Such expansionist policies could find their ancestry in the Vogelite policies of the 1870s.

These broad-spectrum policies have been chiefly concerned with New Zealand's position as a trading nation. They have had important results, though not invariably those proposed by the policy makers. Other interventions have been more directly geared to the domestic, as well as to the external situation. Exchange rate changes, interest rate controls, taxation reform, wage regulation and price control, and above all efforts to bring down inflation, have been shaped to meet the perceived need to protect or improve the lot of a social group or of society as a whole.

Inflation and Employment

Underlying all these interventions has been the steady and then rapid upwards march of inflation. This, because of its immediately felt impact upon living standards, has been the most persistent source of disquiet. Since the National Party won in 1949 with the slogan 'Make the pound go further', the problem has obsessed successive governments. Labour's inability to fulfil its rash promise in 1972 to 'Knock inflation for six' contributed to its overwhelming defeat 3 years later. Since then, annual and quarterly rates have been awaited anxiously by finance ministers and spokespersons. Governments are judged by voters on their experience of trying to acquire a house, fill a shopping basket or clothe their children. A wide range of other situations are affected—wage regulation, price control (or at least popular demand for it), interest rates, taxation yields, the price of exports and the capacity of industry to maintain employment.

Inflationary price increases lead indirectly to demands for compensating wage increases. After the end of wartime stabilisation, the Arbitration Court became the main instrument of wage regulation by setting minimum rates through general wage orders. The discredit it suffered from the abortive 'nil' wage order of 1968 and the accelerating pace of inflation in the 1970s brought government directly into wage determination. The restriction of wage increases

involved governments in efforts to control prices, sometimes through price freezes. In neither were they particularly successful.

Governments of whatever colour, from the 1940s to the 1980s, have had a settled interest in the limitation of wage increases. But they have been shackled by their inability to have much effect upon other forms of income—higher salaries, dividends, non-salary packages, 'perks' and capital gains. This disparity, chiefly benefiting employers and managers, has stimulated unionist pressure to lose as little ground as possible, especially from those unions able to resort to direct bargaining.

One major section of the earning population, farmers whose incomes are directly affected by export prices, have not shared in this generally upwards movement of incomes. Apart from manipulating the exchange rate to increase the return from exports, governments have been able to do little to counter declining farm incomes. Nor have beneficiaries managed to keep up for most of the period. Recently, however, one of the costlier benefits, National Superannuation, has been tied first to the average wage and then to the cost of living index.

Until the 1970s the maintenance of full employment appeared to be a feasible policy goal. It remains, at least at the level of aspiration, a goal no government would renounce, but it is no longer one which they promise to attain in short order. Nevertheless, employment promotion finds a place in the objectives set for a number of policies. Export promotion and import substitution are expected to provide jobs. The energy-based 'Think Big' programmes were justified, in part, by the multitude of jobs which would be eventually created 'down stream'. In the early eighties, Labour in opposition entertained ideas of 'picking winners' for massive public investment, and of encouraging small and middle sized enterprises, in part for the jobs they were expected to create.

Unemployment

Such views were common enough as recently as the beginning of the present decade. But well before its end they have been displaced by the view that the market, invigorated by deregulation, competition, the expansion of overseas markets (especially in Australia through CER), the investment of overseas capital, and in general by the prospect of higher returns for investors, will provide

the jobs, and that if it does not, nothing (least of all direct government intervention) can be relied upon to do so. This approach may prove to be no more than the fashion of the moment. It may wilt in the face of electoral discontent. There is no lack of those who adhere to an earlier orthodoxy, that governments can intervene with effect, and should do so to eliminate unemployment.

In the meantime, the spectacular increase of unemployment (on 31 March 1956 only 5 unemployment benefits were being paid), and the threat held out by its penal effects upon some sections of the community—rural centres and secondary towns, the younger age groups and Maori—has brought into existence a bewildering series of policies. The unemployment benefit, universally known among its recipients as 'the dole', underpins the whole shaky structure. A succession of programmes to supply short term employment, to improve job placement, and to provide re-training, have come and gone, with little result.

The failure, perhaps the inability, of policy to deal with unemployment may have ominous social consequences. Even after 2 decades of unemployment, the expectations fostered in earlier years have left a legacy of frustration not the less real for being (as yet) without political effect. In the world view of both the secure and the insecure, work is still the badge of social standing. There is no sign of any shift of ideology that would devalue work. The persistence of the work ethic among a large body of people with little chance to live up to its imperatives, is likely to have political consequences. They could bring about a return to the humanitarian idealism of the thirties. They could see the development of a new insurgency awaiting politicisation—an outcome which would be hastened should current opinions on the 'undeservingness' of the unemployed deepen and harden.

Social Security

It was noted earlier that prominent among the reasons for recent questioning of social security was its increasing cost. That concern has been deepened by the need seen by governments in recent years to reduce the level of their own spending. For though neither government nor opposition will quite say so, the level of spending on the social services must be a prime target for retrenchment. However, in the buoyant mood of the sixties and seventies, considerations of cost though present were not so prominent. In 1972,

the Royal Commission on Social Security reported that 'We are not persuaded that our social security system should be radically changed at this time'. The seventies in fact saw far reaching if uncoordinated changes which basically altered the system put in place in 1938. One of them, superannuation, has become the chief cause for anxiety over costs.

Before the seventies, there were only slight changes. Some were logical extensions of the 1938 enactment; others, however, went in the opposite direction. The ideal of a free medical service was an early casualty. To secure the mere implementation of its proposals, the government as early as 1941 abandoned the proposed capitation system of payment to doctors. They were permitted to charge a fee for service to patients and to accept payments in excess of the amount recoverable from the social security fund. The amendment Act of 1949 explicitly allowed doctors to charge patients above the level of the social security payment. Over time that payment became a smaller and smaller proportion of the total charge. The cost of medical services to patients has steadily increased.

The major extensions of the system of monetary benefits involved the family benefit. In 1946 it became universal and applicable to every child in a family. From 1958 it could be capitalised for house purchase and later for other purposes. In 1968, thanks to the increasing pace of inflation, an additional allowance was brought in for the children of means-tested beneficiaries, a departure from the principle of universality. Another extension of benefit—contemplated in 1938—was to bring the universal superannuation benefit to parity with the age benefit in 1960, though the 2 were not merged into a single benefit.

At intervals from 1942 on the level of benefits and the level of allowable other income were increased. But these increases did not prevent them from falling behind the rate of wage increases, and well behind increases in the cost of living. This was quickly apparent, and led to the introduction of a supplementary assistance scheme in 1952 for additional payments above the benefit. By 1971 nearly 10 percent of all social security beneficiaries were receiving this assistance. For them, at least, the aspiration of 1938 had not been fulfilled. Supplementary assistance echoes charitable aid rather than social security.

The Changes of the 1970s

More fundamental changes came in the 1970s—the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB) (1973), Accident Compensation (1972) and National Superannuation (1976). Taken together (and irrespective of their merits or demerits) these 3 have basically altered the character of social security. The benefit system, intended as an all-embracing structure affording security to all, has been relegated to a more humble position.

The Act of 1973 creating the DPB took a group of beneficiaries—mainly women—who had previously received emergency benefits and placed them in a distinct category. Public attention, much of it scandalized, has concentrated on the number of women beneficiaries with dependants and lacking a male partner, though women in other situations, and some men, receive the same benefit. For some the novelty of this benefit is the encouragement it is said to give to irresponsible sexual behaviour. It is of more significance that the benefit caters for people whose situation is less the result of unavoidable circumstances such as age or infirmity, but rather of voluntary (if socially conditioned) choice. This benefit, together with the unemployment benefit, has prompted debate on the question of whether benefits should be available as of right to all those in difficult circumstances irrespective of personal responsibility. Within five years of its implementation, over 17,000 people were in receipt of the DPB.

The DPB was an extension, though a radical one, of the existing system. The Accident Compensation Act of 1972 made a significant change of direction, first by financing the scheme from contributions, not taxation, and second by making compensation income-related. The report of the Woodhouse Commission of 1967 had gone beyond its original brief (to consider work-related injuries) and came out in favour of a comprehensive entitlement to compensation for all kinds of injuries. The Act of 1972 (and its extension in the following year) created a fund derived from levies on employers, the self-employed and motor vehicle owners, supplemented by government contributions. Compensation, in the form of both lump sum and weekly payments, became available to all accident victims however injured and whether in employment or not. Up to a limit (at first set at \$15,600 pa) weekly payments were set at 80 percent of the victim's weekly income. The effect is to maintain accident victims at close to their former standard of

living. Similar principles (funding by contributions and income-related payments) shaped Labour's abortive superannuation scheme in 1974. The tendency of these 2 schemes was to preserve existing inequalities. This marks them off from the measures brought in a quarter of a century before by the government then formed by the same Labour Party. Indeed, when Walter Nash had mooted contributory superannuation at that time, he had found no support.

The Labour superannuation scheme became law, but following the general election of 1975 National immediately fulfilled its election promise to give a uniform benefit to all those over the age of 60, irrespective of means and other income, set at 80 percent of the average weekly wage for married couples and 60 percent for single people. The payments were to be funded out of general revenue, without any special additional taxation. This was to take immediate effect. By contrast, the Labour scheme was to take as much as 40 years before it came into full operation.

The National scheme was immensely attractive in its simplicity and in its indiscriminating generosity. It immediately proved itself to be very expensive. Within a year transfer payments to the aged almost doubled. By the end of the seventies transfer payments (including subsidies) had increased greatly, and the main contributor to the rise was National Superannuation. Only one step has since been taken to reduce the cost—a taxation surcharge which in effect eliminates the benefit for those already with considerable income. There can be little doubt that greater restrictions will follow.

Two major classes of beneficiaries, the aged and the victims of accident, are no longer catered for by the system set up in 1938. That has become a 'rescue' provision for the casualties of society, too like nineteenth century charitable aid for comfort. The tendency of these developments, if carried further, suggests the possibility that the later twentieth century may witness a prolonged retreat from mid-century aspirations to achieve a more egalitarian society. Other recent developments, in health, education, taxation and family support, point to the same possibility. Further, the renewed importance of the voluntary sector in social services, and the differential impact of economic stringency upon the Maori people, suggest the same outcome.

Health

As well as the declining capacity of the social security payment to meet doctors' bills, the declining capacity of public hospitals to deliver quality health care, quickly created an everwidening gap between rich and poor. In the 1950s it was clear that hospital beds had declined relative to population; this induced the National government to bring in subsidies for private hospitals. Long waiting lists for non-urgent surgery in public hospitals induced those who could afford to do so to join private medical insurance schemes to help finance prompt private hospital treatment. By the mid-1970s one sixth of New Zealanders were covered by private insurance; in the later 1980s nearly one-third. Again a National government encouraged the trend by making premiums tax deductible in 1967. A dual health system appears to be firmly established. The zeal of the 1972 Labour government to abolish it, reflected in its ineffective White Paper, *A health service for New Zealand*, has not been revived by its successor of 1984.

The better off have opted out of the public system and have been helped to do so by government. But they still need the expensive treatments and services only large public hospitals can provide. Those who can afford both premiums and taxes can take advantage of both systems. It is at least arguable that they have paid for a right to both. But the situation of those who lack the means to buy their way into the private system runs counter to the aspiration of the 1930s that all should have equal access to health services whatever their means. Private insurance also meets the cost to the patients of consultations, both general practitioner and specialist, and the recently introduced prescription charges. The 'free medicine' ideal has vanished; access to all kinds of health services has diminished for many.

Education

In education, as in health, the ideal of equality has receded. Within the public sector education is far from cost-free. But in spite of the increasing demands public schools place upon parents for unpaid labour, fund-raising and additional fees, their resources, relative to the size of the school population, have declined. Fresh demands have been placed upon them—to widen the curriculum with new courses designed, for example, to foster racial harmony and

enhance Maori self-respect, or to satisfy with 'human development' courses those who are anxious about a variety of sexual problems. And at the same time they are under increasing criticism for their perceived failure to impart useful skills.

These difficulties have not had an even effect upon all schools in the public system. Especially with secondary schools, a hierarchy of perceived desirability has emerged. Schools drawing upon well to do catchment areas, usually with a fairly homogeneous Pakeha population, are able to tap a high level of voluntary support. Such schools, together with many of the fee-supported private schools, have, especially in the larger cities, acquired a reputation for respectability, discipline and achievement. The more affluent parents have been drawn to these 'desirable' schools, which have thus become agencies for the transmission of advantage to a following generation. Governments (of either party) have encouraged the trend, by granting tax exemption for school fees, and by enabling private schools to receive public money through 'integration' (while preserving their distinctiveness) with the public system.

Taxation and Family Support

The increased cost of social security was at first financed through a flat tax upon income; this was increased in 1946 by absorbing part of the wartime national security tax. In 1968 the special levy was eliminated and the costs met from general taxation. This contributed to a shift in the incidence of taxation by which direct taxation came to contribute the major share of all tax revenue. Income tax rates were intended to have a progressive effect, and thus to effect a redistribution of resources from rich to poor. Whether they in fact had this effect, especially as inflation drove more and more people into the higher tax brackets, is uncertain. However, it seems likely that recent and proposed tax changes will have a regressive effect. The shift from direct to indirect taxation through goods and services tax and the simplification and lowering of income tax rates, are likely to bear most heavily upon those on low incomes. The family support package, containing both special tax rebates and a payout adjusted to family size and income, is designed to avert this probable result.

This development holds out the prospect that a sizeable section of the community will become state pensioners, not on account of any misfortune nor even from inability to find work, but because

they cannot earn enough to provide for themselves. Such people seem to be a new class of 'deserving poor'; their incomes are supplemented in a way which may entrench their dependence. This resembles, in a much more sophisticated manner, the Speenhamland system of wage supplementation operated by parish authorities in England in the early nineteenth century, by which agricultural wages were brought up to a level set by the price of bread. The welfare state seems to be in danger of becoming the charitable state. The poor, once again, are deemed to be always with us. This nineteenth century commonplace was once accepted by all except the socialist ancestors of the present day Labour movement, and was rejected in New Zealand by the same movement only half a century ago.

Voluntary Societies

The presence of the poor, and their acceptance as a providential occasion for the exercise of charity, prompted the immense growth of voluntary societies in the nineteenth century Great Britain. Their presence in the later twentieth century New Zealand has contributed to the considerable growth of such societies over the last 20 years.

The number and variety of such bodies make them impossible to classify—it seems unlikely that anyone knows how many there are and what they do. Some, like the Foundation for the Blind, come down from the nineteenth century, as do the social services maintained by many churches, for whom a major concern is now the residential care of the aged. Many, of more recent origin, are directed to those who suffer from a specific condition—e.g., the Society for the Intellectually Handicapped. Others are concerned with particular social problems such as those of tenants and the unemployed. There are, too, a multitude of local community groups. A Federation of Voluntary Welfare Organisations, limited to those with a national organisations, was set up in 1969. Its member bodies, in 1971, had an annual budget of \$10 million, 75 percent of which came from voluntary contributions. They employed over 2,500 people, as well as thousands of volunteers. The unknown number of community groups, the rising cost of living, and the pressure of unemployment, would multiply these figures considerably at the present time.

Among the reasons for this expansion must be counted the remoteness, formality and inadequacy of state organisations, as well as the readiness of the state to leave a host of welfare functions to voluntary groups. Further, and especially in recent years, a conviction has grown that the number of the poor is increasing while the attitude of government has become less caring. Individuals and groups are increasingly dedicated to giving the poor a voice. The borderline between social service and social protest is no longer clear.

That voluntary societies have come to bulk larger in the social services generally, provides further support for the view that the earlier high hopes that the state would, or indeed could, do all that was required, have receded. Yet there is a paradox here. Many of these groups, from the mainline churches to special interest pressure groups, are directing their demands not to the charitable impulses of the community but to the resources of the state. The level of expectation laid upon the state in the earlier part of this period has not yet fallen away.

The Maori Dimension

The matters discussed in this section, from economic management to welfare services, affect the lives of all those who live in New Zealand, from infancy to old age, from country to city, from the most recently arrived immigrant to those whose ancestry reaches back to remote antiquity. But those whose presence in this country is the longest occupy a special situation, partly from the objective circumstances of colonisation, and partly from choice. Maori can, for many purposes, be considered under the general headings of this discussion, but not for all. Within the general situation, they occupy a special position. Upon average, they enjoy lower standards of health, as well as lower standards (as measured by Pakeha performance levels) of education; they are under-represented among higher income earners and they suffer more from unemployment; they live in poorer housing in poorer suburbs; they provide a disproportionate share of the prison population. They are also aware of a distinct cultural inheritance and of the extent to which it has been damaged and remains under threat. They assert with increasing vehemence the right of that tradition to recognition, respect and status. Of recent years, this assertiveness has gone beyond a simple demand for the redress of grievances to a demand

for a separate institutional identity and for ethnic self-determination.

Few would be ready to guess where this will lead. But at least something can be said about where it has come from. In essence it comes from the long series of determined efforts since the beginning of colonisation to preserve the character and values of Maori life. Both armed resistance and co-operation were intended to achieve that end. So, too, were movements to express and enhance the unity of the Maori people, movements to find a secure basis for the redress of grievances in the Treaty of Waitangi, movements of a prophetic and religious character, movements to achieve political self-determination, and movements to reinforce traditional life through economic development and educational improvement. A multitude of movements have asserted Maori distinctiveness and claimed a right to Maori autonomy.

This period opens with the defeat of a major attempt to achieve autonomy. The Maori War Effort Organisation had been seen by its leaders as the nucleus of an institutional development which would become the apex of a hierarchy of community organisations. It would operate within the framework of general government, but outside the scope of what was then a Pakeha dominated Native Affairs Department. The Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act of 1945 created the hierarchy, but placed it under the aegis of the department, and did not confer upon it separate resources or authority.

Within those limitations, the policy enshrined in the Act achieved something. It replaced the word 'Native' with 'Maori' in official usage; it gave welfare functions to the department and to Maori wardens; it set up a network of committees and executives concerned with welfare and marae administration. It led to the Maori Women's Welfare League in 1951, and the Maori Council at the top of the structure in 1962. Important as these institutions are, they are a far cry from the original wartime hopes, and further from the aspirations towards autonomy which have grown up since then.

In social welfare the Act had one important result. It finally eliminated the discriminatory legal provisions in earlier pension legislation by which Maori recipients of old age and widow's benefits received significantly less than Pakeha beneficiaries. Even after the Social Security Act of 1938 had removed the earlier provision

by which land rights could be reckoned as income, and so lead to a reduction, the level appears to have been lower for Maori.

Three factors are of basic significance to the Maori dimension of social policy. First, that Maori are a section of the population distinguished, by most social indicators as well as by historical circumstance, as deprived and under-privileged. Second, that from that population has emerged an elite demanding a new deal, in the shape of changes that range from the redress of grievances to the reversal of historical change. Third is the underlying fact of urbanisation—underlying because it concentrates and intensifies problems, and also because it is difficult to accommodate with the ideology of land and community informing much of the Maori resurgence. The major demographic fact is that in the 30 years since the end of the Second World War the Maori population, from being 3:1 rural, became 3:1 urban. This predominantly urban population shares, in an accentuated form, the general social problems of employment and unemployment, housing, access to health services, educational opportunity, cost of living, crime and delinquency, with its neighbours of all kinds and origins. Further, outside the cities, the consequences of economic policy have most severely affected those regions and rural areas where Maori are numerous.

On the one hand, this situation will heighten the level of demand placed upon the resources, institutions and provisions designed by government for the necessitous segment of the whole population. On the other, it places major social problems upon the agenda of those who look for a traditional remedy for present-day problems. Current advocacy looks to the use of traditional institutions to deal with unemployment, criminal behaviour, educational and health needs. It also looks to the return of considerable economic resources to tribal institutions, and the devolution of political authority to them. To adjust these demands, should they be met, to the needs of a predominantly urban and partially de-tribalised population, will be no easy task.

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Elizabeth Hanson, *The politics of social security*, 1980.

P. Avery Jack and J. H. Robb, 'Social welfare policies: development and patterns since 1945' in A D Trlin (ed), *Social Welfare and New Zealand Society*, 1977.

Margaret Tennant, *Indigence and charitable aid in New Zealand 1885-1920*, (forthcoming).

Preface

THE PEOPLE OF NEW ZEALAND

Department of Statistics

October 1987

Social Reporting Section
Department of Statistics
Wellington
New Zealand
October 1987

Preface

This report contains an overview of historical and contemporary trends in the demographic and social situation of the people of New Zealand. The report has been prepared at the request of the Royal Commission on Social Policy.

The general topics covered are population growth and distribution, fertility, mortality, international migration, internal migration, population age and sex composition, ethnic and cultural diversity, labour force, marriage and marriage dissolution, family and household structure, children, solo parents, the unemployed and the elderly. In compiling the report every effort was made to include material for the period since 1980. However, this was not always possible due to the unavailability of some material, or to the lack of comparability of some data over time.

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1 Population Growth

Introduction

By world standards New Zealand's population is small, numbering 3.3 million in mid-1987. New Zealand's first million of population was reached in 1908. Forty-four years later, in 1952, the second million was reached, and the third million late in 1973. Despite the continuous growth in population, there has been considerable variability in growth rates over the last 100 years. Growth was sluggish during the years of the Great Depression with annual growth rates falling to a minimum of 0.8 percent. High levels of sustained growth, on the other hand, occurred after the Second World War until the 1970s, with annual rates of growth averaging over 2 percent. In the 1970s and early 1980s the population continued to grow, but at a declining rate. The average annual rate of growth during 1976–1981 was 0.3 percent, the lowest on record since the first Population Census in 1858. While the growth rate recovered slightly to 0.8 percent per annum during 1981–6, it was still well below that recorded for any intercensal period (excluding 1976–1981) in the post Second World War era.

The two major groups of the New Zealand population, the New Zealand Maoris, and the non-Maoris (including Europeans, Pacific Island Polynesians and others), have been characterised by significantly different demographic histories. Their distinctive features and increasing similarity are an integral part of the historical growth of population in New Zealand.

The Maori Population

The Maori people are the first known settlers of New Zealand, and are believed to have arrived from Polynesia somewhere between 900AD and 1350AD. Little is known with any degree of certainty of the size and scale of Maori settlement before the nineteenth century. It is estimated, however, that at the time of initial European

contact in 1769 there was somewhere between 125,000 and 175,000 Maoris in New Zealand.

During the next 70 years, recurrent problems of disease and warfare resulted in high levels of mortality and an overall decline in numbers to about 60,000 in 1857–8, when the first census of the Maori population was carried out. From the late 1850s to the early 1870s (the period spanning the Land Wars) decline continued at a rate of around 1.4 percent per annum, while from 1874–1896 numbers appear to have fluctuated indicating an arrest in the trend towards depopulation (Neville and O'Neill, 1979).

The twentieth century has witnessed a resurgence in Maori population growth, at first gradually, but after the Second World War more rapidly. By the late 1940s, population numbers had recovered to about what they were at the time that systematic European colonisation began. Following the Second World War, the growth rate accelerated to reach a peak of 4.4 percent per annum during the early 1960s: close to the physiological maximum for a population 'closed' to migration (Pool, 1986). Since then, the rate of population growth has declined, to 3.6 percent during the 1966–1976 period and further to 1.2 percent during 1976–1986 (refer Table 1.1).

The Maori population numbered 56,049 and constituted 48 percent of the total population at the time of the first census in 1857–8. By the early 1900s, however, it made up a mere 4 percent of the total, and although numbers have increased rapidly, especially since the 1950s, persons of Maori descent still comprised only 12 percent of New Zealand's total population in 1986.

Because fertility levels did not change significantly for a prolonged period, the major factor influencing Maori population growth until the 1960s was mortality. The introduction of many diseases produced rapid declines in life expectation in the nineteenth century. From around 1900 there was a slow increase in life expectancy until about 1945, after which there was a more rapid improvement. International migration did not emerge until the 1970s as a significant factor influencing the growth of the Maori population. Since then, there has been a large movement of young Maoris overseas, particularly to Australia and the United Kingdom. Indeed, from 1981–6 net emigration removed 8,100 from the Maori population, the equivalent of 31 percent of the natural increase for the period (Population Monitoring Group, 1986). As a result of the steady net migration losses over the last decade, there

are now sizeable Maori communities in cities such as Sydney, although the exact numbers in residence are difficult to determine.

TABLE 1.1: New Zealand Maori population, successive population censuses, 1858-1986

Census date	N.Z. Maori Population ¹					N.Z. Maori Descent ²				
	Popu- lation	Intercensal increase or decrease			Annual average percent	Popu- lation	Intercensal increase or decrease			Annual average percent
		Number	Percent				Number	Percent		
24 Mar 1858	56,049	...	...	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
1 Mar 1874	47,330	...	...	...	...	..	..	..	..	..
3 Mar 1878	45,542	-1,788	-3.78	-0.97	...	..	..	..	..	..
3 Apr 1881	46,141	599	1.32	0.42	...	..	..	..	..	..
28 Mar 1886	43,927	-2,214	-4.80	-1.00	...	..	..	..	..	..
5 Apr 1891	44,177	250	0.57	0.11	...	..	..	..	..	..
12 Apr 1896	42,113	-2,064	-4.67	-0.96	...	..	..	..	..	..
31 Mar 1901	45,549	3,436	8.16	1.59	...	..	..	..	..	..
29 Apr 1906	50,309	4,760	10.45	1.98	...	..	..	..	..	..
2 Apr 1911	52,723	2,414	4.80	0.96	...	..	..	..	..	..
15 Oct 1916	52,997	274	0.52	0.09	...	..	..	..	..	..
17 Apr 1921	56,987	3,990	7.53	1.62	...	..	..	..	..	..
20 Apr 1926	63,670	6,683	11.73	2.24	...	..	..	..	..	..
24 Mar 1936	82,326	18,656	29.30	2.62	...	..	..	..	..	..
25 Sep 1945	98,744	16,418	19.94	1.93	...	..	..	..	..	..
17 Apr 1951	115,676	16,932	17.15	2.89	134,842	..	..	..	..	..
17 Apr 1956	137,151	21,475	18.56	3.46	162,458	27,616	20.48	3.73	..	..
18 Apr 1961	167,086	29,935	21.83	4.02	202,535	40,077	24.67	4.41	..	..
22 Mar 1966	201,159	34,073	20.39	3.84	249,867	47,332	23.37	4.20	..	..
22 Mar 1971	227,414	26,255	13.05	2.48	290,501	40,634	16.26	3.01	..	..
23 Mar 1976	270,035	42,621	18.74	3.50	356,847	66,346	22.84	4.11	..	..
24 Mar 1981	279,252	9,217	3.41	0.67	385,524	28,677	8.04	1.55	..	..
4 Mar 1986	..	..	..	..	403,185	17,661	4.58	0.90	..	..

¹ Persons of half or more Maori descent

² Persons of any Maori descent

Sources: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981, Vol. 8A, Department of Statistics, 1982

New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1986, Provisional National Summary . Statistics 1987, Department of Statistics.

*Non-Maori Population*¹

The beginning of non-Maori settlement in New Zealand followed Cook's rediscovery of New Zealand in 1769, and consisted of small numbers of whalers, sealers, traders and missionaries, who established temporary or semi-permanent settlements along the country's coastline. It was not until 1840, however, when the British officially annexed New Zealand, that systematic colonisation began. During the following 30 years population growth was rapid due to the very high immigration levels of mainly European settlers encouraged by better economic prospects, the discovery of gold, a new deal in labour relations and a vigorous public works policy. It was not until the 1870s that natural increase permanently displaced net immigration as the chief contributor to population growth. By the census of 1881, the proportions of the total population born in New Zealand and born overseas had become approximately equal (50.2 and 49.8 percent respectively).

Throughout the course of the next 100 years (from 1881), the demographic experience of New Zealand's non-Maori population proved highly sensitive to economic and social factors and considerable variations in population growth rates occurred. The depression of the late 1880s saw a decline in population growth (from an average of 3.3 percent per annum in 1881–6 to 1.6 percent per annum in 1886–1891) brought about largely by a net migration loss of approximately 9,000 people. This was the first time in the history of the country that net emigration had occurred. Following a brief period of recovery in population growth rates during the 1890s and early 1900s there was again a reduction in growth rates during the period from 1911–1916 (refer Table 1.2). A major contributing factor was the reduced level of net immigration in response to the First World War.

A period of economic buoyancy following the First World War resulted in an upturn in population growth rates to around 2 percent per annum, but these were not sustained during the severe economic depression of the late 1920s and 1930s. In fact, significant declines in both levels of natural increase and net immigration during this period resulted in the lowest growth rates on record since official population statistics were first produced (refer Table

¹All the non-Maori ethnic groups are treated as one population component here. The settlement patterns of the different groups included in the blanket non-Maori category are dealt with in Chapter 6.

1.2). While population growth again began to return in the late 1930s as the economic situation improved, this was short-lived. The advent of the Second World War brought about an increase in mortality, while the disruption of family formation, manifest in the postponement of marriages and childbearing, prevented the complete recovery of fertility levels to pre-Depression level. Gains to the population through net immigration were also insignificant.

TABLE 1.2: New Zealand Non-Maori population¹, successive population censuses, 1858-1986

Census date	Population	Number	Intercensal increase or decrease	
			Percent	Annual average percent
24 Mar 1858	59,413	..	..	..
1 Mar 1874	297,654	..	..	..
3 Mar 1878	412,465	114,811	38.57	8.16
3 Apr 1881	487,889	75,424	18.29	5.60
28 Mar 1886	576,524	88,635	18.17	3.34
5 Apr 1891	624,474	47,950	8.32	1.60
12 Apr 1896	701,101	76,627	12.27	2.31
31 Mar 1901	770,313	69,212	9.87	1.88
29 Mar 1906	886,000	115,687	15.02	2.80
2 Apr 1911	1,005,589	119,589	13.50	2.53
15 Oct 1916	1,096,228	90,639	9.01	1.73
17 Apr 1921	1,214,681	118,453	10.81	2.05
20 Apr 1926	1,344,469	129,788	10.69	2.03
24 Mar 1936	1,491,486	147,017	10.94	1.04
25 Sep 1945	1,603,586	112,100	7.52	0.81
17 Apr 1951	1,823,796	220,210	13.73	2.14
17 Apr 1956	2,036,911	213,115	11.69	2.21
18 Apr 1961	2,247,898	210,987	10.36	1.97
22 Mar 1966	2,475,760	227,862	10.14	1.93
22 Mar 1971	2,635,217	159,457	6.44	1.25
23 Mar 1976	2,859,348	224,131	8.51	1.63
24 Mar 1981	2,896,485	37,137	1.30	0.26
4 Mar 1986	..	..	..	..

¹ Excludes persons of half or more Maori descent

Source: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981. Vol. 8A. Department of Statistics, 1982

With the return of peace, New Zealand's non-Maori population began to grow at a more rapid pace. Relatively high levels of fertility and quite substantial net gains to the population through international migration ensured that high rates of population growth

exceeding or close to 2 percent per annum were sustained throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. Declining birth rates and a downturn in economic conditions in the late 1960s saw population growth rates fall to an average of 1.25 percent per annum during 1966–1971, bringing an end to the extended post-war period of rapid population growth.

Since the late 1960s radical changes in external migration trends and patterns have contributed to fluctuating rates of population growth. High levels of net immigration during the first half of the 1970s saw a recovery in population growth after the downturn of the 1966–1971 period to an annual average rate of 1.63 percent in 1971–6. Following 1976, a complete reversal in the direction of net external migration to net emigration resulted in a dramatic reduction in the rate of population growth. During the 1976–1981 intercensal period the non-Maori population grew at a rate of 0.3 percent per annum, the lowest on record for any intercensal period.

Future Prospects

The combined effect of falling birth rates and net emigration in most years since 1976 has ensured that population growth in New Zealand has remained slow. Unless there are radical and sustained changes in fertility levels or net external migration, which seem unlikely, population growth in New Zealand should remain slow in the foreseeable future. Official population projections indicate that by the year 2011 New Zealand's total population could number around 3.8 million, only 569,000 more people than were enumerated in the 1986 census (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

The Maori population is likely to continue to grow more rapidly than the total population, at least for the next 25 years. This is largely due to the younger age structure of the Maori population as against that of the total population (the Maori population has a higher concentration of women at the reproductive ages), and higher Maori fertility. In fact, unofficial projections of the Maori population (Pool, 1986) indicate that the number of persons of Maori descent in New Zealand could increase by 57 percent from 1986–2011. In other words, about two-fifths (40 percent) of the projected total population increase of 569,000 could be accounted for by Maori population growth over the next 25 years.

2 Fertility

Introduction

Current fertility levels in New Zealand are now lower than at any other time in its history. In 1985, the crude birth rate stood at 15.8 births per 1,000 of the population after having risen by a small margin (caused largely by a rise in the number of women in the prime reproductive ages) from the all-time low of 15.6 recorded in 1983. As in many other developed countries the decline in fertility rates commenced in the nineteenth century, was interrupted by a temporary upturn after the Second World War and has accelerated over the last few decades. In New Zealand the accelerated decline began after 1961 following the sustained period of comparatively high fertility known as the baby boom era. The decline in the crude birth rate was most pronounced from 1961–1978, falling by 40 percent. This reduction in fertility occurred amidst the demographic, social, economic and attitudinal changes of the 1970s that individually or collectively influenced fertility and its components during this period. Child bearing shifted to higher ages and was concentrated in a narrower band of ages of women, the contribution of ex-nuptial births to total fertility increased, and third and higher order births were curtailed with the development of a 2-child family norm.

This recent decline in fertility in New Zealand is characteristic of a number of other developed countries. The downturn in New Zealand fertility, however, started slightly later and the plateauing of the rate appears to be occurring at a higher level than in some other low-fertility countries. In New Zealand the total fertility rate (an estimate of the average number of children women will have) appears to have levelled off at 1.9 births per woman. In a number of countries in northern Europe the rate is below 1.7 births per woman (refer Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1: Total fertility rates in low fertility countries, recent years

Country	Total fertility rate
Australia	1.85 (1984)
Canada	1.68 (1983)
Denmark	1.40 (1984)
France	1.81 (1983)
Federal Republic of Germany	1.32 (1983)
Japan	1.74 (1982)
New Zealand	1.93 (1985)
Norway	1.66 (1984)
Sweden	1.61 (1983)
Switzerland	1.55 (1981)
UK	1.78 (1985)
USA	1.83 (1982)

Source: *Demographic Trends*, 1987, Department of Statistics, 1987

Non-Maori Fertility Transition

The trend in total fertility in New Zealand described above, reflects primarily the non-Maori pattern, which is similar to that of other populations of European origin. The transition in non-Maori fertility commenced in the 1880s, and within 2 decades New Zealand's non-Maori population had gone from having one of the highest to one of the lowest crude birth rates in industrialised countries. A major shift upwards in the age of entering first marriage played the major role in the fertility decline, together with decreases in the proportions marrying and increases in fertility regulation within marriage, particularly in terms of limiting births. With late marriage a firmly established norm, the twentieth century saw a more gradual decline in non-Maori fertility to the very low levels of the Depression. In 1935 the total fertility rate was 2.05 births per woman, the lowest on record until that time. The baby boom of the late 1940s and 1950s followed, bringing with it an increase in the total fertility rate to a high of 4.14 births per woman.

At its peak in 1961 the total fertility rate was almost twice the 1935 level and exceeded the highest post-war peak rates in the developed world (3.9 births per woman recorded in Canada and Ireland). This period of high fertility involved a shift back to the 1880s pattern of younger and more universal marriages, along with a movement towards early childbearing, a shortening of birth

intervals and a trend away from childless marriages (Zodgekar, 1980). Exactly what economic and social factors generated these trends is not known.

The early 1960s marked the turning point in the post-war rise in non-Maori fertility. Since 1961 the total fertility rate has shown a downward trend, falling from 4.0 births per woman in 1962, to 3.0 in 1971, and further to 2.0 births in 1978. Since then the pace of fertility decline has slackened considerably, and appears to have levelled out at around 1.9 births per woman. In terms of long-term population replacement, non-Maori fertility in New Zealand fell below the replacement level in 1978 and has remained beneath this level since that year (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

The triggering mechanisms for the post-1961 decline in fertility are complex. There is no single factor which can explain the large decline or the current low levels. Changes in marital fertility, including both the postponement of childbearing and the fall in average family size, have possibly been a major influence. These changes have been associated with the increasing participation of women in the labour force, the greater use of efficient contraceptives (especially the IUD and the Pill) and the high incidence of sterilisation in New Zealand (Population Monitoring Group, 1984).

It has been suggested also that the increased incidence of de facto living may have had a depressive impact on fertility levels (Khawaja, 1985). The 1981 Census of Population data on cohabitation indicated that de facto unions comprised 6.2 percent of all unions (legal and otherwise) in 1981. Of women aged 20–24 years living in either a formal (legal) or informal union, 19.8 percent were living in a de facto union.

Many of these unions take the form of trial marriages. Such unions affect nuptiality and fertility trends and patterns through fewer legal marriages, delayed entry into legal marriages, fewer children and postponed childbearing. It is possible that what is reflected in the current low fertility levels is a fundamental change in attitude towards marriage and the family.

Maori Fertility Transition

The Maori fertility transition has been very different to that of the non-Maori. For as far back as estimates can be calculated it appears that Maori fertility was high. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s the

Maori crude birth rate varied within a narrow range, around a high level of 45 births per 1,000 of the population. The early 1960s mark the onset of the fertility decline, triggered probably by post-Second World War urbanisation and improvements in infant and childhood survivorship. During the ten years from 1962–1971 the total fertility rate declined slowly from 6.0 births per woman to 5.0 births per woman. The rate of decrease accelerated in the early 1970s, and the Maori total fertility rate plummeted to 2.9 births per woman in 1977, a level achieved by non-Maoris as recently as 1972. Subsequent declines in the total fertility rate for Maoris have been slower, and the rate seems to have levelled out in the 1980s at just above replacement level.

In a matter of 2 decades then, the Maori total fertility rate fell by 63 percent, or to below two fifths of its initial 1962 level. This is perhaps the most rapid transition for a national population anywhere in the world, outstripping even those experienced in many countries in South-East Asia and Latin America in recent times (Khawaja, 1985). It has caused a substantial narrowing of the gap between Maori and non-Maori fertility rates. In 1962 the average Maori family size, as implied by the total fertility rate, exceeded the non-Maori family size by 2.2 children per woman. By 1974 the difference had narrowed to just one child, and by 1982 to less than 0.5 children.

Non-Maori Fertility Patterns

The downward trend in non-Maori fertility this century has been accompanied by important changes in the ages at which women bear their children. From the relatively late pattern of childbearing of the pre-First World War and Depression era, the post-Second World War period saw a shift to early childbearing and close spacing of births, and fertility became heavily concentrated at the younger reproductive ages (below 30 years). By 1971, 43 percent of all births occurred to women below 25 years, up from 26 percent in 1943. The average age of childbearing of non-Maori women dropped from 29.3 years to 24.6 years over the same period.

Since the early 1970s there has been a shift back to traditional European reproduction patterns involving delayed childbearing. This is reflected in a progressive shift towards births to women in

their late twenties and early thirties (refer Table 2.2). Two important trends underline this shift. First, a significant reduction in the fertility of women aged 20–24 years. Since 1971, the number of births per 1,000 women in this age group has fallen by just over 50 percent, from 200 to 98. Second, from about 1978, a substantial rise in fertility rates at ages 27–37 years, which is probably a reflection of the ‘making up’ of the fertility of these women who put off having children in the 1970s. The increases ranged between 4 percent and 36 percent, with rates for women aged 29–34 years rising by at least 15 percent (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

These changes in the timing of childbearing have meant that, in common with the pattern prevalent in most developed countries, the 25–29 age group is now the prime one for childbearing. In 1985, 39 percent of all births to non-Maori women occurred at these ages. The pattern of age-specific fertility rates for non-Maori women indicates a high level of contraceptive efficiency, resulting primarily from oral and injectable hormonal contraception. Moreover, the very high levels of sterilisation rival those recorded in Canada and the United States.

TABLE 2.2: Maori and non-Maori age-specific fertility rates, 1964–1985

Year	Maternal age group (years)						
	15–19	20–24	25–29	30–34	35–39	40–44	45–49
<i>Maori population</i>							
1964	127	375	288	192	138	64	7
1971	130	332	240	163	93	37	6
1981	96	178	124	64	25	8	1
1985	79	150	119	62	23	6	..
<i>Non-Maori population</i>							
1964	51	230	225	131	65	19	1
1971	61	200	197	97	37	11	1
1981	30	116	149	70	20	4	..
1985	23	98	148	81	22	4	..

Source: Maori Statistical Profile 1961–86, Department of Statistics, 1986

Maori Fertility Patterns

Maori fertility levels and patterns have also changed substantially in recent years. Perhaps the most significant change has been the reduction since the early 1960s in childbearing among older Maori women, indicating increasingly high levels of family limitation at

these ages. In fact, today's fertility rates of Maori women in the 25-29 and 30-34 age groups are lower than those of non-Maori women.

Although declines in Maori fertility have also occurred at the younger reproductive ages, they have tended to be smaller than those occurring at age 30 and over. As a consequence, Maori fertility has become more heavily concentrated at younger ages. In 1985, women aged 15-24 contributed 52 percent of Maori fertility, compared with 46 percent in 1971. Whereas women aged 20-24 years had the highest birth rates in 1985. The incidence of births was also high among 15-19-year-olds—more than triple that of non-Maori women of the same age (refer Table 2.2).

Current Maori family formation strategies are similar to those of the non-Maori in the early 1970s—closer spacing at younger ages followed by limitation. This pattern often occurs amongst populations undergoing a rapid fertility decline, particularly through the limitation of family size by efficient means such as sterilisation and hormonal contraception. It is likely, therefore, that Maori fertility rates at younger ages will decrease towards non-Maori levels and possibly that levels at ages 25-34 years may increase to a limited degree (Pool 1986).

Trends in Ex-Nuptial Fertility

Although the great majority of New Zealand children are born to married couples, ex-nuptial births have been increasing in number and as a proportion of all births in recent years. In 1962, 5,227 births were registered as ex-nuptial, comprising barely 8 percent of total births. By 1985, the number of ex-nuptial births had risen to 12,921 and they accounted for 25 percent of all births.

The steady rise in the proportion of births which are ex-nuptial is in part a corollary of the large drop in marital fertility, and in part the result of a shift in societal values relating to marriage and reproduction. An indication of the last point is the substantial recent decline in the number of ex-nuptial conceptions which have precipitated marriage and have been followed by a nuptial live birth. Whereas 27 percent of first nuptial births in 1962 were ex-nuptially conceived, by 1985 the figure had fallen to 14 percent. Abortion has been shown to have played an insignificant role in this decline (Sceats, 1985). One factor which has undoubtedly played a role in the rise in ex-nuptial births is the growth in the

number of de facto partnerships. Whereas the majority of ex-nuptial births prior to the 1970s are likely to have been to women living without a partner, in recent times it appears that many are to women living with a partner as married (Department of Statistics, 1987c). This is reflected in the increasing age of mothers of ex-nuptial children. From 1971–1985 the average age of mothers of ex-nuptial children rose from 21.0 to 22.1 years.

Special mention should be made of the high incidence of ex-nuptial births among Maori women, especially young Maori women. In 1985, almost two-thirds (64 percent) of all Maori births were classified as ex-nuptial, and 33 percent of Maori ex-nuptial births were to women under 20 years of age. Moreover, Maori ex-nuptial births accounted for one third of all ex-nuptial births in New Zealand in 1985. The relatively high incidence of ex-nuptial births amongst the Maori population reflects in part the fact that customary marriages are not recognised as formal marriages in New Zealand, and that the ex-nuptial classification is based purely on a culturally defined view of marriage (Population Monitoring Group, 1985b). Thus the status of these children in Maori society may be rather different from that implied in non-Maori society.

These circumstances place many, perhaps a majority, of ex-nuptial births in a situation quite different from the social and health problem they have conventionally been conceived to be. They also stress the importance, for policy purposes, of dividing ex-nuptial births into those born to cohabitating mothers and those born to unmarried women living alone (Khawaja 1985).

Regional Differentials in Fertility

Differences in fertility levels between different regions in New Zealand have been evident for many years. In general, regions in the North Island have been characterised by higher fertility levels than those in the South Island. These differences have continued to persist into the 1980s, despite the fact that all regions shared in the national fertility decline during the 1970s. In fact, more rapid fertility declines in the South Island than in the North Island during the 1971–1981 period widened the fertility differential between the islands. In 1971 the total fertility rate in the North Island exceeded the South Island rate by 7 percent. By 1981 the gap had increased to 11 percent.

In the South Island, all regions except Southland recorded a total fertility rate below replacement level in 1981. The lowest rate of 1.7 births per woman was recorded in Canterbury, which is the most urbanised of the South Island regions. The situation was quite different in the North Island, where 11 of the 14 regions had total fertility rates above the replacement level. The 3 exceptions were Auckland, Manawatu and Wellington. Of these, Auckland and Wellington are highly urbanised and they contribute roughly half of the North Island's total births. It was largely because of the low fertility of these regions that the total fertility rate for the North Island was below replacement level in 1981.

In general, the high-fertility regions lie in the northern half of the North Island. They are typically rural areas and include most of the dairy farming districts as well as much of the rural Maori population. In 1981 the highest total fertility rate of 2.5 births per woman was recorded in the East Cape region. Tongariro, with 2.4 births per woman, recorded the next highest rate, followed closely by the Wairarapa, Taranaki and Waikato, all with a rate of 2.3 births per woman. The low-fertility regions typically comprise older well-established urban centres, such as Auckland, Canterbury, Central Otago and Wellington. All of these regions recorded total fertility rates either close to or below 1.9 births per woman in 1981 (refer Table 2.3).

In addition to regional differences in New Zealand fertility, significant fertility differentials exist between rural and urban areas, as well as between main urban areas (30,000 or more population) and smaller urban areas (1,000 to 29,999 population). These differentials have been evident in New Zealand as far back as records exist. In general, fertility is lower in urban than in rural areas, with fertility rates in smaller urban areas exceeding those in main urban areas. Significantly, the 1970s saw a steady widening in the latter differential. Whereas in 1971 the total fertility rate in smaller urban areas exceeded that in main urban areas by 16 percent, by 1981 the gap had widened to 23 percent.

It would appear that the fertility differential between main urban areas and smaller urban areas is a consequence of differences in family-building patterns. More specifically, women in smaller urban centres tend to begin childbearing earlier and have larger families than those in large urban centres. The present levels of fertility in main urban areas provide an indication of the future potential for decline in national fertility if urbanisation were to continue.

TABLE 2.3: Total fertility rates in local government regions, 1981

Local government region	Total fertility rate
Northland	2.26
Auckland	1.92
Waikato	2.27
Thames	2.16
Bay of Plenty	2.18
East Cape	2.54
Tongariro	2.36
Hawkes Bay	2.26
Taranaki	2.27
Wanganui	2.20
Manawatu	1.93
Wairarapa	2.30
Horowhenua	2.18
Wellington	1.94
Total, North Island	2.07
Marlborough	2.04
Nelson Bays	1.90
West Coast	1.96
Canterbury	1.70
Aorangi	2.08
Central North Otago	1.80
Clutha—Central Otago	2.00
Southland	2.22
Total, South Island	1.87

Source: Country Monograph Series No 12, *Population of New Zealand*, Vol 1, United Nations, 1985

Future urbanisation in New Zealand could well have the effect of lowering further the overall level of fertility.

Socio-Economic Differentials in Fertility

The existence of significant relationships between fertility and a host of socio-economic factors have been found in a number of low-fertility countries. From the fragmentary evidence available it appears that these differentials are also present in New Zealand. Data from the Population Census on the number of children born to ever-married women in New Zealand suggest a clear inverse relationship between the level of educational achievement of women in New Zealand and average family size. In 1971, ever-married women with a university qualification had a fertility level barely adequate for replacement (2.11 births per woman) while those with no formal qualifications averaged 2.69 births per

woman, a difference of 0.58 births per woman. This fertility differential existed amongst all age groups of women but was most marked among younger women, suggesting that the differential has increased in recent years. Later marriages, later childbearing, a better knowledge of and greater, more effective use of family limitation methods are some of the major ways in which more educated women control their reproductive behaviour.

✓ Husbands' income level has also been shown to be related to family size in New Zealand. Generally, the lower the income the larger the average family size. There were 2 notable exceptions to this pattern in 1971. First, women whose husbands were in the highest income bracket had a slightly higher average family size than women whose husbands earned slightly less. Second, low income appears to have a dual effect on family size—it appears to promote large families, while it also seems to serve as a considerable disincentive to start a family.

An unsatisfactory aspect of research into the relationship of income and fertility in New Zealand is that it has assumed that the husband's income is a measure of the total financial resources of a family. With an ever-increasing number of women working full-time or part-time there is a probability that a couple may decide upon the number of children they want to have, bearing in mind their combined future income potential, as well as other aspirations.

Future Prospects

The future course of fertility cannot be predicted with certainty. The trend in fertility over the last 26 years has been, with the exception of a few minor aberrations, one of consistent decline. Several explanations for this have been offered in the recent literature on New Zealand fertility. It has generally been argued that economic and social changes such as reduced incidence of marriage, the development of alternative (de facto) living arrangements, postponement of marriage to later ages, greater access to more effective birth-control methods, the rising costs of raising a family and the changing roles of women have contributed to lowering of fertility. In the foreseeable future, couples should be at least as effective as today's couples in determining the timing and spacing of births and achieving their desired family size. Raising children is likely to continue to be costly, and society's views

towards working women and childless couples are likely to continue to become more liberal. It is most unlikely, therefore, that New Zealand fertility will return to its previous high levels. What is uncertain is whether women will combine childbearing with other roles, such as workforce participation, at greater levels in the future and still achieve an average family size of around 2 children, or whether fertility will continue to decline.

Among the range of possible scenarios for the future course of fertility in New Zealand, 2 have been identified as being more likely. The first is the maintenance of fertility at sub-replacement level. This scenario implies a slight making good of delayed births by women in their early thirties.

The second scenario is a gradual increase in fertility to about replacement level resulting from a levelling off in the decline in fertility at younger ages, together with a making good of delayed births by couples in their late twenties or early thirties. Because of the arrival at the reproductive ages of the large numbers born in the late 1960s and early 1970s, both scenarios would lead to an increase in births in the late 1980s, and a level between 51,200 and 59,700 births in 1996 (Population Monitoring Group, 1984).

3 Mortality

Introduction

In 1986, 27,045 deaths were registered in New Zealand, yielding a crude death rate of 8.25 per 1,000 of the population. This was slightly above the rate of 7.85 recorded in 1978, the lowest rate ever recorded in a general long-term trend of mortality decline since the late nineteenth century. In 1985 the life expectancy at birth was 70.9 years for males and 76.8 years for females: this represents increases of 16.5 and 19.5 years' life expectancy respectively since the 1880-1890 decade.

By global standards life expectancy in New Zealand is high, although not as high as in a number of similar countries overseas. Until recently New Zealand ranked highly amongst those countries with the lowest mortality levels and highest expectation of life. It has slipped behind however, due to the fact that life expectancies in New Zealand have not improved in recent years as much as in some other developed countries. In the early 1980s at least 14 countries had higher male life expectancy than New Zealand and at least 16 had higher female life expectancy. Comparisons with other countries indicate that infant mortality, the accident hump in the late teens and early twenties, and mortality at retirement ages are the major areas where there is room for further improvement in New Zealand (Department of Statistics, 1986d).

Non-Maori Transition

Mortality trends amongst New Zealand's non-Maori population have paralleled those in industrialised nations generally. In 1876 New Zealand non-Maoris had probably the highest life expectation in the world and had already exceeded 60 years by 1906 (Pool, 1985). Since then mortality levels have undergone a long systematic downward movement. The reduction in mortality was most rapid during the last 2 decades of the nineteenth century, and was

most marked at younger ages. Subsequent declines have been more gradual.

While non-Maori mortality levels have been declining for more than a century, the decline has not always been continuous. In the 1960s and early 1970s mortality rates stabilised, particularly amongst males, as they did in many other developed countries. This appears to be a result of contemporary lifestyle (over-nutrition, smoking, alcohol) and also possibly of some persons who have 'artificially survived' infancy through medical intervention (Population Monitoring Group, 1984). Whichever factor operated, there has been an improvement in mortality levels since the mid-1970s, again mirroring a trend occurring overseas. From 1975-7 and 1984 the male expectation of life increased by 2.2 years compared with an increase of only 0.8 years between 1965-7 and 1975-7, and no improvement between 1955-7 and 1965-7. The rate of improvement in female life expectancy has also accelerated over the past 10 years (Population Monitoring Group, 1985b). The expectation of life at birth for non-Maori males in 1985 was 71.2 years and for females 77.1 years. In other words, females are expected to outlive males by about 5.9 years, which is approximately 6 months less than in 1975-7.

Maori Transition

The Maori mortality transition has been very different from that of the non-Maori population. From extremely low levels of life expectancy in the nineteenth century (below 25 years), there was a rapid improvement in the early twentieth century, due at least in part to the primary health care programmes of Maori medical practitioners. By 1926, the level of Maori life expectancy had increased to over 40 years. Changes were gradual from 1926-1945, after which a rapid increase occurred. In just 10 years, from 1946-1956, Maori life expectancy at birth increased by 8.4 years for males and 10.7 years for females. Around 50 percent of the overall decrease in Maori mortality during this period came from a rapid decline in the incidence of tuberculosis (Pool, 1985). As with the non-Maori population, a temporary plateau occurred in the late 1960s, but since then there has once again been improvements. Between 1975-7 and 1985 the life expectancy at birth for Maori males increased from 63.3 to 67.3 years, while that for Maori females increased from 67.7 to 71.2 years.

Non-Maori Age Pattern of Mortality

While the months after birth tend to be a high-risk period, the probability of dying amongst non-Maori people in New Zealand is low at the younger ages and increases in the latter stages of life. This pattern is reflected in the percentage distribution of deaths by age. In 1985, 2 percent of all non-Maori deaths occurred in the first year of life, 1 percent occurred at ages 1 to 14 years, and 4 percent from the ages of 15–34 years. It is at middle age that these percentages increase rapidly. Thus 20 percent of deaths occurred between the ages 35–64 years, and 73 percent occurred with persons aged 65 years and over (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

The decline in non-Maori mortality since the late nineteenth century has occurred for all age groups and for both sexes. The most impressive improvements however have been in the youngest age groups, particularly amongst infants. The infant mortality rate decreased from 71.4 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1901 to 10.2 in 1985. Most of the fall in the infant mortality rate was, until the 1950s, due to the decline in post-neonatal deaths (deaths after the first month of life). Since then, however, post-neonatal rates have remained virtually unchanged and most of the subsequent decline in infant mortality has been attributable to the decline in neonatal deaths (deaths under 4 weeks of age). (Refer Table 3.1.) Today non-Maori neonatal rates lie within the lower to middle range for developed countries. The situation with regard to post-neonatal mortality, however, is less favourable. The lack of decline in non-Maori rates over the last 30 years as against the achievements of the so-called Anglo-Saxon populations, has meant that non-Maori post-neonatal mortality is now high by comparison with similar overseas countries. In 1985 the non-Maori rate of 5.6 per 1,000 live births was double that found in northwestern European countries, such as the Scandinavian-nations and the Netherlands, despite the fact that in the 1950s the rates were roughly the same (around 6.0 deaths per 1,000 live births) (Population Monitoring Group, 1985b).

Beyond the first year of life the relative magnitude of the decline in mortality (since 1901) has tended to be larger for females and to vary inversely with age, ranging from 90 percent for pre-school children (1–4 years) to 33 percent for the oldest group (75 years and older). A major feature of the improvements in life expectancy since the mid-1970s is that they have occurred in large part as a

TABLE 3.1: Neonatal and post-neonatal mortality in New Zealand, 1941-1983

Period	Maori		Non-Maori	
	Neonatal	Post-neonatal	Neonatal	Post-neonatal
1941-45	21.8	77.4	20.0	9.5
1946-50	25.5	53.3	17.3	6.6
1951-55	23.2	46.0	14.8	6.1
1956-60	19.7	33.2	13.8	5.8
1961-65	15.2	21.2	12.6	5.5
1966-70	12.7	15.0	10.9	5.2
1971-75	11.2	10.6	9.8	5.4
1976-80	9.2	10.9	6.9	5.7
1985	4.9	10.4	4.6	5.6

Sources: Country Monograph Series No. 12, *Population of New Zealand*, Vol 1, United Nations 1985

Vital Statistics 1985, Department of Statistics, 1987

result of mortality declines at the retirement ages. For instance, between 1975-7 and 1984 life expectation at birth for non-Maori females increased by 2.2 years. Of this, 1.4 years were gained through a decline in mortality at ages 55 years and over. But whereas the reduction in child mortality (below 5 years) contributed 0.5 years or more to the overall increase in life expectancy at birth between 1955-7 and 1965-7, this had dropped to 0.3 years in the most recent interval (Population Monitoring Group, 1985b). These recent improvements in adult survivorship have come later than in northwestern Europe. The experience there suggests that after a period of accelerated improvement there could be a deceleration.

Increasingly in New Zealand, more and more non-Maori people are surviving up to and through ages 70-84 years. This has had only a marginal affect on the ratio of males to females at older ages. Females continue to outnumber males especially at ages above 75 years. In 1986 there were 171 females for every 100 males aged 75 years and over in New Zealand. In 1976 the ratio stood at 175. As the lifestyles of men and women continue to become closer it may be expected that differences in mortality between the sexes might diminish and result in more balanced sex ratios at older ages.

Maori Age Pattern of Mortality

The general features of the age-sex pattern of mortality for the Maori population are much the same as those for the non-Maori

population, except that the distribution of deaths by age is more heavily skewed toward the younger age groupings, a reflection in part of the more youthful age structure of the Maori population. In 1985, 8 percent of all Maori deaths occurred in the first year of life, 3 percent occurred at ages 1–14 years, and 10 percent between the ages 15–34 years. A further 42 percent of deaths occurred at ages 35–64 years, and 37 percent among persons aged 65 years and over (Department of Statistics, 1987c). The mortality levels of the Maori population are higher at most ages than those of the non-Maori population. This should not however mask the fact that a substantial reduction in Maori/non-Maori mortality differentials has occurred in recent years.

Much of the improvement in Maori life expectancy this century, like that of the non-Maori, has been as a result of rapid declines in mortality at the younger ages, particularly at infancy. In 1939 the recorded level of Maori infant mortality was 115 per 1,000 live births. Since then a dramatic decline in infant mortality has been experienced by the Maori population. By 1985 the rate stood at 15 per 1,000 live births. The rapid Maori infant mortality decline was brought about initially through low-cost medical technology such as antibiotics in association with improvements in living standards and the extension of social welfare programmes. Reinforcement came from the rapid declines in fertility which occurred in the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Since the late 1970s, decreases in neonatal infant mortality, which is normally expected to respond to high-technology and high-cost health service delivery, contributed more to the decline than might be expected. By contrast, post-neonatal infant mortality, which is more amenable to control by medical, nutritional and childcare improvements has fallen much less rapidly (refer Table 3.1). While levels of neonatal mortality among the Maori population now approximate those of the non-Maori population, the Maori post-neonatal mortality rate remains about double the non-Maori rate (refer Table 3.1).

The most notable improvements in Maori mortality in very recent years have occurred at the adult ages, and more particularly the older adult ages (60 years and over). Improvements in survivorship at these ages during the first half of the 1980s were much greater among the Maori than non-Maori population (refer Table 3.2). Even with these improvements, however, survivorship levels between the 2 populations are still far apart, particularly in middle

and old age (refer Table 3.3). Although socio-economic factors are undoubtedly important determinants of this ethnic differential—proportionately more Maori than non-Maori people receive low incomes—socio-cultural differences almost certainly play a major role as well. Genetic susceptibility, by contrast, is thought to play a very limited part.

TABLE 3.2: Changes in survivorship at older ages, 1980–2 to 1985

Age group (years)	Percentage change in average number living in age group			
	Maori		Non-Maori	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
60–64	13.5	8.2	0.6	0.3
65–69	19.7	13.4	1.4	0.5
70–74	30.8	21.9	2.4	1.0
75–79	44.3	24.3	4.1	1.1
80–84	56.3	8.2	5.1	2.9
85 and over	3.6	1.2	5.1	–1.6

Source: *The New Zealand Population: Change, Composition, and Policy Implications*, Population Monitoring Group Report No. 4, New Zealand Planning Council 1986

Mortality by Cause of Death

The control of infectious and parasitic diseases has played a leading part in the long-term decline in mortality in New Zealand. With the elimination of most of these diseases as causes of death, degenerative diseases, often associated with ageing, have become the major causes of death in New Zealand. In 1985, the most frequent causes of death were diseases of the circulatory system, including ischaemic heart disease (26 percent), cancer (22 percent) and cerebrovascular disease (10 percent) which together accounted for almost three fifths of total deaths. Other major causes of death were diseases of the respiratory system, and motor vehicle and other accidents, which accounted for a further 15 percent of total deaths (Department of Health, 1987b).

The relative importance of these major causes of death varies both by age and ethnic group (refer Table 3.4). Degenerative diseases become increasingly important with age. Ischaemic heart disease, the major killer, begins to appear as a major cause of death in the 45–64 year age group and the age-specific death rates due to this cause increase markedly in the subsequent age groups. This

TABLE 3.3: Comparative survival of Maoris and non-Maoris, 1985 mortality experience

Exact age (years)	Percentage of persons born who survive to this age			
	Males		Females	
	Maori	Non-Maori	Maori	Non-Maori
5	98.0	98.7	98.4	98.9
15	97.8	98.3	98.1	98.6
25	96.4	96.8	97.8	98.0
45	91.4	93.7	94.0	96.1
55	83.2	88.6	86.8	92.7
65	64.1	75.1	72.7	84.7
75	37.5	49.0	50.5	66.9
85	10.8	15.8	13.9	34.9

Source: New Zealand Abridged Life Tables 1985, Department of Statistics (unpublished)

disease also becomes increasingly important relative to other diseases in the middle and old age. Thus, in 1985 ischaemic heart disease accounted for 36 percent of male deaths and 18 percent of female deaths in the 45–64 year age group, as against 10 percent and 5 percent for the respective sexes in the 25–44 year age group. Mortality from ischaemic heart disease has shown a downward trend since 1977; the 1985 male rate stands out as the lowest on record in recent years. The lower level of Maori mortality from ischaemic heart disease compared to non-Maori mortality from this cause, reflects the much younger age structure of the Maori population. Age-standardised rates show that in real terms Maori death rates from ischaemic heart disease are higher than non-Maori rates.

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TABLE 3.4: Selected Major Causes of Death, 1985

Cause of death	Age group (years)									
	15-24		25-44		45-64		65 & over		Standardised rate	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Rate per 100,000 Population										
Maori										
Ischaemic heart disease	-	-	29.6	10.5	450.6	189.8	1508.4	1380.1	232	142
Cancer of lung	-	-	-	7.9	144.4	63.3	726.3	169.5	92	28
Cancer of breast	-	-	-	18.4	-	57.5	-	121.1	-	24
All other cancers	2.8	2.8	34.9	34.1	219.5	201.3	1089.4	581.1	159	97
Cerebrovascular disease	-	-	2.7	13.1	80.9	109.3	558.7	508.5	68	66
Respiratory disease	8.3	2.8	13.4	10.5	121.3	126.5	1396.6	1016.9	159	121
Motor vehicle accidents	55.4	14.0	72.6	15.7	40.4	23.0	27.9	24.2	42	16
All other accidents	36.0	2.8	26.9	-	17.3	11.5	27.9	24.2	25	9
Diabetes mellitus	-	-	-	2.6	57.8	92.0	335.2	363.2	47	51
Chronic rheumatic heart disease	-	5.6	10.7	13.1	34.7	51.8	55.9	-	13	15
All other causes	41.6	11.2	53.7	39.4	265.7	201.3	1257.0	1186.4	235	180
Total, all causes	144.0	39.3	244.6	165.3	1432.7	1127.1	6983.2	5375.3	1073	748
Non-Maori										
Ischaemic heart disease	0.4	-	15.9	4.4	397.4	111.2	2123.3	1398.3	219	101
Cancer of lung	-	-	2.8	1.2	98.9	44.5	383.9	94.3	44	15
Cancer of breast	-	-	-	11.5	-	76.8	-	145.4	-	27
All other cancers	6.3	6.3	29.8	26.2	238.0	168.2	1115.0	655.1	130	82
Cerebrovascular disease	0.4	1.6	4.8	4.1	52.3	40.9	698.3	803.7	59	54
Respiratory disease	5.2	4.7	5.1	2.8	71.9	52.4	1066.8	684.3	95	52
Motor vehicle accidents	75.7	25.4	28.8	11.7	17.4	11.1	36.6	18.8	29	13
All other accidents	27.5	3.5	21.7	3.7	24.5	4.3	87.7	116.7	25	11
Diabetes mellitus	-	0.4	1.6	0.5	15.3	10.4	96.5	66.7	10	6
Chronic heart disease	-	0.4	1.2	1.8	5.7	7.9	17.5	21.9	3	4
All other causes	39.0	17.2	44.5	26.7	159.0	101.5	1160.3	1083.5	160	113
Total, all causes	154.4	59.4	156.2	94.6	1080.4	629.2	6785.8	5088.9	772	476

Source: Mortality and Demographic Data 1985, National Health Statistics Centre, Department of Health, 1987

Deaths from cancer have edged up in recent years, increasing from 20 percent of all deaths in 1975 to 22 percent in 1985. As with ischaemic heart disease, the incidence of cancer increases with age. Amongst persons aged 65 years and over, cancer accounts for around 1 in 5 deaths, a higher proportion for men than for women. Lung cancer remains the leading cause of cancer death in males, with the rate for Maori males being more than double that for non-Maori males. For females, breast cancer continues to be the leading form of the disease, although lung cancer has shown the biggest rise in recent years. In fact, among Maori women lung cancer has caused more deaths than breast cancer in 14 of the last 20 years. The overall number of women dying from lung cancer rose by 69 percent, from 196 in 1976 to 331 in 1985. This follows a world-wide trend and one that is generally accepted as being associated with cigarette smoking (Department of Health, 1983a).

Deaths due to cerebrovascular disease have a similar age pattern to other degenerative diseases, becoming more prominent at the older ages. Since 1970-4 the incidence of death from cerebrovascular disease has shown a marked decrease at most ages. This has been true for both males and females. The largest percentage decreases in death rates from this cause have been in the 45-54 year age group for males and the 40-44 year age group for females.

While the degenerative diseases are most prevalent in the older age groups, motor vehicle accidents and other violent causes, such as other accidents and suicide, largely determine the mortality level among the younger age groups. Motor vehicle accidents account for almost half (46 percent) of all deaths in the 15-24 year age group. The sex differences in deaths due to motor vehicle accidents are considerable. In the 15-24 years' age group, the male death rate in 1985 of 73 deaths per 100,000 males exceeded the female rate of 24 deaths per 100,000 females by a ratio of 3 to 1. Despite the recent introduction of random breath testing, death rates due to motor vehicle accidents show no signs of declining.

Among infants the main causes of death are cot death or sudden infant death syndrome, respiratory illness and gastroenteritis. These have all been associated with life style factors. Cot death is the leading cause of death in both Maori and non-Maori babies and has shown an upward trend since the late 1970s (refer Table 3.5). Moreover, the incidence of cot deaths in New Zealand is high by the standards of other developed countries. The cot death rate in New Zealand in the early 1980s was more than double the rate

recorded in Australia. The cause or causes of cot death have not been satisfactorily identified and must be investigated further if post-neonatal deaths are to be reduced.

TABLE 3.5: Cot deaths, 1980-5

Year	Maori	Non-Maori	Total
Rate per 1,000 live births			
1980	6.4	3.8	4.1
1981	6.2	4.1	4.4
1982	6.9	4.0	4.4
1983	8.1	4.5	4.9
1984	9.9	4.3	5.0
1985	7.9	3.7	4.2

Source: *Mortality and Demographic Data 1985*, National Health Statistics Centre, Department of Health, 1987

Differential Mortality

The overall national mortality level masks differences that exist between various strata of society. In addition to major differentials by age, sex and ethnic group discussed in the preceding sections, others can be identified according to region, occupation and various social variables. These differences reflect environmental, social, economic and other factors that directly or indirectly affect health and chances of survival.

Regional Differentials

The risk of dying in New Zealand varies from region to region. At the broadest level of regional disaggregation, South Islanders have a higher mortality than North Islanders. However, their relative disadvantage in longevity has diminished steadily over the last 2 decades, due mainly to a greater decline in their mortality rates. In fact, South Island mortality rates for both male and females at ages below 60 years (except in the first year of life) were generally lower in 1980-2 than those for the North Island. Taken overall, the North-South differentials have now reached a point where they are almost negligible (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Despite the convergence in North-South differentials in mortality, considerable differences in male and female life expectancy and in standardised death rates between local government regions still persist. In the case of males, expectation of life in 1980-2 varied

from 71.2 years in the Nelson Bays region to 67.7 years in the East Cape. Thames Valley had the highest expectation of life for females at 77.1 years, while the East Cape had the lowest (74.4 years). In addition to the East Cape region, which had the lowest longevity for both male and females, 4 other regions stood out on account of their low life expectancies. These were Tongariro, Wanganui, West Coast and Southland. Most of these regions recorded expectations of life 1 year or more lower than those for New Zealand as a whole. Moreover, in the case of males the life expectancy at birth for the East Cape and West Coast regions was lower than the figure recorded for New Zealand males ten years ago (68.6 years). Similarly, three regions (Tongariro, East Cape and West Coast) experienced female life expectancy close to or lower than the New Zealand figure (74.6 years) recorded a decade ago.

Investigation into the factors underlying these variations indicates that about 60 percent of the variation can be explained by three factors, namely: degree of urbanisation; percentage of the population aged 16 years and over that is married; and percentage of the population 15 years and over with no secondary school education. Regions which are more urbanised and have a higher percentage of their adult population married and well educated are more likely to have lower mortality than other regions (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

The lower mortality rates in more urbanised regions, a feature of many industrialised countries, may be at least partly due to the better provision of specialised medical services and easier access to doctors in cities and urban centres than in more remote and isolated areas of the country.

Occupational and Social Differentials

As in many other countries, there is evidence in New Zealand of a strong association between mortality and occupation. Workers in professional and administrative occupations have been found to have lower mortality than those in mining and transport and communication occupations. Sales workers have the lowest mortality rate of all workers in New Zealand. It has been suggested that this may be because sales workers are least prone to risk or stress (Zodgekar, 1979). Occupational differentials operate in several ways, but two main factors are important. First, certain jobs are hazardous and this element constitutes a greater risk in the lower

occupational categories. Secondly, occupation largely determines income, and income is a major determinant of the level of living and health care (Pearce, Davis, Smith and Foster, 1983).

Lifestyle differences may also play a role in occupational differentials in mortality. For instance, in New Zealand regular smoking is lowest in professional and technical occupations and highest in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Other lifestyle differences directly related to income differences, such as housing, nutrition and general living and working conditions are also believed to be important in mortality differences between occupations (Pearce, Davis, Smith and Foster, 1983).

Differences in mortality experience also exist with regard to marital status. In general, mortality levels are lower for married males and females than for the single, widowed or divorced. Differences between married and other categories increase with age and are also greater among males than females (Zodgekar, 1979). Reasons for these differences, which are characteristic of many populations around the world are not clear but are likely to be related to the fact that marriage is a form of selection of healthier persons. In addition, the companionship afforded by marriage may provide some survival advantage, particularly in older age.

Future Prospects

The determination of future mortality rates is problematical. Comparisons of mortality rates in New Zealand with those in several low-mortality countries indicate that there is scope for further reductions in mortality in New Zealand. However, it will be mortality changes occurring among adults that will have the most effect on life expectation. Recent years have witnessed a significant improvement in survivorship rates over a wide range of adult ages for both Maoris and non-Maoris. If these improvements continue, they will result in an increase in the size of all elderly age groups, the effect being greatest among the oldest.

Even with improvements in mortality rates over the next few years, there is likely to be a steady rise in the annual number of deaths, from 27,000 in 1986 to over 40,000 in 2016. This will occur because of the large number of people entering the older ages (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

There are a number of questions surrounding future trends in mortality in low-mortality countries. Common to them is the

extent to which the incidence of degenerative diseases with age can be controlled or arrested by intervention or by personal lifestyle. How effective in deferring the onset of biological decay and in reducing the incidence and fatality of degenerative diseases can changes in personal lifestyle be, and to what extent can such changes be induced through health, education and government policy initiatives?

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Even with improvements in mortality rates over the next few years, there is likely to be a steady rise in the annual number of deaths from 25,000 in 1988 to over 40,000 in 2010. This will occur because of the large number of people entering the older ages (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

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4 International Migration

Introduction

International migration has been a major feature of New Zealand's history, shaping both its social and economic character. The last few decades have witnessed some major and unprecedented changes in migration levels and patterns. The rates of migration have increased significantly and there have been dramatic shifts in the direction of migration balances. The preponderance of immigrants coming from the British Isles has decreased and migration to and from Australia has become the largest. Since the 1970s New Zealanders returning from overseas have made up a relatively large share of immigrants. Pacific Island Polynesian migration has also developed and has become a significant feature of migration flows into and out of New Zealand (Farmer, 1979).

International migration normally refers to the migration of individuals across the borders of a sovereign state; in this chapter it is used to refer to overseas migration since it includes the movements of the residents of the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelau Islands who are New Zealand citizens. With the exception of the section on Pacific Island Polynesian migration, which deals with total migration flows, the chapter is concerned specifically with long-term (12 months or more) and permanent movement into or out of New Zealand. The use of a declared intention to stay or depart for 12 months or more as the criterion for differentiating between short-term visitors and immigrants and emigrants follows international procedure. But the method is not without its limitations. Declarations by international travellers on their arrival and departure cards about overseas travel and residence plans are statements of intent. Plans frequently change, from long-term intentions to short-term ones and vice versa. The exact impact of such changes on the migration statistics is difficult to measure.

Migration Trends

Historically, New Zealand has been a migrant-receiving country. In most periods since European colonisation began the number of arrivals has exceeded the number of departures. Peak periods of immigration occurred in the 1860s, 1870s, early 1900s, in the 1950s and in the early 1970s. For the most part emigration has been important only in times of economic recession. It became a matter of widespread public concern in the late 1960s and again in the late 1970s when New Zealand recorded high levels of net emigration.

The post-Second World War period has been characterised by marked fluctuations in permanent and long-term immigration. The long-term trend, however, has been of gradual increase. From 1945–1968, immigration occurred mainly as a result of various displaced person, labour force and family settlement policies pursued by various governments. It was also affected by economic and political conditions, both in New Zealand and in traditional source countries. As a result of a sharp drop in immigration during the economic recession of 1968–9, which resulted in departures exceeding arrivals by a significant margin, Government made a special attempt to recruit immigrants. This resulted in one of the heaviest periods of permanent and long-term immigration in New Zealand's history during the early 1970s; also a period during which immigration to Australia was curtailed. In a matter of only four years, from 1972–5, over 100,000 people were added to New Zealand's population through net immigration.

In the mid-1970s the Government took measures to reduce the inflow of immigrants. These measures, which coincided with a downturn in the economy, resulted in a period of extraordinarily high net emigration; during the three years 1978–1980 net emigration totalled over 70,000. This was popularly interpreted as a sudden outflow, but in fact was due to the continuation of a long-term trend in emigration, coupled with a sharp decline in immigration.

Since the early 1980s migration trends and patterns have altered radically. The number of people leaving New Zealand on a permanent and long-term basis, which had increased at an accelerated pace since the early 1960s (climbing from 12,700 in 1962 to over 81,000 in 1979) started to decline.

In a matter of 5 years, from 1979–1984, the number of permanent and long-term departures fell by almost 47,000. At least part of the decline in the number of New Zealand residents departing permanently or long-term can be attributed to the erosion of the young adult (highly mobile) age groups that supplied a disproportionately large share of the emigrants during the late 1970s.

The level of permanent and long-term immigration during the 1980–4 period was somewhat lower than in the early 1970s—a reflection of the regulation of the inflow by immigration officials and the evaluation by prospective immigrants of opportunities in New Zealand. Nevertheless there was a gradual increase in the number of permanent and long-term arrivals over the period, from 40,800 in 1979 to 45,800 in 1983. This increase is attributable, at least in part, to the return of New Zealanders who had migrated in the late 1970s.

Latest figures indicate a reversal in the migration pattern since the mid-1980s. Emigration has increased and immigration decreased. In the year ended 31 March 1986, over 23,000 more people left New Zealand on a permanent and long-term basis than in 1984. Similarly, about 5,000 fewer people arrived to live in New Zealand than in 1984. The result was a net loss of 21,600 people in 1986, compared with a net loss of 8,000 in 1985 and a net gain of 6,600 in 1984.

Trans-Tasman Migration

Historically, most of New Zealand's European settlers came from the United Kingdom and, until the late 1960s, New Zealand had its largest exchange of migrants with Britain. Since the early 1970s, however, exchanges of migrants between New Zealand and Australia have tended to dominate external migration trends. Trans-Tasman migration by New Zealand and Australian citizens is unrestricted, except that (since mid-1981) New Zealand or Australian citizens entering Australia from New Zealand require a valid passport.

In the last 10 years about one third of immigrants to New Zealand have come from Australia and less than one fifth from the United Kingdom. Also, over half of all people departing from New Zealand have gone to Australia. Numerous information flows across the Tasman have kept New Zealand's population well

informed about Australia's higher real incomes and more varied opportunities.

As a consequence of the growing volume of transtasman migration over the last decade there are now quite sizeable communities of New Zealanders in Australia and, to a lesser extent, Australians in New Zealand. In 1981 approximately 176,700 New Zealanders were living in Australia (a 97 percent increase between 1976 and 1981), representing 1.2 percent of the total population and 6 percent of overseas-born Australians. Over two fifths (42 percent) of these had been in Australia for less than 3 years. The number of Australian-born in New Zealand in 1981 was 43,800, a decline of 7 percent from 1976. Nevertheless, Australians were the third largest overseas-born group, ranking just behind Pacific Island Polynesians and forming 1.4 percent of the usually resident population and 9.4 percent of the usually resident overseas-born.

A notable feature of the transtasman migration flow in the 1980s has been the presence of large numbers of young Maori people leaving New Zealand permanently or for a long term. This is reflected in a net migration loss of 8,100 Maori people from New Zealand during the 1981-6 period. There are now large communities of Maoris living in Australia, especially in Sydney, although the exact numbers are difficult to determine. As a result of this recent out-migration there is a potential for some Maori return migration.

Pacific Island Polynesian Migration

Pacific Island Polynesian migration has been a visible element of international migration to New Zealand over the past 15 years. Migration of Polynesians to New Zealand gradually increased after the Second World War in response to a labour shortage in New Zealand and a perceived labour surplus in the Polynesian countries; migration from the islands to New Zealand was seen to be of mutual benefit to both societies. It was not until the 1970s, however, that the size of the Polynesian migration flow really became significant. Demand for labour in New Zealand's expanding economy, coupled with limited wage employment prospects in the Islands, created the necessary conditions for extensive population movement between Polynesia and New Zealand. Although much of this movement was short-term, there was a substantial net gain to New Zealand's population from Polynesia from 1971-76. The

imposition of stricter immigration controls in 1974, followed by an economic recession and rising unemployment in New Zealand resulted in a marked reduction in the size of the migration flow during the remainder of the decade. From 1976–1981 there were 6,948 more Polynesian arrivals than departures, compared with 23,622 in the 1971–76 period.

Since 1981 there has been a return to substantial net migration gains. Between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1986, the surplus of arrivals over departures in the Polynesian migration flows exceeded 14,800 people. These people added the equivalent of 30 percent to the total Polynesia-born population enumerated in New Zealand in the 1981 census. The relevant contribution this migration made to the Polynesian population (both Polynesia- and New Zealand-born) enumerated in 1981 was 18 percent.

The Polynesian migration flows of the 1980s contain a much higher proportion of New Zealand residents than was the case at the height of the immigration boom in the 1970s. Almost 40 percent of the arrivals in 1985–6 who had been born in Samoa were people with New Zealand-resident status, compared with only 24 percent in 1974. In the case of the Tonga-born arrivals in 1985–6, the proportion who were New Zealand residents was 24 percent (compared with 4 percent in 1974), while for those born in the Cook Islands, Niue and the Tokelaus, the New Zealand-resident group was 46 percent of total arrivals (26 percent in 1974).

Among the New Zealand-resident component of the Polynesia-born population, there have been more people leaving than arriving each year since 1971. In large part this represents a net flow of Polynesians back to the Islands (permanent and long-term emigration of Polynesia-born New Zealand residents totalled 1,121 in the year ended 31 March 1986). However, there is also an important trans-tasman dimension to the movement overseas of Pacific Islanders with residence rights in New Zealand (Bedford, 1986).

Effects of International Migration

Impact on Population Growth

International migration has added over 780,000 people to New Zealand's population since 1840, accounting for almost a quarter of the country's total population growth. Much of the contribution of net immigration to population growth occurred during the early

years of European colonisation. Since the Second World War net immigration has been a relatively small component of New Zealand's population growth (around 15 percent).

The overall impact of net immigration on the growth of the population has been especially small since the 1970s. The total net gain of 103,775 from 1971-6 was almost cancelled out by a net loss of 108,498 from 1976-1981. In 1978-9 the migration losses were so large that for the first time in New Zealand's history, apart from the war years of 1916 and 1941-43, New Zealand's population declined in size. A significant turnaround in the external migration balance during the early 1980s, which resulted in net migration gains during the 3 years 1983-5, was mainly responsible for New Zealand's larger increase in population during the 1981-6 intercensal period (131,347), compared with the 1976-1981 period (46,354).

Effects on Age Composition

Migration in and out of New Zealand has always been highly age-selective. In general, immigration has been associated with the creation of a youthful population, while emigration has included a substantial component of older return or ongoing migrants. The influx of a large number of young-adult immigrants has not only affected the size and growth of the population in these age groups, but has also influenced population growth through raised crude birth rates, lowered crude death rates and higher rates of natural increase. Since 1945 New Zealand's immigration policy has increasingly favoured young-adult immigration. As a consequence, the proportion of immigrants aged 15-24 years has increased substantially, while the proportion aged 45 years and over has decreased (refer Table 4.1).

Emigration from New Zealand over the last 2 decades has displayed an even greater concentration of emigrants at ages 15-24 years. Between 1972 and 1975-6 no less than 43.1 percent of people leaving New Zealand for 1 year or longer were aged 15-24 years (refer Table 4.1). The net loss of 127,474 New Zealand residents aged 15-24 years between 1966-7 and 1985-6 was so large that New Zealand recorded a net loss of 68,619 permanent and long-term migrants between 1946-7 and 1985-6 at ages 15-24 years. This loss reflects both the strength of the emigration climate that exists for young New Zealanders to travel overseas for an extended period, and the large size of the age group resulting

TABLE 4.1: Permanent and long-term migrants by age, 1946-7 to 1985-6 (percentage distribution)

March years	Age group (years)				Total
	0-14	15-24	25-44	45 and over	
Immigrants					
1946-47 to 1950-51	18.1	20.9	42.7	18.4	100.0
1951-52 to 1955-56	18.3	23.7	43.6	14.5	100.0
1956-57 to 1960-61	20.3	24.2	40.2	15.3	100.0
1961-62 to 1965-66	21.9	27.8	35.8	14.5	100.0
1966-67 to 1970-71	22.4	29.0	34.7	13.9	100.0
1971-72 to 1975-76	23.7	29.2	36.5	10.6	100.0
1976-77 to 1980-81	20.2	30.9	39.4	9.5	100.0
1981-82 to 1985-86	22.3	25.7	42.7	9.2	100.0
Emigrants					
1946-47 to 1950-51	15.8	22.3	41.7	20.3	100.0
1951-52 to 1955-56	16.9	23.8	42.0	17.3	100.0
1956-57 to 1960-61	19.1	26.9	39.4	14.6	100.0
1961-62 to 1965-66	20.0	33.4	33.9	12.7	100.0
1966-67 to 1970-71	20.5	39.3	30.9	9.3	100.0
1971-72 to 1975-76	17.5	43.1	30.6	8.8	100.0
1976-77 to 1980-81	19.1	38.8	34.4	7.8	100.0
1981-82 to 1985-86	18.0	39.1	34.5	8.5	100.0

Sources: Country Monograph Series No.12, *Population of New Zealand*, Vol. 1, United Nations, 1985

Demographic Trends, 1987, Department of Statistics, 1987

from New Zealand's high levels of fertility in the 1950s and 1960s. Substantial return emigration since the early 1980s has helped to replenish New Zealand's depleted young adult groups. Older emigrants, however, including overseas-born persons, are less likely to return.

Effects on Sex Composition

The sex composition of the population has always been affected by international migration flows. For many years the general dominance of male immigrants contributed to a marked preponderance of males in New Zealand's population. Since the Second World War, however, migration flows have been characterised by an increased female component. Despite this, males have continued generally to outnumber females among permanent and long-term immigrants. More females than males departed from New Zealand on a permanent and long-term basis throughout the early part of

the post-war period. In the mid-1960s, however, the forces influencing male emigration seem to have increased, and the sex ratios of the emigrants rose sharply to exceed the preponderance of males among immigrants (refer Table 4.2).

During the 1980s males have outnumbered females among permanent and long-term arrivals and departures in each age group except 15-24 years. Young women were apparently more inclined than young men to travel internationally, although there has been a slightly greater dominance of females among the arrivals aged 15-24 years (84 males per 100 females between 1981-2 and 1985-6) than among the departures (92 males per 100 females). The preponderance of males in the international migration flows has been greatest among the arrivals and departures aged 25-44 years (116 and 125 males per 100 females respectively).

TABLE 4.2: Sex composition of permanent and long-term migrants, 1946-7 to 1985-6

March year	Males per 100 females	
	Immigrants	Emigrants
1946-47 to 1950-51	98.0	87.9
1951-52 to 1955-56	113.6	94.2
1956-57 to 1960-61	102.0	100.0
1961-62 to 1965-66	103.1	98.8
1966-67 to 1970-71	99.8	110.3
1971-72 to 1975-76	107.6	109.3
1976-77 to 1980-81	106.8	112.1
1981-82 to 1985-86	103.7	105.4

Sources: *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand*, Vol 1, United Nations, 1985

Demographic Trends, 1987, Department of Statistics, 1987

Spatial Effects

The migration flows to and from New Zealand have had a very uneven impact on the geographic distribution of the population. In general, the distribution of immigrants has been influenced, and to a considerable degree determined by, 3 sets of factors. The first of these has been their possession or lack of certain specific skills or other economic resources and the location of appropriate employment opportunities. A second set of factors has been the effect of immigration policy requirements, notably the sponsorship system for family reunification whereby new arrivals have been drawn to certain areas where they have subsequently tended to reside with or

close to kinsfolk or close friends. The third set of factors concerns the frequently observed desire among immigrants to maintain their social and cultural identity, which is more easily achieved under conditions of close residential proximity and which may be encouraged by a host population's negative attitudes, prejudices and discriminatory behaviour (Zodgekar, 1986).

Throughout this century the majority of immigrants to New Zealand have tended to settle in the North Island. In 1986, about 82 percent of the overseas-born were living in the North Island, as against 73 percent of the New Zealand-born. The impact of immigration has been greatest in the Auckland and Wellington urban areas—the North Island's most important ports of entry and concentrations of industries employing high proportions of immigrants. In 1986, almost a quarter (23.6 percent) of Auckland's usually resident population and about a fifth (20.8 percent) of Wellington's population had been born outside New Zealand. These proportions were considerably higher than those in the other main urban areas of New Zealand. Indeed, in no other main urban area in 1986 did the overseas-born component exceed the national average of 14.9 percent. Relatively small numbers of immigrants have settled in New Zealand's smaller urban areas or in rural areas. In the census-defined secondary and minor urban areas and in rural areas, the percentages of overseas-born people in the usually resident population in 1986 were 10.9, 9.3 and 8.2 percent respectively.

This pattern of geographical distribution is much more pronounced among some immigrant groups than others. Pacific Island Polynesian immigrants, in particular, stand out on account of their high concentration in Auckland and Wellington. In 1986, almost two thirds of usually-resident Pacific Island-born immigrants lived in Auckland. The concentration of the other major birthplace groups in Auckland ranged from 39.0 percent for British-born to 28.3 percent for those born in the Netherlands. Asians, Pacific Islanders and Continental Europeans were the most concentrated groups in Wellington, and the Australian and British-born were the least concentrated.

Effects on the Labour Force

Over the years international migration has influenced the size and composition of the New Zealand labour force by adding or removing workers with certain age, sex, skill and other characteristics. In

the post-Second World War period the impact of immigration on the labour force has been to a large extent determined by the timing of the immigrants' arrival in New Zealand in relation to the growth of the population of working age and to the cyclical progression of the economy. In the immediate post-war period the arrival of even a relatively small number of young working-age immigrants was beneficial because of the slow growth of the source population for the labour force after the absence of immigration during the war and the low birth rates during the 1930s. In the early 1970s the impact of the much larger influx of young-adult immigrants on the age structure of the labour force was quite different; the local labour force had a high growth rate because of the large number of post-war baby boom labour-market entrants, and it was also influenced by the increased numbers of working women.

In general, emigration has caused less disturbance to the labour market than immigration since 1945. The losses to the labour force have been highly concentrated in the young working-age groups, particularly the 20–24 years' group, and have been especially marked in the female labour force. The activity rates of female emigrants unlike those of male emigrants, are much higher than those of the comparable age groups in the population of New Zealand as a whole. The impact of emigration is often temporary because much of the movement is of young people travelling overseas on a working holiday or for 2 or 3 years' overseas experience. Permanent losses to the labour force are more likely to occur among older and overseas born emigrants. The high emigration rates during 1966–7 to 1969–1970, 1976–7 to 1981–2 and in the period since 1984–5 have played a role in keeping New Zealand's unemployment rates relatively low; while it is not the unemployed who migrate, the emigration of workers who voluntarily quit their job feeds through the labour market. The high emigration rates have also created a demand for skilled workers to implement New Zealand's economic restructuring programme.

Throughout the post-war period international migration has been a source of flexibility enabling employers to respond more quickly to changes in the level and composition of demand than would have been possible in the absence of migration. In the 10-year period following the Second World War immigrants were generally less skilled than emigrants. Subsequently, the skills of immigrants and emigrants have been broadly similar. From

1971-6 the overseas-born component of New Zealand's population made a substantial contribution to structural changes in employment in New Zealand. In most of the major industry categories the growth of the overseas-born labour force exceeded that of the total labour force. The relatively rapid growth in the white-collar services of finance, insurance, business services, and community and social services were particularly marked among the overseas-born population (Zodgekar 1986). From 1976-1981, every major industry group among the overseas born labour force, except community, social and personal services, declined, in size as the overseas-born population responded to the recession in New Zealand with above-average rates of emigration.

Future Prospects

Projection of trends in international migration is extremely difficult because of the many political and economic influences in operation, both within and outside New Zealand. In the past these influences have resulted in substantial fluctuations in migration. A further imponderable affecting immigration to New Zealand is the return migration of the New Zealand-born and their spouses and-or dependents. With the passage of the post-war baby boom generation to older ages at which they will be involved in family formation, there could well be a decrease in the number of movements abroad classified as permanent and long-term, but really involving travel over several years (Pool, 1986).

In April 1987 a new Immigration Bill was passed in Parliament. The new Bill replaces the Immigration Act (1964) and is a substantially revised version of a Bill introduced to the House of Representatives by the National Government in 1984. Under the new Bill, national origin as a factor in immigrant selection has been abolished, the consideration of skills demands from developing countries has been dropped, the Occupational Priority List has been made more responsive to labour-market shortages, and a specified limit on the number of dependents that can accompany an occupational immigrant has been removed. In addition, a policy initiative to encourage immigration of entrepreneurs seeking to invest in business and development in New Zealand, introduced in 1978, has been broadened in scope.

In terms of their potential impact on immigrant flows in the short-term, the most important policy changes contained in the

Bill are those concerning migrant source areas and entry of entrepreneurs. The abolition of national origin as a factor in immigrant selection has widened the range of people and countries from which occupational immigrants can be selected, and this could result in some diversification in the ethnic composition of immigrant flows. However, requirements that prospective migrants have adequate English language skills, and that they are interviewed by New Zealand consular staff or their representatives before departure for New Zealand will serve to restrict entry from some parts of the world.

Entrepreneur immigration has been given much higher priority than in the past, and restrictions on type of investment and nature of business have been removed. There is thus scope for a considerable increase in entrepreneur immigration once the more flexible provisions governing this type of entry to New Zealand are known overseas.

5 Population Age Structure

Region	0-14	15-64	65+
Asia	42.1	51.8	6.1
Latin America	38.8	57.3	4.9
North America	23.9	66.3	10.8
East Asia	29.1	64.6	6.3
South Asia	39.5	57.3	3.2
Europe	20.8	66.7	12.5
Oceania	22.7	64.8	12.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	38.0	55.6	6.4
World Total	32.6	60.3	7.8
New Zealand	32.4	64.0	11.1
Low Developed	31.2	58.0	10.8

Introduction

At the turn of the century 36.3 percent of New Zealand's population was less than 15 years of age and the median age of the population (the age at which half of the population is younger and half older) was 21.1 years. In 1986, the median age of the population was 28.9 years, a consequence of a declining proportion of the population at the younger ages and a rise at the older ages. The 45-and-over age group in 1896 comprised 16.8 percent of the total population and in 1986 it had risen to 28.9 percent.

While there have been ups and downs in the median age since the turn of the century, the trend has been of gradual increase. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s the ageing process accelerated. Official projections indicate that the proportion of the population aged 14 years and under will continue to decline and that aged 65 and over will increase. The median age of the population will rise to about 32 years by the year 1991 and to about 39 years by the year 2011.

In a world perspective, New Zealand's population structure is that of a developed country, having a comparatively low proportion of children and a comparatively high one of aged persons. When compared with Europe, however, New Zealand has a higher proportion of its population in the younger age group (0-14 years) and a lower proportion in the older age group. Our structure is similar to that of Australia, Canada and the United States though the proportion aged 0-14 years is slightly higher in New Zealand (refer Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1: Age distribution of total population by regions of the world and selected countries, 1985¹

Region	Age group (years)			Total
	0-14	15-64	65 and over	
Percent of total population				
Africa	45.1	51.8	3.0	100.0
Latin America	38.4	57.2	4.4	100.0
North America	22.9	66.3	10.8	100.0
East Asia	29.1	64.6	6.3	100.0
South Asia	39.5	57.3	3.2	100.0
Europe	20.8	66.7	12.5	100.0
Oceania	22.7	64.8	12.5	100.0
Soviet Union	25.0	65.6	9.4	100.0
World Total	33.6	60.5	5.8	100.0
More Developed	22.4	66.6	11.1	100.0
Less Developed	37.2	58.6	4.2	100.0
Selected Countries—				
Australia	24.0	66.0	10.0	100.0
New Zealand ²	24.7	65.0	10.3	100.0
United Kingdom	18.6	66.4	15.0	100.0
Canada	22.5	68.3	9.2	100.0
United States	22.9	66.1	11.0	100.0
Sweden	17.8	65.3	16.9	100.0

¹Projected²Estimated as at 31 March 1985

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

Demographic Trends 1987, Department of Statistics, 1987

The Changing Age Structure of New Zealand's Population

The age structure of the population at any given time is the result of the combined influence of past trends in fertility, mortality and migration. Variations in these components have altered the proportion of New Zealand's population in various age groups at different points in time. They have also resulted in contrasting age structures between different ethnic groups.

The Non-Maori Population

The non-Maori population has been growing older for most of the last 100 years. This transition from youth to maturity, which is far

from complete, has occurred largely as a result of declining fertility levels.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, high fertility levels coupled with large-scale immigration of predominantly young adults resulted in a very youthful population structure. In 1878, for instance, the median age of the non-Maori population was 19.7 years, and 89.3 percent of the population was less than 45 years of age. Significantly, children (0–14 years) comprised over 40 percent of the total population, a level associated nowadays with some developing countries.

Falling fertility levels during the closing decades of the nineteenth century had the effect of substantially reducing the child component of the non-Maori population, and producing a rapid expansion in the adult population. By the Great Depression of the 1930s, the median age of the population had risen to 28.9 years, with the proportion of the population aged 45 years and over at 27.9 percent, having increased from 16.4 percent in 1906. The ageing process was, however, soon to be reversed due to increases in the levels of births following the Second World War and the effects of a large-scale immigration programme during the 1950s and 1960s.

By the 1961 Population Census the impact of the post war baby boom on the non-Maori age profile had become evident, with the proportion of the childhood population (0–14 years) having risen to 31.9 percent from the 1936 level of 24.4 percent. The baby boom which followed the low 1930s birth levels created a bulge in the non-Maori population profile which is still evident. In 1971 the bulge was most pronounced in the 5–14 years' age group and by 1986 was greatest in the 15–29 year age group. In 1971 the median age of the population had fallen to 26.9 years.

The period since 1971 has been one of rapidly declining fertility and mortality, with fertility rates falling to levels below those of the 1930s and mortality rates declining at most ages. As a result of these trends, especially the decline in fertility levels, the ageing of the non-Maori population has been quite rapid. This is evident in the declining prominence of the child component of the population. From a peak of 31.9 percent in 1961, children comprised 22.1 percent in 1986. Despite this reduction in the proportion of children in the non-Maori population, their numbers increased by 89,300 between 1961 and 1976, from 716,700 to 806,000, but have since declined to 630,600 in 1986.

The bulk of the proportional decline in the child population has been absorbed into the working ages (15–64 years) where the proportions increased between 1961 and 1986 from 59.0 percent to 66.0 percent, a numerical increase of approximately 560,000. This increase has occurred primarily among the younger working ages (below 45 years) and is a direct consequence of the ageing of the large post-war baby boom generation. It is noteworthy that the population of working age comprised a larger element in 1986 than at any other time since the Second World War.

The elderly (65 years and over) have not increased greatly as a proportion of the total population over the past 25 years (from 9.1 percent in 1961 to 10.7 percent in 1986). However, in numerical terms their growth over the period has been significant, the numbers classified as elderly increasing by 144,288, from 205,323 to 349,611. As the elderly have become an increasingly large group a change in the balance between young and old in the population has become a significant feature. In 1961 there were 286 elderly for every 1,000 children, by 1986 this had risen to 445 elderly per 1,000 children.

Maori Descent Population

The Maori population structure is distinguishable from that of the non-Maori chiefly by its youthfulness. Throughout most of this century the Maori population has been characterised by a higher concentration of people at younger ages, primarily because of its high level of fertility. Indeed, throughout the 50 year period 1926–1976 the child component (0–14 years) of the Maori population consistently exceeded 43 percent, reaching 50.3 percent in 1966. In 1961, when the impact of fertility was greatest, over 20 percent of the population was less than 5 years old.

Since 1971 the rapid and sustained decline in Maori fertility has had a major impact on the age structure of the Maori population, producing effects similar to those that have occurred in other former high-growth populations as they have gone through rapid fertility transitions. The overall changes in the age structure produced by the fertility decline are epitomised in the median age, which increased from 15.3 years in 1971 to 18.8 years in 1986.

With regard to particular age groups, the greatest change over the last 15 years has been a marked reduction in the proportion of children in the Maori population. In the period between the 1971 and 1986 population censuses, children (0–14 years) group

declined from 49.1 percent of the population to 38.5 percent. This reflected an absolute decline in the numbers under 15 years during the 1976–1986 period of 13,257 (from 168,357 to 155,100), a reduction which was spread through all 5-year age groups in the under-15 category.

Commensurate with the decline in the proportion of children in the population has been an expansion in the population of working age. From a share of 49.0 percent of the total population in 1971, adults from 15–64 years showed a consistent proportional increase to 58.7 percent in 1986. The increase was especially pronounced at the younger working ages. In fact, by 1986 the age group 15–29 years included over 129,400 people or nearly one third of the Maori population. This was considerably more than the 30–49 years' age group, which despite covering a broader agespan had a much smaller share (19.8 percent) of the population. The 50–64-year-olds comprised a further 6.8 percent of the working age population. In total, 236,860 Maori people were aged 15–64 years in 1986, over 125,000 more than in 1971.

A further trend, implicit in the above, has been the growth in the population of Maori women of reproductive age. In 1971, Maori women aged 15–49 years comprised 21.6 percent of the total population, but by 1986 this proportion had increased to 26.3 percent. In absolute numbers this represented an increase of 57,100. Moreover, in 1986 61.6 percent of these women were in the peak childbearing ages (under 30 years). This represents a substantial potential for increased births both currently and in the immediate future. Whether this will be realised, however, depends on trends in Maori fertility.

Despite the increasing adult component of the Maori population, the elderly still form a very small proportion of the total. Those 65 years and over comprised 2.8 percent of the Maori population in 1986, up from 1.9 percent in 1971. This was a numerical increase of 6,658, from 4,433 to 11,091.

Although the age structure of the Maori population has altered significantly in recent years, it still contrasts sharply with that of the non-Maori population. The sustained high-fertility rates of earlier decades have resulted in larger proportions of the Maori population in each age group under 30 years compared with the non-Maori population. This difference is evident in the median age of the Maori population—12.8 years below that of the non-Maori population in 1986.

Pacific Island Polynesian Population²

The Pacific Island Polynesian population in New Zealand, like that of the Maori population, has a youthful age structure but with some significant differences. Compared with the Maori population, the Polynesian population has a larger proportion in the 25–44 years' age group, and a relative deficit in the elderly group. In 1986, 32.5 percent of the Polynesian population in New Zealand was aged under 14 years, the working age population comprised a further 65.1 percent, and the elderly (65 and over) made up just 2.4 percent of the total.

The age structure of the Pacific Island population reflects the importance not only of fertility but also of immigration, and it is to this phenomenon that the most significant differences from the Maori population are attributable. The largest numbers of Polynesian immigrants are young adults, reflecting the age selectivity of Pacific Island Polynesian migration. This is highlighted by the relatively large share of the population aged 20–39 years (38 percent), and the high proportion of women of reproductive age (30 percent).

Sub-National Variations in Age Structure

Considerable variations in population-age structure occur from place to place in New Zealand. These variations reflect the differential impact of fertility, mortality, and external and internal migration on local populations.

One of the most fundamental distinctions occurring at the sub-national level is between urban and rural populations. The age structures of these populations in 1986 were noticeably different. The rural population had a larger proportion in the under-15 years' age group (28.5 percent compared with 23.3 percent for the urban population), but a relative deficit at ages 65 years and over (7 percent compared with 11 percent for the urban population). This pattern has been a consistent feature of population structure in New Zealand throughout most of this century. It reflects higher rural fertility, on the one hand, and an apparent preference amongst the elderly for urban living, on the other.

Variations in age structure are also apparent between different regions in New Zealand. Auckland and Wellington, for instance,

² Refers to people solely of Pacific Island Polynesian origin.

show the effects of internal and external migration, with high proportions of their populations in the working age groups (15–64 years), but with relatively low proportions of children (0–14 years) and elderly (65 years and over) groups. Several regions are identifiable by their youthful population structures—a reflection of their relatively high fertility levels. Northland, the Bay of Plenty, Tairāhema, and the East Cape fall into this category. All are characterised by proportions in excess of the national average in the 0–14 years' age group, and relatively low proportions in the 15–64 years and 65 years and over groups. By contrast, a number of other regions have significantly older age structures because of net outward migration. These regions—which include Aotearoa, Coastal North-Otago, Canterbury, the West Coast and Wairarapa—have relatively high proportions of their populations in the 15–64 years and 65 years and over age groups. They have lost some of their potential for natural increase because young reproductively active adults (and older teenagers) form above-average numbers of those leaving for other regions.

Future Prospects

In considering future trends in age structure it is important to note that much of what is projected to occur is pre-determined by the age structure of the existing population. For instance, those people who will make up New Zealand's elderly population at the turn of the century are already born. Future trends in age structure can therefore, be projected with a degree of certainty, at least in the short-term.

Given the current age profile of New Zealand's population, it is clear that barring a major demographic upheaval ageing will continue until well into next century. Indeed, the process will accelerate in about 2020 as the baby boom generation begins to enter old age. An indication of this shift in the overall age composition of the population towards the older ages is provided by the increase in the median age. In 1986 the median age of 28.9 years was the highest it had been since the 1950s. The projected median age of 31.6 years in 1991 would be higher than at any previous date since population records were first kept in New Zealand. By 2011 the median age could be 38.8 years and still rising.

The ageing of the population over the next 25–30 years will produce substantial changes in the size of different age groups,

both in numerical and proportional terms. The child population (0–14 years) is expected to decline as a proportion of the total population—from 24.4 percent in 1986 to 18.5 percent by the year 2011. This will represent a substantial reduction in child numbers of 85,385, from 794,985 in 1986 to 709,600 in 2011. Further subdivision of this group into the 0–4 years' and 5–14 years' groups reveals that there will be a brief upsurge in the youngest ages in the early 1990s as a result of increased births because of greater numbers of young adults in the main reproductive ages. This effect will be carried forward into the 5–14 age group in the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century.

With regard to the population of working age (15–64 years), the number is expected to increase from 2.12 million in 1986 to 2.63 million in 2011. This represents a proportional increase throughout the period from a 65.1 percent share of the total population in 1986 to 68.6 percent in 2011. Substantial changes within the working-age population are also imminent. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the labour force-entrant group (15–24 years) is projected to decline from 17.9 percent of the total population in 1986 to 13.1 percent in 2011 (an absolute decline of 81,390 people), while the older working ages will experience substantial growth. The increase in numbers in the 25–44 years' age group is expected to peak around the turn of the century when 1.17 million people or about 31.9 percent of the total population will be in these ages. Thereafter, a gradual decrease in numbers is expected. The oldest sector of the working age group (45–64 years) is not expected to alter significantly until the 1990s. From a share of 18.4 percent of the total population in 1986, it is projected to rise to 18.7 percent in 1991, then to 20.3 percent in 1996 and to 27.0 percent in 2011.

The elderly group (65 years and over) which currently makes up about 10 percent of the total population is expected to increase its share to around 13 percent by 2011. In numerical terms this will be an increase of approximately 149,186 people over the 1986–2011 period, from 342,114 to 491,300. The younger elderly (65–79 years), who in 1986 comprised the majority of the elderly, are expected to increase by about 33 percent over the next 25 years, to 370,500 by 2011. This would be an increase in the proportion of the total population in this group from 8.5 percent in 1986 to 9.7 percent in 2011. The older elderly (80 years and over) comprise a

much smaller group, numbering around 64,700 in 1986. Significantly, however, the relative growth in this group between 1986 and 2011 is expected to be more rapid than in any other. The older elderly are projected to number almost 120,800 in 2011, an increase of about 87 percent on the 1986 number. This substantial increase will be reflected in their share of the total population, which will rise from 2.0 percent in 1986 to 3.2 percent in 2011.

Maori and Pacific Island Populations

Unofficial projections of the Maori population indicate that the changes noted above for the total population will be both marked and accelerated for the Maori population (Pool and Pole, 1984). Over the next 25 years the child component of the Maori population is projected to decline both proportionately and absolutely, while growth in the adult age groups is projected to be rapid. Indeed, the labour force-entrant (15–24 years), middle-adult (25–44 years) and older (60 years and over) age groups are projected to grow at double the rate of the total population during the period to 2011. At ages 65 and over the growth is projected to be in excess of 300 percent.

Although there are at present no authoritative projections for the Pacific Island Polynesian population, changes over the next few decades may well have many of the elements noted already for the Maori population but exaggerated by the effects of large-scale immigration in recent years (Population Monitory Group, 1986).

6 Ethnic and Cultural Diversity

Introduction

Contemporary New Zealand society is dominated by cultural traditions which emanate from Europe, especially from the British Isles. Yet less than 200 years ago, New Zealand had a population and cultural heritage that was wholly Polynesian. An enduring feature of New Zealand's cultural demography for at least 1,000 years has been a connection with Polynesia. Flows of people between island countries in the south-eastern Pacific, especially, and New Zealand have persisted through the 140 years of European settlement and domination. New Zealand's contemporary cultural and ethnic diversity comes mainly from its Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian groups.

Of the 3,261,783 people enumerated in New Zealand in the 1986 Population Census, 80.1 percent were of European origin, more particularly from the British Isles, but including also Dutch, Yugoslav, German and other nationalities. The next largest group was the indigenous Maori population, a people related to Pacific Polynesians. This group made up 12.4 percent of the total population. Third was Pacific Island Polynesians, most of whom had immigrated to New Zealand since the Second World War or were the offspring of those who had. They comprised around 3.5 percent of New Zealand's population in 1986. There were in addition small numbers belonging to other non-European groups, mainly Chinese and Indian; none of these made up a significant component of the total.

Historical Trends

Over the last 140 years the ethnic and cultural composition of New Zealand's population has been successively shaped and

reshaped by three main demographic processes: international migration; natural increase; and intermarriage between members of different groups. By far the most important of these processes has been international migration.

The first New Zealand settlers, the Maoris, are believed to have arrived some time between AD900 and AD1350. They were followed much later in the 1840s, by the first European settlers, who were predominantly from the British Isles, but included also small numbers of Dutch, Germans and French.

Following the development of the gold fields in the South Island in the 1860s there was a massive influx of settlers from Australia (mainly of British origin) and, near the end of the gold rush, Chinese. The Chinese were the first non-European settlement group (other than the Maori) of any size in New Zealand. From the early 1880s Chinese immigration was limited by the imposition of a poll tax. Although there was some further recruitment by chain migration, natural increase became the main factor in the subsequent growth of the Chinese population in New Zealand.

In the 1870s, the cultural diversity of New Zealand's population was further increased by massive immigration from the British Isles, and on a lesser scale from Germany, Bohemia and Scandinavia. The lower rates of net immigration in subsequent years saw some decline in this process of cultural diversification. However, three specific groups have had a major impact on New Zealand society.

The first of these is the late nineteenth century immigrants from the Adriatic's Dalmation Coast. They formed the basis of one of the larger European ethnic groups of non-British Isles origin, and initially were heavily concentrated in northern New Zealand. They have contributed significantly to the development of horticulture.

The second group is composed of settlers from India who began arriving in the early twentieth century, initially to work on drainage schemes. Indian migration to New Zealand did not really become significant, however, until after the First World War. Between 1920 and 1960 the Indian population increased from about 200 to 11,600. Since the early 1960s the Indian population has been augmented by the arrival of persons of Indo-Fiji origin, many of whom have come to New Zealand as students and who have entered a range of professions.

The third group consists of refugees from Europe who came in the 1930s and during the Second World War. Most were Jews and Poles. This movement intensified after the war, and over the past 40 years New Zealand has accepted small groups of refugees from a wide range of countries.

Throughout the early twentieth century there were also further waves of migration from the British Isles and Australia, a movement that was to grow substantially and one which continued to be the main source of immigrants until the mid-1970s. Following the Second World War there was also an important migratory movement from the Netherlands. Today most of those of Dutch descent in New Zealand were born here.

Since the early 1960s the cultural and ethnic diversity of New Zealand's population has been further enhanced by the massive inflow of Pacific Island Polynesians and the high growth rate of the New Zealand Maori population relative to that of the total population. A substantial increase in refugee immigration to New Zealand since the late 1970s has also contributed to a more diverse multicultural population.

New Zealand Maori Descent Population

Between 1961 and 1986 the Maori-descent population increased its share of the total New Zealand population from 8.4 percent to 12.4 percent. This growth occurred as a result of this section of the population's much more rapid rate of growth relative to the total population. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Maori-descent population recorded growth rates more than double those of the total population (refer Table 6.1). Although there has been a marked deceleration in the growth of the Maori-descent population, especially since the mid-1970s, its average annual growth rate is still well above that of the total population—0.9 percent during 1981–6 compared with 0.5 percent for the total population.

Several factors have contributed to the more rapid rate of growth of the Maori-descent population relative to that of the total population. Firstly, their fertility levels have been much higher. Whereas substantial fertility declines were experienced by the total population in the early 1960s, this was not the case with the Maori population until a decade later. Maori fertility still remains above that for the total population, although it is now declining at a faster rate. A second significant factor has been a survival boom

TABLE 6.1: Growth of the Maori descent and total populations of New Zealand, 1961-1986

Census	Maori-descent population		Total population	
	Number	Average annual growth rate	Number	Average annual growth rate
1961	202,535	...	2,414,984	...
1966	249,867	4.2	2,676,919	2.1
1971	290,501	3.0	2,862,631	1.3
1976	356,847	4.1	3,129,383	1.8
1981	385,524	1.5	3,175,737	0.3
1986	403,185	0.9	3,261,783	0.5

Source: *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, Maori Volumes 1961-86*, Department of Statistics

which began earlier this century and has steadily reduced Maori to non-Maori mortality differentials. Thirdly, the Maori population has experienced a lower rate of net emigration than the total population over the last 25 years.

Two other factors affecting the growth of the Maori-descent population are Maori-non-Maori intermarriage and inter-ethnic mobility. There is a high level of intermarriage between the Maori and non-Maori populations. Its effect is to increase the relative size and growth rate of the Maori-descent population at the expense of the non-Maori descent population. While there are no data collected on the incidence of intermarriage between Maoris and non-Maoris, some insight into the prevalence of intermarriage in recent years can be gleaned from Population Census data. Between the 1971 and 1981 censuses, the proportion of under 15-year-olds of Maori descent who had one parent of non-Maori descent rose from 34 percent to 45 percent. Conversely, the proportion of children whose parents were both of half-or-more Maori descent fell from 59 percent to 47 percent, while those whose parents were both of full Maori descent declined from 43 percent in 1971 to 27 percent in 1981 (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Inter-ethnic mobility refers to the movement of people between ethnic groups, usually from lower-status minority ethnic groups into higher-status ethnic groups in association with upward mobility. It is consistent with the general notion of integration (Pool, 1977; Brown 1983). The extent of inter-ethnic mobility between the Maori and non-Maori populations over the last 2 decades is not known.

Pacific Island Polynesians

The past 25 years have seen a tremendous growth in the population of Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand. From a total of 14,340 in 1961, the Polynesian population increased more than 8-fold to around 115,000 in 1986. Significantly, the growth of the Pacific Island Polynesian population during the 1960s and 1970s outstripped that of all other ethnic groups in New Zealand. Indeed, during most intercensal periods over the last two-and-half decades the New Zealand-resident Polynesian population has recorded growth rates approximately 3 times higher than those of the Maori-descent population and more than 6 times higher than those of the total population (refer Tables 6.1 and 6.2). As a result, the Pacific Island Polynesian share of the total New Zealand population has increased from 0.6 percent in 1961 to around 3.5 percent in 1986. The share is even higher in certain parts of the country, particularly in certain suburbs in Auckland and Wellington, due to the high concentrations of the Polynesian population.

The rapid growth of the Pacific Island Polynesian population in New Zealand over the past 25 years has occurred as a result of high levels of natural increase and net immigration. Initially, substantial immigration of young people from the New Zealand Dependencies and independent island nations in the South Pacific was the main reason for the growth of this population in New Zealand. During the 1961–6 and 1966–1971 intercensal periods international migration accounted for 64 percent and 60 percent respectively of the overall growth of the population. Unprecedentedly high levels of net immigration of Pacific Island Polynesians to New Zealand during the early 1970s resulted in international migration accounting for over three quarters of the 29,466 increase in this population in New Zealand from 1971–6.

In the latter half of the 1970s, in a less-favourable economic climate, the net inflow of Pacific Island Polynesians to New Zealand fell sharply (from 23,622 in 1971–6 to 6,948 in 1976–1981) and natural increase became a much more important process influencing Polynesian population growth. In the 1981 census, 45 percent of the 90,787 people who classed themselves as Pacific Island Polynesian, and who were usually resident in New Zealand, had been born in New Zealand.

The 1980s have seen a return to substantial net migration gains from Polynesia. Between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1986 there

TABLE 6.2: Growth of the Pacific Island Polynesian population in New Zealand, 1961-1986

Census	Number	Average annual growth rate
1961	14,340	...
1966	26,271	12.1
1971	40,918	8.9
1976	70,384	10.8
1981	90,787	5.1
1986	115,000 ¹	4.7

¹ProvisionalSource: *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Vol. 1*, United Nations, 1985

were 14,856 more arrivals than departures in the Polynesian migration flows. These people added 30 percent to the Polynesia-born population enumerated in New Zealand in the 1981 census. The relevant contribution this migration made to the Polynesian population (both Polynesia- and New Zealand-born) enumerated in 1981 was 18 percent. Thus international migration in the 1980s remains a very important determinant of growth in this component of New Zealand's population.

Refugees

The growth in refugee immigration to New Zealand over the past 10 years has been a further factor contributing to New Zealand's growing ethnic diversity. Since 1975 more than 7,500 refugees have been resettled in New Zealand. While the numbers involved are still very small in comparison with total migration flows to and from New Zealand, they are considerable compared to the size of previous refugee inflows.

Traditionally European refugees have formed the vast majority of refugees who have settled in New Zealand. Since the late 1970s, however, the number of European refugees admitted has been greatly surpassed by the number of Indo-Chinese refugees. Altogether, about 7,000 Indo-Chinese refugees have been resettled in New Zealand since 1975, accounting for over 90 percent of the total refugee intake. This reflects not only the increasing number of Third World refugees in the world, but also what is thought to be the culmination of the resettlement approach to solving refugee

problems and the special interest New Zealand has in assisting refugees from the South-East Asian and Pacific regions.

It is estimated that Indo-Chinese people comprise around 0.2 percent of New Zealand's total population. They include people from a variety of cultural groups, including Kampuchean, Laotian, Vietnamese, Vietnamese-Chinese and other mixed-race groups.

In addition to Indo-Chinese refugees, New Zealand's refugee intake over the last 10 years has included small numbers of Chilean, Russian, Jewish, East European and Assyrian refugees. While none of these has formed a significant component of the total they have each contributed towards a more diverse multicultural population in New Zealand.

7 Geographic Distribution of Population

Introduction

By world standards, New Zealand's population density of about 12 persons per square kilometre is low. However, it must be remembered that population settlement in New Zealand is greatly affected by the nature of the land and climate. Mountains, lakes and rough hill country cover 75 percent of the country, restricting settlement to about 25 percent of the land area. A better notion of the country's population density can be gained by basing the computation on usable land area. This gives an average population density of about 19 persons per square kilometre.

Over the last 100 years two major trends relating to the geographical distribution of the population have been strikingly evident: a growing concentration of population in the north of the country, and an increasing proportion living in urban areas.

Regional Distribution

In pre-European days and until 1860 most of New Zealand's population lived in the North Island. The South Island became the more populated island during the last 4 decades of the nineteenth century, largely as a result of considerable net inflows following the discovery of the Otago goldfields. Since 1900, however, when the populations of the 2 islands were roughly equal, the North Island's share has increased steadily. By 1986, 74 out of every 100 people in New Zealand were located in the North Island. This growing imbalance in North-South population distribution reflects net internal migration from the South Island to the North Island, higher natural increase rates in the North Island and greater settlement of overseas immigrants on the North Island.

Since the mid-1940s the centre of gravity of New Zealand's population has steadily moved further towards the north of the country, and growth has become increasingly concentrated in the Auckland region. Between 1981 and 1986 population growth in this region accounted for 45 percent of the total population growth in New Zealand. By 1986, 1 out of every 4 people in New Zealand lived in the Auckland region, and its population (887,448) exceeded that of the entire South Island for the first time.

Although much the greatest population increase has occurred in metropolitan Auckland, a number of other regions have experienced relatively rapid rates of growth in recent years. Northland and the Bay of Plenty are particularly notable in this regard. Their growth rates during the 1981-6 intercensal period were faster than that of Auckland, nearly triple and double the national growth rate respectively, and more than double the growth rates of most other regions. Thames Valley, Horowhenua and Clutha-Central Otago also grew more rapidly than Auckland, while Nelson and Marlborough experienced more rapid population growth than the national average. These same regions also recorded some of the highest growth rates during the 1976-1981 period (refer Table 7.1).

Population growth in the country's remaining 14 regions in the southern half of the North Island and in the South Island has been much slower. They all recorded growth rates below the national average during 1981-6, with the result that their share of total population declined. Four regions—Wairarapa in the North Island and Aorangi, Coastal North Otago and Southland in the South Island—recorded absolute decreases in their populations during 1981-6 for the second successive intercensal period. Aorangi had the largest and most rapid population decrease, but 80 percent of this was directly attributable to the termination of hydro-construction based at Twizel. Southland's population decrease was more than four times as large as in the 1976-1981 period. This region had much the largest, and the most rapid 1981-6 population decline if the exceptional effect of Twizel on the Aorangi figure is excluded, and was larger and more rapid than most of the 1976-1981 regional decreases.

The decreases in the Wairarapa and Coastal North Otago regions during 1981-6 were much lower than during the late 1970s.

Several regions although recording population increases from 1981-6, grew more slowly than in the late 1970s. Tongariro, East

Cape and Manawatu fall into this category. By contrast, a number of other regions where population decreased during the second half of the 1970s had increases in numbers of residents during 1981-6. Notable amongst these is the West Coast, which recorded population growth for only the second time since 1951. The populations of Taranaki and Canterbury increased significantly during 1981-6 compared with their earlier decreases. Wanganui and Wellington also had population increases, but smaller than their earlier decreases.

Overall, the South Island had a population decrease of more than 8,000 people during the late 1970s, the first absolute decline in numbers for several decades. However, the population increased by about 13,000 during 1981-6, restoring the South Island total to about 5,000 more than its mid-1970s population. The North Island population increased by nearly 120,000 people, and this was more than 90 percent of the total population growth during 1981-6.

A number of factors have influenced the pattern of regional growth over the last decade. While differences in fertility, mortality and age structure effects have all been significant, most of the variation has been attributable to the differential impact of migration. Of major significance in this regard has been regional employment growth and the increasing importance of retirement migration. In Northland, the Waikato, Tongariro, Aorangi and Clutha-Central Otago the effect of large-scale project employment has been a major influence. Agricultural employment and retirement migration have stimulated population increase in the Bay of Plenty, offsetting what appears to be either a decrease or slow growth in employment in that region. Retirement migration has also been an important factor in the high-growth regions of Horowhenua, Nelson Bays and Clutha-Central Otago. Auckland's growth reflects employment growth in a range of services despite some reduction in manufacturing employment. Both Wellington and Canterbury have experienced employment decreases in services and manufacturing employment, with Wellington having much the larger employment decrease overall (Population Monitoring Group, 1985a,b).

TABLE 7.1: Population change in local government regions, 1981-6

Region	Population		Change 1981-86		Change 1976-81
	1981 ¹	1986 ²	Numerical	Percentage	Percentage
North Island—					
Northland	113,994	126,999	13,005	11.41	6.79
Auckland	824,408	887,448	60,040	7.25	3.93
Thames Valley	54,343	58,665	4,322	7.95	3.06
Waikato	221,850	228,303	6,453	2.91	1.65
Bay of Plenty	172,480	187,462	14,982	8.68	7.59
Tongariro	40,089	40,793	704	1.75	2.07
East Cape	53,295	53,968	673	1.26	1.57
Hawkes Bay	137,840	140,709	2,869	2.08	2.33
Taranaki	103,798	107,600	3,802	3.66	-1.48
Wanganui	68,702	69,439	737	1.07	-1.38
Manawatu	113,238	115,500	2,262	2.00	2.39
Horowhenua	49,296	53,592	4,296	8.71	2.06
Wairarapa	39,689	39,608	-81	-0.20	-3.22
Wellington	323,162	328,163	5,001	1.55	-1.88
South Island—					
Marlborough ³	36,172	38,225	2,053	5.67	2.70
Nelson Bays	65,934	65,648	3,714	5.63	2.46
West Coast	34,178	34,942	764	2.23	-1.84
Canterbury	336,846	348,712	11,866	3.52	-0.59
Aorangi	84,772	81,294	-3,478	-4.10	-2.94
Coastal-N. Otago	138,164	137,393	-771	-0.56	-4.94
Clutha-C. Otago	45,402	48,771	3,369	7.42	4.28
Southland	107,905	104,618	-3,287	-3.05	-0.67
North Island	2,319,184	2,438,249	119,065	5.13	2.40
South Island	850,758	863,603	12,845	1.51	-0.97
Remainder ⁴	5,795	5,232	-563	-9.71	7.59
New Zealand	3,175,737	3,307,084	131,347	4.17	1.48

¹Population enumerated on 24 March 1981²Population enumerated on 4 March 1986³The 1981 total for Marlborough has been adjusted to exclude 1,385 army personnel present on defence force exercises on census night⁴Included here are people enumerated on offshore islands and on board ships on census night, including Great Barrier and Chatham IslandsSource: *Local Authority Population and Dwelling Statistics, 1986. Census of Population and Dwellings*, Department of Statistics, 1986

Urbanisation

Urbanisation, the other major historical trend shaping the distribution of New Zealand's population, dates back to before the turn of the century. It has been characterised not only by an increasing concentration of population living in urban places (places with

populations of 1,000 or more), but an increasing proportion of population in larger urban centres. At the 1986 census, 84 percent of population lived in urban places, and 68 percent lived in New Zealand's main urban areas (places with 30,000 people or over). A major feature of the overall pattern of urbanisation in New Zealand in recent decades has been the growing ascendancy of Auckland metropolitan area as the major centre of population concentration. In 1986, it accounted for a quarter of New Zealand's population, as against 15 percent in 1921.

In view of New Zealand's long history of increasing concentration of population in urban places, it is of some interest to note that at the 1981 and 1986 censuses there was virtually no change in the urban (83.8 percent) and rural (16.2 percent) shares of population. This indicates that over the last decade the rural population increased at approximately the same rate as the total and urban populations, giving a 1981-6 rural population growth of approximately 26,000 people.

Much of the apparent growth in the rural population can be explained by the location of particular industries: it is not true rural population growth in the sense of people engaged in farming and closely related activities living what are popularly regarded as rural lifestyles. For instance, a large part of the Marsden Point oil refinery construction labour force was classed as living in rural areas at the time of the 1986 census. This accounted for a significant part of Northland's rural population increase since 1981 (Population Monitoring Group, 1986).

Significantly, not all parts of New Zealand have shared equally in the recent rural population growth. While some rural areas have grown rapidly and some at a more modest pace, others have shown only small population increases or have recorded absolute declines. Rural population growth during 1981-6 was strongest in the north of the North Island (between Manganui County in Northland and Opotiki County in the Bay of Plenty; in the north-west of the South Island (in Golden Bay, Waimea and Buller counties); and in Central Otago (in Lake and Vincent Counties). Population losses occurred in most counties on the East Coast, in the Wairarapa and in the central regions of the North Island, as well as in Marlborough and much of the southern half of the South Island.

Turning to the urban population, while as a proportion of total population it changed little between the 1981 and 1986 censuses, some classes of towns grew faster and some slower than the

national average. Metropolitan Auckland accounted for nearly 40 percent of total urban population growth, increasing its share of total population. By contrast, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin grew more slowly than the national average and therefore decreased their share of total population. The 13 main urban areas in the 30,000–100,000 population range accounted for about 20.5 percent of the total New Zealand population enumerated at the 1981 and 1986 censuses. Urban areas in the 10,000–29,999 range slightly decreased their share, while towns in the 1,000–9,999 range slightly increased their share of the total population.

The generally faster growth of the northern North Island and slower growth of the South Island is reflected in the growth rates of particular classes of urban areas. Non-metropolitan urban areas and towns in the 1,000–9,999 population range in the northern North Island had generally more rapid growth than those in the southern North Island, which in turn grew more rapidly than those in the South Island. Southern North Island secondary urban areas (the 10,000–29,999 range) had more rapid population growth than those in the northern North Island, though only through the effect of a single urban centre, Kapiti. Of the five South Island secondary urban areas, only Blenheim showed an increase in population.

Ethnic Pattern of Settlement

The geographic distribution of the Maori population has changed in a significantly different way to that of the total population. The Maori population has always been concentrated in the North Island. In the mid-1920s, 95 percent of Maoris lived in the North Island, and nearly three quarters in the northern North Island. Since then, there has been a significant shift to the southern North Island and the South Island. Despite this drift south, which stands in marked contrast to the northwards drift of the total population, two-thirds of Maoris still live in the northern North Island, where in some regions they represent more than 20 percent of the total population. This compares with about 12 percent nationally.

The most striking change in the settlement pattern of the Maori population, however, has been its extremely rapid urbanisation. Maori rates of urbanisation have been the most rapid of an indigenous population anywhere. The proportion of the Maori population living in urban areas increased from barely a quarter in 1945,

to more than half in the early 1960s and to three quarters by the mid-1970s. In 1981 the proportion stood at 79 percent, almost equal to that of the total population. Coupled with the rapid rates of urbanisation is the fact that an increasing proportion of Maoris, probably a majority, have been born and raised in urban areas. A significant feature of the Maori pattern of urban settlement is the relatively high proportion living in smaller urban centres. Approximately 2 in every 10 Maoris live in urban centres with populations below 10,000, as against 1 in 10 non-Maoris (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Another noteworthy aspect of the pattern of Maori population distribution is the high level of concentration in urban centres. Urban residential concentration of Maoris has been determined by the recent nature of their urbanisation (chain migration is in evidence), low incomes and institutional intervention in the housing market. In the 1950s Maoris tended to concentrate in the inner-city rental areas, but now most Maori households move directly to the outer suburbs, especially those close to industrial employment. The capitalisation of the family benefit and the construction of low-cost state housing and Department of Maori Affairs housing has facilitated Maori home ownership in the outer suburbs. The socio-economic status of many Maoris has generally prevented them from buying into the best suburbs, and they are also under-represented in those middle-class suburbs built before the Second World War and prior to Maori urbanisation.

The settlement pattern of Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand differs from that of the Maori and of total population. Since its start Polynesian migration has been essentially to urban centres in New Zealand. In 1945 three quarters of the locally resident Pacific Island Polynesians were living in the main urban areas. By 1981 the proportion had increased to 93 percent, making Pacific Island Polynesians the most highly urbanised group in New Zealand.

The high urban concentration of Polynesians in New Zealand stands in sharp contrast to conditions on the Islands. Over 70 percent of Tongans, Samoans and Cook Islanders are rural residents in their island homes; in Tokelau and on Niue there are no towns and everyone lives in villages. High levels of urban concentration in New Zealand reflect radical changes in residential environment, housing and amenity provision, social space and occupation structures for the different Polynesian ethnic groups.

The largest urban concentration of Pacific Island Polynesians is found in Auckland. In 1981, 64 percent of Polynesians in New Zealand were resident there. Like the Maori population, Pacific Island Polynesians are highly visible in selected parts of urban areas, a consequence of chain migration and of their concentration in low-income groups. But this pattern of urban residential concentration appears to be changing though, as New Zealand-born and educated Polynesians become more numerous in the housing and job markets. Occupational and residential mobility is generating dispersal of Polynesians, a trend first apparent in the late 1970s, and one that is likely to accelerate in the 1980s as the significance of immigration from the Islands in the growth of New Zealand's Polynesian population decreases in relation to natural increase.

Future Prospects

Major changes to the distribution of New Zealand's population are highly unlikely in the foreseeable future. Projections of regional population change indicate a continuation of the general northward drift of population and a greater concentration of population in the North Island, especially its northern half.

Most regional population growth during the period to 2006 is projected to occur in the Northland, Auckland, Waikato and Bay of Plenty regions. Thames Valley, Hawkes Bay, Taranaki, Manawatu and Canterbury are projected to have moderate growth during this period, while the West Coast, Aorangi and Coastal North Otago are projected to have a population decline (Department of Statistics, 1987c).

Whether the upturn in rural population growth experienced during the late 1970s and early 1980s will continue is unclear. In some developed countries, such as the United States and Britain, a resurgence in rural population growth has been in operation for more than a decade with no signs of a reversal. In others, such as Norway, the resurgence was shortlived. In New Zealand the trend appears to be associated with the location of industry, resort-retirement activity, and a growing preference for country living (although in many cases this may involve commuting to jobs in urban areas).

8 Internal Migration

Introduction

New Zealanders are highly mobile. Migration statistics from the 1981 census indicate that over two fifths of the population aged 5 years or older and usually resident in New Zealand in 1981, had made at least 1 change of address within New Zealand over the previous 5 years. The internal movement of people, in particular from the South Island to the North Island and from rural to urban areas, has played an important role in shaping the broad pattern of population distribution in New Zealand. While the northward drift of population continues, rural-urban relocation has become less important in recent years than redistribution between major urban centres.

Migration Patterns

Most changes of residence in New Zealand in recent years have involved relatively short-distance moves. For instance, over two thirds of all moves between the 1976 and 1981 censuses were to another residence in the same region. Short-distance moves of this type are especially common in the larger urbanised regions (Roseman and Crothers, 1984). They are believed to be largely a response to changes in individual or family circumstances, such as getting married, increasing family size or death of a spouse, or to upward social mobility entailing the purchase of a new house of better quality, greater size or better location than the former one.

Movement over longer distances, defined as between regions, has been much the smaller component of residential mobility in New Zealand. Shifts between regions in the 1976–1981 intercensal period were less than half as numerous as those within regions. Despite being less important in numerical terms, movement between regions is more important than that within regions in

shaping the broad pattern of population distribution in New Zealand.

During the 1971–6 and 1976–1981 intercensal periods, net population flows in New Zealand generally favoured regions located in the northern part of each island, confirming a long-established tendency of a general northward drift of population (refer Table 8.1). With the exception of Horowhenua, which is becoming an important retirement zone, the highest-growth areas from internal migration over the 1971–1981 decade have been Northland, Auckland and Bay of Plenty in the north of the North Island, and Nelson Bays in the north of the South Island. All four regions increased their net migration gains from 1971–6 to 1976–1981. Not only was population growth from internal migration concentrated in selected regions during the 1970s, but net losses were also regionally concentrated. Nine regions—6 in the North Island and 3 in the South Island—experienced net migration outflow during both the 1971–6 and 1976–1981 intercensal periods. Furthermore, 5 of these regions Taranaki, Wellington, Wairarapa, West Coast and Coastal North Otago—experienced greater net outflow during 1976–1981 than during 1971–6, suggesting that population losses from migration during the 1970s became increasingly concentrated in these regions. Taken overall, the North Island made a net population gain from the South Island of 8,259 during 1976–1981, up from 3,724 during 1971–6.

Contrary to what net migration flows might suggest, internal migration in New Zealand is not a one-way process; for every migration stream moving in one direction, there is usually a well-developed counter-stream. Thus, the net population gain or loss to any region is usually only a small imbalance when compared with the number of migrants moving into or out of a region, suggesting that migrants have differing perceptions of the opportunities in an area. Consequently, no matter how attractive an area is, there are always people who see the grass as greener elsewhere and move on. During the 1970s unevenness of population flows in most cases favoured regions to the north. Southland lost to Otago, Otago lost to Canterbury, Canterbury lost to Wellington, Wellington lost to Auckland and Auckland lost to Northland. A greater majority of the regions in the southern North Island also lost population to their northern neighbours.

TABLE 8.1: Net migration by local government regions, 1971-1981

Local government region	Net migration	
	1971-1976	1976-1981
Northland	933	2,391
Auckland	10,350	16,347
Thames Valley	852	276
Bay of Plenty	5,223	7,410
Waikato	405	-1,779
Tongariro	-2,379	-465
East Cape	-2,604	-1,272
Hawkes Bay	1,137	216
Taranaki	-1,797	-2,391
Wanganui	-2,793	-2,022
Manawatu	168	111
Horowhenua	3,405	1,077
Wellington	-7,953	-9,642
Wairarapa	-1,200	-2,124
Nelson Bays	1,506	1,686
Marlborough	840	366
West Coast	-837	-1,050
Canterbury	1,962	648
Aorangi	726	-2,346
Clutha-Central Otago	-1,356	609
Coastal North Otago	-1,842	-4,422
Southland	-4,737	-3,582

Source: *Inter-Regional Migration in New Zealand, 1971-1981*, Department of Statistics, 1986

Throughout the 1971-1981 decade Auckland played an important role as the focal point for much of the inter-regional migration, gaining population at the expense of most other regions. Wellington region, which contains the cities of Lower Hutt and Upper Hutt, and Petone Borough as well as the capital was the second major destination for migrants. Its function appeared to be that of a population redistribution centre, gaining population mainly from the South Island regions, and sending migrants to most North Island regions. The 4 largest destinations for migrants from Wellington during the 1970s were in descending order: Auckland, Horowhenua, Bay of Plenty and Hawkes Bay. Canterbury region, the third major destination for migrants, performed a similar function in the South Island as Wellington in the North Island.

— Another major feature of inter-regional migration in New Zealand is that most movement has occurred between neighbouring regions, paralleling the experience of other countries. During the 1971–6 and 1976–1981 intercensal periods, 15 of the country's 22 regions received one third of their in-migrants from, or sent one third of their out-migrants to, the adjacent regions. For at least 8 regions—Northland, Thames Valley, Tongariro, Horowhenua, Waikato, West Coast, Aorangi and Clutha-Central Otago—the corresponding proportion was over a half. The major flows over long distances were almost always between regions that contained major urban centres.

While the major features of inter-regional migration in New Zealand over recent years can be readily identified, the underlying causal factors are much more difficult to determine. It is difficult to draw parallels between even the economic status of a region and net in—and out-migration, because current economic conditions are only one of a number of factors which contribute to the direction and magnitude of migration streams. Factors such as climate; job, educational and recreational opportunities; health facilities; social and cultural activities; crime rates; housing; family and relatives; and even the physical attractiveness of an area all have an effect on a person's decision to migrate there (Crothers, 1981).

Typically, regions losing population in unequal exchanges exhibit the following characteristics: no large urban centre; little or no economic growth; poorer climate to that of neighbouring regions; limited job opportunities for school leavers; and a significant proportion of population living in rural areas. In marked contrast, regions gaining population are those mainly located in the northern half of each island and are generally characterised by mild climates and prosperous business communities.

Rural to Urban and Inter-Urban Migration

Movement from rural to urban areas, is perhaps the most long-standing and well-documented internal migration flow in the history of New Zealand. It dates from the closing decades of the last century, and has been the primary agent of change underlying the relocation of population from the mainly rural location of the Victorian period to the highly urbanised distribution of the 1980s (in 1986 84.0 percent of the population lived in urban places of 1,000 or more people).

In broad terms rural to urban migration, or urban drift as it has sometimes been called, has been attributable to lack of opportunities in rural areas and perceived opportunities in urban centres, particularly the larger metropolitan centres. Developments in farming and primary industries have contributed to this trend through modernisation of production and processing, amalgamation of farm holdings, and relocation and centralisation of some processing industries. As well as these, substitution of contracting and co-operative organisation for hired labour, increased efficiency of transportation of goods and people, and the consequent redundancy of widely dispersed service functions (such as retailing, schooling and medical care) have also been major contributors.

Although a small but sustained flow of people from rural to urban places is still evident, it is nowadays less important numerically than the flow of persons between the nation's larger urban places. Some insight into the nature and magnitude of urban-to-urban migration in New Zealand can be gained from looking at population exchanges between the seven major urban centres of the country, sometimes referred to as statistical divisions. These centres, which contain populations of 75,000 or more, have grown largely as a result of migration (Department of Statistics, 1986b). Because of the wider economic and social opportunities offered by these centres, they attract skilled and unskilled workers and families from a wide range of areas. In general, the larger the centre the greater the propensity to move there.

A significant feature of population exchanges between major urban centres during the 1970s was the increasing importance of the northward streams, and a substantial decline in the size of the southward counter-streams. This mirrors the overall pattern of population movement in New Zealand. Auckland statistical division was the destination of the largest number of out-migrants from each statistical division, with the exception of Dunedin, and it made net population gains from all statistical divisions. Its net gain of 12,639 in 1976–1981 was 71 percent higher than during 1971–6, with almost half being at the expense of Hamilton and Christchurch.

At the other end of the scale, Dunedin, the southernmost statistical division, lost to all other statistical divisions during the 1970s—its net out-migration during 1976–1981 exceeded that during 1971–6 by 1,132 or 58 percent. Almost half of Dunedin's total net population loss of 3,069 during 1976–1981 was to its

immediate northern neighbour Christchurch, a fifth to Wellington and a slightly smaller proportion to Auckland. In turn, Christchurch statistical division lost to all North Island divisions, the largest loss being to Auckland, followed by Wellington. This northward drift extends to Wellington, which lost 2,000 more people during 1976–1981 than during 1971–6—6,045 against 4,048. Wellington lost population to all its northern neighbours, including Palmerston North, from which it had gained during 1971–6.

Overall, all statistical divisions except Auckland and Napier-Hastings recorded net losses during 1976–1981. The net population losses from Hamilton, Palmerston North and Wellington Statistical Divisions were due chiefly to their relatively large net population losses to Auckland, which tended to completely offset their gains from other statistical divisions.

Population exchanges between statistical divisions played a major role in inter-regional migration in New Zealand during the 1970s. For example, net in-migration from other statistical divisions accounted for over three quarters of the Auckland region's net gain from other regions during 1976–1981. Similarly, over half of the Hawkes Bay region's small gain was due to that statistical division's gain from other ones. Conversely, between two thirds and three quarters of the net out-migration from the Waikato, Wellington and Coastal North Otago regions was due to the net outflow from their respective statistical divisions to other ones. If the analysis was to be extended to cover other main urban areas, the role of urban-to-urban migration in inter-regional migration would be even greater.

Maori Migration

The migration experience of the Maori population in New Zealand has varied from that of the total population in several important ways. First and foremost, the rural-to-urban movement of the Maori commenced much later than that of the total population. It only really became significant after 1945, and in the space of just 2 decades transformed the Maori population from a mainly rural to a predominantly urban one. The urbanisation of the Maori, which was in part precipitated by government policies which emphasised the urban location of new housing and opportunities for job training, is thought to be one of the most rapid on record

for an ethnic minority anywhere. The extent of the urbanisation of Maoris (in 1986 81.0 percent lived in urban places of 1,000 or more) is approaching the high level achieved in the total population.

The rural-to-urban movement of Maori people continued through the 1970s, albeit at a slower pace than in the preceding two decades. The largest net inflows were to South Auckland, Christchurch, Porirua, Hamilton and Western Auckland urban areas. But not all Maori migration during the 1970s, was to the towns. A new trend to emerge was a movement from urban areas back to the ancestral marae in the countryside (Stokes, 1979). This was particularly noticeable among older city Maori, many of them survivors of an earlier generation of rural-to-urban migrants, although more recent evidence suggests it has become more widespread (Bedford and Pool, 1985). It has been suggested that this return movement is symptomatic of some reassessment by Maori generally of ethnic cultural institutions, the role of land in Maori culture, and the Maori place in New Zealand society (Heenan, 1985).

A further internal migration flow of significance has been the continued exodus of Maori people from areas of traditional settlement like Northland, the East Coast and South Auckland. This has been a longstanding trend, and has been accompanied by a net movement of Maori population to both urban and rural places in the South Island. Its effect has been to increase the proportion of the South Island population which is Maori, from 5 percent in 1966 to 7 percent in 1981.

Characteristics of Migrants

Not all New Zealanders are equally mobile. Those who migrate tend to be heavily concentrated in the young-adult age groupings, and in the early phases of career and family life cycle. Men and women in their late teens, twenties and early thirties are the most mobile groups, with peak mobility being achieved at ages 20–29 years. Beyond the age of 30 the likelihood of moving declines more or less continuously to old age. There is, however, some evidence of an increase in propensity to move at ages coinciding with retirement (60–64 years) and again among very old women. Despite this, the elderly still remain the least mobile section of the population.

Migration is also occupationally selective. White-collar workers, particularly those in professional and technical, administrative and managerial and service occupations generally have the highest mobility, with most other groups having fairly average mobility. Agricultural workers are the only group with particularly low mobility, partly on account of property ownership and ties to land. The high mobility of white-collar workers is probably related to career orientations, migration often being a necessary step in promotion and social advancement. Promotions and transfers within and between large organisations play a major part in the careers of many people. It is likely therefore that organisations are responsible for initiating substantial flows within New Zealand.

9 Labour Force

Introduction

The New Zealand full-time labour force³ has grown quite considerably in the post-Second World War period. During 1945–1981, it more than doubled in size, increasing from 662,740 to 1,331,210 in total. By 1986, it had increased even further to 1,448,523. This growth has come about for three main reasons. Firstly, there has been the effect of the post-war baby boom, seen in the growing number of young people entering the labour market. Secondly, there has been a big increase in the number of women entering (and re-entering) the workforce. Thirdly, external migration has played an important role in the growth of the labour force.

While the labour force has grown throughout the post-war era, the rate at which it has increased has fluctuated. In particular, there was rapid growth of nearly 2 percent annually from 1951–6 and over 2 percent annually in the years between 1961–6 and 1971–6. Lower rates of growth were recorded during the recession of the late 1960s and during the second half of the 1970s. However, from 1981–6, growth in the labour force picked up again to record an average annual rate of increase of 1.7 percent (refer Table 9.1).

By far the most important contributor to the growth of the labour force in the post-Second World War period has been natural increase, which is the result of growth in the population of working-age whereby the numbers entering the labour force exceed those retiring from it (Population Monitoring Group, 1985). This has occurred largely as a result of the entry of the first products of the post-war baby boom into the labour force. For example, from 1951–1961, just over 52,000 teenagers aged 15–19 joined the working-age population. Over the 1961–1971 period,

³Persons aged 15 years and over working 20 hours or more per week including those persons unemployed and seeking work.

TABLE 9.1: Growth of the New Zealand full-time labour force 1945-1986¹

<i>Census</i>	<i>Total full-time labour force</i>	<i>Average annual growth rate (%)</i>
1945	662,740	-
1951	740,496	1.85
1956	816,852	1.96
1961	895,363	1.84
1966	1,026,039	2.72
1971	1,118,835	1.73
1976	1,272,333	2.57
1981	1,331,210	0.90
1986	1,448,523	1.69

¹Persons aged 15 years and over working 20 hours or more per week including those unemployed and seeking work

Sources: *Country Monograph Series No. 12, Population of New Zealand, Vol. 2*, United Nations, 1985

Provisional National Summary Statistics, Series C, Report 1, Department of Statistics, 1987a

the first members of the post-war baby boom reached working-age, increasing the size of the working-age population by around 78,600. In the 1971-1981 period, a further 58,800 young people joined the working-age population (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

External migration has played an important role in regulating the size and growth of the New Zealand labour force. Fluctuations in net migration, resulting in losses and gains to the New Zealand labour force, have occurred a number of times over the last 30 years. Gains from immigration were especially important during the immediate post-war period. Indeed, had it not been for the effect of external migration the labour force would have declined in size. The period 1945-1966 was marked by relaxed immigration controls. These, combined with buoyant economic conditions encouraged a high level of immigration into New Zealand. Net migration losses occurred in the 1966-1971 intercensal period followed by gains during 1971-6. In more recent years, big losses of economically active migrants occurred in the late 1970s, followed by some net gains in the early 1980s. Since 1984, the migration balance has turned to a net loss. Because of the age selectivity of emigration, a large proportion of the net losses to the labour force have occurred in the younger age groups. Forty-three percent of the migration loss of 69,000 to the labour force in the 1976-1981

period was in the 15–24 year age group. Trans Tasman flows now account for around half of New Zealand's external migration and consequently are a significant contributor to fluctuations in the New Zealand labour force, caused by net migration.

The third area of change, and one which has had a major social effect, has been changes in labour force participation. Over most of the period 1945–1986, declining labour force participation rates of males have acted as a growth-reducing agent. For females, however, participation rates have increased and have been the most important factor in the growing size of the female labour force since 1961. The main reason for the increased participation rates of females has been the substantial increase in participation by women aged over 30 years (Zodgekar, 1985).

Patterns of Labour Force Participation by Age and Sex

Trends and patterns in labour force participation reveal a range of diversity over different ages. Overall, during the post-war period there has been a decline in the percentage of young people in the labour force. Women, in particular those aged 30 and over, have increased their participation. Men aged 55 years and over have played a decreasing role.

Declines in labour force participation at younger ages (15–19 years) have been due to the growing tendency to stay on longer at school. This has been linked with decreasing opportunities for paid work in recent years. Young people, it would seem, are remaining at school to avoid the risk of unemployment and to acquire more qualifications and skills which will help them find a job (Catherwood, 1985). While in 1951, 7 in every 10 teenagers in the 15–19 year age group were in the full-time labour force, by 1981 this had declined to 5 in every 10 (Department of Statistics, 1985b). This figure remained unchanged in 1986.

The growing involvement of females in the labour force has been one of the most significant developments in the post-war period. Whereas only 29.1 percent of females aged 15–64 were actively engaged in the labour force in 1945, by 1981 the proportion had increased to 45.8 percent. In 1981 there were about 525 women for every 1,000 men in the labour force—an increase from just over 200 women per 1,000 men in 1951. Until recently, most women in the labour force were aged under 25 years. Nowadays

there are many older women. This is reflected in the rise in the median age of females in the full-time labour force, from 27 years in 1951 to 32 years in 1981. Moreover, there has been a large increase in the number of married women in employment. Increased participation of married women in the labour force has been an important factor in the overall increase in the labour force participation of women. Marked changes in marriage and childbearing patterns have progressively made it easier for women to gain employment outside the home (Zodgekar, 1985; Department of Statistics, 1985b).

For many women, the responsibilities associated with being a mother restrict their involvement in the paid workforce. The younger the age of the youngest child, the less likely is the mother to be engaged in paid work. In 1981 for example, 80 percent of mothers with a child under 1 year old were not engaged in paid work. For those mothers with a 5-year-old child, about 60 percent were not in paid work (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

The participation rate of older workers (55–64 years) peaked in the early 1970s. Since then there has been a loss of workers in this age group from the full-time labour force. The decline in participation of older workers is predominantly a male phenomenon. Over the 1971–1981 decade, the proportion of men aged 60–64 years who were in paid work fell from two thirds to under a half. For those 65–69 years of age, the fall was from one third to under a fifth. Explanations for the decline in male participation at ages 55 years and over have not yet been researched very well in New Zealand. However, several reasons for the decline have been suggested. One is the tighter employment conditions which are believed to be 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 since 1977 of national superannuation at age 60 may also have been a factor encouraging withdrawal from paid work (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Patterns of Labour Force Participation by Ethnic Group

Growth in the labour force, particularly between 1971 and 1981, was accompanied by a growing ethnic diversity. The Pacific Island Polynesian labour force had the greatest growth over this period,

more than doubling in size from 16,550 in 1971 to just over 35,000 in 1981. The Maori labour force increased its size in 1981 by almost half of what it was in 1971 from 70,900 to almost 104,200. The residual group (including Europeans, Chinese, Indians and others) grew by about a sixth of its 1971 size. In 1981, 1 in every 10 workers was either Maori or Pacific Island Polynesian. Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian workers tend to be much younger than other members of the workforce, reflecting the younger overall age structure of these two populations. In 1981, two fifths of all Maori workers were aged between 15 and 24 years. Pacific Island Polynesian workers were more heavily concentrated in the middle years (25–44 years).

The likelihood of participating in the labour force varies substantially from one ethnic group to another. Participation rates of Maori males are generally lower than non-Maori males except for the young (15–24 years) and the old (70 years and over) age groups. Higher labour force participation by 15–19 year old Maori males reflects the shorter time spent in formal education. The reasons for the lower participation of Maoris aged 25–59 are complex. Included among these are factors such as health differentials and attitudes towards seasonal and part-time work (Population Monitoring Group, 1984).

Maori women are less likely than women from other groups to work full-time. They tend to join the labour force at an earlier age, again reflecting less time spent in formal education. They also withdraw at a younger age. Reasons for this would include a tendency to undertake family commitments at a younger age. While social and cultural differences are part of the overall cause, economic factors such as occupational limitations and higher unemployment among Maori women may also be involved.

Pacific Island Polynesian women have the highest participation rates in the full-time labour force of all women. As with other ethnic groups, their labour force participation dips in the peak childbearing years from 20–34 years. However, in the years following their labour force participation increases to a level in excess of any other ethnic group (Department of Statistics, 1985b; Population Monitoring Group, 1984; Poot and Brosnan, 1982).

Trends in Labour Market Structure

Industry

Changes within the industrial structure of the New Zealand labour force over the last 30 years have seen a consistent decline in the importance of primary industries. The rise in the importance of the tertiary or service-sector industry group has been very pronounced over the same period. In 1951, almost 47 percent of the New Zealand workforce was employed in the service sector. By 1981, this had risen to almost 55 percent (Thompson, 1985; Department of Statistics, 1985b).

The decline in the relative share of the labour force working in primary industries has been a long-term trend; moving from an overall share in 1945 of 22 percent to about 12 percent in 1981 (a slight rise from 1976 when it was 10.8 percent). Secondary industries have been declining in importance since the mid-1960s after having climbed in relative importance since the mid-1930s. This decline, however, has been slight; in the region of 3 or 4 percent over the last 20 years (Thompson, 1985).

Males still dominate certain industries. These include agriculture, forestry and fishing; and mining and manufacturing. However, the preponderance of males in these industries has declined over the 1970s. Although women do not dominate any particular industry sector, they tend to be concentrated more in the service industries, such as wholesale and retail trade; finance, insurance and business services; and community, social and personal services. The latter has been a major growth area for female employment, with large gains being made particularly in the 1971–6 intercensal period. In the laundry, cleaning and domestic services' industry group, a traditionally female-dominated area, an absolute decline in numbers occurred during 1971–1981, the only one of the community services industries to record such a decline.

Occupation

Overall, there have been some major changes in the distribution of the actively engaged between major occupation groups since 1951. The proportion of workers in professional and technical occupations has increased quite substantially, from 7.8 percent in 1951 to 14.3 percent in 1981, while the proportion in primary occupations (agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting) has declined from 18.8 percent in 1951 to 11.4 percent in 1981. Sales occupations now

account for a slightly smaller share of the workforce (9.9 percent in 1981 compared to 10.2 percent in 1951) while service occupations have increased their share (from 7.9 percent in 1951 to 8.3 percent in 1981). Occupations in the production sphere still make up the largest share of the workforce, although they too have declined during 1951–1981, from 40.2 percent to 35.7 percent of the actively engaged (Thompson, 1985).

The occupational structure of males and females differs markedly. This is a feature of many other western developed nations. Males predominate in production-type occupations (nearly 45 percent of male workers were in the production occupation group in 1981). Primary workers formed the second-largest occupational group among males in 1981 (Thompson, 1985).

In contrast, women are heavily concentrated in clerical occupations. Nearly a third of the female labour force were in these occupations in 1986. Women are also highly represented in sales occupations and professional/technical occupations (particularly nursing and teaching). However, there is some evidence of women now entering non-traditional occupations. The proportion of women in many occupations requiring high qualifications has also increased. For example, from 1971–1981, the proportion of women who were physicians increased from 7 to 14 percent; general practitioners from 6 to 12 percent; lawyers from 2 to 9 percent; and higher education and university teachers from 17 to 23 percent (Department of Statistics, 1985a,b).

Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian workers are still heavily concentrated in occupations requiring few or no formal qualifications. These are typically production work, transport operation and labouring occupations. They were more than twice as likely as members of other ethnic groups to be in production occupations in 1981, yet only a fifth as likely to be in professional/technical and managerial occupations. In general terms, the movement of Maori and Pacific Island Polynesians into professional and technical occupations during the 1970s was slower than for other ethnic groups. By 1981, changing economic conditions that ushered in higher unemployment also influenced trends in the changing occupational structure of the workforce. In particular, the trend towards higher proportions of Maori males and females in professional occupations was held in check (Department of Statistics, 1985b; Thompson, 1985).

Studies have found that, even controlling for age and education, Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian workers still earn less than non-Polynesians, suggesting that Maoris and Pacific Island Polynesians are either discriminated against or are unwilling to offer themselves for certain occupations (Hill and Brosnan, 1984).

Employment status

The major change in recent years with regard to employment status (refer Table 9.2) has been the dramatic rise in the number of unemployed. From a total of 6,900 in 1961, the number of unemployed rose to just over 16,100 in 1971, and to over 60,250 in 1981. By 1986, over 108,700 people stated on their census forms that they were unemployed. This amounted to 6.9 percent of the labour force, up from 4.5 percent in 1981.⁴ This rise in unemployment has affected various sectors of the community in different ways. Differences in unemployment rates between Maori and non-Maori are a graphic display of this. In 1986 the unemployment rates for Maori males and females were 12.2 percent and 19.3 percent respectively. The comparable rates for non-Maori males and females were 4.4 percent and 8.0 percent respectively. (Refer to Chapter 14 for further detail.)

Other changes in the employment status of the workforce since 1951 have included an increase in the proportion of wage and salary earners, from 78.2 percent in 1951 to 82.1 percent in 1981. Employers and self-employed persons declined from 9.3 percent and 10.7 percent respectively in 1951, to 5.9 percent and 7.0 percent in 1981. By 1986, however, this pattern reversed with employers and the self-employed making up 6.8 percent and 9.3 percent of the workforce, while wage and salary earners were a much lower proportion than in 1981—75.8 percent of the total (Thompson, 1985). The increase in the proportion of employers and self-employed persons may be related to the changing economic environment since 1984. However, this is an issue which requires further research.

Increased pressure on the job market, particularly through the loss of jobs for wage and salary earners, accompanied by a marked rise in the proportion of the unemployed has possibly forced an increasing number to take up work on their own account or as an

⁴Because of a change in the question on unemployment between the 1981 and 1986 population censuses, growth in 1981–1986 unemployment is almost certainly overestimated.

employer. A rise in the proportion working as an unpaid assistant in a family business may also reflect this increased pressure on the job market (Thompson, 1985).

TABLE 9.2: Employment status of the New Zealand workforce, 1951-1986

Year	Employer	Own account	Wage and salary	Unemployed	Relative assisting
1951 ¹	9.4	10.7	78.2	1.3	0.4
1976 ¹	6.6	7.2	83.8	2.1	0.3
1981 ¹	5.9	7.0	82.1	4.5	0.5
1986 ²	6.8	9.3	75.8	6.9	1.2

¹Persons working 20 or more hours, plus persons unemployed and seeking work

²Persons working one or more hours, plus persons unemployed and seeking work

Sources: Country Monograph Series No 12, *Population of New Zealand*, Vol. 2. United Nations, 1985

Provisional National Summary Statistics, Series C, Report 1, Department of Statistics, 1987

Education Level

Generally speaking, there has been an overall trend towards a more educated labour force. In 1976, three quarters of the full-time labour force had not attended formal education higher than secondary school. By 1981, this proportion was down to 65 percent. Only a small proportion of those who continue their education beyond secondary school level go to university. The majority undertake some training at technical institutes or training colleges. The proportion of the population in the education system attending university increased from 4.2 percent in 1971 to 5.4 percent in 1981; in absolute numbers this represented an increase of about 15,400 persons (from 37,600 to 53,000), an increase that has overwhelmingly been the result of the baby boom generation coming through the education system.

Increases in attendance have also occurred in the Technical Correspondence Institute (up from 15,456 in 1971 to 30,091 in 1981), and in part-time attendance at technical institutes (from 14,701 in 1971 to 35,849 in 1981). Overall, continuing education of this kind accounted for over 14 percent of the population in the education system in 1981, up from 11.0 percent in 1971.

Despite increased numbers enrolled at universities and technical institutes, participation in tertiary education in New Zealand is disturbingly low by international standards. Students from the lower

end of the socio-economic scale tend to be underrepresented in universities. Many of them are found in technical institutes and the like, where training is more oriented towards trade certification and other similar courses (McDonald, *et al*, 1985).

Education level tends to be reflected to a degree in industry and occupational groupings. For instance, the finance, insurance and business services industry group comprises the highest proportion of workers with a university-level education (about 20 percent of workers in this industry group had a university education in both 1976 and 1981). The community, social and personal services industry group had the next highest level of university education. With regard to occupational groups, employees in the professional/technical category are the most educated. The services; agricultural, forestry and hunting; and production, transport and labouring occupation groups contain much smaller percentages of people with university-level training. While 38.2 percent of professional/technical workers in 1981 had university training, those in services; agriculture, forestry and hunting; and production occupations with university training amounted to 3.9 percent, 6.9 percent and 2.0 percent respectively.

Young people entering the workforce today are generally better qualified than their predecessors. The tightening of the job market, particularly affecting those people with no qualifications or skills, has meant that more young people are staying on longer at school to avoid unemployment, and to obtain qualifications to enable them to compete in the job market. Since 1979, participation rates of 15-, 16- and 17-year-olds in education have increased, particularly in regard to enrolments at secondary school. For instance, 16-year-olds increased their participation rate in secondary school from 65.7 percent in 1979 to 71.3 percent in 1983. Participation in tertiary education also increased over the same period but to a lesser extent (Catherwood, 1985).

Maori and Pacific Island Polynesians have also improved their overall level of educational attainment. Length of attendance at secondary school has improved, with the number of young Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian students staying on till the sixth and seventh form increasing, particularly for Pacific Island Polynesians. Attendance at tertiary level education has also improved substantially, especially at those institutions specialising in vocational training such as polytechnics and community colleges. Comparisons over age groups highlight this improvement. For example, in

1981 nearly 17 percent of Maori and 21 percent of Pacific Island Polynesians aged 20–24 years had remained at secondary school to the sixth and seventh form level. For the 25–44-year-olds, the levels had been about 9 percent for both ethnic groups. Comparisons with the rest of the population, however, show that such groups remain behind in regard to formal educational qualifications. The exact reasons are not clear but may include education level of the parent, low income, cultural background and values, and different aspirations (Department of Statistics, 1985b; Catherwood, 1985).

Part-time Work

One of the major growth areas of the labour market over the last 15–20 years has been in the number of part-time workers (part-time workers are those who work less than 30 hours per week). Between 1971 and 1981 the number of part-time workers increased by almost 73 percent, from almost 110,000 persons to just over 190,000 persons. By 1986, the number had increased by a further 53 percent, to over 289,000 workers.

By 1986 they made up 20 percent of the total employed labour force. The Household Labour Force Survey showed that in the March 1987 quarter just over 302,000 persons were part-time workers. One out of every 5 employed in 1987 was working part-time, compared with just 1 in 10 in 1971.

The great majority of part-time workers are women. In 1987, nearly three quarters of part-time workers (73 percent) were women. Among women, those aged 30–44 year contribute the major source of part-time labour, accounting for about one third of part-time workers. It would seem that at least some women who retire from full-time work to raise families return to the workforce in a part-time capacity. Over 80 percent of female part-time workers are married or previously married. A little over half of male part-timers are married or previously married. For males, part-time work is undertaken mainly at the beginning and end of working life. While part-time work for older males may be seen as a transition to retirement, for young workers it is part of the transition from school to work. Most teenage part-time workers are also full-time students, either at school or a tertiary institution. As more young people remain at school, it appears an increasing proportion are also seeking to earn by part-time work.

Participation rates in the part-time labour force for different ethnic groups suggest that part-time work is less common for Maori workers and even less so for Pacific Island Polynesian workers. Results from the March 1987 quarter of the Household Labour Force Survey showed that 6 percent of Maori males and 15 percent of Maori females worked part-time. A slightly smaller proportion of Pacific Island Polynesians, (5 percent of males and 10 percent of females) worked part-time. Participation rates for all other groups were higher, at 7 percent for males and 20 percent for females. The low participation of Pacific Island Polynesians in part-time work relative to members of other ethnic groups is directly related to their greater tendency to work full-time.

Part-time workers very often work in low-status, low-paying jobs predominantly in community, business and personal service industries and in trade industries. Those which provide services such as health and welfare, amusement and recreation, and retail trade account for 62 percent of all part-time workers, compared with just 41 percent of full-time workers. The extensive use of part-time workers in service and trade industries results from the need of these industries to offer services to customers during evenings and other times that are not readily staffed by full-timers; as well as supplementing full-time staff during peak periods.

In other industries, such as mining, electricity, building and transport where operations are generally conducted in 1 or more 8-hour shifts, the usefulness of part-time workers is more limited. This is reflected in the very low proportions of part-timers employed in these industries. While 20 percent of all employees work part-time, only 4 percent of employees in the electricity industry, 6 percent in mining and about 12 percent in transport, building and manufacturing industries are employed part-time. The concentration of part-time workers in the service and trade industries is mirrored in their occupational distribution, with over a third of part-time workers being in sales occupations.

A number of part-time workers make up what are known as the underemployed. These are persons who for various reasons are able and willing to work full-time (30 hours or more per week) but are not doing so because they cannot find the right sort of work, would prefer to work more hours but cannot in their present employment, or have family responsibilities. There are many other reasons too. Results from the March 1987 quarter of the Household Labour Force Survey showed that 14 percent of part-time

workers would prefer to work a different number of hours. Of these, nearly three quarters (72 percent) wanted more hours of work. One third claimed they could not find suitable full-time work, while almost one third again claimed there was no other suitable part-time work available. Nearly 10 percent cited family responsibilities. Overall, about 1 in 10 part-time workers in the March 1987 quarter were underemployed workers.

Future Prospects

Official projections of the labour force suggest that as New Zealand moves into the twenty-first century, the labour force will be a progressively ageing one. This will occur largely as a result of the movement of the baby boom generation through the labour force. In future years, the number of new entrants to the labour force should decline and hence will not make up as large a proportion of the labour force as they do now. Comparisons of the age structure of the New Zealand labour force in 1986 with that projected for 2011 suggest that the 15–24 year age group (the labour force entrants) will decline as a proportion of the labour force from 26.3 percent to 18.3 percent.

Those in the 25–39 year group (the early middle years) will also decline, from 37.7 percent to 32.5 percent of the labour force. The major change will come in the 40–59 year age group which will increase from 32.0 percent of the labour force in 1986 to 45.5 percent in 2011. Almost half of the New Zealand labour force will be aged 40 years and over in 2011 (Department of Statistics, 1987a, unpublished, 1982).

Trends in recent years have shown that although the numbers in the 60 years and over age group have been increasing, their rate of participation in the labour force has been declining. Between 1986 and 2011, their share of the labour force is projected to fall from 4.0 percent to 3.7 percent. Overall, the net result of these changes in the labour market may be shortages in the lower ranks of the labour force, coupled with a surfeit in the middle to senior management ranks. Particularly in regard to the supply of labour, this is a situation that will have a marked impact on the labour market, for example, through influencing retirement patterns and in the competition for jobs.

10 Marriage and Marriage Dissolution

Introduction

Patterns of marriage and marriage dissolution in New Zealand have changed appreciably over the last 100 years. By far the biggest changes have occurred in the post-Second World War period. Over the earlier part of this period the proportions of young men and women marrying rose to unprecedented levels, and the age of marriage plummeted. Since the early 1970s, however, these trends have reversed. Young New Zealanders have been marrying later. It is likely some may also be bypassing formal marriage altogether. Hand in hand with this movement away from early and almost universal marriage has been a rise in marital breakdown leading to separation and divorce. This has replaced widowhood as the major factor in marital dissolution.

Trends in First Marriage

The last 20–25 years have seen a pronounced change in marriage trends and patterns in New Zealand. Young New Zealanders appear to have abandoned the carefree attitude to marriage that reached its height in the late 1960s and early 1970s and to have adopted a much more cautious approach to matrimony. This is reflected in the steady and continuous rise in the proportions of young people remaining unmarried. Whereas in 1971 63 percent of men and 36 percent of women aged 20–24 had never been married, by 1986 this had increased to 84 percent and 66 percent respectively. A similar upward shift in the proportions of men and women in the 25–29 and 30–34 age groups remaining unmarried is also evident (refer Table 10.1).

TABLE 10.1: Proportions of men and women aged 20-34 who have never married, 1971 and 1986

Census	Age group (years)		
	20-24	25-29	30-34
	Males		
1971	62.9	22.2	11.8
1986	84.2	44.2	19.9
	Females		
1971	35.5	10.9	6.0
1986	65.6	28.3	12.5

Sources: *Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971 Ages and Marital Status*, Department of Statistics, 1974

Census of Population and Dwellings, 1986

Provisional National Summary Statistics, Department of Statistics, 1987

This apparent decline in the popularity of early marriage is also reflected in the increasing age at which men and women are marrying. Women marrying for the first time in 1985 were on average 2.8 years older than their 1971 counterparts; their average age at marriage increased from 21.2 years in 1971 to 24.0 years in 1985. The trend away from younger marriage has been equally pronounced for males. Their average age at first marriage was 26.4 years in 1985, up from 23.7 years in 1971.

It is difficult to be sure yet of the extent to which this decline in formal marriage at younger ages represents a bypassing of marriage altogether. It is likely that a growing number of young New Zealanders may be choosing to live in a de facto marriage situation as an alternative or prelude to formal marriage. Available data lend support to this. In 1986, 86,421 people under the age of 35 reported on their census forms that they were living in a de facto relationship, almost 22,000 more than in 1981.

However, not all young unmarried New Zealanders live in de facto relationships. For many young men and women the trend toward later and less universal marriage may represent a change in the pattern of decision-making regarding marriage, whereby increasing numbers of couples are choosing to delay marriage for a variety of reasons. These would include the desire of more and more women to establish careers, force of economic circumstances and the decision to delay childbearing to a later age.

Trends in Marriage Dissolution

Contemporaneous with the general downturn in marriage has been a rapid increase in the numbers and proportions of marriages ending in divorce. It would appear that separation and divorce have now replaced widowhood as the main factor in marital dissolution. While the proportion of widowed persons in the adult population has remained fairly static over the last 30 years at around 7 percent, the proportion of separated and divorced persons has risen sharply—collectively, from 2 percent in 1956 to 8 percent in 1986.

The increasing incidence of divorce has been especially pronounced since 1961. The number of divorces jumped from 1,733 in 1961 to 8,590 in 1981, to reach a peak of 12,395 in 1982. Since 1982 the number of marriage dissolutions has declined. A total of 8,607 divorces were granted in 1985, 30.6 percent fewer than in 1982. The divorce rate (number of divorces per 1,000 marriages), which almost trebled from 3.23 in 1961 to 9.07 in 1980, increased further to a post-war high of 17.20 in 1982 before falling to 11.8 in 1985. It should be noted that prior to the introduction of the Family Proceedings Act 1980, proceedings for divorce were complicated by the existence of up to 15 separate grounds for divorce. The proceedings were often costly and could extend over a long period before decrees absolute were granted. This tended to discourage some couples from seeking a divorce. With the introduction of the new act, making the sole grounds for divorce the irreconcilable breakdown of the marriage, divorce proceedings have been made less restrictive and less expensive. Part of the increase in the number of divorces in the two years immediately following the passing of the act can be put down to a catchup phase in divorce proceedings (Pool, 1986).

Divorce figures reveal only part of the picture on marriage breakup. De facto relationships do not require any legal separation or divorce agreement, so that accurate figures on the breakup of such relationships cannot be had. It has been suggested that de facto marriages may break up twice as frequently as formal unions (Social Monitoring Group, 1985). Separation after legal marriage, likewise, does not require formal court proceedings if uncontested, although many separation orders are drawn up in law. It has been calculated that for every separation requiring a court order, there are at least 3 that are not contested (Social Monitoring Group,

1985). What is certainly clear is that separation as a means to ending an unsatisfactory marital relationship has become more commonplace. The growing number of separated people in the New Zealand population, from about 26,000 in 1971 to just over 90,000 in 1986, lends credence to this point.

Characteristics of Marriages Ending in Divorce

About three quarters of all divorces in any year are between couples who have been married less than 20 years and about one third are between those married less than 10 years. Most divorces occur among couples who have been married 5–9 years, followed by those married 10–14 and 15–19 years. This ordering has remained unchanged for the last quarter of a century. What has changed, however, particularly in more recent years, has been the rise in the proportion of marriages ending in divorce after less than 5 years. The increasing proportion of divorces among shorter marriages (refer Table 10.2) has undoubtedly been a consequence of the changes in the divorce laws. It has been estimated that the average duration of a marriage is approximately 14 years (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

TABLE 10.2: Divorces by duration of marriage, 1961–85

Calendar year	Percentage distribution of divorces by duration of marriage at date of decree or order							Total
	Under 5	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	25–29	30 and over	
1961	6.6	26.8	23.0	16.6	12.6	7.2	7.3	100.0
1971	11.1	30.4	19.4	12.5	12.6	7.6	6.4	100.0
1981	6.3	29.1	24.2	15.8	11.7	7.3	5.5	100.0
1985	10.0	26.0	22.5	17.5	10.8	6.9	6.4	100.0

Source: *Demographic Trends*, 1987, Department of Statistics, 1987

The incidence of divorce in New Zealand, as in a number of other countries such as the United Kingdom and Canada, is closely related to age at marriage. In particular, early marriage, usually in close conjunction with pre-marital conception, is related to divorce later in life. Recent years have seen a decrease in the probability of ex-nuptial conception in New Zealand. This has been especially true for ex-nuptial conception followed by precipitated marriage. Couples now marry much later on average than they did from

1945–1972. It is likely, therefore, that divorce will decline in New Zealand, as it has in the United States (Pool, 1986).

Marriages where one or both of the partners are non-white are also believed to be at higher risk of break-up (Social Monitoring Group, 1985). Census data lend support to this, showing that the Maori population has a higher proportion of separated and divorced persons than the non-Maori population. In 1981, one in every 12 Maoris aged over 15 years was either separated or divorced as against just over 1 in 16 non-Maoris. Even after taking into account age differences between the two populations, the Maori population continues to be characterised by a proportionately larger number of separated and divorced persons. It is difficult to say why this is so. Socio-cultural factors are undoubtedly important. In 1981, a disproportionately large number of Maoris indicated they lived in a *de facto* relationship. Hence, a number of those who are divorced may in fact live in an informal marriage situation. Maoris may also have a lower rate of remarriage among the divorced population, preferring to stay single.

Other factors which have been shown to heighten the risk of marriage breakup include low educational attainment by both parents and low socio-economic status of the husband (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

Trends in Remarriage

In view of the rise in the number of divorces over the last 25 years, it is perhaps not surprising to find that an increasing proportion of marriages in recent times have involved a partner or partners who had been married previously. In 1985, 23 percent of all brides and 25 percent of all grooms were marrying for a second or subsequent time. This compares with 11 percent and 12 percent respectively in 1971.

A high proportion of divorcees remarry almost immediately on getting divorced, with two thirds being married within 10 years. The trend toward earlier marriage during the immediate post-war years, together with this tendency to remarry soon after divorce have undoubtedly been important factors underlying the decline in the average age of remarriage during the 1960s and 1970s. In the 20 years from 1961–1981, the average age of remarriage for divorced men dropped from 42 to 40 years.

For female divorcees, the average age declined from 38 to 36 years (Department of Statistics, 1987c). Since the early 1980s, however, the average age of remarriage of divorced men and women has increased, mirroring the recent trend toward later-age first marriage.

Divorced persons have a higher remarriage rate than widowed persons (Pool, 1986). Even when adjusted for age this remains true. The proportion of the divorced male population that remarries in a given year is approximately 5 times greater than remarriage among the widowed male population. Among females, a divorcee is about 11 times as likely to remarry as a widow. As could be expected, the average age of remarriage is lower for divorced people (refer Table 10.3).

TABLE 10.3: Age-adjusted remarriage rates and average age at remarriage, divorced and widowed population, 1975

Marital status	Remarriage rate ¹		Average age at remarriage	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Divorced	108	83	34	35
Widowed	37	35	57	51

¹Per 1,000 in marital status group

Source: *Population and Social Trends*, National Housing Commission, 1986

De Facto Marriage

The 1981 Census of Population and Dwellings was the first to include a question on de facto marriage. Nearly 88,000 persons or 4 percent of all New Zealanders aged 15 years and over indicated on their census forms in 1981 that they were living in a de facto union. By 1986, the number had risen to just over 114,000 persons, or 4.6 percent of the total population aged 15 years and over.

About 6 in every 10 people who lived in a de facto union in 1981 were under 30 years of age, and over a quarter were aged between 20 and 24 years. This remained largely unchanged in 1986. De facto marriage, however, is not a lifestyle confined to the young. In 1986, 46 percent of de facto partners were aged 30 years or older.

Despite the rise in the number of people living in de facto marriages during the 1981-6 intercensal period, the proportion of the

population at different ages opting for this lifestyle remains relatively small for both sexes and at all ages. In 1986, as in 1981, at ages other than the twenties, less than 1 in 20 persons lived in a de facto marriage. In the most common age group for de facto living, the twenties, approximately 1 in every 10 persons lived in a de facto relationship in 1986. This was the same as in 1981 (Department of Statistics, 1985b; Department of Statistics, 1987a).

While persons who have never married make up the largest number of people in de facto unions (over 40 percent) the likelihood of being a partner in such a union is greater for divorced, separated and widowed persons. This is true for all age groups, but more particularly for the younger groups. Taking the 25–29 year age group as an illustration, approximately 1 in every 3 divorced persons in 1981 was living in a de facto marriage. By contrast, only 1 in 10 persons in this age group who had never been married lived in a de facto union.

De facto marriage is more common among Maori than non-Maori people. An explanation for this is possibly related to the fact that the Maori population has a younger age structure, but more importantly to the fact that de facto marriage has been a cultural norm for the Maori people for many years. It therefore has a much wider acceptance as an option to formal marriage than might be the case in other populations.

Overall, analyses of the census data on de facto marriage suggest that except for the fact that de facto partners tend to be younger than married people and to live in rental accommodation, they do not form a distinct subgroup (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

11 Family and Household Structure

Introduction

Household composition and family structure have undergone fundamental demographic and sociological changes in New Zealand during the post-war period. In particular, these changes have been marked by a rise and fall in the prominence of the conventional New Zealand family of a husband, wife and dependent children. Concomitant with this has been a rapid growth in the number of single-parent households, as well as a steady increase in households occupied by persons living alone and couples on their own. Overall, the trend has been towards smaller households and smaller families— a combination of delays in the birth of first children, fewer children overall, and changes in marriage patterns.

Growth in the Number of Households

The majority of New Zealanders (about 95 percent) live in private households. These are households that comprise a single person or a small group of persons who form a durable unit. Typical among these are a family group living together; two or more families sharing a household; an unrelated group of persons; or one person living alone. The number of these households in New Zealand has grown steadily over the last 30 years, from 419,000 in 1945 to 1,078,000 in 1986; a massive increase when viewed from an historical perspective. Up until 1976, the average annual growth rate in private households ranged between 2.3 and 2.9 percent. In recent years, however, this has slowed. The average annual growth rate over the 1981–6 period was the slowest of the post-war period—1.5 percent or about 75,000 households in total. Despite this decline, the private household growth rate during 1981–6 was still about double the population growth rate.

Growth in the number of private households normally comes about in 3 ways: through, net family formation, as in a couple setting up a new household; non-family household formation, such as a group of individuals starting a flat; and undoubling, where a previously existing household breaks into 2 or more family households through, for example, marital breakdown or young people leaving home and setting up on their own.

In the years immediately following the Second World War, much of the increase in the number of households in New Zealand was due to net family formation. During the 1970s household growth resulting from this process slowed, and an acceleration in the numbers of households formed through non-family formation and undoubling occurred. This change in the relative importance of the various determinants of household formation is reflected in the increasing proportion of households maintained by never married, separated and divorced persons, and a corresponding decline in the proportion maintained by married people (refer Table 11.1). While the sociological underpinnings of this expansion in households maintained by unmarried people are not fully understood, the demographic influences can be readily identified. Principal amongst these are the trend toward later marriage and the increased incidence of marital breakdown.

TABLE 11.1: Marital status of household occupiers, 1971 and 1981

Marital status	Percentage distribution of household occupiers	
	1971	1981
Never married	8	12
Married	77	66
Separated	2	5
Widowed	11	12
Divorced	2	4
Total	100	100

Sources: New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1971 Households, Families and Fertility, Department of Statistics, 1975

New Zealand Census of Population and Dwelling, 1981 Households and Families, Department of Statistics, 1984

Changes in Household Size

Over the last two decades considerable changes have occurred in the size of New Zealand households, reflecting changes in the

demographic and social behaviour of the population. In general, the trend has been to smaller household groupings as the size of both family households and non-family households has declined. The average number of persons per household decreased from 3.6 in 1961 to 3.4 in 1971, 3.2 in 1976 and to 3.0 in 1986.

The reduction in household size is also evident in the distribution of households by number of occupants (refer Table 11.2). Although the most commonly occurring household size in New Zealand is that of 2 persons, by far the fastest growing category has been that of single-person households. One- and 2-person households now account for almost half (48 percent) of all those in New Zealand compared with just over a third (35 percent) in 1961. Households containing 5 persons or more, relatively common in the 1960s, accounted for 18 percent of households in 1981. These larger households, precipitated in the past by larger families and a greater tendency of households to contain lodgers and relatives, are becoming less and less prominent.

TABLE 11.2: Changes in household size, 1961-1981

Year	Percentage of households by number of occupants					Total
	1	2	3	4	5 and over	
1961	11.4	24.2	17.7	18.6	28.1	100.0
1971	14.1	26.4	16.5	17.7	25.3	100.0
1976	15.6	27.9	16.1	18.5	21.9	100.0
1981	18.4	29.2	16.4	18.1	17.9	100.0

Sources: *Population of New Zealand, Country Monograph Series No. 12, Vol. 2.* United Nations, 1985

Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981 Households and Families, Department of Statistics, 1984

The shrinking in the overall size of New Zealand households is also evident among Maori households. Between 1971 and 1981 the average size of Maori households declined from 5.1 to 4.2 persons per household. Despite the decreasing size of Maori households they are still on average larger than other New Zealand households, which had an average of 2.9 persons per household in 1981. The relatively high average size of Maori households is to a large extent due to the existence of larger family sizes, and a greater tendency to live in extended and multi-family households. In 1981, 39 percent of Maori households comprised 5 or more members, more than double the proportion for total households (18 percent).

The overall trend of a decrease in the size of New Zealand households has occurred for a number of reasons. First and foremost has been the substantial increase in the proportion of households consisting of 1 person. Second, the size of families has been getting smaller; and third, there has been a steady increase in the number of households comprising couples with no children. These are mainly young couples who have deferred childbearing and older couples whose children have left home.

Household Type

The myriad of changes that have impinged on New Zealand society over recent decades have resulted in substantial changes in the relative importance of different types of household structure. The overall trend has been away from the traditional value of familial dependence towards more people living alone or in single-parent families (refer Table 11.3). This trend is to some extent related to the decrease in the proportion of families where persons in addition to the nuclear family are present, and is also related to an age-structure change towards greater proportions of people in older age groups and hence (because of widowhood or divorce) living alone without dependent children.

One-Person Households

One of the most pronounced changes in the living arrangements of New Zealanders during the last 15–20 years has been the increase in the number of persons living alone. One-person households accounted for 18 percent of all households in 1981, as against 14 percent 10 years earlier. In absolute terms, the number of New Zealanders usually living alone rose from about 105,000 in 1971 to 169,000 in 1981.

Women make up the majority of lone dwellers. Sixty-one percent of all people living alone in 1981 were women, and well over half (58 percent) of these women were aged 65 or older—the majority of them widows. In contrast men living on their own, were more often aged 45–64 than 65 and over, and were more likely to be bachelors than widowers. Males were also present in much greater numbers and proportions in the younger age ranges (under 20, 20–24, and 25–44) than were females (refer Table

TABLE 11.3: Household type distribution, 1966-1981

Household type	Percentage of permanent private households			
	1966	1971	1976	1981
One family only	60.4	60.6	59.3	55.3
One family, child absent				
One family, parent permanently absent	8.6	8.9	9.6	10.6
One family, parent temporarily absent				
Total single family	69.0	69.5	68.9	65.9
One family plus others	11.1	9.5	7.7	7.8
Two families	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.3
Two families and others	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3
Total other family	12.5	11.0	9.4	9.5
Non-family, related and non-related	6.0	5.3	5.8	6.1
Permanent single person	12.5	14.1	15.6	18.5
Single person, others absent				
Total non-family	18.5	19.4	21.4	24.6
Total, all households	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Population of New Zealand, Country Monograph Series No 12, Vol 2*, United Nations, 1985

11.4). In other words, in New Zealand living alone is predominantly a lifestyle of elderly widowed women, and middle-aged bachelors.

The greatest increase in the numbers of persons living alone over the last decade has occurred in the older (65 and over) age group

TABLE 11.4: Persons living alone, 1971 and 1981 on census night

Census	Age group (years)				
	15-19	20-24	25-44	45-64	65 and over
			<i>Males</i>		
1971	690	3,010	10,140	15,160	12,830
1981	1,600	6,510	21,920	22,100	20,380
			<i>Females</i>		
1971	440	1,550	4,770	23,690	41,010
1981	1,470	4,600	11,650	29,920	65,730

Source: *Population Perspectives '81, New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981*, Department of Statistics, 1985

(refer Table 11.4). Part of this increase in the number of elderly persons occupying one-person households reflects the growth in the number of elderly persons in the population, particularly elderly women who have outlived their husbands. Much of the increase, however, has been due to the greater tendency of older

people to live alone. This tendency has been especially marked amongst elderly women. For instance, whereas 29 percent of women aged 65 and older lived on their own in 1971, by 1981 the proportion had increased to 37 percent. It has been suggested that this trend has been facilitated by deliberate government policy to provide suitable low-maintenance, low-cost pensioner housing units (Cameron, 1985). In view of the inevitable growth in the size of the elderly population in the coming decades, together with the growing propensity of elderly people to live alone, it is likely that we will see a rapid increase in the number of single-person households in the foreseeable future.

While in absolute terms the greatest increase in the number of persons living alone has occurred among the elderly, some of the most rapid rates of increase have been recorded among the young. In the 10 years from 1971, the numbers of persons living alone in New Zealand increased by just over 60 percent. So did the numbers of elderly persons living alone, while the numbers of young adults (aged under 25 years) living alone more than doubled. Changes in the numbers of young people, together with the increased likelihood that they are unmarried, account for part of this growth. However, the larger part of the increase cannot be explained by demographic shifts within the population and must reflect a real change in attitudes and choices of young New Zealanders in recent years.

A close look at the characteristics of young men living alone reveals little to distinguish them from their counterparts in other household types. Young women who live alone, however, form a more distinctive group. Their incomes are well above those of women in general, and they are more likely to have undergone tertiary training (Department of Statistics, 1985b). It would appear that a greater investment in higher education by women living alone has provided them with access to higher paying jobs, allowing them a choice of housing not shared by others.

Non-Family Households

Non-family households comprise only a small proportion of total households, a proportion which has not changed significantly since 1966 (refer Table 11.3). In 1981, 6 in every 100, or about 61,000 households were of the non-family type.

Non-family households generally denote a particular phase in the life of New Zealanders. Young adults form a large portion of these households, during the years between leaving their parents homes and the forming of their own family homes. To illustrate, in 1981 half of all people living in a non-family household were under 25 years of age; most described themselves as flatmates. As age advances, non-family living not only becomes less common but its form changes. Whereas flatting is the most common form of non-family living among younger adults, at older ages non-family households are more likely to be formed when a single man or woman takes in a lodger, boarder, housekeeper, or perhaps some relative as a companion (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Although the number of non-family dwellers grew steadily during the 1970s, from 106,300 in 1971 to 148,900 in 1981, the potential for growth was much greater than actually occurred. Indeed, during 1976–1981 the number of people living in a non-family household actually declined when compared to the number who could have chosen this form of living (Department of Statistics, 1985b). The information available suggests that non-family living is not favoured long-term by many New Zealanders, and that they will not choose this lifestyle if there are available alternatives.

Family Households

In 1981, 3 in 4, or about 757,000 households, were the family type. These contained around 775,000 families. Overall, about 81 percent of New Zealanders were living as members of families on census night in 1981, as against 82 percent 15 years earlier (refer Table 11.5).

While the proportion of the population living in families has changed little in recent times, the experience of family living in New Zealand has been altered by a variety of demographic and social changes. The changes gaining most prominence and widest note have been those leading people away from the conventional New Zealand family of two parents and their child or children, towards other forms of family life.

'Conventional' Two-Parent Families

Households comprising a husband, wife and children make up a decreasing number and proportion of New Zealand households.

TABLE 11.5: Persons living in families, 1966-81

Living arrangement	Percentage of the total population living in families			
	1966	1971	1976	1981
Persons of all ages living in families	82	..	83	81
Adults (20+ years) living in families	..	..	79	76
Persons of all ages living in family households	87	87	86	84
Adults (20+ years) living in family households	..	..	81	80

Source: *Population Perspectives '81*; *New Zealand Census of Population and Dwellings, 1981*, Vol. 12, Department of Statistics, 1985

Between 1976 and 1981 households of this type declined in number by about 11,000. In 1976, they accounted for about 50 percent of all family households, but by 1981 this proportion had fallen to 46 percent.

In addition to becoming fewer in number, households comprised of a couple plus children have become smaller in size, as 1- and 2-child families have gained in popularity. The proportion of 2-parent family households with 3 or more children dropped sharply from 29 percent in 1971 to 21 percent in 1981. Although larger families are becoming a less visible feature of New Zealand society, they are relatively more common in certain parts of the country and among certain groups in the population. Large families are more likely to be found in rural than in urban communities, in Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian households and in households maintained by unemployed persons. Census data indicate that large family households have lower incomes on average than other households. Indeed, it has been shown that income adequacy is strongly related to the number of children in a family (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

Among 2-parent family households, couples with pre-school children stand out as a particularly important group. Compared with families in general, they are less likely to own their own homes, and more likely to be concentrated at the lower end of the income distribution. In 1981, almost two thirds (64 percent) of families with a child under 5 had an income of \$10,150 or less, as against 50 percent of all families. Mothers of young children have also been found to have less leisure time and a lower level of physical and mental health than mothers of older children (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

One-Parent Families

The fastest growing family type in the recent past has been the single-parent family. From about 55,000 in 1971, single-parent families grew in numbers to 70,000 by 1976 and 90,000 by 1981. At this time (1981), about 1 in every 8 families was a one-parent family, and 8 percent of the population were members of such a family. It is important to note that these figures refer to living circumstances at a particular time. In reality people move into and out of single-parent families, so that many more will have passed through such families than might be suggested by the figures. It has been estimated that over a third of children in New Zealand will spend some time in a 1-parent family before the age of 16 (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

The rapid growth of single-parent families in New Zealand in recent times is largely attributable to the rising incidence of divorce and separation. As recently as 1976, marriage ending through the death of a spouse was the major factor in single parenthood. By the beginning of the 1980s separation and divorce, resulting in part from high levels of pre-marital conception and precipitated marriage by young adults in the 1960s and early 1970s, had become much more important factors. Indeed, from 1976–1981 separation and divorce increased the number of single parent families by about 18,900.

A further factor promoting the recent increase in single-parent families has been unmarried motherhood. From a total of 4,640 in 1976 the numbers of never-married single mothers more than doubled to 9,470 in 1981 as they became more inclined to keep children who in earlier times would have been placed for adoption.

As separation, divorce and ex-nuptial birth have replaced spouses' death as the major factor in the formation of single-parent families, single parents today are more likely to be young and have dependent children in their care. A disproportionately large number of single parents are Maori women. Single-parent families have lower incomes, fewer amenities, and are less likely to own their own homes than families in general. (For a fuller discussion on single-parent families refer Chapter 13.)

Husband and Wife Families

Husband and wife only households have been the other major growth area in family households in recent times. Between 1971 and 1981 the number of households consisting of a husband and

wife alone with no other persons present increased from about 154,000 to 206,000. By 1981, these households accounted for 27 percent of family households, compared with 24 percent 10 years earlier. About 1 in every 5 adults aged 15 years and older was a member of a husband-and-wife-only household at the time of the 1981 Census.

This rise in the number and proportion of households occupied by couples on their own reflects in part the general ageing of New Zealand's population. During the 1970s large numbers of women entered the age range where childrearing is complete or no longer an option. From a total of 198,000 in 1971, the group of women aged 60 years and over increased by about 27 percent to reach 251,200 in 1981. New Zealand men are also living longer extending the length of time elderly couples can expect to live together before one partner dies. Added to these changes elderly couples are less likely to be sharing their homes with other people. During 1971-1981 the proportion of elderly couples who had children with them appeared to decline steadily. So too did the numbers sharing their homes with persons other than their children. Two factors would appear to be important here. First, variations in the ages at which different groups of the elderly completed their childbearing several decades previously: women now approaching old age will have completed childrearing earlier in their life cycles than those who were elderly in previous decades. And second, improvements in the economic fortunes of both young and old, allowing different generations of a family to maintain separate households.

The other main factor facilitating the increase in husband-and-wife-only households has been the rapid growth in numbers of young couples aged between 25 and 44 living alone. Households occupied by such couples increased in number by approximately 70 percent from 1971-1981. This is partly an age-structure effect, reflecting the movement into adulthood during the 1970s of large numbers of people born during the post-war baby boom. But 2 other factors are important: the increasing numbers of young couples who have decided to postpone having children until later in their marriages or who have decided to remain childfree; and the growth in numbers of post-parental couples aged in their late thirties or early forties.

In short, the rising prominence of the husband-and-wife-only household is the product of several trends: the general ageing of

the population, which has shifted large numbers into the ages at which life without children is likely; changes in birth patterns amongst young adults; and an affluence which allows more choice as to whether housing will be shared with others or not. Over the next decade the number of households occupied by couples whose children have left home will almost certainly increase, and the number occupied by childless couples decrease.

Other Family Households

The proportion of households which might be classed as alternative (not one-family-only) decreased from 12.5 percent of all family households in 1966 to 11.0 percent in 1971, and 9.8 percent in 1976, but rose again to 12.6 percent in 1981. The decrease was actually due to the decrease in households containing persons in addition to a single family, multi-family households increased over this period.

Multiple- or extended-family living tends to be much more common among Maoris than non-Maoris. This is most probably so for a number of reasons. Cultural reasons are undoubtedly important, particularly in regard to extended family living. Socio-economic reasons are also likely to have been important in the growth of multiple-family living. While in 1981 25 percent of Maoris lived in a family household with other persons, only 12 percent of non-Maoris did so. These would be family households with other relatives (such as grandparents or cousins) present, or with other unrelated persons. Similarly, Maoris had higher proportions living in households containing two or more families—12 percent compared with 3 percent for non-Maoris.

Pacific Island Polynesians in New Zealand also have a relatively high incidence of extended-and multiple-family living. Just under a third (31 percent) of Pacific Island Polynesian households fell into the other family category (family households plus others, and 2 or more families in the 1 household) in 1981. This relatively high tendency toward extended- and multiple-family living amongst Polynesians is reflected in larger than average households. Pacific Island Polynesian households contained an average of 4.7 members in 1981, compared with 3.2 for other households.

Non-Private Households

Private households account for the great majority of the New Zealand population. Non-private households make up the balance. Non-private households are made up of groups of people living in institutions and group living quarters that cater for a large number of generally unrelated people. Examples are hotels, motels, hospitals, rest homes, hostels and boarding houses. In 1981, almost 5 percent of the total population were living in a non-private dwelling of one sort or another.

Traditionally, non-private dwellings have tended to be populated by more men than women. In 1966, about 60 percent of the residents in group situations were male. Through the 1970s this dominance declined as an increasing number of elderly women moved into rest homes and hospitals, and more women in their teens and early twenties moved into training institutions. By 1981, women made up 44 percent of all residents of non-private dwellings.

12 Children

Introduction

Over the last 100 years New Zealand's population has been undergoing a long and gradual transition from youth to maturity. One of the most obvious effects of the transition has been a decline in the relative share of children in the population. The decline has been especially pronounced since the early 1970s. In 1971 children aged 0-14 years comprised almost a third (31.9 percent) of the total New Zealand population, but by 1986 the proportion had declined to less than a quarter (24.4 percent) of the total. Never before has the child proportion been so low. In the past, children under 15 years of age have rarely comprised less than 30 percent of the total population.

The decline in the child component of New Zealand's population has occurred primarily as a result of declining birth rates. These have had the effect of reducing the proportion of children relative to adults in the population. The marked drop in the proportion of children since the early 1970s reflects the movement of the baby boom generation out of the 0-14 age group into the working ages, and their replacement by smaller proportions of children resulting from the sharp fall in fertility since 1961.

Future trends in the child component of the population will depend primarily on the future course of fertility. Given a continuation of the significant social and economic changes experienced in recent decades, such as the reduced incidence of marriage, the development of alternative living arrangements, postponement of marriages to later ages, improved contraceptive technology, liberalised divorce laws and increases in the participation of women in the labour force it is most unlikely that New Zealand fertility will return to its previous high levels. A continuation of sub-replacement-level fertility would mean that the child proportion of the population would remain low over the next few decades. Indeed, official projections indicate that the proportion of children will

continue to decline over the next 25 years, from the 1986 level of 24.4 percent to about 18.5 percent in the year 2011.

Age Structure

An important aspect of the declining prominence of children over the last two decades has been the substantial reduction in actual numbers of children. Since 1966 the number of children aged 0–14 years has decreased by 77,414, from 872,399 to 794,985. This decline has spread through each of the age groups comprising the under-15 category, and is of particular importance in the context of provision of facilities and services for children.

The most marked decline in child numbers has occurred among the pre-school age group (0–4 years). From a peak of 306,643 in 1966, the pre-school population has declined steadily in numbers. By 1986, 0–4 year olds numbered 249,075, almost 57,600 fewer than in 1966 (306,643), and comprised 7.6 percent of the total population. This proportion was lower than the previously recorded low level of 7.8 percent in 1936.

Declines in the numbers of children aged 5–14 years did not become apparent until the late 1970s. Between the 1976 and 1986 censuses, the 5–14 year age group recorded a numerical decrease of around 85,400, from 631,331 to 545,910. By 1986 children aged 5–14 years accounted for 16.7 percent of the total population, compared with 20.3 percent 10 years earlier.

Official projections for the 0–4 and 5–14 age groups indicate that there will be a brief upsurge in the youngest ages in the early 1990s as a result of increased birth numbers consequent upon greater numbers of young adults in the main reproductive ages. This effect will be carried forward into the 5–14 age group in the late 1990s and the early twenty-first century. By the year 2011 it is projected that children aged 0–14 years will number around 709,600, approximately 85,400 fewer than in 1986. At this time (2011) the numbers of children could decline almost to equal the numbers of elderly (60 years and over) for the first time ever in New Zealand.

Ethnic Composition

At present, children of Maori descent comprise a disproportionately large share of New Zealand's child population. In 1986

Maori children numbered 155,100 and accounted for almost a fifth (19.5 percent) of the total population of 0–14 year olds; this compares with an overall representation of Maoris in the total population of 12.4 percent. The relatively high representation of Maoris in the child component of New Zealand's population is explained by 3 main factors: the higher fertility levels of Maori compared with non-Maori women; the greater concentration of Maori women at the prime reproductive ages; and the high level of Maori and non-Maori intermarriage in recent decades (Bedford and Pool, 1985).

Despite the high fertility potential of the Maori population—a consequence of the heavy concentration of Maori women in the main reproductive ages—the population of Maori-descent children is not expected to change substantially over the coming decade. It has been projected that by the turn of the century Maori-descent children will number about 157,000 (around 2,000 fewer than in 1986), and account for approximately 20.1 percent of the total population of 0–14 year olds in New Zealand (Pool, 1986).

Living Arrangements

The vast majority of children in New Zealand—about 9 in every 10—are born into families with 2 parents. Of particular importance however, is the number of children born into single-parent families. This has increased substantially in recent years as unmarried mothers have become more inclined to keep children who in earlier times would have been placed for adoption. Indeed, the experience of being born into a single-parent family is now more common than ever in New Zealand's history (Carmichael, 1983). In 1981 there were 9,470 single-parent families maintained by women who had never been married—almost double the number recorded in 1976 (4,640). Typically, children in these families are raised by young mothers with limited resources—over a quarter of the mothers in 1981 were aged under 20 years, and about 61 percent were less than 25 years old.

Of those children born into 2-parent families, not all remain in these families for the remainder of their childhood. Some subsequently experience a change of family circumstances, often as a result of a marriage breakup, leading them to spend time in a single-parent family. Over the last 15 years the rise in the incidence of marital separation and divorce has increased the number

of families disrupted by a marriage breakup, shifting large numbers of children out of 2-parent families and into 1-parent families. This is reflected in the rapid growth in numbers of single parent families maintained by a separated or divorced parent. These families totalled 45,810 in 1981, an increase of about 18,900 on the 1976 number. It should be noted that these figures relate to particular points in time. In reality families move into and out of single-parent situations, so that many more families will have experienced such a situation than might be suggested by the evidence available. Overall, it has been estimated that about 38 percent of children born in 1977 could expect to spend some time in a 1-parent family by the age of 16; and that well over half of the children born into a 1-parent family, or one where the parents are not legally married, could expect to experience at least 2 changes of family circumstances (change from 1 to 2 parents or vice versa) by the same age (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

The likelihood of experiencing life in a single-parent family varies between different ethnic groups. It is particularly high for Maori children. At the time of the 1981 census around 18 percent of Maori children under the age of 15 years were living in 1-parent families, compared with fewer than 12 percent of non-Maori children (refer Table 12.1). The higher Maori proportion is due to the higher levels of ex-nuptial fertility for Maori women; the greater incidence of marital separation and divorce among the Maori population; and the higher likelihood of widowhood of Maori men and women compared to their non-Maori counterparts (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

TABLE 12.1: Percentage of Maori and non-Maori children of different ages living in one-parent families, 1981

<i>Age group of child (years)</i>	<i>Maori population</i>	<i>Non-Maori population</i>
0-4	17.7	9.0
5-9	17.7	11.2
10-14	17.9	12.1

Source: Maori Statistical Profile, 1961-86, Department of Statistics, 1986

The growing numbers of New Zealand's dependent children experiencing life in single-parent families is of particular significance when viewed in relation to the many social and economic disadvantages suffered by these families. Overwhelmingly, single-parent families are headed by women (about four fifths in 1981)

and these women are likely to be younger than were the heads of single-parent families in the past (Carmichael, 1983). The evidence suggests that the standard of living of single-parent families today is considerably lower than that of two-parent families. This is reflected in lower incomes, access to fewer amenities (such as a car, phone or washing machine), and lower levels of home ownership of single-parent families (Mowbray and Khan, 1984). Furthermore, single parent families have been associated with a variety of other social trends, many of which are viewed as unfavourable. These include juvenile crime, low educational attainment, financial stress and a high susceptibility to ill health and accidents (Social Monitoring Group, 1985). It is not clear, however, how social and economic factors operate in these trends.

Education

In New Zealand educational attendance is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 15 years. Before they start compulsory education at primary school, however, many children obtain pre-school educational experience from a range of institutions including kindergartens, playcentres, Te Kohanga Reo and childcare centres.

The demand on the services of pre-school institutions has grown steadily since the early 1970s. This is reflected in increased enrolments and in the proliferation of formal and informal schemes. A total of 88,344 children were enrolled in early childhood care and education services of all types in late 1983. The largest categories were free kindergarten (45 percent) and playcentres (16 percent).

The main area of growth in pre-school education over the last two decades has been in kindergartens. Despite declining birth numbers enrolments in kindergartens have increased by about 72 percent since 1970. Other types of pre-school services whose enrolments have risen include childcare centres, family daycare and Te Kohanga Reo. Playcentre rolls on the other hand, have declined by over ten percent since 1970. Informal playgroups and community-based pre-school groups have also seen a drop in numbers of children involved in recent years.

At present, the proportion of pre-school children enrolled in pre-school institutions in New Zealand stands at about 48 percent at 2½ years of age, 53 percent at 3 years old and 85 percent at 4 years old. On the surface these figures compare well internationally, especially for 4-year-olds. However, they are somewhat

inflated by the tendency of some children to use 2 or more services at the same time. It has been suggested that the true figures for enrolment are probably closer to a third of 3-year-olds and two thirds of 4-year-olds (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

Despite the growing numbers of children enrolled in early childhood services, there is still a significant proportion of children who start primary school without any pre-school experience of an educational nature. In New Zealand, as overseas, it has been shown that children from higher socio-economic groups make more use of pre-school services than other groups. Those least likely to receive continuous pre-school education from the age of 3 years include Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian children; children from large families; children from families with low incomes or depressed living standards and children with less well educated mothers (Department of Statistics, 1985b; Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

Although schooling is not compulsory until 6 years of age, in practice most children are enrolled at school as soon as they reach their fifth birthday. Some children have needs which require special educational programmes. These needs may arise from physical disabilities, such as impaired sight or hearing, or from learning difficulties related to social, psychological or behavioural problems. The education system provides a wide range of alternatives aimed at meeting the special needs of these children. While most special needs programmes are provided within the normal day-school structure, in some cases children are referred to special residential schools. Of the 9,773 pupils who were in special educational settings during 1983, only 867 (9 percent) were in special residential schools. This reflects the current educational policy of mainstreaming wherever possible.

The proportion of Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian children in special educational programmes for children with learning difficulties is high and has risen in recent years. For instance, in a review of special education in the late 1970s it was found that the incidence of Maori children in special classes in normal schools was 4 times greater than expected (Social Monitoring Group, 1987). The reasons why the proportion of Maori and Polynesian children in special education settings is so high is not clear. It has been suggested that the learning difficulties of these children may reflect inadequate access to primary health care and good quality pre-school education; or selective definitions of educational attainment

and ability based upon cultural mis-understanding and racial stereotyping (Social Monitoring Group, 1987).

Criminal Offending

The number of children (under 15 years of age) appearing in the Children and Young Persons Courts for offences against the law has ranged between 1,800 and 2,000 since 1980. The pattern of juvenile offending as measured by Children and Young Persons Court appearances increases with age, rising sharply between 13 and 14 years. This sharp rise can be explained to some extent by procedural factors. There is a greater tendency to use a complaint action (involving parents) rather than prosecute 13-year-olds.

Male teenagers account for a large share of Children and Young Persons Court appearances; 4 in every 5 offenders in 1984 were males under the age of 15 years. For both males and females, unlawful taking of property is the leading type of offence. Over three quarters of all cases involving juvenile offenders (under 15 years of age) in 1984 concerned stealing. The next most common types of offences, each accounting for under 6 percent of cases, were wilful damage, violence against the person and offences against good order. This pattern of offences has not changed greatly over recent years.

Juvenile offending is higher among Maori than non-Maori teenagers, and is particularly high among Maori boys. Almost half (46.5 percent) of all offenders under 15 years in 1984 were Maori boys. Together, Maori boys and girls accounted for 60 percent of Children and Young Persons Court appearances in that year. The high incidence of juvenile offending among Maoris has been shown to be related to race and socio-economic status—members of lower socio-economic groups have a higher risk of both offending and reoffending (Fergusson *et al*, 1975). Several reasons have been suggested for this. For instance, official agents may react differently or in a biased manner toward non-Europeans. As the majority of offences are concerned with property, different cultural values may be operating to cause a mismatch in the way offences are viewed. However, it is also possible that further, less measurable factors are operating, including socio-economic inequities and the breakdown of traditional values and sanctions, due to urbanisation and subsequent dislocation.

In addition to offenders against the law, the Children and Young Persons Court deals with complaints relating to children. These include complaints of neglect or ill-treatment of children, truancy, children beyond control or failure to exercise parental duty. By far the largest number of complaints coming to the attention of the courts each year are of children beyond control. Complaints of this type accounted for 44.1 percent of the 1,845 complaints dealt with in 1984. The main outcome of beyond control complaints are supervision orders and committing the child to the care of the Department of Social Welfare. Over 73 percent of the complaints were dealt with in this way in 1984.

A high proportion of children judged beyond control are Maori children—45.5 percent in 1984. Once in Department of Social Welfare care, Maori children are much more likely to be admitted to some form of institutional care than their non-Maori counterparts. The Ministerial Advisory Committee report on institutional racism (1985) showed that 62 percent of children in residential homes in the Auckland area were Maori. Further, the population in institutions who are Maori appears to have been rising. In 1959, Maori children made up 25 percent of boys admitted to the Owairaka Boys Home. By 1969 the proportion had risen to 70 percent, and by 1978 to 80 percent (Social Monitoring Group, 1987).

Morbidity and Mortality

Vulnerability to ill health is particularly high in the first 12 months of a child's life. This is reflected in admission rates to hospitals which are high for infants but decline rapidly with increasing age. Total infant admission rates have risen about one third since 1978. The reason for the increase is unclear. It seems unlikely that it is due to real changes in health, though this cannot be excluded. It appears more likely that the increase is due to changes in medical practice. This explanation is supported by the fact that the average length of stay per patient has decreased from 6.8 days in 1978 to 5.3 days in 1984, whilst the ratio of re-admissions to first admissions appears to have increased. This indicates that although young children are staying for shorter periods of time per admission, their chances of being re-admitted in the same year have increased (Social Monitoring Group, 1987).

Hospitalisation is more likely if an infant is a male, and extremely likely if an infant is Maori. The admission rate of Maori infants to public hospitals has been consistently twice the non-Maori rate for a number of years, and has been increasing. In 1984, for instance, there were 8,417 hospital admissions of Maori infants for every 10,000 Maori infants. The comparable figure for non-Maoris was 3,726 for every 10,000 non-Maori infants. Maori admission rates are especially high for acute respiratory infections, pneumonia and chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases (including asthma).

The main causes of deaths in under 1-year-olds in New Zealand are cot deaths or sudden infant death syndrome, respiratory illness and gastroenteritis. These have all been associated with lifestyle factors. Cot death is the leading cause of death for both Maori and non-Maori babies. (A more detailed discussion of infant mortality trends is included in Chapter 3.)

Health problems decrease sharply after infancy. The hospitalisation rate drops dramatically for both Maori and non-Maori children. However, considerable differences between male and female, and Maori and non-Maori rates persist. Hospitalisation remains more common for boys and Maori children, and this applies for almost all conditions. Respiratory disorders are major reasons for the admission of young children to hospitals. In 1985 acute respiratory infections, other diseases of the upper respiratory tract, pneumonia and chronic obstructive pulmonary disorders accounted for 25.3 percent of all admissions of children aged 1-14 years. With increasing age however, accidents, fractures and lacerations are more frequently the reasons for admission. Together these incidents account for almost a quarter of the children aged 5-14 years, admitted to public hospitals each year.

Accidents, particularly motor vehicle accidents, are a major cause of childhood mortality in New Zealand. Amongst pre-school children, accidents accounted for 41 percent of all deaths in 1985. Congenital anomalies are the second leading cause of death in this age group (16 percent in 1985). Although not usually considered a childhood disease, malignant neoplasms (cancer) are the main non-accidental cause of death of children aged 1-4 years.

The 5-14 year age group has the lowest mortality of all age groups in the population. This is an age when many have passed the stage of early childhood and birth-related diseases but have not

entered the age group with higher mortality due to work environment and motor vehicle accidents. Still, at this young age, accidental death is the principal cause of death, accounting for almost half of all deaths (47.8 percent in 1985), followed by cancer.

Health Care

Children in New Zealand are entitled to a range of specific types of routine health care checks at certain ages. It is important that these checks are repeated at different ages because some handicaps are more easily detected at certain ages than at others and defects such as vision and hearing may change as the child grows older. The proportion of infants reported to be examined in the first year of life by doctors is high at birth but declines sharply thereafter. At birth, 80–100 percent of infants are screened but at 9 months old fewer than a quarter have the recommended medical examination (Department of Health, 1983a).

Immunisation against various illnesses is also recommended for children at different ages. In 1977, national and district immunisation levels were unacceptably low. Since then the national percentage of children immunised has improved for almost all scheduled immunisations (Department of Health, 1983a). Despite this overall improvement, however, low rates still persist among certain groups. These include children belonging to non-European and 1-parent families, and families with depressed living standards (Social Monitoring Group, 1985).

13 Solo Parents

Introduction

One of the most widely discussed changes in family life in recent times has been that of the rise in 1-parent families. Solo-parent families are not a new phenomenon in New Zealand. It has been suggested that last century and early this century it was probably at least as common for children to have a parent die as it now is for them to have legally married parents separate (Carmichael, 1983). Solo parenthood can come about in three different ways: through marital breakdown (either separation or divorce); through an ex-nuptial birth; or through widowhood. Whatever the cause, solo parenthood is a situation, not a status. Many solo parents were once married and will remarry. In recent years, it has been the increase in the number of marital breakdowns as well as a rise in the number of ex-nuptial confinements that have contributed most to the growth in numbers of people experiencing life in single-parent families in New Zealand.

Growth in Single Parent Families

Between 1971 and 1981 the number of single-parent families grew at a much faster rate than families in general. From around 50,000–55,000 in 1971, the number of 1-parent families (with a permanently absent parent on census night) rose to 70,000 in 1976 and further still to about 90,000 in 1981. At that time (1981) solo-parent families made up about 12 percent of all families in New Zealand (refer Table 13.1).

Underlying this rapid growth in numbers of single-parent families have been several important demographic trends. First and foremost among these has been the rise in the number of marital breakdowns resulting in part from high levels of pre-marital conception and precipitated marriage by teenagers and young adults in the

TABLE 13.1: One parent families 1976-1981

<i>One-parent families</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1981</i>
<i>Number of families</i>	70,000	89,960
<i>Average number of members per family</i>	2.9	2.8
<i>Number of persons living in families</i>	203,000	252,000
<i>Percentage of usually resident population living in families</i>	7.0	8.0

Source: Population Perspectives '81, Department of Statistics, 1985

1960s and early 1970s. This carried with it the potential for shifting large numbers of persons out of 2-parent families and into 1-parent families. At the beginning of the 1970s, divorces had increased to about 6,000 per year. A liberalisation of the divorce laws in 1980 eased the path to formally ending a marriage. In absolute numbers, the 1970s saw a very big increase in the population who were divorced. While in 1971, some 11,000 men and 15,000 women were divorced persons, in 1981 their numbers had risen to 26,000 men and 34,000 women (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Marital breakdown resulting in separation only of the marriage partners has been a further source of 1-parent families, as one household has undoubled to create 2 new households, either of which has had the potential to be a 1-parent family household. During the 1970s, the rate of marital separation increased, so that in 1981 3.5 percent of the population 16 years and over were permanently separated, up from 1.4 percent in 1971.

The formation of 1-parent families during the 1970s was further promoted by a general increase in the average age of first marriage and changes in attitudes and practices in regard to ex-nuptial births and adoptions. In general terms, fewer married couples available to have children, and more unmarried women at risk of having ex-nuptial births, has meant more 1-parent families. In 1971, a total of 9,000 births were classed as ex-nuptial. By 1985, this had risen to 12,921 births despite a fall in the overall birth rate during this time. As the number of ex-nuptial births increased, fewer of these babies were made available for adoption. Whereas in 1971 around 3,000 adoptions of ex-nuptial children took place, by 1981 ex-nuptial adoptions totalled little more than a third of this figure. Much of the increase in ex-nuptial births, as well as the fall in adoptions, can be attributed to the increase in de facto marriage and its wider

community acceptance. Nevertheless, the choice of many unmarried women to keep their babies has been facilitated by changed social attitudes towards unmarried motherhood, coupled with changes in social welfare support structures, particularly the introduction of the domestic purposes benefit in 1973.

Another factor in the creation of the 1-parent family is widowhood. During the 1970s the proportion of the population who were widowed remained relatively stable. While widowhood has remained a source of solo parent families, it cannot be said to have added substantially to the increase in the number of solo-parent families over the past decade.

One further trend which has perhaps promoted the growth of 1-parent families in recent times has been the decline in remarriage of widowed and divorced persons. For both men and women, the likelihood of remarrying fell during the 1970s—except for widowed women who, showed no change in their propensity to remarry (Department of Statistics, 1985b).

Demographic Characteristics

Solo-parent families comprise a small proportion of all families. Their importance revolves around the fact that they are disproportionately represented among families with dependent children.

In 1981 solo parents represented 8 percent of all family households, but 14 percent of households with dependent children; up from 10 percent in 1976.

Particularly noteworthy with regard to solo parents is the fact that they do not form a homogeneous group but fall into 3 distinct categories, distinguished by stage of life cycle. Firstly there are mothers of ex-nuptial children—the majority of these unmarried mothers are under 25 years old and many have pre-school children. Secondly, there are mothers and fathers who have become solo parents through marital breakdown. They are older on average than mothers of ex-nuptial children and more likely to have children of school age. The third group comprises widows and widowers who are much older—about two thirds are aged 40 and older. Not surprisingly, their children tend to be older than those of solo parents in the first two groups (refer Table 13.2).

As separation, divorce and ex-nuptial births have become increasingly important, relative to widowhood in the formation of solo-parent families, single parents have become more likely to be

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

Age of youngest child (years)	Mother's marital status				
	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: Income and expenditure of solo-parent families and 2-parent families, 1981			
Income and expenditure (per week)	Solo-parent families (1)	2-parent families (2)	Ratio (1)/(2)
Family income	1,450	2,000	0.73
Family expenditure	1,250	1,750	0.71
Family income less expenditure	200	250	0.80
Family income less expenditure as a percentage of family income	13.8	12.5	1.10
Family income less expenditure as a percentage of family expenditure	16.0	14.3	1.12
Family income less expenditure as a percentage of family income less expenditure	20.0	20.0	1.00

The lower income of solo-parent 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

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

<i>Census</i>	<i>Number unemployed</i>	<i>Unemployed rate</i>
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}

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

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

³Because 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)		1966 ¹	Census year 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

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

²Unemployed 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 to 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

¹Respondents 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 than 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
<i>Persons normally living alone</i>					
Male	5,530	5,830	5,600	4,230	3,290
Female	11,970	17,230	18,100	15,160	14,070
<i>Persons normally living alone as a percentage of all persons in the same age-sex group</i>					
Male	9	11	15	18	19
Female	18	29	37	45	39
<i>Persons normally living alone as a percentage of not married persons in the same age-sex group</i>					
Male	52	57	62	50 ¹	
Female	54	65	66	53 ¹	

¹Aged 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 asymptotically 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

¹Including earnings-related accident compensation

²Including 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)			Total
	0-14	15-64	65 and over	
			\$	
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

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THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

An Analysis of Submissions

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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	
New Zealand Educational Institute.	
0267	
Notes:	8 p. Anti-user pays.
Keywords:	Self Esteem Primary Education Equal Opportunities Funding Efficiency Special Education User Pays Teacher Training Multicultural Education 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
<i>Written</i>	3890	65.00
<i>Freephone</i>	811	13.60
<i>Taped</i>	3	0.05
<i>Oral</i>	775	13.00
<i>Written and oral</i>	258	4.00
<i>Written and freephone</i>	168	3.00
<i>Unspecified</i>	63	1.00
<i>Total</i>	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
<i>Individual</i>	4116	68.9
<i>Informal group</i>	307	5.1
<i>Voluntary group</i>	702	11.8
<i>Government dept.</i>	81	1.4
<i>Private sector</i>	34	0.6
<i>State-owned enterprise</i>	2	0.03
<i>Local authority</i>	126	2.1
<i>Trade union</i>	218	3.7
<i>Religious group</i>	83	1.4
<i>Other</i>	148	2.5
<i>Not specified</i>	151	2.5
<i>Total</i>	5968	100.03

TABLE 4: Type of organisation by region

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

Continued

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

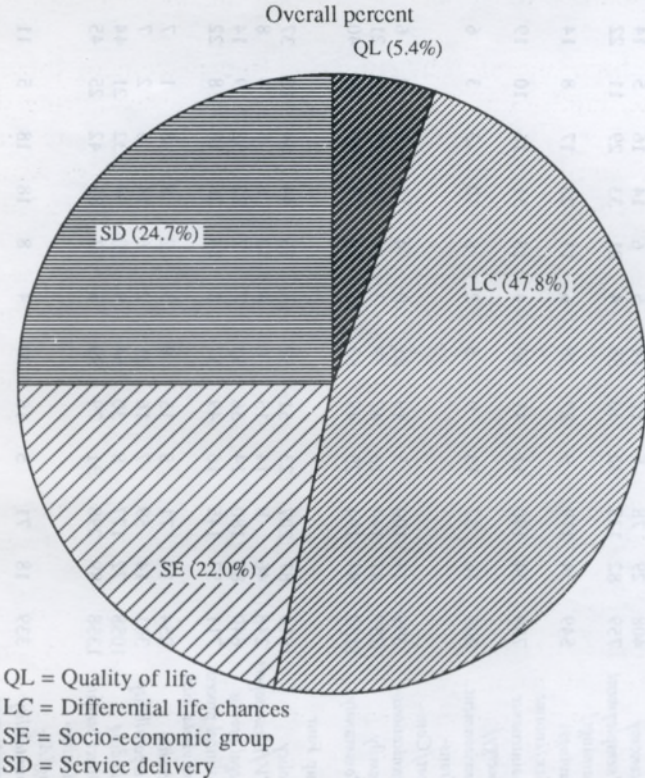
Group Three																								
Migration	249	15	55	1	7	12	1	1	7	8	4	11	4	85	0	3	2	2	12	2	1	9	9	
Economy	408	29	78	6	17	14	5	6	14	16	5	14	5	105	5	14	2	0	33	8	3	15	14	
Unemployment	759	82	135	32	30	55	4	21	33	29	11	22	7	107	5	31	13	5	64	18	3	27	25	
Earnings/ Savings	549	34	119	9	27	28	6	11	23	17	8	14	10	122	3	12	3	4	51	8	3	19	17	
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	
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	
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	
Family	757	47	144	16	47	79	3	14	38	19	13	21	12	127	12	25	8	7	67	9	0	33	18	
Community	1132	84	194	25	49	63	11	29	39	40	28	40	15	230	18	39	14	12	92	18	8	52	32	
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	
TV/Newspapers	248	46	8	14	15	0	4	12	6	5	4	8	32	2	7	4	5	21	3	1	5	6	2	
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	
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	
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	
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	
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	
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	
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	
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 well-being 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 than 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 that's 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 one's community is more appropriate to traditional Maori culture than formulating a written opinion on an issue. Therefore, concerns about non-adherence 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 else's 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 Tairāwhiti 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

		<i>Date</i>	<i>Major groups present</i>	<i>Numbers attending</i>	<i>Formal submissions</i>	<i>Type of meeting</i>
1	Burnell Place, Wellington	21.3.87	National Executive, Maori Women's Welfare League	20		Informal
2	Murihiku, Invercargill	4.5.87	Kati Mamoe Kai Tahu Matua Whangai 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 Maori Women's Welfare League Ministry of Women's Affairs Maori Wardens Assoc. (S.1) 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 Dept. Maori Affairs Dept. Internal Affairs M.W.W.L. Nga Hau e Wha Matua Whangai	55	13	Hearing
7	Takahanga, Kaikoura	22.5.87	Ngati Kuri	16		Informal
8	Omaka, Blenheim	26.5.87	Rangitane Ngati Kuia M.W.W.L. C.A.B Matua Whangai Health Dept	75	30	Hearing
9	Waipatu, Hastings	28.5.87	Te Runanganui o Kahungunu Matua Whangai Rongomaiwahine Nga Tama-a-Rangi Kindergarten Teachers Association 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

		<i>Date</i>	<i>Major groups present</i>	<i>Numbers attending</i>	<i>Formal submissions</i>	<i>Type of meeting</i>
11	Hato Petera, Auckland	9.6.87	Hato Petera Auckland District Maori Council Te Ngahurutanga Onepoto House Kohanga Reo D.S.W Auckland Regional Council Carrington Polytechnic	64	11	Hearing
12	Tumahourangi, Rotorua	16.6.87	Whanau o Ngati Whakaaue Te Arawa Trust Board Tuhoe Trust Board Minginui Kaingaroa	34	15	Hearing
13	Tamatea-Pokai— Whenua, Judea, Tauranga	18.6.87	Ngati Ranginui Tauranga Moana Trust Board Maori Affairs Dept Tuwhera Trust Kohanga Reo	35	23	Hearing
14	Terenga Paraoa, Whangarei	24.6.87	Kaumatua Committee Marae Trustees Maori Health Service Development Group Ngati Wai Unemployed, Beneficiaries Union. Maunu Health Camp Combined Churches 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

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

Schedule of Marae Visits

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

Schedule of Marae Visits

	<i>Date</i>	<i>Major groups present</i>	<i>Numbers attending</i>	<i>Formal submissions</i>	<i>Type of meeting</i>
30 Taihoa, Wairoa	19.11.87	Wairoa Council Community Affairs. Nth Clyde School. C.W.I Wairoa College Matua Whangai Dept. of Maori Affairs Community Child Care Centre.	40	17	Hearing
31 Hiruharama, Ruatoria	21.11.87	Ngati Porou Housing Corp. Dept. Maori Affairs	250		Dedication Papakainga Housing
32 Rahui Tikitiki	21-22.11.87	Te Runanga o Ngati Porou. Tairawhiti District Maori Council. Waipu Hospital Board Ngati Porou Outdoor Pursuits. Te Reo Irirangi o Ngati Porou. 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 Huakina Development Trust. Ngati Tama-oho	45	14	Hearing
35 Manuariki	12.1.88	Kotahitanga Church Building Society. 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 Turan-gawaewae 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 kau-matua who spends a great deal of time with the children.' Speaking at Waipatu, Te Oraitī 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 inoculation 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 communities. 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 Kaurumua 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, *Whaingā 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 Puaote-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: Kai-moana 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 where 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 reciprocal 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 (Tikiti) 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 proprietary 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 wellbeing. 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 working 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 alienation 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 strengthened 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 consensus) 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 on-going 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.
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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.
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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 band-aids 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

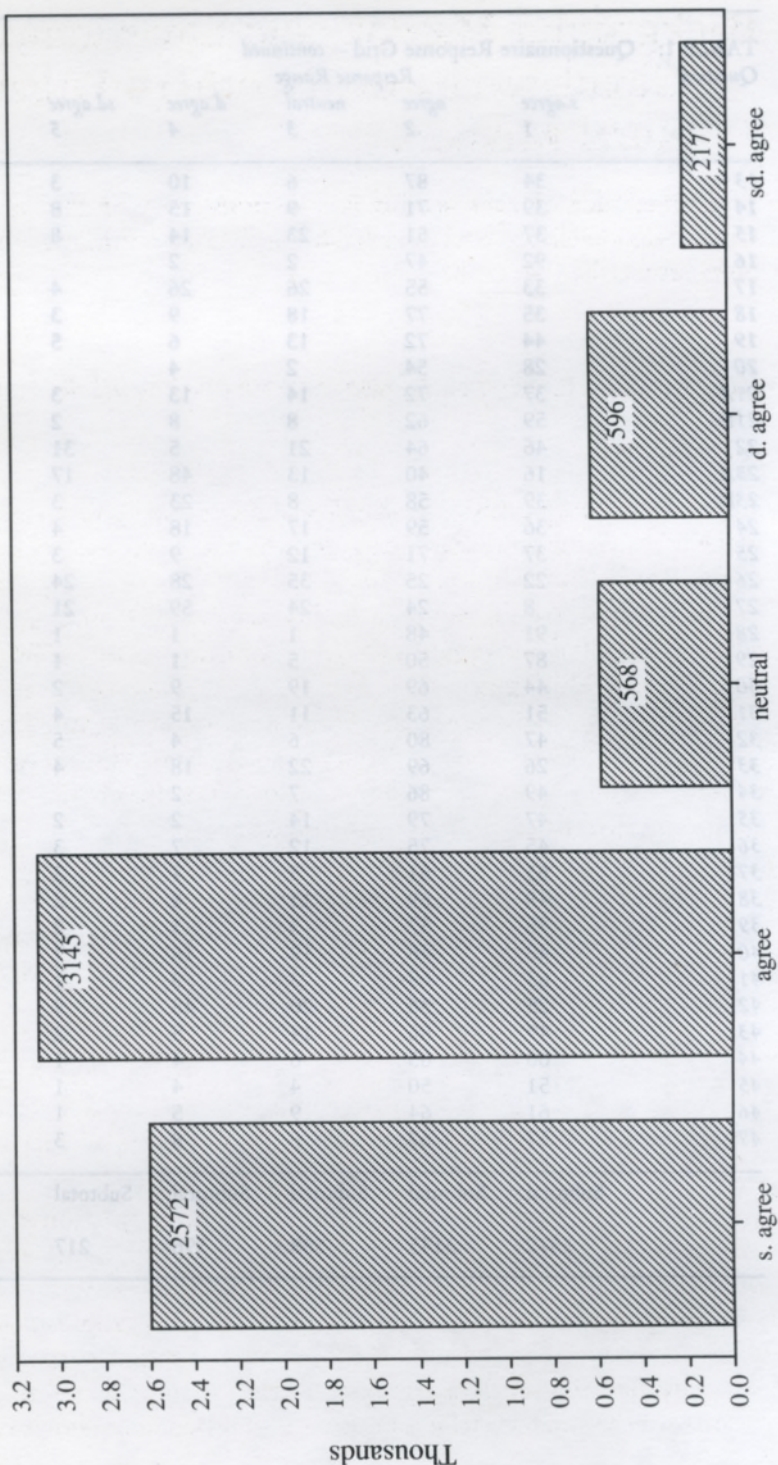
Question	Response Range					Total
	<i>s.agree</i> 1	<i>agree</i> 2	<i>neutral</i> 3	<i>d.agree</i> 4	<i>sd.agree</i> 5	
1	59	75	5			139
2	56	63	13	6	2	140
3A	25	49	10	15	11	110
3B	56	76	3	4	2	141
4	47	73	8	7	2	137
5	60	67	7	3	2	139
6	81	52	2	2	1	138
7	54	77	4	1		136
8	56	70	2	8	2	138
9	64	62	7	5		138
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
	<i>s.agree</i> 1	<i>agree</i> 2	<i>neutral</i> 3	<i>d.agree</i> 4	<i>sd.agree</i> 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	2572	3145	568	596	217	Grand total 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 identifiable 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 multiculturalism. 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 back 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 and 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

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:

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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 woman 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, hospital-ity 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 women's 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, deinstitutionalisation 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

the state. Another inequity which many people felt was damaging, was expressed by single income earners or families. One family said of Family Support:

... single income families where one spouse stays at home to raise the future generations are disadvantaged. [4248]

Many felt that it was unfair that two people receiving benefits could live much more comfortably than a single person. As one person pointed out:

It requires just as much power to heat a room whether there is 1 or 2 people in it. [3851]

Such comments were made by a range of people, from families concerned at how two people living together and not married seemed to be better off, to single superannuitants.

Many people who mentioned inequities of benefits, also commented on the difficulties which they had in dealing with the Department of Social Welfare. Approximately 100 submissions made comments about the Department. The majority of them wrote either about failures (both functional and structural) of benefits, or the concern they had with processes of consultation.

Many were concerned with the administration and atmosphere of the Department. One woman recommended that books and toys should be made available while people are waiting and staff attitudes should be improved [37].

Other suggestions included a merging of the Department of Social Welfare and the Labour Department [215], that the Department itself should be clear about what its functions should be and to plan and adjust accordingly [3442].

Superannuation

Superannuation has probably never been a more contentious issue. As the population ages, an increasing number of people in the over 60s age group need to be provided for, both financially and in gaining due recognition and respect.

Changes which have occurred in superannuation schemes have led to elderly people feeling less secure about their lives and their future, and this has prompted many to write to the Royal Commission.

Comments about superannuation were found in 18 percent of the submissions. Of the 36.8 percent whose age was readily identifiable, the majority were from those in the over 60s group.

COMMENTS BY AGE GROUP

Very little response came from those under 30 years of age which is understandable, given that it is something which does not directly affect them yet.

TABLE 12: Comments on superannuation by age

	Age group	Number	% of those identified (subtotal)
Child	<12	0	0
Youth	12-29	2	1.23%
Middle	30-60	23	20.3%
Elderly	>60	127	34.5%
Subtotal		162	
Not identifiable		278	
Total		440	

The different age groups, middle and elderly, yielded different responses on superannuation.

Submissions from those in the elderly age group were mostly based on personal experience. Many were accounts of difficulties of living on superannuation.

One man pointed out that he was living in poverty and compared superannuation in New Zealand to Holland, saying:

... they can live on the pension in comfort and dignity. [509]

The underlying theme in these submissions was unfair treatment of the elderly, with many being pleas for increased financial assistance. There was a lot of concern over *access* to important services, many of which came from rural areas. (For more details refer section 4.8 on submissions from the elderly.)

One woman [1861] says that she has found it very difficult to maintain any quality of life and because the costs incurred by one person are almost the same as for two, the benefit should be raised, or single persons should get concessions on essential goods and services.

Although only a few people mentioned portability of benefits, they were all in favour of it in some form. One organisation [143] supported the principle of portability for benefits such as superannuation, with amount of benefit related to amount of contribution and/or length of residence in New Zealand. Other submissions in support include, [27, 362, 4559, 4657, 4570 and 5794H].

Comments from those in the 30–60 age group showed that these people were somewhat less concerned with the reality and difficulties of living on superannuation. Naturally, they conveyed their own life situations. One person suggests that a new superannuation scheme should be introduced to ensure fairness. Under such a scheme, he stated that those under 40 who tend to be more involved in mortgages and child rearing wouldn't contribute directly to the scheme. The over 40s would contribute more progressively [3].

Other comments from those in the middle age category include:

National superannuation should be pruned for those who don't need it.
[3076]

Money is needed more at the older ages than when one has first retired.
[161]

[I] agree with the present superannuation scheme. [2819]

Taxation

Taxation is the main source of funding social welfare. As the demand for funds increases, taxation can be increased; some form of redistribution can take place; or a combination of the two can occur. Many people feel strongly about this issue and have used the Royal Commission to air their concerns and point out where inequities lie. Eight hundred submissions contained either some small comment in passing or offered a detailed alternative to the current taxation system.

The taxation system is understandably complex, and this is reflected in public submissions, where approximately 10 percent of submissions are research based. A smaller number of these present a wholesale analysis of the present system, and tend to be the preserve of organisations rather than individuals. Comments from research based submissions include:

The taxation of other income in New Zealand, coupled with the total exemption of that income which flows from the ownership of capital assets, is a grave economic and social distortion. New Zealand should immediately adopt a policy of 'inclusive income tax' . . . [18]

A chartered accountant suggested that a capital gains tax which does not treat all forms of capital in the same manner contravenes the principles of good taxation by not being neutral, consistent, or equitable [4257].

Other comments include:

. . . Higher taxation levels for high profit making companies. [593]

All youth should receive a basic living income as opposed to guaranteed minimum income, negative income tax or loan and voucher systems. [2922]

It is submitted that the Income Tax Act should be amended to provide that contributions to charity should be fully deductible by all taxpayers . . . [3959].

One of the main points made from the many submissions on taxation is the general acceptance that the Government has an important part to play in redistributing income and wealth, in order to give a more fair outcome.

The next point made by many is that presently the tax system is not equitable. As submission 4239 points out, the system is presently not redistributing wealth as fairly as it should. High earners avoid much tax, while low earners have few chances to lessen their tax. As was pointed out earlier, these 'high earners' are under-represented on the data base. Calls for equity came from lower income earners.

In fact, approximately 160 submissions mentioned the plight of low income earners, many of whom were single income families. Common comments include:

Family Support should be paid directly and not deducted from tax, but not paid to those with consistently high incomes. [2186]

A submission which compares companies who escape taxation through legal loopholes with consumers who pay tax but are seen to be treated unfairly by the social welfare system. [1906].

'Income tax should be cut on low income earners.' [2805]

A topic which received considerable attention in submissions on income maintenance and taxation is that of *financial recognition for caregivers*, the majority of whom are women.

Both the freephone analysis and the section on women have revealed that the recognition of women's work in the home is an area of considerable concern and is repeatedly recommended. A typical comment was expressed by a woman who 'would like to see greater recognition for motherhood and the valuable role women play in society'. [1606]

Financial recognition is supported by a considerable number of people making such recommendations.

There are three different means of providing financial recognition to caregivers; (1) through tax relief, (2) through payment of a caregiver's benefit or allowance, (3) through increasing the Family Benefit.

- 1 Tax relief was quite a popular idea as it would enable one spouse to dedicate efforts to child-rearing activities without being punished financially for doing so. One submission suggested:

incorporating a tax relief system for the first five years of a child's life. If a breadwinner's income tax could be reduced by half during these pre-school years, there would be sufficient incentive for one parent not to work. The tax relief would be forfeited when dual incomes are earned [2190].

- 2 About 50 submissions supported a specific caregivers benefit. A group of women who were looking after pre-schoolers 'want some type of caregiver's benefit implemented' [1113]. Others favoured a caregiver's benefit, 'but only for married women' [1608]. It should be noted however that the principle of 'caregiver's benefit' was supported by a larger number of people, though they did not necessarily call it by that name.

- 3 Increasing the Family Benefit was suggested by quite a few people, but it was not so popular as the other two options. This is understandable given that many expressed that it made them feel more dependent on the state.

The above discussion raises the question of targeted versus universal benefits: the former would involve some form of means testing. Again, views on this are divided. Those in favour give the reason that means testing will ensure that those who need more get more and vice versa. Those against means testing feel that they should not be punished for past careful saving and planning, and feel just as entitled to particular benefits as anyone else. Superannuitants make up a large proportion of the latter group.

In summary then, the majority of submissions on taxation deal with the issue of equity. Only a small number go into detail of how this could be realistically achieved. Other issues of significance include capital gains tax and inequity between individuals and large companies, and taxation related to the family including low and single income earners.

4.8 *Policy Making and Monitoring*

How social policy is made and implemented is of vital importance and discussed in a surprising number of submissions. The role of the state in policy making is clearly at the crux. This role can be viewed from several different perspectives including: the role of

central government; regional and local government; tribal authorities; voluntary organisations; individuals. Each has a different role and each looks at policy making from a different viewpoint.

Typical of central government views is the submission from the the Department of Social Welfare which includes suggestions of different forms of organisation in the social services sector, mainly revolving around organisational changes in government departments, such as a Ministry of Social Policy, Department of Community Welfare Services, decentralised departmental welfare services, and an area health and welfare board approach [5903].

Regional and local government viewpoints tend to reflect the interests and values of the elected representatives. Most frequently they recommended that they get more resources (especially financial) and power to decide how to use those resources, with central government taking a policy co-ordinating and fundraising role. Wellington Regional Council [3327] believed they had responsibility for a suitable area unit for effective co-ordination of social policy and services such as transport and water resources. This submission also noted that:

Although there have been recent moves by some government departments, in particular the Department of Social Welfare, to devolve regionally, they have mainly involved the devolution of funding decisions rather than policy making. [3327]

Devolution was seen as a viable means of providing more responsive and accountable social policy. However, 'real control' [4665] needs to be devolved from central government.

Past patterns of collaboration with central government do not provide a desirable model for the future with respect to more extensive involvement in the social policy area by local government. [4653]

Another view of policy making at the local and regional level comes from community workers, who tend to identify with the community groups with whom they work. They tended to be sceptical of devolution and wary of having responsibility for service provision dumped to a local level without an equivalent transfer of resources.

Nobody knows better than each community its own needs. Nobody is better suited to meeting those needs than that community. [3776]

The mandate that has been given to local authorities to undertake community development needs further clarification and strengthening. [700]

But there was an underlying concern:

We believe that Government is handing back the problems to the community without adequate resources to be able to address these problems. [3982]

Maori groups were relatively unified in seeking full control of resources, not just a say in decision making. Some submissions noted that not all iwi authorities yet have the management structures to take on increased responsibility. However, they believe their claim for control over resources is based on:

- 1 A legal contract—the Treaty of Waitangi;
- 2 Ineffectiveness of existing mechanisms;
- 3 Greater efficiency.

The Federation of Labour/Combined State Unions in a preliminary submission [222] stated that the welfare state had developed as a result of the failure of the labour market to provide a decent standard of living for everyone. They believe that:

Social policy provision should be planned, funded and provided by the state. [222]

This view is supported in other submissions from community or voluntary organisations [for example, 2541]. One submission noted the basic tension currently with the Government focusing mainly on efficiency, consistency and responsibility, while:

... people appear to be more concerned with consistency, effectiveness, flexibility and participation. [3891]

Other suggestions from the voluntary sector and from individuals picked up the local government theme of more localised decision making [883, 2612, 554, 4944]. Also:

New Zealand's social welfare system will be more effective, more human, and more democratic by striving to develop the spirit of voluntary service, by regarding the voluntary agencies as *full partners* and by encouraging and assisting those agencies to meet the demands made on them. [2541, original emphasis]

One submission issued a warning that:

... local bureaucrats may be as removed as central bureaucrats. [2728]

However, there were indications from the submissions that people were more interested in a move to participative democracy, to take a more active role in policy making than a vote every few years at elections. The number of submissions to this Royal Commission is clearly an example of this willingness to participate. In spite of a number of people wondering if it was worth their time and effort (see section 4.1) the submissions were sent in anyway. But the main concern with their participation is that they are listened to. In a number of submissions, people expressed cynicism, not only with

the Royal Commission but whether the Government would take notice of its reports. This feeling is summed up in:

The FOL/CSU are concerned about the consultation exercises in the last three years, which have sometimes had the effect of making people feel cynical and powerless because the individuals, groups and organisations which participate have little or no power to determine the outcome. [222]

An important aspect of wider participation in policy and decision making was the community development approach which was discussed in several submissions. The role of the Northland United Council to assist the community was described thus:

... to use its regional planning process to act as a catalyst, bringing the parties involved together, facilitating an organised and informed exchange of information between government departments and other agencies, communities and community organisations, local government and central government. [561]

This process is being used in a pilot project for job creation and community development. The process is based on the assumptions that 'the communities involved can play a useful role in formulating and administering social policies', and 'improvements in social policy can be made by ensuring better informed, better co-ordinated, better targetted, and more open policy development and implementation' [561].

Other submissions also discussed community development [for example, 2169, 700, 4274].

For more equal representation, submissions sought to:

... enable women to take part in discussion/policy making bodies at all levels—51 percent representation for women on all decision making bodies—change structures and methods of such bodies so that they are suited to the participation of women. [2288]

Maori participation should be at a power-sharing level, not just at an advisory level. [2729]

This sort of approach would overcome the problem which then arises, of the same people being selected over again. For example:

[There is] a danger in devolution of decision making to the community, that the same people were selected for community committees. [555]

The Otago Maori Executive of the Dunedin Council of Social Services was:

... concerned that the people of Te Waipounamu do not have sufficient input as the real community workers, into the policy decision processes. [2612]

It was also noted that:

Government departments are going into the community more now, which is good. But they are asking for information about community needs expecting people to research their own needs and offer no resources to such people for the time and expense put into such work. [3982]

Another submission discusses ways of redistribution of power:

Devolution, delegation and decentralisation shifts need to be more comprehensively planned involving sufficient transfer of financial and personnel resources, with a high degree of accountability and ongoing monitoring of performance effectiveness. [5161]

Over 100 submissions were concerned with aspects of devolution [for example, 2870, 3005, 3143, 2176, 3811]. The major themes to emerge included:

- 1 Local authorities taking on increased responsibilities for social wellbeing of their constituents.
- 2 Transfer of resources to be accompanied by transfer of responsibilities.

Accountability, assessment and monitoring were viewed in submissions as important aspects of decision and policy making regardless of the level at which it all happened. Some submissions discussed how policies could be accounted for, assessed or monitored, while others complained of lack of accountability, for example, the need for public servants, in this case the police, to be accountable to the community [560]. A response to this need was found in another submission.

There is no reason at all that (executive) staff cannot be responsible both in a 'line' sense to local decision making groups and yet also retain national or professional career structures. [2612]

The New Zealand Society for the Intellectually Handicapped stressed the need for social auditing. This was in response to a report from the Auditor General in 1985 that standards of accountability cannot be based upon purely financial measures. The Society for the Intellectually Handicapped discussed their project to develop a 'workable social audit model' which will continue, along with an extended programme of social audits in social service organisations and training for social auditors. [3172]

Although accountability was an issue, few submissions identified the need for monitoring and assessment. Those which did were largely from community groups.

There is an urgent need to establish a reliable data base for evaluation and research providing information on which to make decisions. [3005]

The Wellington Regional Council suggested it had a major role to play in the monitoring of social policy and social service delivery.

The Council is neither a provider nor funder of social services and is therefore well placed to independently monitor the impact of social programmes on the regional community, assess the effectiveness of such programmes and whether they are achieving the policy objectives. [3327]

Independent monitoring and assessment were also noted in the work of the Society for Research on Women. In their submission [881] they noted the effects of social policy in a number of areas. Their members had conducted research over a period of 20 years in such areas as paid and unpaid work, unemployment, child care, caring for dependent relatives and health services.

4.9 *Social Perspectives*

A number of specific issues were drawn out for special consideration by the Royal Commission. Many of these are discussed in this section of the analysis. Included are such issues as health, education, justice, life cycle issues and other important social perspectives which were easily identifiable from the submissions.

Health

Health was an issue of concern to a great many submission writers.

One of the primary concerns about health was the issue of access to health care.

Access is the prime health need. All health care must be accessible and barriers such as finance, social status and geographical isolation must be minimised. Too many people, because of such barriers and despite current subsidies do not have good access to health care. [778] Cook Hospital Board

Cost was seen by many as a major barrier to access. The high cost of going to the doctor was cause for concern among many who felt that people's health, particularly the health of people on lower incomes, was suffering because of these costs [for example, 4899, 4502, 5086, 516, 5310].

Some suggested free health care [for example, 3568, 160, 72, 2207].

Particular concern was expressed for the health of children in the light of high doctors' fees, for example:

Children rely on adults to meet their needs for access to medical and health care. Not all parents see this as a priority and cost can become a barrier to children's access to care. [74]

Further to this concern, some submissions suggested that primary medical care for children be free [for example, 4733, 5794B, 1380, 2420, 4583].

Insufficient access to adequate and/or quality health care for people living in rural areas was seen by many as a shortcoming of our health care system [for example, 3861, 4126, 4244, 3351, 2065].

The need for quality, affordable health care for the elderly was another concern that came through strongly in the submissions [for example, 1781, 1027, 734]. Some submissions noted that with an ageing population more attention will have to be focused on this area in the future [for example, 2825].

Maori health was seen as an issue requiring special attention. Submissions from Maori writers suggested that changes needed to be made to the health care system in order to make it culturally appropriate to the Maori people, and to help improve poor Maori health.

Suggestions for change, which came from the Maori community included: appointing Maori community health workers [5511]; promoting health education [5425]; establishing professional marae-based health advisory consultancy and counselling bureaux [5425]; having Maori treat Maori [5067]; providing free immunisation against hepatitis B for all Maori children [801]; encouraging the development and availability within the marae of people with special knowledge of traditional healing [668]; appointing a Maori nurse to provide basic primary health services at no charge within the marae complex [668]; and having government policy positively encourage Maori people to enter nursing/medical and all other health professions [668].

Links were also made between poor Maori health and other forms of oppression faced by Maori people in New Zealand society [for example, 5087, 242].

Maori health will improve when we have been restored to our land. The answer to our health needs is for us to take control of our own destiny—which, for the Maori, means re-uniting with the land. [242]

Women outlined particular concerns about their health needs and the treatment they received within the health care system. These concerns included the lack of women's voices within the decision making bodies of the health services structures [2633]. One of the

most frequent requests made by women in relation to health care was for mobile 'well-woman' clinics [for example, 2749, 2753, 816, 1268].

The trend towards privatisation in the health care system was cause for concern among many [for example, 2110, 5794B].

Inequalities and a lack of humanitarianism is evident in private health insurance nations like the United States. People should not die in a fair and just society because they lack money to obtain medical help . . . There must also be as great as possible a degree of universality in the provision of these [health] services throughout a fair and just society. Private enterprise will not provide such a uniformity. [5794B]

Many submission writers condemned the idea of user pays being implemented in the area of health, [for example, 4851, 108, 72, 2054, 835, 2110].

Other changes which were frequently suggested for the health care system were:

- 1 More health education [for example, 3133, 892, 4468].
- 2 Greater emphasis on preventative care [for example, 4419, 1205, 5185].
- 3 Moves towards decentralisation within the health industry. Area health boards were cited by many as being the best mode of dealing with the special needs of regions [for example, 429, 4469, 822].
- 4 Greater recognition of patients' rights [for example, 2981, 5185, 3133, 367].
- 5 Greater acceptance of alternative methods of health care [for example, 4048].
- 6 Greater co-ordination between health services [for example, 660, 263].

Mental health was identified by some submission writers as an area which needed more attention, better servicing, and increased funding [for example, 236, 3320, 2516].

Over 40 percent of hospital bed days are spent in psychiatric/psychopaedic hospitals yet mental health funding is usually less than 20 percent of hospital board spending. The chronically mentally ill are seriously neglected by our health services. [236 Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand]

Education

Education is a major issue raised by the public, with approximately 34 percent of submissions received covering it in some way.

The age of the respondent in the majority of submissions mentioning education, was not specified. However, of the 19 percent where age was specified, 28 percent were from 'youth'. This is considerably higher than for total age-specified submissions, where 18 percent were from 'youth' (refer Table 6). This is understandable given that the youth age group contains secondary and tertiary students.

FORMAL EDUCATION Beginning with the formal education system (the first point of entry in an institution for many), pre-school education including kindergarten, playgroups and Kohanga Reo was commented on by approximately 120 submissions.

A theme which was common to many submissions was the *importance* of early childhood education. As one woman pointed out, it is vital because 'the first 6 years of life are crucial to the development of self-esteem'. She goes on to say how concerned she is that there is a dearth of early childcare facilities [572]. As well, quite a few submissions pointed out that faults in childcare and early childhood education are to blame for producing adults who are not capable of performing competently in society, [for example 2134]. Submission 3422 supports this and believes that such 'ill-equipped adults' themselves cause social problems. There is a large plea then, as expressed in submission 299, for more emphasis to be placed on early childhood education in terms of both funding and recognition. In support of this, one person expresses the view that changes made to the early childhood education system would reduce dependency on the welfare system [1901].

Accessibility and equal opportunity in early childhood education was another important issue raised. One submission from a group of mothers with pre-school children expresses their concern over the lack of choices available and feel that children under three and a half are not getting the pre-school education they need [116].

Comments on Kohanga Reo are along similar lines. The underlying theme was that there was Maori pride and joy at Kohanga Reo and bilingual schools where they existed, but bitterness at their under-resourcing, and determination by Maoris to have real control over their children's education. One group [3018] states that the lack of bilingual education in the area of Taranaki will mean that the work of Kohanga Reo will be wasted.

People frequently stressed the necessity for *high quality early childhood education and care*, as well as the need to increase its availability. The New Zealand Childcare Association [663] pointed out

that current funding levels and criteria for funding are inadequate, and that all funding for all forms of childcare must be tied to accountability guidelines to maintain high quality childcare. Also, the Kindergarten Teachers' Association [255] feels that integration of all services with direct funding by Government would give access to all and ensure that quality is maintained.

Areas of concern in early childhood education are recognition, access, and quality, and commitment from Government in ensuring them.

PRIMARY EDUCATION From the number of submissions received (approximately 80), it would appear that primary education was slightly less of a concern than was pre-school education. However, a wide range of issues were raised.

Quality was still an important issue, some discussion was raised over the curriculum, and the structure and administration of primary education was challenged. Comments include:

- 1 Recommend a change from central to district funding [809];
- 2 A short suggestion for relocation of day care centres to share the same grounds (and possibly other facilities) as primary schools [1915];
- 3 A re-evaluation of primary school education policy is recommended [1823];
- 4 A recommendation for health education in primary schooling [1355];
- 5 Strongly oppose any form of sex education in primary or secondary schools which does not emphasise that sex was designed to be enjoyed within the boundaries of marriage [4409].

The ability of the system to meet the needs of Maori students was again mentioned in quite a few submissions. A school committee [447] believes that the fact that a number of teachers still don't understand Maori, is evidence that the Education Department's commitment to bilingual education is not a complete one.

There is a call for more teachers linked with smaller classes. A health education officer states that 'in the education field, there must be a dramatic increase in the number of teachers, with a reduction of class size' [72].

A principal of a primary school points out that teachers know how to deal with children such as 'little Sammy' with learning difficulties and behaviour problems, but:

... the teacher has at the barest minimum 20 pupils in the class and poor Sammy simply does not get the attention he needs. Very few infant classes are actually classes of 20. One to twenty that we [been] have promised does not really mean one teacher to 20 pupils. . .

But even if it did it is not good enough. We need extra staffing available so that the Sammys can be given individual or small group attention for much of the time. [4548]

The tone of submissions is more supportive of teachers than critical. Many would agree with the above submission's plea for 'more staff in primary schools so that we can give all our pupils a love of learning. And once they love learning and school, far fewer of them will end up as a charge on society both in financial and in social terms.' [4548]

SECONDARY EDUCATION Approximately 90 submissions covered issues about, and relating to, secondary education.

Once again the issues of access, equity and importance of education were stressed. The New Zealand Secondary School Boards' Association [998] strongly supports a secondary system which provides equity of results for all children, and is equipped to enhance feelings of security and self-esteem of children. Many submissions expressed similar views.

The transition from school to work and its implications for the curriculum was a major issue. Preparedness for employment and life were the two main concerns.

One submission feels that there should be more employment oriented subjects in the sixth form certificate rather than just academically oriented subjects [4969]. A high school believes that sport and cultural activities in secondary schools should become a part of the curriculum [13].

One woman stated that she would like to see a restructuring of the secondary school curriculum so that there is less emphasis on examinations and more time spent in training for leisure and recreation and parenting [1596].

Life skills courses including home-making, budgeting and health were advocated, [for example 2803, 1596], and parent education in schools was popular; [for example 2796, 424, 413 and 2991].

A freephone caller suggests that 'schools should teach skills for employment and living; moral philosophy; how to think for ourselves; peace studies; remove sex stereotypes; teach parent skills; contraceptive advice; that sex is not just for procreation but for pleasure, [1342].

While there was divided opinion on whether information on contraception should be freely available as mentioned above, *very few submissions were against some form of sex education*. The areas of disagreement were when it should start and who should teach it. While some felt it should begin at school, for example [4498], others felt that parents should teach their children sex education, for example [2315].

This area of discussion is directly related to the interplay between school and the community, which was covered by quite a few submissions. One cites the lack of flexibility of teaching methods, too narrow a range of backgrounds of teachers and lack of integration between school and home for the perceived failure of the education system [2890]. The feeling of such submissions was that there needs to be increased liaison between the formal education structure and the wider community.

Calls to raise the leaving age at secondary schools were made by a few submissions. Some did not give an age, but stated that it should be raised, [for example 1066], while others gave greater details. For example, one submission stated that the leaving age should be raised to 18, with non-academic students attending work skills courses [513], and another said that 17 should be the standard school leaving age, accompanied by greater emphasis being placed on vocational guidance and counselling [1183].

Once again, Maori language and education featured in quite a few submissions. One group expressed concern over a lack of any significant follow-up for Maori language at high school level [447]. Others were in agreement. One man in his submission stressed support for the Treaty of Waitangi in relation to education, highlighting the importance of secondary schools where Maori pupils can develop their studies as well as religious and cultural goals [4951]. There were some who felt that this would only foster separation.

TERTIARY EDUCATION The overwhelming message in the 170 or so submissions which comment on tertiary education, is that user pays can only have a negative impact on tertiary education in New Zealand. The New Zealand University Students' Association

provides a detailed submission which covers the concept of user pays, describing it as an unacceptable method of funding [3326]. Other typical comments which sum up this message include:

- 1 User pays will not produce enough professionals and is not the best option for economic growth [837];
- 2 The introduction of user pays will abolish the rights of the less financially well off to attend tertiary institutions in New Zealand [4333];
- 3 The importance of an educated population and therefore that education needs to be provided on equal terms without disadvantaging certain groups [810];
- 4 The aim of a fair society is to allow everyone dignity, opportunity and integrity which includes full and equal access for all to education . . . to this end [we] reject the user pays principles in tertiary education. [4171]

While the majority took a negative stance, there were a few who were in favour of user pays. One man in the over 60s age group [3493], stated that he is pro-user pays for university.

Financial assistance for tertiary students, or bursary, was another topic of concern. Quite a few submissions [such as 3510], pointed out the inequity between the unemployment benefit and bursary. The writer believes that it is unfair and unwise, considering New Zealand needs an educated workforce but gives little assistance and no incentive for gaining tertiary qualifications. She says that she will have to pay \$129 per week board expenses but will only receive \$78 bursary.

Teacher trainees feel the same way. The Teacher Trainees' Association in its submission [302], believe that if the Government wants to attract people with skills and expertise, then they will have to provide more than just a bursary. The lack of financial recognition for teacher trainees was commented on in other submissions, for example [2040]. Other comments in this area included a call for an increase in trainee numbers and improved conditions [149], and improved assessment of teachers [1968].

Another significant concern in the area of tertiary education, was the relatively small number of Maori people undertaking university studies. One submission [4961] deplores the proportion of Maori students receiving tertiary education. It is recommended that changes should be made to the current education system to encourage Maori students to participate in higher education. These include realistic funding from Government to meet living costs, an

education system relevant to young Maori people, and more respect accorded to a Maori Studies degree.

A group who sent in a submission [823] feels that the establishment of an endowed college or waananga on the campus of the University of Waikato, would ensure a Maori presence on campus, providing not only for the intellectual, social and cultural needs of Maori students, but would also enrich the university and wider community.

Other submissions which express concern over the disproportionate representation of Maori people in tertiary education, and advocate increased numbers of both staff and students, include 256, 2219 and 512. There are only a few who believe that such moves will have a negative impact. For example, submission 3107 disapproves of special assistance such as loans for Maori people and thinks that everyone should be treated equally.

The main thrust of the submissions on tertiary education is anti-user pays, stressing a need for access and government assistance to promote tertiary education, giving particular attention to groups which are currently under-represented.

INFORMAL EDUCATION Education is just as vital outside the confines of institutions. This was the feeling coming through many submissions in all areas of education ranging from pre-school to continuing education.

People are concerned with the lack of integration between schools, parents and the community. Often when people have made suggestions about a particular aspect of education, they have stressed that it should be the responsibility of the community and Government combined. This is not necessarily advocating a loading of more responsibility onto the shoulders of community groups. Recognition by Government of areas outside the formal structure was requested often in submissions. The Out-of-School Care and Recreation Advisory Group, for example, is concerned at the lack of out-of-school care and recreation for primary school aged children in particular. They believe that a framework is required for out-of-school programmes which recognises the integration of childcare and recreation and enables them to be staffed by well-paid, trained people, and accessible to all families, reflecting cultural diversity.

Parent education was the largest area which needs increased recognition, according to submissions. None of the nearly 200 submissions which mention parent education was against it, although

naturally definitions of it and views on when and how it should be carried out did differ.

Typical comments include:

- 1 Would like to see more parent education which may later lessen benefit spending [807];
- 2 Parent education should be instigated through both state and community organisations [1018];
- 3 It is important to recognise the family unit and parent education in bringing up a family [2001];
- 4 Young parents should be given courses in parent education so that the physical, mental and emotional wellbeing of them and their children is well catered for [1155];
- 5 Assistance in effective parenting and education on parenthood should be advocated and compulsory for all in the basic school curriculum [2714].

Others in support include 747, 1032, 1044 and 1444.

So although there is a variation of comments on parent education ranging from liberal to conservative, people are in favour of it in some form and want it to be recognised in social policy.

Approximately 40 submissions raised the issue of continuing education. As with parent education, there is overall support in the submissions for this. It is seen as being valuable in terms of being marketable and also in the wider context of having an educated population both working and non-working:

- 1 Educational programmes and open university on television for people who stay at home [1691 and 1083];
- 2 Learning is for the whole lifespan [3470];
- 3 Flexibility, commitment and secure financial funding for continuing education in its broadest spectrum is needed. This would develop the potential and self-esteem of those individuals partaking in such education and thereby enrich the social fabric of the community [2419].

As the concept of continuing education grows and gains momentum, some framework is needed. The Technical Institutes' Association of New Zealand lists the following as major changes that need to be considered for continuing education in New Zealand:

- 1 Development of a coherent, national continuing education policy.
- 2 Co-ordination of the functions of tertiary education institutes.
- 3 Establishment of a Polytechnic Grants Authority (or a Continuing Education and Training Board).

- 4 Allocation of adequate resources to provide middle and high-level training programmes.
- 5 Improvement of tertiary education management systems.
- 6 Introduction of student support systems to allow open access to tertiary education. [172]

Another submission suggests that continuing education be separated from Labour and Education Departments to a statutory board (as in the Probine-Fargher report) [665].

Another submission was specifically concerned with the need for Maori people to take advantage of the opportunities in continuing education schemes [629].

Although only relatively few submissions dealt with the topic of continuing education, all have shown a great deal of interest which suggests that it will be a growth area in education and should thus be incorporated in social policy.

Housing

A considerable number of the submissions which address the issue of housing start from the premise that shelter is a basic human right. Shelter contributes to security, nurturing, access to community resources and the effective base for family life (National Housing Commission). The submission from the National Housing Commission points out that:

Housing provision is qualitatively different from most other social services. Failure in housing provision will frustrate all other efforts to achieve social equity and equality of opportunity. [5839]

It goes on to define adequate housing in terms of availability, security of tenure, affordability, accessibility to community resources, lack of overcrowding, safety, physical security, social and family interaction and, choice.

Some submissions advocate a market approach to the provision of housing. They argue that the most efficient allocation of resources occurs in a free market environment where there is a voluntary exchange of goods and services between interested parties in the housing market. They believe that a market approach to housing will result in breadth and flexibility to meet the needs of the great majority of households in innovative and imaginative ways without significant public intervention [3317]; and see further advantages in contestability, neutrality of tenure and supply adjustments. In answer to the argument that the private sector does not face adequate incentives to supply housing to low income and other disadvantaged groups, they claim that there is no evidence

for this. They go on to assert that the information problems in the housing market are no worse than those in any other market, and that it is unlikely that the public sector can provide information any better than agents, lawyers, newspaper advertising and the requirement that tenants provide references (*Government Management*). Those who favour the 'market' approach believe that problems of affordability for low income groups should be addressed through income maintenance policies rather than state provision of housing.

Many submissions, however, disagree strongly with the approach outlined above. They argue that the market cannot provide decent affordable housing for the majority of people while at the same time providing maximum profits for the landlord and property speculation (New Zealand Housing Network).

Reliance on the private sector to consider social factors when it allocates resources is optimistic in the extreme. (New Zealand Housing Network)

These submissions argue that the market approach fails to take into account the costs of homelessness. They give evidence of the links between homelessness or inadequate housing and physical and mental health problems, crime, violence, and missed educational and employment opportunities. Further, the market may not allocate resources efficiently. Wealthy individuals may buy large houses, and yet underuse them. The submissions point out the difference between 'demand' which is based on disposable income, and 'need'. They describe discrimination in the housing market and argue that the current high demand for rental accommodation provides the cover for underlying discriminatory measures that are practised: against Maori and Polynesian people, against solo parents, against beneficiaries, against single persons, against students. Several submissions give specific examples of discrimination, while others describe institutional and structural discrimination. The New Zealand Housing Network claims that 83 percent of Real Estate Institute members give preference to Pakeha over Maori and Pacific Island families. Some submissions seek changes to the law to eliminate discrimination in matters of housing [2351, 3329]. One submission reminds us that a 'market rent' is defined as that determined by negotiation between a willing landlord and a willing tenant, and claims that 'In Auckland today tenants are not willing, they're desperate!' (New Zealand Housing Network).

Another points out that 'It is difficult for the homeless to protest . . . because they are de-energised, demoralised and despairing.' [2858]

These submissions which oppose the free market approach to housing argue that continued government involvement in housing policy and provision is necessary, to protect the interests of low income and disadvantaged people who could never compete in a market-led housing environment. They believe the state has a role in ensuring that inequalities in society are removed, influencing supply and cost where necessary. The National Housing Commission sees the state's role as helping to achieve the objective:

. . . to ensure that all New Zealanders have affordable housing of an acceptable standard with a reasonable choice between different types and tenures of housing. [5839]

There are submissions on the housing needs of special groups such as the elderly and the disabled, and individuals from different cultures. These submissions agree that the system has to be flexible enough to recognise the different needs of diverse groups in society.

Justice and Human Rights

This topic, broadly interpreted, was featured in one sense or another in well over 1,000 of the submissions received by the Royal Commission. More than 800 of these were concerned with criminal justice and sought ways of reducing the present crime rate, while many hundreds more commented on various aspects of law reform and/or legal processes.

Most of these submissions expressed great concern about the comparatively high rate of crime in New Zealand, particularly violent crime. Often people felt threatened by this and many advocated harsher sentences for those convicted of such crimes, for instance, castration for rapists, life imprisonment without parole for murderers, or forced repatriation for immigrants who break the law [1860].

Some people focused their complaints on the activities of groups such as gangs and what they saw as the justice system's ineffectiveness in preventing crime committed by gangs. Several suggested that membership of a gang be outlawed, and one writer supported this because they believed the presence of gangs is encouraging people other than gang members to behave in the same way

because there appears to be little society can do about it [for example 1868].

People tended to relate the present high rate of crime with concurrent trends, such as the rise in unemployment, the decline in society's 'moral standards' and moves towards equality for women and ethnic minorities in employment and other fields. Social change seemed to be associated with a decrease in respect for people, property and authority and many who wrote in, showed nostalgia for the security of a past era.

Some people felt the police should have more power in the deterrence of crime:

Give the police back the right to 'kick a butt' especially for a young offender . . . [2819]

Another contributor wrote that by increasing police staff levels and improving liaison between police and community leaders, social workers, victims of crime and the offenders themselves, the crime rate could be reduced. This view is based on a successful pilot scheme carried out in West Auckland [1983]. Merely increasing the police profile by putting the 'bobby' back on the beat would, it was thought, have a beneficial effect, especially in smaller, rural communities [0711].

While many writers prescribed harsher sentences for convicted criminals, 145 submissions addressed specifically such areas as prison conditions, rehabilitation and counselling as means to prevent recidivism. These submissions tended to fall into one of two categories: either, that sentences should be made more severe and life imprisonment should be implemented more often, particularly for re-offenders [0311]; or that there should be more emphasis on rehabilitating offenders so they adapt more easily to the outside community upon release.

One way that has been suggested for achieving this is the returning of non-violent prisoners to the community on a restricted basis, which would also ease the stress felt by the prisoner's family:

. . . such an arrangement would allow him to work in his trade . . . and would relieve his wife of financial burden and loneliness and would too relieve the taxpayer of custodial care. [0347]

Other submissions addressed prison conditions and their probable detrimental effect on inmates, and inmates' chances of successful rehabilitation. One submitter viewed the social situation in prisons as a microcosm of society as a whole; inequities between men and

women and Maori and Pakeha were more distorted than in the outside community.

I believe the present prison environment to be a destructive one for female offenders. It is conducive to recidivism, lowering to self-esteem, and of no value to the individual's rehabilitation, though it may be perceived as being of short term value to the community. In the long term, however, this is disputable. The social costs of imprisonment affect not only the offender, but also have far-reaching and unknown effects on her relatives and dependents. [3701]

Some writers wanted those counselling prison inmates to receive official encouragement for the work they do.

'We would like to see recognition and support for groups that lend support to first time offenders and help them do restitution.' [0175]

One prison inmate submitted that there should be more provision for rehabilitation in prisons. There were considerable hazards for newly-released prisoners on re-entering society, and there should also be better counselling on the outside for ex-prisoners [5049].

Once a person has been released from prison even though they have not re-offended, their past conviction can attract prejudice, for example when they seek employment. One submitter suggested that records of non-violent, minor convictions be wiped after an appropriate period of clear record once a person has served his/her sentence.

Overcrowding is acknowledged as a major problem in prisons. A common solution suggested to this situation was community correctional detention rather than incarceration for non-violent offenders:

More frequent assessment of prisoners, with a view to returning those sufficiently chastened and reformed, would appear to be a proposal with potential to relieve present overcrowding within penal institutions. [0827]

The high incidence of Maori inmates in prison was seen in a number of submissions addressing this point as a reflection on the overwhelmingly monocultural character of the outside community. Many felt there was an urgent need to resolve inequities in society, and make this country a more just and fair place for members of all ethnic groups, and particularly the tangata whenua:

... A lot of Maoris feel no worth for themselves, so they don't care for anyone else. Until we correct this unevenness, we will never rest in peace. [3311]

Submissions also mentioned the perceived link between what is shown in the media and the rise in violent crime. Many people felt

unrestricted broadcasting of violent programmes was influencing the behavioural patterns of more impressionable people, especially the young. One writer felt that all other means of addressing violent crime would be in vain until stricter controls on media violence were imposed.

... Increasing the number of police and the severity of sentences, without addressing the problems in our society which help to cause so much violence towards it, is truly, maintaining an ambulance at the foot of the precipice instead of a fence at the top. [0862]

Other writers felt that resources were also misplaced in the prison system. One writer pointed out that the costs of keeping someone in prison for a year could fund a 'whole work scheme', and have the beneficial side-effect of reducing unemployment [2926].

Many people felt the victim was overlooked in the pursuit of justice. Restitution was generally considered to be inadequate to cover the damage or loss involved for victims, and offenders were often 'let off' because their own income was not sufficient to pay the full costs of their crime.

The victims of violence or sexual abuse often have to go through trauma during the court cases which is equal to that experienced during the committing of the offence because of the inflexibility of court procedure in these situations. It is usually assumed that many of these crimes are not reported because of this factor. Among the 439 submissions mentioning violence, there were many calls for changes in the way victims are treated at the court hearing including: separate waiting rooms for witnesses and defendant; omitting announcing the name and address of the victim before her statement is read in court; and, especially when children are giving evidence, that the use of screens or of video-taped recordings of the statement be acceptable in the courtroom. This would reduce the intimidation felt by the victims.

[Video-taped evidence] will save the child the trauma of being in the witness box and having to face again the person who committed the crime against her . . . this provision could result in more offenders being prosecuted. [2266]

Privacy should be maintained in legal proceedings by the use of closed court hearings. [4089]

Another area of court procedure which attracted a lot of attention was the Family Court system. Most of the submissions here were based on personal experiences, and there is no clear pattern of opinion on the subject. Some writers felt that the 'closed court' aspect

made the court 'vulnerable to corruption' [0349] while others questioned the supposedly unbiased nature of custodial decisions and the like, and felt that the interests of the child were not always given first priority.

Many submissions from Maori groups advocated a marae-based court system to promote biculturalism and redress imbalances in the justice system. The police and the courts needed to re-assess their attitudes and become more culturally sensitive when dealing with Maori people and Pacific Islander people.

Others submitters were more concerned with practicalities, such as inhabitants of rural areas having to travel long distances to attend court hearings, or the excessive formality involved in having to go to court over what they see as a comparatively minor matter.

Among other comments were: the need for children to learn about court proceedings as part of their education [3436] and the concern that a record of previous convictions may bias the outcome of a trial that should really be judged on its own merits [5049].

Some writers used the opportunity presented by the Royal Commission to complain about police behaviour in certain specific instances. Some wanted the establishment of an independent tribunal to investigate charges made against the police, while others wanted the police to alter what the writers described as their racist attitudes. The submission of the Police Department [0155] outlines the need for greater co-operation between the community and the police, and says the force should be pro-active rather than reactive.

People also commented on lawyers and access to legal assistance. Of the 51 submissions received on this topic, most were concerned about the costs of appointing a lawyer, and the fact that this made it difficult for many people to have legal recourse should they require it. The Mangere Community Law Office Trust [0237] suggests more community law offices should be set up for those who can't afford private lawyers. The Coalition of Community Law Projects [4213] believes that legal services be accessible and acceptable to both Maori and Pakeha, and that the Government has a duty to adopt the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi to help fulfil this. Apparent inefficiency of the legal profession also drew criticism; one woman cited her experience of twenty years fighting legal battles to obtain the maintenance she and her family were entitled to from her ex-husband [1911]. Clarification of legislation

would help remove the mystique surrounding official documentation, and would make for easier access to the law by lay people [3155].

A total of 335 submissions wanted law reform of one kind or another.

Various facets of family law attracted many complaints, particularly the Matrimonial Property Act and procedures affecting income maintenance of family members after a marriage dissolution. Many people wrote in complaining about the inequity in income levels between wives and husbands after separation.

The present Act, while being an improvement on the previous situation, still does not provide true equality, since it allows for equal division of assets, but ignores division of some liabilities. In other words, the enormous cost of raising the children of the marriage is not included in the equation . . . Alter the Matrimonial Property Act, so that assets are divided equally between the number of people in the family. [4879]

Another issue felt to be important by many submitters is drugs, alcohol and solvent abuse. Many groups wanted tighter legislation controlling these substances, combined with educational programmes in schools and the media on their potentially harmful effects [0169]. There was fairly strong, but usually anonymous, lobbying by those wanting the decriminalisation of marijuana, based mainly on evidence that this drug is widely used by people who do not participate in any other criminal activities, so it should be viewed as being no different from alcohol or tobacco.

Various types of electoral reform were suggested, including changes to the length of the parliamentary term and the number of Maori seats in the House.

Several other submissions wanted various changes in other types of legislation, including company laws, taxation, bankruptcy, tenancy laws, and labour relations legislation. The proposed Bill of Rights received a lot of attention. Some approved it as an affirmation of all aspects of human rights and of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, while some condemned it as being a document that does not take into account the teachings of the Bible and does not abide by the principles of the Westminster system of justice [2178].

There was also comment on legislation for moral issues such as abortion and homosexuality. Opinions tended to be fairly divided between submissions approving liberalisation in these areas, and those opposing the reforms of recent times. The latter often

claimed that these reforms are the root cause of the decline in society and the falling of moral standards, which have resulted in the society we have today; beset with problems, and unsure of which direction to take next.

Environment and Energy

'Environment' was used in submissions to cover a variety of topics—conservation of natural resources, social environment, environmental health. This section of the submissions analysis looks specifically at those submissions which were concerned with the physical environment, including the management and conservation of natural resources.

Many recent decisions of the Waitangi Tribunal and the Planning Tribunal have highlighted the importance of the physical environment to the social and economic wellbeing of the Maori people.

A fair and just social policy cannot operate in a waste land. Social policy and environmental policies cannot be divorced. The two overlap each other and both are essential for a healthy population. Environmental problems impact differently on the many socio-economic groups which make up our country. Pollution of areas close to home will impact on those who are unable to travel to avoid the pollution. Not everyone can afford to go to Taupo to fish. Or to the Westland forests to tramp. [3322]

The whole community has an interest in water, soil and land stability. Clean, safe drinking water, water for industry and agriculture; protection from flood damage and erosion; access to water bodies for recreation; and conservation of the resources for future generations affect the health, safety, peace of mind and overall social wellbeing of our population. [0109]

Outdoor recreation was suggested as a means of improving the quality of life of people experiencing social stresses, and for contributing to the healthy development of young people [4865]. Many individuals and groups emphasised the importance of accessibility to the natural environment (particularly national parks, mountains and forests) and expressed opposition to any form of 'userpays' in relation to access to these areas. It was recognised that at present users tend to be males of higher education and incomes. Any further move towards cost-recovery will reinforce the exclusion of some groups.

There were two major preoccupations of submissions on the physical environment. These are: (1) conservation and protection

of the physical environment, and (2) the restructuring of environmental administration.

CONSERVATION AND PROTECTION OF NATURAL RESOURCES 'MANAAKITANGA' A number of submissions called for greater protection for the natural environment.

The importance of conserving resources for future generations has been highlighted in many submissions. For example, the New Zealand Catchment Authorities' Association [0211] recommended:

That the Royal Commission note the intergenerational importance of New Zealand's water and soil resources.

That the Royal Commission note the need for responsible management of these resources for the long term benefit of all New Zealanders. Pollution was mentioned frequently in submissions dealing with environmental issues. Similarly, the destruction of the environment for energy or commercial purposes emerged as a concern for many.

It was argued that the most efficient and effective policies will be ones that seek to prevent rather than repair environmental damage [0109]. Many submissions described strategies which used readily available and renewable sources of energy, for example, tidal electricity generation [5057] and solar energy [4412, 3852].

ENVIRONMENTAL ADMINISTRATION RESTRUCTURING At present the Government is undertaking a major review of resource administration bodies and resource management statutes.

Part of the restructuring has included the development of new Environmental Assessment Procedures (EAPs), and a review of the Town and Country Planning Act.

At the same time, while certain significant changes have taken place, the process of restructuring is by no means complete. Currently, there are two significant investigations taking place. These are the Reform of Local Government, and a Review of Resource Management Statutes (including water and soil, and minerals). Many submissions were received from local authorities [2176, 4665, 2607, 0101] and from others on whom the outcomes of these investigations will have a direct and immediate impact.

A number of submissions raised the issue of the role of local government in environmental and social planning. The Town and Country Planning Act and the Local Government Act both provide for a social planning role for local authorities, yet this is not generally well-integrated into physical (land-use) planning.

Submissions emphasised the need for social impact assessment to be incorporated into physical resource planning in any new or reviewed environmental planning statutes and associated regulations and procedures [3800].

Many submissions, from both Maori and Pakeha groups and individuals, emphasised the importance of understanding Maori values in relation to the use and management of natural resources. Frequently, anger was expressed about the disregard of Pakeha planning, administrative practices and development activities.

Numerous submissions, especially those presented at marae hearings held by the Royal Commission, spoke of the differences between the Pakeha planning process and the Maori view of the environment, in relation to the use of land, forests, fisheries and water, and the disposal of sewage [0241, 3019, 3014, 0315, 3339, 0671, 0165, 3522, 3381, 4923].

Submissions from the Tainui Maori Trust Board stated that the Water and Soil Conservation Act and the Town and Country Planning Act were extremely unsatisfactory in the way they were administered. Part of the solution to the disregard of Maori values is to provide statutory representation of Maori interests so that Maori people can have input into the decision-making process at every level from local and regional councils to quangos and ministerial committees [0199]. The whole planning process needs to be adapted to encourage Maori participation. The Tainui Maori Trust Board in its submissions stated that the Planning Tribunal, based on a British legal model, has not adequately accommodated the way the Maori people wished to present their perspective.

The Auckland Regional Authority in its submission [4665] said:

Over the past few years the Treaty of Waitangi has come to be recognised as a basic agreement affecting environmental policy. It is a principle of the 1986 Environment Act. The challenge now is how the provisions of the Treaty are to be used to develop social policy. In the past, the Maori people have not benefitted sufficiently from the prevailing system of social administration. The principle of 'partnership' inherent in the Treaty should now be translated into the social policy field and begin to redress the imbalance.

Family

There are many submissions on family, representing a wide variety of ideas and opinions. A considerable number of these acknowledge the importance of family as a crucial structure in our society. However, submissions differ as to what is meant by 'family'.

Some submissions stress the role of the traditional family—two parents, father working, mother at home—in promoting stability in society. They believe that having both parents in the workforce is disruptive to the family unit. Some think that government policies are destroying the family unit by encouraging solo mothers and de facto relationships [for example, 4354].

Most submissions express the view that motherhood should be given more recognition, and some of those who support the traditional family structure are against state funded childcare:

No creche can substitute the sort of care that a mother gives her own children, and this is a cause of society's gradual destabilisation. [5606]

Motherhood should be valued more. It is a top priority in society and the recognition of the role of mother would be best achieved through some monetary recompense. [2536]

Several writers felt that in order to encourage the more desirable traditional family, a caregivers' allowance should be paid to the mother at home, as mentioned above.

Other submissions discuss the extended family, lesbian centred families, Maori whanau, hapu and iwi, solo parent families and many other 'family' arrangements. Writers express the opinion that policies should acknowledge all the different forms that 'family' in this broad sense can take.

... I would welcome the acceptance of a definition of the family that recognises the diversity that already exists in people's lives. Such a definition would be ... Two or more people who share resources, share responsibility for decisions, share values and goals, and who have commitment to one another over time. The family being that climate that one comes home to, and especially it is this network of sharing and commitment that most accurately describes the family unit, regardless of or rather beyond lineage of blood, legal ties, adoption or marriage. Any social policy needs to embrace and actively include people who may be lesbian, Maori, extended families, men who are gay, flatmate and lover relationships and people without children. The concept (definition) needs to be fluid ... [0517]

Some people felt that solo parent families in particular need extra support from the state, and were concerned about the stigma associated with being a solo parent. They described the difficulties solo parents face in areas such as employment, housing, education and justice. Other submissions expressed some resentment towards solo parents receiving the Domestic Purposes Benefit (DPB), feeling that traditional one-income families were disadvantaged in such areas as housing by the 'unfair priority' given to solo parents for example [1890].

Some writers said that the DPB should be abolished, that mothers under 18 should be required by legislation either to remain with their parents or to have their child adopted. People who were critical of the DPB also tended to express views which were: anti-abortion, anti-homosexuality, anti-divorce, anti-sex education, anti-taha Maori, anti-feminists, anti-affirmative action, and anti-sex before marriage.

Submission writers argued in favour of increased state provision and funding of accessible quality childcare. Some saw a link between this and quality of care in the home, arguing that greater recognition and understanding of the carer's role must acknowledge their needs for respite: this was seen to enhance physical and mental health and thus improve caring in the home environment.

Many submissions also addressed the need for parent education, some expressing a belief that social problems were due to poor parenting. Various suggestions as to how this should be provided were canvassed.

Transport

Access to services is an important aspect of social wellbeing and the provision of transport was of concern to almost 200 people. The biggest lobby for better transport was from the rural sector. A number of submissions were linked to post office closures, access to health services, access to government departments [2065, 1396, 2359, 4244, 506, 53].

The continued provision of school buses was of considerable concern. Country Women's Institute branches and individual women were particularly concerned with this issue, which is not surprising as in the main, women would have to cope with providing alternative transport or supervising correspondence school lessons [4438, 4410, 711].

The elderly and disabled were two other groups which were concerned with transport, for similar reasons to those expressed in the rural areas—access to post offices, health care, government departments [2007, 2048, 3506, 3985, 4209, 5242]. The inequities in availability of services to rural and urban dwellers were highlighted in several submissions [2247, 1136, 606].

Aged

Of the 19.7 percent (1,182) of submissions classified according to the age of the person making them, 1.5 percent were from children; 17.8 percent from youth; 56.4 percent were from people in middle life; and 24.3 percent were from people over 60.

The above figures indicate that approximately 1,400 submissions came from elderly people:

... the concept that growing old is part of growing up should be incorporated in the principles governing social policy. [49]

The general view expressed in submissions on the elderly is that social policy should reflect and uphold the individuality and dignity of elderly persons. The submissions call for a balance between independence and security; co-ordination in the development of policies relating to income, accommodation, health and services; and the need for planning as the numbers of elderly increase. Overall the submissions are concerned with the needs and rights of the elderly. The following quotation represents views held not only by interest groups but also individuals who presented submissions, that:

There must be a secure economic base that allows elderly people to control their own lifestyle. Old age and retirement needs to be seen as not just a time of non-work but rather as something more positive that will help retain or regain identity, self-esteem and purpose. There should be a continuing role in society for the elderly which leaves choice and control of resources and services wherever possible in the hands of the elderly themselves. [from Age Concern, Wellington, 4439]

Submissions called for the establishment of an agency responsible for the elderly [408], such as a Ministry for the Elderly to help improve their disadvantaged situation [634, 641, 1503, 3884]. There was also support for the appointment of a Commissioner for the Ageing to facilitate action on the rights of the elderly, and to co-ordinate planning and delivery of resources and services [4439, 646].

The general belief held on the needs and rights of the elderly is that:

... most elderly people want a fair balance between the independence which gives a sense of dignity and is theirs by right, and the security of knowing that they will receive the care and support they need in times of illness or stress. [4439]

Submissions also draw attention to a need for much better co-ordination in the development of policies and the provision of services for the elderly. One writer suggested elderly people have a poor quality of life, and claimed that this age group was neglected in

terms of community support. She felt that there should be a transport allowance so that elderly people could get access to goods and services, and that a medical ombudsperson could be elected to look after the needs of the increasing number of old people in New Zealand today [2007].

Access to public transport was also a concern of other submissions [5573, 3586], and one writer felt the wellbeing of elderly people was being disrupted by the postal service closures. Submissions seemed to be in overall agreement that there is a need to develop and extend present community services, especially home support services; a need for adequate provision for the 'growing over 80 group'; and a need to identify and develop new services to meet needs and fulfil policies based on such needs.

Three specific issues were raised concerning accommodation: the needs of elderly people living in their own homes; in rest homes; and as geriatric patients in hospital.

1 OWN HOMES Age Concern from Wanganui [5129] supports the provision of community care to elderly people to enable them to remain in their own homes for as long as they wish and are able. The 60's Up Movement believes that if elderly people are to be cared for in their own homes, community services need extending.

The whole quality of life of these people depends on the service offered.

The only contact for many people is the meals on wheels drivers. [545]

They also suggest that enabling elderly people to stay in their own homes will offset the costs related to institutionalisation of the elderly.

2 REST HOMES North Shore Old People's Welfare Council Age Concern [4853] is concerned that there is a gap between cash asset limit and eligibility for pensioner housing. They ask for more co-ordination between local and national government over responsibility for housing and for consideration of different options for mixed housing. The 60's Up Movement states that experience indicates that nursing homes run primarily for profit do not meet accepted standards. Due to the shortage of nursing homes there is no competition to encourage better standards, and social workers are in no position to apply pressure. The 60's Up Movement places a high priority on the need for regular supervision of rest homes by an impartial authority [545]. There is also support for the 'granny flat' scheme with a live-in supervisor [3703].

3 GERIATRIC PATIENTS Submissions suggested with regard to hospital care that geriatric patients required access to natural surroundings, and frequent visits from friends and relatives, to help give meaning to the last years of their life. Age Concern New Zealand [3917] states that:

The elderly must have suitable accommodation for their particular needs, whether they live alone, with relatives or in institutions. Costs of these various modes of living must be within their income ability and secure in tenure.

They believe surtax affects some people's eligibility to pay rest home fees, so that they must apply for a subsidy from Government to pay the difference, a process they may find humiliating. They submit that:

... if Government does indeed wish the elderly to be less of a charge on the population as a whole it should, if anything, reduce taxation payable by the elderly by way of authorised deductions for, for example, rest home fees, rents, and essential home upkeep payments as well as the more conventional insurance policy deductions. [3917]

The issue of superannuation was discussed in great length in the submissions. An analysis of submissions on superannuation can be found in Section 4.7.

With regard to health issues, the basic theme of submissions is the need for a primary health care and specialist services that are accessible, affordable and appropriate and to which there is equality of access [4439].

The view was also held that 'the elderly need to have sufficient income to meet their needs for social, physical and emotional well-being. An income that is adjusted on a regular and equitable basis; an income based on principles of independence, financial security and personal control of finance' [4439].

The issues of recreation and work were also raised, especially in relation to the trends for people to live longer and retire earlier. The concern then is how to spend those 'extra years' productively. Age Concern from Wellington [4439] supports the proposals made in the Ageing and Education Report and believes these should be taken up by the Department of Education. They believe there is a need to encourage people to take up activities that will enrich their lives and help make life worthwhile and purposeful. One submission advocates compulsory early retirement to help solve the youth unemployment problem, but for retired people to work alongside the young people for a time to pass on wisdom and experience to the next generation and to help cushion the trauma of retirement

[3860]. Older People Sharing Their Skills Across Generations (SPAW) draws attention to the vast amount of talent and experience largely lying untapped in the lives of older people. This resource could be used widely by schools and community groups and in work with young unemployed people [2236].

There was consensus that Government had a responsibility to set standards of services and care for the elderly, and monitor the operation of these and to make sure services are in place and that they meet needs.

Disabled

From the submissions the most basic desire for disabled people appears to be that they are able to be integrated members of society. To this end they ask for a system of care which encourages independence, self-reliance and dignity.

We have the same needs and desires as anyone else, to be self-sufficient, self-determining, and to have a measure of dignity and self-respect, to be contributing and responsible members of society—to enjoy the same basic freedoms, rights, responsibilities as anyone else.' [1866]

In order to improve services for the disabled many submissions expressed a need for greater consumer participation in planning, delivery and evaluation of these services.

If we are serious about normalising the lives of people with intellectual handicaps, we must acknowledge them directly, consult them, inform them, listen to them and involve them as much as possible in the planning of their own services and programmes to help them move towards their own goals and desired lifestyle. [194]

Suggestions from submissions for advocacy include self-advocacy, community advocates, or allowing parents, relatives and friends to act as advocates for the disabled.

Access is an extremely important need expressed by people with disabilities. The need for access was cited as important in many differing areas.

(i) *Access to social services* The problems with social services which the Disabled Persons Assembly (Inc) [142] highlighted were: lack of information about what was actually available; lack of accountability; lack of appeal procedures in situations where people were dissatisfied with services received; and that there was no way in which people could express their viewpoint and state their needs to the various agencies.

(ii) *Access to information* Information on services available to disabled people and information on patients' rights [2503] were seen as

necessary, as was better information access for those whose disability prevents easy access to information. Suggestions included computer-based information services for the homebound [1866], radio for the print disabled [4198] and telephone access to National Library resources for disabled people [3144].

(iii) *Access to buildings* Many submissions from disabled people pointed out the difficulties architectural barriers can cause in limiting independence, opportunities, integration and choice [for example, 329, 434, 142 and 1866].

(iv) *Access to education*

People with disabilities should have the same equality of access to education as other people and have the same opportunity to realise their full potential. [856]

For this reason, and for reasons of enhancing independence and participation, and of improving community understanding and attitudes towards disabled people, mainstreaming of disabled people was seen by many submission writers concerning themselves with the disabled as being a good thing [for example, 856, 1920].

It was pointed out, however, that mainstreaming would make necessary increased staff support, decreased staff/student ratios and more education of teachers about disabled and special needs children.

Some submissions, however, opposed mainstreaming (for example, 2764):

Of more value to some intellectually handicapped children than an education with their normal peers may be an opportunity to develop at their own pace in a therapeutic environment adapted to their own needs.

(v) *Access to accommodation* The possibility for disabled people to have available to them a wide variety of possible alternatives in living arrangements so that they may live in dignity in the lifestyle of their choosing was an important consideration of many submissions pertaining to disabled people [for example, 142, 1866 and 2101].

(vi) *Access to special equipment* Submissions assert that 'access to special equipment should be recognised as a necessary right and not a desirable luxury' [1866]. Submissions express a need for the restrictions and regulations surrounding provision of special equipment to be examined [for example, 1770, 2759].

Deinstitutionalisation is a major issue among disabled people. In general, submissions appear to support the principle of deinstitutionalisation. Those supporting it, however, stressed that it should not be seen as a cost cutting measure, and that to be effective and avoid mistakes made overseas, adequate funding and support must be given to the community so that it can provide adequate and effective community care [for example, 3732, 2690, 3342, 2385 and 294].

Concern was expressed about social attitudes towards the mentally and physically handicapped [for example, 2385, 329, 894 and 385]. Many submissions suggested changes to the Human Rights Act specifying that people cannot be discriminated against on the grounds of disability in order to protect the rights of disabled people [for example, 1866, 3124 and 142].

Income for the disabled was an important issue. Many submissions supported the entitlement of disabled people to an adequate living income [for example, 526, 3124 and 684]. The suggestions of the Disabled Persons' Assembly of New Zealand (Inc) [142] and the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons [1866], was for the disabled person to be paid a living income as of right, together with a disability allowance to compensate for the extra costs associated with particular handicaps. Some submissions also spoke of the need for any benefit for disabled persons to be allowed regardless of marital status [for example, 142, 3953 and 3850]; and to be based on need rather than such factors as the cause of disability [for example, 705, 142 and 3850].

Youth

This section can be split into two for the purposes of analysis. Firstly, submissions that are from youth, and secondly, submissions that discuss youth.

Two hundred and ten submissions were categorised as coming from the age group 'youth'. Only 1182 of all submissions were able to be categorised under any age group. Therefore it may be assumed that approximately 20 percent of submissions were from youth. Youth were defined as respondents between the ages of 13 and 29.

The submissions from this group mirror the concerns of the total population in general. Two major issues were education/training and work/unemployment. The comments on education/training ranged from anti-user pays in education [4333] to a

call for more health education [3641]. The submissions on work ranged from a call for equal job opportunities for women [4102] to a complaint that the Labour Department was carrying out its job inadequately [2003]. On unemployment, the major concerns were that the unemployed should have to work for their payment and that the tertiary education allowance should be equivalent to the benefit. Other significant topics were parenting, health and biculturalism with the rest of the submissions being spread over topics such as childcare, violence, income maintenance, housing, censorship, and sexism.

The submissions that discuss youth warrant greater evaluation. Two hundred and fifty one submissions discussed youth in one way or another. This accounted for approximately 5 percent of all submissions. The discussion generally came from two groups—people complaining about youth and people helping youth or concerned about youth.

The two major topics debated involving youth were health/care and education/training. The DPB debate attracted a lot of attention. A particularly vocal lobby advocated the discontinuing of DPB payouts, and adoption of children born to young single women [1825]. Countering this, however, was an equally vocal group of submissions which recommended that contraceptive advice should be available to under 16 year olds [1338] and that teenage mothers should be supported [4425]. There was a call for preventive and therapy measures to solve Aotearoa's disturbed children problem [1115]. One submission highlighted the fact that unemployed youth have poor dental health [0991], another discussed youth and mental health [859], while yet another suggested that counsellors should be available to discuss any problem with the young anywhere and at any time [3862].

The submissions discussing education/training ranged across the subject, from highlighting the importance of early childhood education to the need for alternative school programmes for those who are not academically inclined [2078]. Many discussed the need for the school leaving age to be raised to 17 or 18. A number suggested that there be a compulsory youth service run by civil defence where youth would be taught peace studies and life skills [3849, 4482]. The views that incentives are necessary for youth to acquire training [4401], youth should have input into the school curriculum [4115] and parenting education should be introduced to all schools [2991] represent some of the other suggestions.

Another major topic for discussion was Maori youth. Some submissions discussed the problems facing Maori youth [3332, 3339]. For instance, government departments are seen as threatening for young Maori people [2734], young Maori offending is related to unemployment, poverty and Eurocentric education [2911] and Maori youth suicides are seen as resulting from a lack of opportunities to make needs known [2308]. Other submissions discussed ways of solving Maori youth problems. For instance, remedial programmes could solve illiteracy [0356], education is important in alleviating Maori youth problems [0325] and the community needs to help Maori youth [3910].

Youth unemployment was a concern of many submissions. A lack of employment opportunities for youth was noted [0921]—particularly in rural areas [2733]. One solution offered was for older people to retire early so that young people could have work [0635, 3856, 3860]. Other submissions suggested that the young should not receive unemployment benefits [4220], but if they did they should have to work for them [3055, 2500] or should have to report to the Labour Department every day as a prerequisite to collecting them [4546]. The Tainui Youth Employment Plan was offered as an example for other regions [0199].

The need for a universal youth benefit was noted [2813, 3376, 2922]. Also, youth rates in benefits should be abolished [362] and ACCESS training grants were seen as being too low [3960]. Society should be responsible for implementing a programme to bring street kids to safety [4481] and the Children and Young Persons Bill was seen as racist [0345]. Also youth who re-offend yet slip through the net of social services, need care rather than punishment [2565].

One submission suggested there should be an ombudsperson to protect the rights of youth [4946]. The need to change court procedures to protect youth rights was raised as well as the need for union protection for youth involved in delivery work [3731]. Youth were seen as disadvantaged when it came to consumer rights [4952]. There was also a call for parents to be held more accountable for the actions of youth [3541, 3279].

The remainder of submissions discussing youth ranged over a wide area. Some highlighted the incidence of substance abuse [0020, 0083] and called for information on drugs and their effects to be available to young people [3397]. Homelessness was seen as a problem for many youth [1980, 2572]. One submission suggested

the driving age be increased [1682]. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) offered their youth policy for perusal [4489]. Community work was recommended for youth [3744]. Finally, more support is needed for young disabled [2791] with those in rural areas being the most in need [530].

Glossary of Abbreviations

ACC	<i>Accident Compensation Corporation</i>
ALRANZ	<i>Abortion Law Reform Association</i>
CSU	<i>Combined State Unions</i>
DPB	<i>Domestic Purposes Benefit</i>
DSW	<i>Department of Social Welfare</i>
EAP	<i>Environmental Assessment Procedures</i>
FOL	<i>Federation of Labour</i>
GELS	<i>Group Employment Liaison Service</i>
GST	<i>Goods and Services Tax</i>
MWA	<i>Ministry of Women's Affairs</i>
PEP	<i>Project Employment Programmes</i>
RCSP	<i>Royal Commission on Social Policy</i>
SPUC	<i>Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child</i>
WAP	<i>Women Against Pornography</i>
YMCA	<i>Young Men's Christian Association</i>

ATTITUDES AND VALUES

A New Zealand Social Policy Survey

Commissioned by the
Royal Commission on Social Policy
and conducted by the
Department of Statistics
October—December 1987

Preface

This report contains the statistics processed from the Social Policy Survey (Attitudes and Values) which was conducted by the Department of Statistics at the request of the Royal Commission on Social Policy.

A general description of the survey methodology is provided along with statistical tables in various subject-matter categories. A summary of result highlights has been included which identifies the major findings of the survey.

S. Kuzmicich
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The following staff members of the Department of Statistics made major contributions to the survey: Alistair Gray, Kim Saffron and Nancy McBeth, who played key roles in the design and development phases; Household Labour Force Survey Section staff and interviewers who were responsible for the fieldwork; Jeffrey Sheerin who undertook the processing and production of tables; and Anne Spellerberg who managed and co-ordinated the project.

Lastly, and most importantly, the department expresses its thanks to the many hundreds of Household Labour Force Survey respondents who gave willingly of their time to participate in the survey and assist the Royal Commission on Social Policy in its work.

List of Tables

- 1 Tribal affiliation of Maori respondents, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status
- 2 Maori respondents. Attendance at marae or tribal hui in last six months, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status
- 3 Maori respondents. Number of times attended marae or tribal hui in last six months, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status
- 4 Maori respondents. Benefits gained from marae or tribal hui, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status
- 5 Whether language other than English spoken, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 6 Language(s) spoken by respondents who speak a language other than English, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 7 Maori speaking respondents. How well Maori is spoken, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 8 Receipt of health care in last twelve months by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 9 Respondents receiving health care in the last twelve months. Satisfaction with the health care received by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 10 Perceived quality of health care given by GPs and family doctors, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 11 Perceived quality of health care given by New Zealand hospitals, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 12 Perceived overall quality of health care in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 13 Perceived fairness of the health care system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 14 Attitudes towards using taxes to pay for the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 15 Respondents who think the whole cost of GP visits should be paid out of taxes. Whether this should be so if it means less

- money for hospitals and other health care, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 16 Coverage by medical or health insurance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 17 Satisfaction with housing, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 18 Preferred housing tenure, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 19 Respondents preferring home ownership. Reasons why people prefer to own their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Something for money you spend
 - (b) Value increases with time
 - (c) No one can evict you
 - (d) Yours to alter/redecorate
- 20 Attitudes towards different forms of housing assistance by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Government should help homebuyers
 - (b) Use taxes to provide low cost rentals
 - (c) Government ensure adequate housing
- 21 Receipt of education in the last twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 22 Respondents receiving education in the last twelve months. Type of education received, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 23 Respondents receiving education in the last twelve months. Satisfaction with education received in last twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 24 Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Preschool education in New Zealand
 - (b) Primary education in New Zealand
 - (c) Intermediate education in New Zealand
 - (d) Secondary education in New Zealand
 - (e) Tertiary education in New Zealand
 - (f) Overall education in New Zealand

- 25 Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Not enough job preparation
 - (b) Lack of basic reading/writing skills
 - (c) Not enough years of education
 - (d) Poor interpersonal relationships
 - (e) Poor knowledge of other cultures
- 26 Perceived fairness of the education system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 27 Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Kohanga Reo should be encouraged
 - (b) Taxes should be used for Kohanga Reo
 - (c) Extend Kohanga Reo to primary school
- 28 Whether respondent considers they have been the victim of a crime in the last twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 29 Respondents who have been the victims of crime(s) in the past twelve months. Whether victimisation occurred in the past six months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 30 Level of confidence in the police in own area, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 31 Whether there is anything the respondent does not do for fear of becoming a victim of a crime, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 32 Respondents whose activities are restricted through fear of becoming a victim of a crime Extent to which this interferes with enjoyment of life, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 33 Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Reducing unemployment
 - (b) Longer sentences
 - (c) Rehabilitation of criminals
 - (d) Increasing police numbers
 - (e) Encouraging non-violence in schools
 - (f) Reducing violence on television, films etc.

- 34 Attitudes towards unemployment, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) All should have a job who want one
 - (b) Taxes should be used to create jobs
 - (c) Some find jobs harder to get
- 35 Suggestions as to why people are unemployed, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Don't try hard enough to get jobs
 - (b) Live in areas with few jobs
 - (c) Lack skills or qualifications
 - (d) Because workplaces have closed down
- 36 Whether the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 37 Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on. Whether the unemployed should have to do some sort of work for the money they are paid, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 38 Whether the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 39 Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on. Age at which income support should be given to the elderly, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 40 Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on. Whether all elderly persons who qualify for income support should get the same amount, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 41 Should the Government use taxes to make sure that the long-term sick and disabled have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 42 Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure that the long-term sick and disabled have enough money to live on. Whether all sick and disabled should get the same amount, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

- 43 Whether taxes should be used to help people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 44 Respondents who believe that taxes should be used to help people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home Whether all people should receive this assistance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 45 Whether taxes should be used to help families with children that do not have enough income to meet their needs, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 46 Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Health
 - (b) Education
 - (c) Housing
 - (d) Preventing crime
 - (e) Defence
 - (f) Creating jobs
 - (g) Job training
 - (h) Work for a bicultural society
 - (i) Overseas aid
 - (j) Help for farmers
 - (k) Help for industry
 - (l) Public transport
 - (m) Sport and recreation
- 47 Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 48 Respondents who believe the tax system is unfair. Whether the system is unfair to them, by sex, age ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 49 Whether respondents get good value from system of taxes, services and benefits in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 50 Whether respondents will have had good value from system of taxes, services and benefits over their lifetime, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

- 51 Considerations for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Effect on jobs available
 - (b) Effect on everyday prices
 - (c) Effect on home buying
 - (d) Effect on poorer people
 - (e) Effect on business profit
 - (f) Effect on people's health
 - (g) Treaty of Waitangi
- 52 Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Individual freedoms protected
 - (b) More religious influence
 - (c) No victimisation of homosexuals
 - (d) Treaty of Waitangi honoured
 - (e) Government ensures people's welfare
 - (f) Maori land returned
 - (g) More women in high positions
 - (h) More Maori in high positions
 - (i) Less tax/more work incentive
 - (j) Employers pay a basic wage
 - (k) People be more self-reliant
 - (l) Incomes be more equitable
 - (m) Welfare of society shared by all
- 53 Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Maori health centres
 - (b) All students taught Maori
 - (c) Maori for those who want to learn it
 - (d) Maori fishing rights protected
 - (e) Better housing on Maori land
 - (f) Monetary control to tribal authorities
- 54 Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- (a) Equal job opportunities for women
 - (b) Flexible work hours
 - (c) Part/fully paid child day care

- (d) Part/fully paid invalid day care
- (e) Controls on pornography
- 55 Whether respondent suffers from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 56 Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability. Degree to which this interferes with their ability to work and enjoy life, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Interferes with work
 - (b) Interferes with enjoyment of life
- 57 Membership and involvement of respondents in trade unions or employers associations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Member
 - (b) Active in membership
- 58 Membership and involvement of respondents in political party organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Member
 - (b) Active in membership
- 59 Membership and involvement of respondents in churches or religious organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Member
 - (b) Active in membership
- 60 Membership and involvement of respondents in community service organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Member
 - (b) Active in membership
- 61 Membership and involvement of respondents in sports clubs or any other groups, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
 - (a) Member
 - (b) Active in membership
- 62 Participation in unpaid help for people outside own household by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

- 63 Respondents who assist unpaid outside their own home. Whether assistance is for relatives or other people, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 64 Respondents who assist unpaid outside their own home. Numbers of hours per week spent doing unpaid work, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 65 Whether respondents give money regularly to others outside their household, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 66 Respondents who give money regularly. Whether money is given to relatives, other people or to groups, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 67 Importance of religious or spiritual things, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 68 Receipt of benefits or allowances from Department of Social Welfare in past twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 69 Respondents who have received benefits or allowances in past 12 months. Types of benefits or allowances received, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 70 Total gross income for the past twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
- 71 Satisfaction with standard of living, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

The following special tabulations were requested by the Royal Commission:

- 72 Attitudes of respondents in various income groups to tax and employment issues
- 73 Attitudes of respondents in various income groups to housing and unemployment issues
- 74 Attitudes towards various tax, education, and employment issues by labour force status
- 75 Attitudes of church attenders and non-attenders
- 76 Experience of and attitudes towards health and welfare systems by disability status
- 77 Attitudes towards aspects of health care by disability status
- 78 Attitudes towards health care by whether covered by medical insurance

- 79 Attitudes towards care issues by belief about responsibility to all people in society
- 80 Satisfaction of different income groups with health care, housing, education and standard of living
- 81 Maori speaking respondents. Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo by how well Maori is spoken
 - (a) Kohanga Reo should be encouraged
 - (b) Taxes should be used for Kohanga Reo
 - (c) Extend Kohanga Reo to primary school
- 82 Maori speaking respondents. Support for things that Maori are concerned about by how well Maori is spoken
 - (a) Maori health centres
 - (b) All students taught Maori
 - (c) Maori for those who want it
 - (d) Maori fishing rights protected
 - (e) Better housing on Maori land
 - (f) Monetary control to tribal authorities
- 83 Satisfaction of housing by tenure of housing
- 84 Preference to own one's own home by tenure of housing
- 85 Satisfaction with housing by preference to own one's own home
- 86 Receipt of education in last twelve months by labour force status
- 87 Respondents who received education in last twelve months. Type of education received by labour force status
- 88 Confidence in the police in own area by whether a victim of a crime(s) in last twelve months
- 89 Satisfaction with standard of living by total gross income received in last twelve months
- 90 Whether Government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on, by respondent's total gross income received in past twelve months
- 91 Respondents who think Government should use taxes to ensure the elderly have enough money to live on. Whether all the elderly should be paid the same amount or whether the well off should receive less, by respondent's total gross income received in past twelve months
- 92 Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability. Extent to which this interferes

with their ability to work and their enjoyment of life, by labour force status

(a) Interferes with work

(b) Interferes with enjoyment of life

- 93 Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand by receipt of Department of Social Welfare benefit or allowance in past twelve months
- 94 Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand by total gross income received in past twelve months
- 95 Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether health care of any kind received in past twelve months
- 96 Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether covered by medical or health insurance
- 97 Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether respondent suffers from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability
- 98 Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by total gross income received in past twelve months
- 99 Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether health care received in past twelve months
- 100 Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether covered by medical or health insurance
- 101 Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether they suffer from the effects of an injury or any long-standing illness or disability
- 102 Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and

- other health care, by total gross income received in past twelve months
- 103 Receipt of health care in the past twelve months by whether covered by medical or health insurance
- 104 Whether there is anything the respondent does not do for fear of becoming a victim of a crime, by whether anything has happened in the past twelve months that the respondent thought was a crime
- 105 Level of confidence in the police in own area, by whether anything not done for fear of becoming a victim of a crime

1 Survey Results

1.1 Highlights

Maori Culture and Language

Maori respondents were asked to name the tribe(s) to which they have the strongest ties. A quarter claimed strong ties with the Taitokerau tribal group, 15 percent with the Tai Rawhiti group and 10 percent with the Tainui group. A large number of other tribal groups were also mentioned but none accounted for more than 10 percent of respondents. Two percent of respondents reported no tribal affiliation and a further 9 percent did not know their affiliation (Table 1).

About two-fifths of all Maori respondents had visited a marae or attended a tribal hui in the past six months. The likelihood of having been to a marae or tribal hui was related to age: respondents under 45 years were less likely to have been than those aged 45 or over (Table 2).

Of those Maori respondents who had been to a marae or tribal hui in the past six months, 29 percent had been once, 20 percent twice and 27 percent six or more times. Women were more likely than men to have visited or attended at least six times in the past six months. The frequency of visiting or attending increased with age, with the older Maori respondents being the most frequent group (Table 3).

The size of community in which respondents lived also influenced the frequency of visiting or attending. Maori respondents living in the major cities were likely to have made fewer visits to marae or attended tribal hui less often than Maori respondents in rural communities (Table 3).

Maori respondents were asked what benefits, if any, they gained from marae or tribal hui. The most common benefits were meeting family or friends and meeting tribal elders. The opportunity to

have a say in decisions was the least likely to be reported as a benefit (Table 4).

Fourteen percent of all respondents reported they could speak at least one language other than English. Maori respondents and respondents aged between 45 and 59 years were the most likely to speak another language (Table 5).

Of those respondents who spoke a language other than English, 44 percent spoke a European language and 30 percent spoke Maori (Table 6).

About half of the Maori-speaking respondents said they could speak Maori well enough to hold a conversation. The likelihood of being able to converse in Maori increased with age, with those aged under 30 years being the least likely to be able to hold a conversation (Table 7).

Health

Seventy-three percent of respondents had received health care of one form or another in the 12 months preceding the survey (Table 8).

Women were more likely than men to have received health care in the past 12 months. Receipt of health care was also more likely for people aged 60 and over than for younger respondents (Table 8).

The probability of having received health care in the 12 months preceding the survey also varied by ethnic group, with Maori respondents being less likely to have been recipients than Europeans. Part of this difference may be accounted for in terms of the different age structures of the two ethnic groups (Table 8).

Nine in every ten respondents reported being 'very satisfied' or 'fairly satisfied' with the health care they had received in the past 12 months (Table 9). Most respondents were also satisfied with the quality of health care given by GP's or family doctors in New Zealand, and with the standard of health care in New Zealand hospitals (Tables 10 and 11). Fewer than 10 percent of respondents thought that the overall quality of health care in New Zealand was 'fairly bad' or 'very bad'. This was true across all age, sex and ethnic groups (Table 12).

Satisfaction with health care services increased with age, with the older respondents being the most likely to be 'very satisfied' with the quality of health care they received in the past 12 months.

Older respondents were also more likely than those at younger ages to perceive the overall quality of health care in New Zealand as 'very good' (Table 12).

Around three-quarters of respondents perceived the system of health care in New Zealand as being, in general, 'very fair' or 'fair'. Those most likely to consider it 'unfair' or 'very unfair' were European respondents and respondents aged between 30 and 59 (Table 13).

Only a third of respondents agreed that the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Maori respondents showed the most support for using taxes in this way (Table 14).

Respondents were asked if they were covered by medical insurance. Overall, 42 percent were covered at the time of the survey (Table 16).

The likelihood of being covered by medical insurance varied widely by age and sex. Men were more likely to be insured than women, as were people in the middle age groups compared with the young and the old. Forty-five percent of men and 40 percent of women had medical insurance. Those aged between 30 and 59 were the most likely to be covered, with about half insured. The age group with the lowest proportion covered by medical insurance was persons 60 and over with only 23 percent covered (Table 16).

Coverage by medical insurance was considerably higher among European respondents than Maori (Table 16).

The likelihood of being covered by medical insurance also varied between different occupation groups. The highest level of cover occurred in the professional/technical, administrative/managerial and clerical occupation groups. Respondents who were sales workers had the lowest level of cover (Table 16).

Respondents were asked if they suffered from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability. About a quarter reported they suffered from ailments of this kind (Table 55).

Men were more likely than women, and Maoris more likely than Europeans to suffer from the effects of a long-standing illness or disability. The probability of suffering the effects of a long-standing health problem was also greater among persons in sales and agricultural, fishery and forestry occupations than among those in other occupations (Table 55).

There was a marked age effect in the proportion of respondents who reported they suffered from the effects of an injury, long-standing illness or disability, rising from 19 percent to 34 percent between the youngest and oldest age groups (Table 55).

Older respondents, especially those aged 60 and over, were more likely than those at younger ages to report that a long-standing illness or disability interfered 'quite a lot' or 'a very great deal' with their work, and with their enjoyment of life in general. Fifty-nine percent of respondents aged 60 and over who suffered from a long-standing health problem reported that it interfered 'quite a lot' or 'a very great deal' with their ability to work; and 56 percent said that it interfered substantially with their enjoyment of life (Table 56).

Housing

The majority of respondents were satisfied with their housing at the time of the survey. Only 8 percent reported they were 'fairly dissatisfied' or 'very dissatisfied' with their housing, but the percentage rose to 12 percent among people under 30 years of age, and to 15 percent among Maori respondents (Table 17).

Satisfaction with housing was related to the age of the respondent, with the highest levels of satisfaction being recorded among the eldest respondents and the lowest levels among the youngest. Seventy-nine percent of those aged 60 and over reported they were 'very satisfied' with their present housing compared with 40 percent of people in the 15-29 age group (Table 17).

Respondents were asked whether they preferred to own their own home or to rent. Four-fifths expressed a preference for home ownership. Respondents under 30 years of age were more likely than those at older ages to state a preference for renting, but even among this group only 19 percent preferred renting over home ownership (Table 18).

Respondents' preferred tenure was related to the size of the community in which they lived. Those living in rural areas were more likely than those living in urban areas to prefer to own their own home; 93 percent of rural dwellers expressed a preference for home ownership compared with 80 percent of people living in urban centres with a population of 30,000 or more (Table 18).

Nearly three-quarters of respondents agreed that there are some people the Government should help to buy their own home, and

over two-thirds agreed that taxes should be used to provide enough low-cost rental housing so people who need a home can get one. The likelihood of agreeing was higher among Maori than European respondents (Table 20).

Three in every four respondents agreed that Government should make sure that everyone is able to get adequate housing. Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to agree with this, as were people under 30 years of age compared with people at older ages (Table 20).

Education

About a third of respondents had received education of some kind in the 12 months preceding the survey. This included any sort of learning at courses, at work or elsewhere, as well as any sort of private lessons (Table 21).

The likelihood of having received education in the past 12 months decreased with age; 60 percent of respondents under 30 years of age reported they had received some sort of education compared with only 4 percent of respondents aged 60 and over (Table 21).

The probability of receiving education in the 12 months preceding the survey also varied by occupation. Respondents in professional and technical occupations were more likely to have been recipients than those in other occupations. Agricultural, forestry and fishery workers, and production, transport equipment operators and labourers were the least likely to have received any education of any kind (Table 21).

The most common kind of education undertaken by respondents in the 12 months preceding the survey was 'on the job training'. The only age group where this was not the predominant form of education undertaken was the 60 years and over group. 'Hobby, interest and cultural' education was taken more often by respondents in this age group (Table 22).

Women were more likely than men to have received 'hobby, interest or cultural' education in the past 12 months, as were respondents living in rural areas compared with those living in urban localities (Table 22).

The kind of education received varied by ethnic group. Maori respondents were less likely than Europeans to have received tertiary education or on the job training in the 12 months preceding

the survey, but were more likely than Europeans to have been involved in pre-school education (Table 22).

The vast majority of respondents who received education of one kind or another in the 12 months preceding the survey were satisfied with the education they received. Men were less likely than women to be 'very satisfied' with the education they received, as were respondents under 60 years of age compared with those aged 60 and over (Table 23).

Respondents were asked their attitudes towards pre-school, primary, intermediate, secondary and tertiary education in New Zealand. The likelihood of them perceiving the education to be 'very bad' or 'fairly bad' was greater at intermediate and secondary levels than at other levels (Table 24).

Overall, 12 percent of respondents considered that, in general, the quality of education in New Zealand is bad. Respondents under 60 years of age were more likely than those 60 or over to think that the education people get in New Zealand is bad (Table 24).

About three-quarters of respondents who considered the education people in New Zealand is bad thought it bad because it does not provide people with enough of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to think that the education people get is bad because it is not long enough; because it does not provide enough understanding of the culture and values of other people, or enough knowledge about relationships between people; and because it provides insufficient preparation for the labour market today (Table 25).

Three-quarters of respondents considered the education system in New Zealand to be fair. Younger respondents were more likely than older respondents to consider the education system 'unfair' or 'very unfair', as were Maoris compared with Europeans (Table 26).

Respondents were canvassed for their views on Kohanga Reo. Over half agreed that Kohanga Reo should be encouraged, and about two-fifths agreed that it should be extended to primary school. Not surprisingly, support for Kohanga Reo was stronger among Maori than European respondents. Overall, 87 percent of Maori respondents agreed that Kohanga Reo should be encouraged, and 79 percent were in favour of it being extended to primary school. The comparable percentages for European respondents were 52 percent and 38 percent respectively (Table 27).

The level of support for Kohanga Reo varied depending on the age of respondents. Those aged 60 and over were more likely than those aged under 60 to be opposed to Kohanga Reo (Table 27).

Overall, there was not a great deal of support for using taxes to help pay for Kohanga Reo. Only about a third of respondents agreed that taxes should be used for this purpose. Support for using taxes to help pay for Kohanga Reo was greater among Maori than European respondents. Sixty-eight percent of Maori respondents were in favour of using taxes for Kohanga Reo compared with 31 percent of Europeans (Table 27).

Justice

One in every five respondents reported something had happened to them in the past 12 months that they thought was a crime (Table 28).

Men were more likely than women to have been victims. Twenty-one percent of men had been the victim of a crime or crimes in the 12 months prior to the survey, compared with 17 percent of women (Table 28).

The likelihood of having been a victim of a crime varied with age, with younger respondents more likely to have been victims than older respondents. About a quarter of those aged under 45 reported they had been the victim of a crime in the past 12 months, compared with only 9 percent of those aged 45 and over (Table 28).

Where people lived made a difference to the likelihood of victimisation, with respondents living in major cities more likely to have been victims than those living in smaller towns or in rural areas (Table 28).

The majority of respondents had some confidence in the police in their area. Forty-two percent of respondents said they had 'a great deal' of confidence, and another 42 percent said they had 'only some confidence' in the police (Table 30).

The likelihood of having 'a great deal' of confidence in the police increased with age, rising from 25 percent for those aged under 30, to 62 percent for those aged 60 and over (Table 30).

Respondents were asked if there is anything they want to do but do not do because they are afraid someone may commit a crime against them. Overall, 43 percent of respondents said they restricted their activities because they were afraid of becoming a

victim of a crime. A much higher proportion of women than men were afraid of having a crime committed against them, as were European respondents compared with Maori (Table 31).

Respondents living in rural areas were less likely than urban respondents to restrict their activities through fear of crime (Table 31).

Of those respondents whose activities were restricted, 9 percent said that their fear of crime interferes with their enjoyment of life a 'very great deal', and another 24 percent said that it interferes 'quite a lot'. Women were much more likely than men, and Maoris more likely than Europeans, to say that their fear of crime interferes a 'very great deal' with their enjoyment of life (Table 32).

Respondents were canvassed for their views on possible ways in which the number of crimes such as assaults and burglary could be reduced. The three methods most favoured by respondents were: teaching children in schools how to settle differences without violence; reducing the amount of violence and crime shown on television, films and videos; and reducing unemployment (Table 33).

Unemployment

There was widespread agreement among respondents that anybody who wants a job should have one; only 7 percent disagreed (Table 34a).

Respondents were asked for their views, firstly, on whether Government should tackle unemployment by using taxes to create jobs, and, secondly, on whether Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on. Overall, there was more support among respondents for the latter than the former; 68 percent agreed that taxes should be used to make sure the jobless have enough to live on and 50 percent agreed with using taxes for job creation (Tables 34b and 36).

Four-fifths of respondents agreed that some groups of people have a worse chance than others of getting a job even when they are just as capable of doing the job. Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to 'agree strongly' with this, as were respondents aged under 30 compared with those aged 30 and over (Table 34c).

Respondents were presented with a number of suggestions about why people are unemployed, and asked for their opinions on each.

They were more likely to 'agree strongly' that people are unemployed because they do not try hard enough to get a job, or because so many factories and workplaces have closed down, than they were with the suggestion that people are unemployed because they live in areas where jobs are scarce, or because they do not have enough skills or qualifications (Tables 35a, b, c and d).

Nine in every ten respondents who supported the view that Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on thought that the unemployed people getting the money should have to do some sort of work for it. Support was equally strong among men and women, the young and the old, and Maori and European respondents alike (Table 37).

Income Support for Special Groups

There was almost universal agreement among respondents with the notion that the Government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on. Only one in every 20 respondents disagreed (Table 38).

Of those respondents who agreed that taxes should be used to make sure that the elderly have enough to live on, a majority (52 percent) thought that income support for the elderly should begin at the age of 60, with 32 percent opting for a starting age of 65. Only 5 percent were in favour of beginning income support for the elderly before the age of 60 (Table 39).

The age and ethnicity of respondents affected the age at which they thought income support should be given to the elderly. Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to think that it should begin at age 60, as were respondents under 60 years of age compared with those aged 60 and over (Table 39).

Respondents were divided on the question as to whether a set amount of money should be paid to all elderly people who have reached the qualifying age for income support, or whether less should be paid to those who are financially well-off. Just over half the respondents were in favour of paying less to the well-off, with 44 percent favouring payment of a set amount to everyone (Table 40).

There was widespread agreement that the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who are disabled or sick for long

periods have enough to live on. Overall, 95 percent of respondents expressed their support (Table 41).

Respondents who thought that the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who are disabled or too sick to work have enough to live on were less united on the issue of whether all should get a set amount of money, or whether less should be paid to those who are well off. Fifty-five percent favoured paying less to those who are well-off, and 41 percent favoured paying a set amount to everyone, regardless of their financial situation. Proportionately more Maori than European respondents supported the payment of a fixed amount to everyone (Table 42).

Respondents showed a high level of support for the use of taxes to give help to people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home. Only 7 percent expressed opposition to using taxes for this purpose. Respondents who agreed with using taxes in this way were fairly evenly divided on the question of whether help should be provided to all carers of disabled people, or whether it should only be paid to those who are less well off (Tables 43 and 44).

Two-thirds of respondents supported the idea of using taxes to assist families that do not have enough income to meet their needs. Support was higher among Maori than European respondents (Table 45).

Taxation and Government Expenditure

Respondents were presented with a list of government services and benefits and, for each one, asked whether they thought the government should spend more, less or about the same amount as now. The areas where there was most support for increasing government expenditure were crime prevention, education, job creation, health and job training. The areas where there was most support for reducing government expenditure were overseas aid and defence (Table 46).

Age made a marked difference to respondents' attitudes in some areas of government expenditure. Respondents aged 60 and over showed considerably higher levels of support than those under 60 for increased government expenditure on crime prevention, defence, public transport and help for industry. They were less likely than younger respondents, however, to favour increased expenditure on health and education (Table 46).

Attitudes towards using taxes to pay for government services and benefits also varied by ethnicity. Maori respondents were more likely than European to favour increasing the level of government expenditure on most services and benefits. Exceptions were in the area of education where the proportions favouring an increase were similar for Maoris and Europeans alike, and in the area of crime prevention where Maori people were less likely than Europeans to favour an increase (Table 46).

Respondents were divided on the issue of the fairness of the tax system in New Zealand. Half of all respondents perceived the tax system to be 'unfair' or 'very unfair' and 42 percent thought it 'fair' or 'very fair' (Table 47).

Overall, 47 percent of respondents thought they got good value from the system of taxes, services and benefits in New Zealand. Older respondents were more likely to think this. Over two-thirds of those aged 60 and over thought they will have had good value from the system of taxes, services and benefits over their life time, compared with 43 percent of those under 30 years of age (Tables 49 and 50).

Effects of Government Economic Decisions

The overwhelming majority of respondents (over 85 percent) agreed that when the Government is making an economic decision, it should give more consideration to the effects on people's health, on poorer people in society, on the prices of everyday things like food, on the number of jobs available and on people's ability to buy a home (Table 51).

Two-thirds of respondents thought that the Government should give more consideration to the effects of its economic decisions on business profits, and about two-fifths to whether its decisions will conflict with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Table 51).

Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to think it 'very important' that the Government give more consideration to the effects of its economic decisions. Not surprisingly, Maori respondents were seven times more likely than Europeans to consider that the Government should give more consideration to whether its decisions will conflict with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Table 51).

General Issues

There was little disagreement with the notion that individuals should be free to live in whatever way they think is right as long as they do not harm others. Overall, only 14 percent of respondents expressed disagreement. Respondents under 60 years of age were more likely than those 60 and over to disagree with the protection of individual freedoms, as were European respondents compared with Maori (Table 52a).

Only about a fifth of respondents thought that religion should have more influence over people's lives. Those aged 45 and over were more likely to favour greater religious influence than those under 45, as were Maori respondents compared with Europeans (Table 52b).

Respondents were divided on the question of whether people should be able to live openly as homosexuals without fearing that society will treat them badly; 41 percent agreed and 39 percent disagreed. Women were more likely than men to favour less victimisation. Age also affected respondents' attitudes. Almost half of those under 45 years of age thought that people should be able to live openly as homosexuals, compared with about a third of those aged 45–59, and a quarter of those aged 60 or over (Table 52c).

Forty-six percent of respondents agreed that New Zealand should honour the Treaty of Waitangi. Naturally enough, Maori respondents showed more support for this than Europeans (Table 52d).

Just under half of the survey respondents agreed that people should be able to feel sure that whatever happens to them, the Government will look after them. Thirty-eight percent disagreed. Men were more likely than women to disagree that the Government should ensure people's welfare. Also, disagreement was more common for Europeans compared with Maori and for people in the middle age groups compared with the young and the old (Table 52e).

Settling Maori land grievances by giving back the land, giving other land or paying the Maori for the land was supported by only a quarter of respondents. Maori respondents were much more likely than Europeans to agree that Maori land grievances should be settled in these ways. Sixty-four percent of Maoris expressed agreement compared with 20 percent of Europeans (Table 52f).

The majority of survey respondents agreed that there should be more capable women and Maori in high positions in business and Government. Support was stronger among women than men, and among Maori compared with European respondents (Tables 52g and h).

Lowering the tax on high incomes so people have an incentive to work harder received the support of 46 percent of respondents, and was opposed by 39 percent. Europeans were much more likely than Maoris to express opposition (Table 52i).

There was almost universal support for employers having to pay at least a basic wage that is enough for people to live on. Support was equally high among men and women, the young and elderly, and Maori and Europeans alike (Table 52j).

On the question of whether there should be less difference between what the highest and lowest paid people get, 47 percent of respondents agreed and 37 percent disagreed. Men were more likely than women to disagree with the concept of more equitable incomes, as were Europeans compared with Maoris, and persons aged 30–59 compared with those at younger and older ages (Table 52l).

Support for equal employment opportunities for women was almost universal, with 59 percent of respondents supporting this a 'very great deal' and 33 percent 'quite a lot'. Only 2 percent expressed opposition. Women were more likely than men to support equal employment opportunities for women a 'very great deal', as were respondents in professional/technical and administrative/managerial occupations compared to those in other occupations. Also, support was stronger among respondents under 45 years than among those aged 45 and over (Table 54a).

Flexible working hours was another issue that received fairly widespread support, with only 6 percent of respondents showing no support at all. The likelihood of supporting flexible working hours a 'very great deal' was greater for women than men, and for those under 60 years of age compared with those aged 60 and over. Also, proportionately more Maori than European respondents showed a 'very great deal' of support (Table 54b).

Respondents were asked for their views on whether day care for children and invalids should be partly or fully paid for by taxes. Overall, support was considerably greater for using taxes to pay for invalid day care than it was for child day care (Tables 54c and d).

A clear majority of respondents favoured controls on pornography. Overall, 44 percent supported this a 'very great deal', with a further 23 percent showing 'quite a lot' of support. Older respondents were more likely than younger to show a 'very great deal' of support, as were Maori compared with Europeans. Men were almost twice as likely as women to show no support at all for restricting the availability of pornography (Table 54e).

Maori Issues and Concerns

Support for Maori issues and concerns, such as the establishment of marae or community health centres staffed by Maori health workers, making the teaching of Maori language compulsory in New Zealand schools and improving housing for Maori people on Maori land varied markedly depending on the particular issue or concern (Table 53).

Of the issues canvassed, support was strongest for making the teaching of Maori language available in New Zealand schools to those who want to learn it. Twenty-eight percent supported this a 'very great deal' and a further 44 percent supported it 'quite a lot'. Support was very much stronger among Maori than European respondents (Table 53c).

Although there was fairly widespread support for making the teaching of Maori language available in schools, there was relatively little support for making it compulsory. Overall, only 4 percent of respondents supported the teaching of Maori language to all students in New Zealand schools 'a very great deal', with a further 9 percent supporting it 'quite a lot'. Not surprisingly, most support for compulsory teaching came from Maori respondents (Table 53b).

Respondents were far from united on issues concerning the setting up of Maori health centres, the restoration and protection of Maori fishing rights, improving housing for Maori people on Maori land and giving tribal authorities more control over how money available for Maori concerns is spent. As with other areas of Maori concern canvassed in the survey, support was considerably higher among Maori than European respondents (Tables 52a, d, e and f).

Membership of Organised Groups

Respondents were asked about their membership and involvement in a range of organised groups. Sports clubs had the highest membership, followed by trade unions and employers associations, and churches and religious organisations (Tables 57–61).

Membership of sports clubs and churches or religious groups was related to sex, although in different ways. The probability of belonging to a sports club was greater for men than women, while the probability of belonging to a church or religious organisation was greater for women than men. The likelihood of belonging to a church or religious organisation was also affected by age and ethnicity. Membership was higher for Maori than European respondents, and increased with age. Just under a fifth of respondents aged under 30 years belonged to a church or religious organisation compared with almost half of those aged 60 and over (Tables 59a and 61a).

Membership of trade unions and employers associations varied by sex and age, and between rural and urban areas. Men were more often members than women, as were people under 60 years of age compared with those aged 60 and over. It is likely that at least some of the sex and age differences will be accounted for by the fact that smaller proportions of women and elderly people are employed (Table 57a).

Only a minority (10 percent) of survey respondents reported membership of a political party organisation. This was another type of group where membership was related to age. The proportion who belonged rose from 3 percent of 15–29 year olds to 19 percent of those aged 60 and over. Where people lived also made a difference to membership, with people living in urban areas being less likely to be affiliated to a political party organisation than those living in rural areas (Table 58a).

Not all respondents who belonged to the various types of groups were active members. For example, 56 percent of those who belonged to a trade union/employers association and 58 percent of those who were members of a political party organisation said they never attended meetings. However, for sports clubs, community service groups and church or religious organisations, a majority of members attended meetings or were otherwise actively involved (Tables 57–61).

Unpaid Work and Charitable Donations

Nearly two-thirds of respondents said they were involved in unpaid work of one form or another to help people outside their household. Men were more likely than women to be involved in this type of work, as were Maori compared with European respondents. Age also affected participation in unpaid work outside the home, with people under 30 years of age having lower levels of participation than those 30 and over (Table 62).

The majority of respondents doing unpaid work outside their home did so for between one and four hours a week, with about a quarter spending more hours than this. The likelihood of being involved in unpaid work for five or more hours a week was greater for women than men, and for Maori compared with European respondents. Also, proportionately more people aged 60 and over were engaged in unpaid work for five or more hours a week compared with those at younger ages (Table 64).

While a sizeable number of respondents (56 percent) engaged in unpaid work were doing this for relatives, the proportion doing it for non-relatives was much higher at 87 percent. Maori respondents were considerably more likely than Europeans to be engaged in unpaid help for relatives; 82 percent of Maori respondents compared with 53 percent of Europeans (Table 63).

Just under half of the survey respondents said they gave money regularly to individuals or organisations outside their household. The probability of giving money was related to age and ethnicity. People at younger ages were less likely than those at older ages to give money regularly, as were Europeans compared with Maoris (Table 65).

Four-fifths of respondents who gave money regularly said they gave to groups, just under a fifth gave to relatives and about a quarter gave to other people. Maori respondents were more likely than Europeans to give money to relatives and other people, but less likely to give to groups (Table 66).

Income, Benefits and Standard of Living

Forty-seven percent of all respondents said that they received a Department of Social Welfare benefit or allowance in the 12 months preceding the survey. This covered all types of benefits and

allowances including the Family Benefit and National Superannuation. Women, Maori people, clerical and sales workers and people in the 30-44 and 60 and over age groups were the most likely to have received a benefit or allowance (Table 68).

Leaving aside the Family Benefit and National Superannuation, the benefits/allowances most commonly received were Family Care, which was received by 12 percent of respondents, and the Unemployment Benefit, received by 9 percent (Table 69).

The type of Department of Social Welfare benefit or allowance received varied by respondents' sex, age, ethnic origin and occupation. For instance, the likelihood of receiving the Unemployment Benefit was higher for men than women, for Maori than European respondents, for people aged under 30 compared with those at older ages, and for respondents in sales, and production and labouring occupations compared with those in other occupations. Receipt of Family Care was most common among women, 30-44 year olds and Maori respondents. The probability of receiving the Invalids Benefit or the Sickness Benefit was more likely among respondents aged 45-59 than those at other ages, and among Maori as compared with Europeans. Those most likely to be receiving the Domestic Purposes Benefit were women, Maori people and respondents employed in service occupations (Table 69).

The incomes of respondents were related to their demographic and occupational characteristics. The probability of receiving no income at all or a total gross annual income of less than \$10,000 was greatest for women, Maori people, the young and the old alike, and for people working in service and agricultural, forestry, fishing and hunting occupations. Conversely, the probability of receiving an income at the upper end of the income scale (that is, \$30,500 and over) was greatest for men, Europeans, 30-59 year olds and those employed in professional/technical and administrative/managerial occupations (Table 70).

Most people were satisfied with their standard of living. Overall, 40 percent of respondents said they were 'very satisfied' and a further 44 percent were 'fairly satisfied'. Only 9 percent expressed dissatisfaction. Satisfaction was related to age, with the oldest respondents being the most likely to be 'very satisfied'. Sixty-four percent of respondents aged 60 and over were 'very satisfied' with their standard of living compared with less than 40 percent of those under 60 years of age (Table 71).

TABLE 1: Tribal affiliation of Maori respondents¹, by sex, age, occupation, and urban/rural status

Sex	Tribal affiliation														Can-not be coded	
	Arawa	Kahungunu	Kaitiaki	Hauraki	Mataitau	Taitokerau	Tairāwhiti	Rangitāne	Rauwaka	Taranaki	Tauranga	Tuwharetoa	Tainui	Whanganui	No tribe known	All respondents
Age	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
male	7	8	5	3	8	29	14	2	3	1	3	5	9	2	3	6
female	10	8	2	1	7	22	15	7	4	3	2	3	11	2	2	6
15-29	9	6	1	2	8	28	10	1	4	3	3	3	11	1	5	4
30-44	9	12	7	2	5	21	25	1	2	3	2	3	9	0	1	7
45-59	8	10	4	0	10	21	14	17	5	2	2	7	9	3	0	7
60 +	6	3	4	1	4	37	8	9	3	0	2	1	11	9	1	5
Occupation																
Prof/Tech	9	11	3	0	6	18	13	31	8	0	3	2	9	5	0	1
Admn/Man	7	34	0	12	0	0	6	0	22	0	0	11	0	0	9	0
Clerical	20	5	1	0	5	23	31	0	5	5	6	2	8	0	3	4
Sales	20	19	0	0	5	11	9	0	0	0	0	4	6	0	0	10
Service	6	7	0	1	6	26	15	0	2	4	5	5	3	1	1	6
Ag/Fish	2	2	15	1	10	38	13	0	1	0	1	4	8	0	1	3
Prod/Lab	8	9	1	1	8	24	15	0	4	1	1	5	13	1	6	9
Not spec.	6	8	3	3	9	26	12	8	4	4	3	3	12	4	1	5
Urban/Rural																
main urban	10	6	4	2	6	24	13	5	5	2	4	2	10	3	4	6
secondary urban	8	15	1	1	16	15	9	4	0	2	3	10	18	0	1	8
minor urban	4	18	7	0	11	28	14	0	4	2	0	5	14	1	1	6
rural	7	4	1	1	6	31	22	9	3	3	0	2	6	2	1	2
Total New Zealand	8	8	3	2	8	25	15	5	4	2	2	3	10	2	2	6

¹ Respondents could choose more than one tribe so percentages will total to more than 100.

TABLE 2: Maori respondents. Attendance at marae or tribal hui in last six months, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status

	Attended marae or tribal hui				All respondents
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All % Number
Sex					
male	42	55	1	2	100 99113
female	45	53	0	2	100 114193
Age					
15-29	39	60	1	1	100 92981
30-44	36	62	0	3	100 52776
45-59	57	39	0	4	100 48215
60 +	56	44	0	0	100 19334
Occupation					
Prof/Tech	81	19	0	0	100 14750
Admn/Man	25	65	0	10	100 2297
Clerical	34	66	0	0	100 21328
Sales	30	61	10	0	100 8334
Service	45	52	0	3	100 12070
Ag/Fish	31	68	0	1	100 23473
Prod/Lab	39	58	0	3	100 50313
Not spec.	48	50	0	2	100 80740
Urban/Rural					
main urban	41	57	1	2	100 124973
secondary urban	54	39	0	7	100 17204
minor urban	41	56	0	3	100 28264
rural	49	51	0	0	100 42865
Total New Zealand	44	54	0	2	100 213306

TABLE 3: Maori respondents. Number of times attended marae or tribal hui in last six months, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status

	Number of times at marae or tribal hui							Not spec.	All %	All respondents Number
	One %	Two %	Three %	Four %	Five %	Six to ten %	More than ten %			
Sex										
male	29	17	19	7	3	10	12	2	100	41619
female	29	22	9	5	2	17	13	4	100	51570
Age										
15-29	41	16	17	7	3	7	5	3	100	35899
30-44	24	22	13	8	2	14	12	6	100	18874
45-59	24	28	9	3	1	18	13	2	100	27531
60 +	7	7	16	0	7	26	35	2	100	10884
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	9	47	7	4	0	9	18	6	100	12020
Admn/Man	26	0	0	47	0	27	0	0	100	573
Clerical	28	14	6	9	9	22	7	3	100	7230
Sales	52	14	9	4	0	6	15	0	100	2487
Service	32	12	16	10	0	18	11	2	100	5456
Ag/Fish	7	31	30	2	5	16	4	5	100	7362
Prod/Lab	44	14	16	7	1	6	8	5	100	19699
Not spec.	29	15	13	4	4	17	16	2	100	38362
Urban/Rural										
main urban	36	23	15	4	3	8	8	4	100	51385
secondary urban	21	17	13	14	6	13	10	7	100	9271
minor urban	27	12	23	7	2	20	8	1	100	11510
rural	17	16	5	6	2	26	29	0	100	21022
Total New Zealand	29	20	14	6	3	14	13	3	100	93189

TABLE 4: Maori respondents.¹ Benefits gained from marae or tribal hui, by sex, age, occupation and urban/rural status

	Meeting family or friends %	Identity boost %	Learning marae kawa %	Meeting elders %	A say in decisions %	Contribution to tribal life %	Other %	Don't know %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>									
male	93	63	65	79	44	60	18	0	41619
female	90	63	58	66	33	49	14	1	51570
<i>Age</i>									
15-29	92	53	58	64	23	43	11	1	35899
30-44	90	70	75	82	40	54	9	1	18874
45-59	89	67	55	67	44	57	17	0	27531
60 +	98	74	62	91	69	80	38	0	10884
<i>Occupation</i>									
Prof/Tech	99	77	59	61	30	46	21	1	12020
Admn/Man	100	100	100	100	27	27	0	0	573
Clerical	100	70	67	75	32	61	17	0	7230
Sales	100	18	37	54	26	30	0	0	2487
Service	88	53	51	55	36	37	14	0	5456
Ag/Fish	94	66	66	74	38	41	14	0	7362
Prod/Lab	90	60	62	68	36	53	11	1	19699
Not spec.	87	62	62	80	44	62	18	0	38362
<i>Urban/Rural</i>									
main urban	93	66	61	71	35	50	14	1	51385
secondary urban	97	61	60	81	42	66	10	0	9271
minor urban	89	35	41	57	29	40	17	0	11510
rural	86	73	75	79	48	64	21	0	21022
Total New Zealand	91	63	61	72	38	54	16	0	93189

¹ Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total to more than 100 percent.

TABLE 5: Whether language other than English spoken, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Speak language other than English			All respondents
	Yes	No	Not spec.	
	%	%	%	Number
Sex				
male	14	83	3	1196988
female	14	83	3	1253491
Age				
15-29	13	84	4	830720
30-44	15	83	1	691798
45-59	22	73	5	461674
60 +	7	91	1	466287
Ethnic origin				
European	9	89	2	2079268
NZ Maori	51	48	2	131126
NZ Maori-European	27	73	0	66833
Other	55	34	11	153986
Not spec.	0	99	1	19266
Occupation				
Prof/Tech	16	83	0	292680
Admn/Man	18	82	0	104887
Clerical	17	78	5	333438
Sales	13	85	2	158891
Service	22	73	5	119606
Ag/Fish	6	93	0	191475
Prod/Lab	15	83	2	405676
Not spec.	13	83	4	843826
Urban/Rural				
main urban	15	84	1	1717271
secondary urban	10	66	24	172754
minor urban	12	86	2	206739
rural	12	86	2	353714
Total New Zealand	14	83	3	2450479

TABLE 6: Language(s) spoken by respondents who speak a language other than English¹, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Maori %	Cook Island Maori %	Fijian %	Samoa %	Tokelauan %	Tongan %	Polynesian %	Other %	European language %	Asian language %	Other %	All res- pondents Number
Sex												
male	26	7	4	8	0	2	1	45	10	10	167804	
female	34	4	1	10	1	2	2	43	6	7	181243	
Age												
15-29	30	4	4	13	0	2	3	38	8	12	104566	
30-44	24	9	5	9	1	3	2	42	12	3	106988	
45-59	31	4	1	7	0	1	2	50	4	13	102898	
60 +	47	3	0	4	0	0	1	48	8	1	34596	
Ethnic origin												
European	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	76	2	14	180106	
NZ Maori	98	2	1	1	0	1	1	12	1	2	66428	
NZ Maori-European	89	0	0	0	0	1	0	17	0	5	18045	
Other	3	19	12	37	1	7	7	6	26	3	84469	
Occupation												
Prof/Tech	31	1	4	2	0	0	1	52	4	18	48003	
Admn/Man	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	81	0	39	19337	
Clerical	7	1	11	5	0	1	1	71	11	5	56038	
Sales	9	2	2	4	0	2	6	61	33	2	20205	
Service	33	6	3	12	0	4	2	38	0	6	26219	
Ag/Fish	41	0	5	0	0	2	0	40	24	0	11744	
Prod/Lab	38	17	1	21	0	4	4	12	8	2	60006	
Not spec.	44	5	0	11	1	1	2	36	5	6	107495	
Urban/Rural												
main urban	22	7	3	12	0	2	2	47	8	9	264162	
secondary urban	44	1	2	0	0	2	0	15	28	21	17735	
minor urban	80	0	0	0	4	0	0	17	0	0	24365	
rural	48	0	2	1	0	2	1	54	1	2	42785	
Total New Zealand	30	5	3	9	0	2	2	44	8	8	349047	

¹ Respondents could specify more than one language so percentages will total to more than 100 percent.

TABLE 7: Maori speaking respondents. How well Maori is spoken, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	How well Maori is spoken		All respondents	All Number
	A little %	Can converse %		
Sex				
male	48	52	100	34735
female	41	59	100	50755
Age				
15-29	71	29	100	23157
30-44	64	36	100	20833
45-59	20	80	100	28319
60 +	16	84	100	13180
Ethnic origin				
European	58	42	100	15377
NZ Maori	41	59	100	55940
NZ Maori-European	40	60	100	14173
Occupation				
Prof/Tech	22	78	100	10831
Admn/Man	23	77	100	678
Clerical	60	40	100	2403
Sales	27	73	100	947
Service	24	76	100	8390
Ag/Fish	48	52	100	4209
Prod/Lab	65	35	100	20295
Not spec.	43	57	100	37736
Urban/Rural				
main urban	49	51	100	45733
secondary urban	21	79	100	5693
minor urban	55	45	100	15951
rural	30	70	100	18113
Total New Zealand	44	56	100	85490

TABLE 8: Receipt of health care in last twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Health care received				All %	All res- pondents Number
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex						
male	67	33	0	0	100	1196988
female	80	20	0	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	73	27	0	0	100	830720
30-44	70	30	0	0	100	691798
45-59	70	30	0	0	100	461674
60 +	83	17	0	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	73	27	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	67	32	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	83	17	0	0	100	66833
Other	73	27	0	0	100	153986
Not spec.	99	1	0	0	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	78	22	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	55	45	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	82	18	0	0	100	333438
Sales	62	38	0	0	100	158891
Service	78	22	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	63	37	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	64	36	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	79	21	0	0	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	76	24	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	78	22	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	54	46	0	0	100	206739
rural	72	28	0	0	100	353714
Total New Zealand	73	26	0	0	100	2450479

TABLE 9: Respondents receiving health care in the last twelve months. Satisfaction with the health care received by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

		Satisfaction with health care						All %	All res- pondents Number
		Very satisfied %	Fairly satisfied %	Neither satisfied nor dissatis- fied %	Fairly dissatis- fied %	Very dissatis- fied %	Don't know %		
Sex									
male		49	40	4	4	3	0	100	800306
female		56	35	3	5	2	0	100	1000483
Age									
15-29		45	43	4	6	3	0	100	609082
30-44		47	43	2	5	4	0	100	482324
45-59		52	33	10	3	2	0	100	322464
60 +		75	24	0	2	0	0	100	386919
Ethnic origin									
European		55	35	4	5	2	0	100	1525884
NZ Maori		47	43	2	3	5	0	100	88177
NZ Maori- European		56	37	4	1	2	0	100	55450
Other		44	47	4	1	3	0	100	112163
Not spec.		0	100	0	0	0	0	100	19115
Occupation									
Prof/Tech		40	41	8	11	0	0	100	229359
Admn/Man		48	40	0	11	1	0	100	57422
Clerical		46	45	1	6	2	0	100	273296
Sales		42	42	8	1	7	0	100	97757
Service		37	49	6	5	3	0	100	92831
Ag/Fish		57	35	2	4	3	0	100	119828
Prod/Lab		54	35	3	2	5	0	100	260782
Not spec.		63	31	3	2	1	0	100	669513
Urban/Rural									
main urban		53	36	3	5	3	0	100	1301533
secondary urban		51	41	4	3	1	0	100	134193
minor urban		65	28	4	2	0	0	100	111315
rural		49	44	5	2	1	0	100	253748
Total New Zealand		53	37	4	4	2	0	100	1800789

TABLE 10: Perceived quality of health care given by GPs and family doctors, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

Perceived quality of health care											
		Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All respondents	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number	
Sex											
male		29	59	6	4	1	1	0	100	1196988	
female		34	49	9	5	1	2	0	100	1253491	
Age											
15-29		22	60	10	7	1	2	0	100	830720	
30-44		29	58	7	3	1	1	0	100	691798	
45-59		30	50	9	8	1	1	0	100	461674	
60 +		53	41	4	1	0	1	0	100	466287	
Ethnic origin											
European		30	55	8	5	1	1	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori		30	54	9	3	2	2	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori-European		31	58	6	2	1	3	0	100	66833	
Other		48	40	8	3	1	1	0	100	153986	
Not spec.		25	75	0	0	0	0	0	100	19266	
Occupation											
Prof/Tech		23	54	11	6	3	2	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man		31	45	6	18	0	0	0	100	104887	
Clerical		25	62	3	7	1	2	0	100	333438	
Sales		21	64	13	2	0	0	0	100	158891	
Service		25	59	14	0	0	2	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish		26	57	8	7	0	1	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab		27	60	9	3	1	1	0	100	405676	
Not spec.		43	45	6	3	0	2	0	100	843826	
Urban/Rural											
main urban		31	53	9	5	1	1	0	100	1717271	
secondary urban		39	47	7	2	1	3	1	100	172754	
minor urban		34	55	7	2	0	3	0	100	206739	
rural		28	59	4	7	0	1	0	100	353714	
Total New Zealand											
		31	54	8	5	1	1	0	100	2450479	

TABLE 11: Perceived quality of health care given by New Zealand hospitals, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Quality of health care in hospitals								All %	All res- pondents Number
	Very good %	Fairly good %	Neither		Very bad %	Don't know %	Not spec. %			
			good nor bad %	Fairly bad %						
Sex										
male	25	47	10	4	2	12	0	100	1196988	
female	30	42	10	6	2	10	0	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29	15	49	13	5	2	16	0	100	830720	
30-44	26	51	12	6	1	4	0	100	691798	
45-59	37	39	6	3	2	12	0	100	461674	
60 +	42	33	5	8	0	12	0	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European	26	45	10	5	1	12	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	28	47	10	5	3	6	1	100	131126	
NZ Maori- European	32	48	4	7	2	7	0	100	66833	
Other	38	34	12	4	4	8	0	100	153986	
Not spec.	32	66	1	0	0	1	0	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	20	52	14	5	3	7	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man	23	50	10	2	1	13	0	100	104887	
Clerical	27	41	10	10	0	12	0	100	333438	
Sales	21	52	12	7	1	8	0	100	158891	
Service	29	54	9	1	1	6	1	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	30	49	7	3	2	8	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	23	46	12	5	1	13	0	100	405676	
Not spec.	33	39	8	5	2	13	0	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban	27	43	12	6	2	12	0	100	1717271	
secondary										
urban	24	49	5	12	3	8	0	100	172754	
minor urban	37	43	8	2	0	10	0	100	206739	
rural	26	53	6	3	2	11	0	100	353714	
Total New Zealand	27	45	10	5	2	11	0	100	2450479	

TABLE 12: Perceived overall quality of health care in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Quality of health care in New Zealand								All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.	%		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		Number
Sex										
male	25	56	10	4	2	2	0	100		1196988
female	25	56	11	4	1	2	0	100		1253491
Age										
15-29	18	65	11	3	1	2	0	100		830720
30-44	27	51	13	6	1	2	0	100		691798
45-59	27	54	9	5	4	0	0	100		461674
60 +	34	51	7	2	1	5	0	100		466287
Ethnic origin										
European	26	57	10	4	2	2	0	100		2079268
NZ Maori	24	55	12	5	3	2	0	100		131126
NZ Maori-European	16	54	16	11	0	3	0	100		66833
Other	31	49	11	6	1	3	0	100		153986
Not spec.	0	67	33	0	0	0	0	100		19266
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	22	56	13	6	3	0	0	100		292680
Admn/Man	31	48	16	4	0	1	0	100		104887
Clerical	24	59	6	3	2	5	0	100		333438
Sales	25	60	12	3	0	0	0	100		158891
Service	26	61	8	5	0	0	0	100		119606
Ag/Fish	21	59	15	3	2	0	0	100		191475
Prod/Lab	23	55	11	5	3	1	0	100		405676
Not spec.	28	55	9	3	1	4	0	100		843826
Urban/Rural										
main urban	25	54	12	4	2	2	0	100		1717271
secondary urban	24	59	5	4	1	7	0	100		172754
minor urban	32	55	9	1	0	3	0	100		206739
rural	22	65	8	5	0	1	0	100		353714
Total New Zealand	25	56	10	4	2	2	0	100		2450479

TABLE 13: Perceived fairness of the health care system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Fairness of health care system						All	All res- pondents
	Very fair	Fair	Unfair	Very unfair	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	12	65	20	3	1	0	100	1196988
female	15	58	21	3	2	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	10	72	14	1	2	0	100	830720
30-44	10	61	27	1	1	0	100	691798
45-59	11	54	26	8	1	0	100	461674
60 +	25	51	17	3	3	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	14	60	21	3	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	9	70	13	3	4	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	7	66	21	1	5	0	100	66833
Other	17	63	17	1	1	0	100	153986
Not spec.	0	99	0	1	1	0	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	11	57	28	4	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	16	39	30	7	7	0	100	104887
Clerical	7	65	23	3	2	0	100	333438
Sales	19	60	21	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	5	62	33	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	7	72	14	5	1	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	13	64	21	1	2	0	100	405676
Not spec.	18	61	15	2	2	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	13	60	23	2	2	0	100	1717271
secondary								
urban	13	63	10	7	6	0	100	172754
minor urban	22	60	15	1	1	0	100	206739
rural	9	69	16	6	1	0	100	353714
Total New Zealand	13	61	20	3	2	0	100	2450479

TABLE 14: Attitudes towards using taxes to pay for the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Should taxes pay for GP visits					All respondents Number
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	
Sex						
male	33	65	2	0	100	1196988
female	32	62	5	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	42	52	5	0	100	830720
30-44	27	71	2	0	100	691798
45-59	31	66	3	0	100	461674
60 +	24	71	5	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	30	67	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	57	36	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	37	46	17	0	100	66833
Other	45	50	5	0	100	153986
Not spec.	75	24	1	0	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	29	70	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	31	69	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	33	63	5	0	100	333438
Sales	24	76	0	0	100	158891
Service	40	58	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	31	65	4	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	39	57	3	0	100	405676
Not spec.	32	62	6	0	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	31	65	4	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	26	71	3	0	100	172754
minor urban	41	52	7	0	100	206739
rural	40	59	1	0	100	353714
Total New Zealand	33	64	4	0	100	2450479

TABLE 15: Respondents who think the whole cost of GP visits should be paid out of taxes. Whether this should be so if it means less money for hospitals and other health care, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	<i>Even if less money for other health care</i>				<i>All</i>	<i>All res- pondents</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Not spec.</i>		
	%	%	%	%	%	Number
<i>Sex</i>						
<i>male</i>	43	47	7	3	100	391644
<i>female</i>	36	53	11	0	100	406892
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	35	52	10	2	100	351212
30-44	39	52	7	2	100	189746
45-59	46	43	10	1	100	145362
60 +	45	48	7	0	100	112216
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	39	51	9	1	100	615795
NZ Maori	47	44	8	0	100	74298
NZ Maori- European	40	45	14	1	100	24659
Other	44	43	12	0	100	69274
Not spec.	0	43	1	56	100	14509
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	36	62	2	0	100	84793
Admn/Man	65	35	0	0	100	32866
Clerical	22	69	10	0	100	108403
Sales	33	58	9	0	100	38421
Service	37	57	6	0	100	48280
Ag/Fish	58	34	8	0	100	59903
Prod/Lab	36	53	8	3	100	159349
Not spec.	44	39	14	3	100	266521
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	39	52	8	1	100	528137
secondary urban	55	35	10	0	100	44264
minor urban	30	57	14	0	100	85645
rural	43	41	10	6	100	140490
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	40	50	9	2	100	798536

TABLE 16: Coverage by medical or health insurance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Covered by medical or health insurance				All	All respondents
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex						
male	45	52	1	1	100	1196988
female	40	59	1	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	38	59	3	0	100	830720
30-44	54	46	0	0	100	691798
45-59	52	47	0	1	100	461674
60 +	23	75	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	44	54	1	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	25	71	3	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	38	61	2	0	100	66833
Other	42	55	1	2	100	153986
Not spec.	1	99	0	0	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	64	36	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	63	35	0	1	100	104887
Clerical	50	46	0	3	100	333438
Sales	38	58	4	0	100	158891
Service	43	56	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	46	52	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	43	54	2	1	100	405676
Not spec.	29	70	1	0	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	45	53	1	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	24	68	0	8	100	172754
minor urban	25	74	0	0	100	206739
rural	48	51	1	0	100	353714
Total New Zealand	42	56	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 17: Satisfaction with housing, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Satisfaction with housing							All	All res- pondents
	Very satis- fied %	Fairly satis- fied %	Neither satis- fied nor dissat- isfied %	Fairly dissat- isfied %	Very dissat- isfied %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex									
male	49	38	4	7	3	0	0	100	1196988
female	53	35	5	5	2	0	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	40	44	4	9	3	0	0	100	830720
30-44	42	44	6	4	4	0	0	100	691798
45-59	57	33	2	8	1	0	0	100	461674
60 +	79	15	4	1	0	0	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	53	36	4	6	1	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	41	35	9	7	8	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	53	38	1	4	4	0	0	100	66833
Other	41	42	5	3	8	0	0	100	153986
Not spec.	0	99	1	0	0	0	0	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	43	45	3	6	4	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	48	40	0	12	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	44	39	6	10	1	0	0	100	333438
Sales	42	37	11	6	3	0	0	100	158891
Service	49	39	2	9	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	55	36	1	7	0	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	39	45	3	8	6	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	64	28	4	2	1	0	0	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	50	37	4	6	2	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	63	27	0	8	1	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	45	43	5	4	3	0	0	100	206739
rural	53	33	5	7	1	0	0	100	353714
Total New Zealand	51	37	4	6	2	0	0	100	2450479

TABLE 18: Preferred housing tenure,¹ by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Preference to own or rent				All %	All res- pondents Number
	Own %	Rent %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
<i>Sex</i>						
male	82	11	1	7	100	1097108
female	81	11	3	5	100	1182547
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	70	19	3	8	100	659896
30-44	84	10	1	5	100	691798
45-59	91	4	2	4	100	461674
60 +	86	8	0	6	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	82	11	2	5	100	1950985
NZ Maori	80	10	2	8	100	117880
NZ Maori- European	76	16	2	6	100	55659
Other	75	15	1	9	100	135865
Not spec.	58	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	77	15	0	8	100	292488
Admn/Man	91	4	2	2	100	104887
Clerical	81	11	2	6	100	321804
Sales	84	7	0	9	100	134171
Service	88	9	0	2	100	109366
Ag/Fish	93	5	1	0	100	179379
Prod/Lab	79	15	2	5	100	384529
Not spec.	79	10	3	8	100	753031
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	80	12	2	6	100	1613367
secondary urban	82	9	3	6	100	158086
minor urban	71	15	0	13	100	181647
rural	93	4	0	3	100	326554
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	81	11	2	6	100	2279655

¹Excludes respondents less than 18 years of age.

TABLE 19: Respondents preferring home ownership. Reasons why people prefer to own their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Something for money you spend

	How important is this					Don't know	Not spec.	All	All respondents
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important					
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	80	13	4	2	1	0	100		903926
female	80	16	2	0	1	0	100		990870
Age									
15-29	73	21	3	0	2	0	100		481757
30-44	82	14	4	1	0	0	100		586663
45-59	80	12	4	3	1	1	100		426315
60 +	86	12	0	1	0	1	100		400062
Ethnic origin									
European	79	15	3	1	1	0	100		1640127
NZ Maori	87	8	3	1	0	1	100		96489
NZ Maori-European	66	33	1	0	0	0	100		43859
Other	90	6	1	0	1	3	100		103234
Not spec.	58	0	42	0	0	0	100		11087
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	77	18	4	0	1	0	100		224987
Admn/Man	67	22	5	4	2	0	100		98131
Clerical	82	18	0	0	0	0	100		265634
Sales	73	16	10	1	0	0	100		112653
Service	54	26	14	5	1	1	100		96965
Ag/Fish	75	15	8	0	0	1	100		168889
Prod/Lab	90	9	1	0	0	0	100		309767
Not spec.	81	13	1	2	2	1	100		617770
Urban/Rural									
main urban	82	14	2	1	1	0	100		1326310
secondary urban	75	17	5	0	3	0	100		134181
minor urban	77	17	4	0	2	1	100		130575
rural	75	15	6	3	0	0	100		303731
Total New Zealand	80	15	3	1	1	0	100		1894796

TABLE 19: Respondents preferring home ownership. Reasons why people prefer to own their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(b) Value increases with time

	How important is this						All	All respondents
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	52	31	13	2	1	0	100	903926
female	55	30	11	2	1	0	100	990870
Age								
15-29	49	36	13	1	1	0	100	481757
30-44	59	28	10	2	1	0	100	586663
45-59	50	28	18	4	0	0	100	426315
60 +	55	32	8	2	2	1	100	400062
Ethnic origin								
European	54	31	12	2	1	0	100	1640127
NZ Maori	59	25	13	1	0	1	100	96489
NZ Maori-European	43	41	17	0	0	0	100	43859
Other	52	24	12	1	8	3	100	103234
Not spec.	2	98	0	0	0	0	100	11087
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	54	31	15	0	0	0	100	224987
Admn/Man	51	26	19	4	0	0	100	98131
Clerical	56	35	7	3	0	0	100	265634
Sales	54	37	9	0	0	0	100	112653
Service	58	14	24	4	0	0	100	96965
Ag/Fish	34	44	20	1	0	0	100	168889
Prod/Lab	58	22	15	2	3	0	100	309767
Not spec.	55	32	7	3	3	1	100	617770
Urban/Rural								
main urban	58	29	10	2	2	0	100	1326310
secondary urban	52	32	15	0	0	0	100	134181
minor urban	46	38	15	0	0	1	100	130575
rural	40	37	20	4	0	0	100	303731
Total New Zealand	54	31	12	2	1	0	100	1894796

TABLE 19: Respondents preferring home ownership. Reasons why people prefer to own their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(c) No one can evict you

	How important is this							All	All respondents
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know	Not spec.	%		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	80	12	7	1	0	0	100		903926
female	80	16	2	1	0	0	100		990870
Age									
15-29	72	18	10	0	0	0	100		481757
30-44	80	14	4	1	0	0	100		586663
45-59	87	10	0	2	0	0	100		426315
60 +	84	14	1	0	0	1	100		400062
Ethnic origin									
European	80	14	4	1	0	0	100		1640127
NZ Maori	83	13	3	1	0	1	100		96489
NZ Maori-European	83	13	4	0	0	0	100		43859
Other	86	10	0	0	0	3	100		103234
Not spec.	2	98	0	0	0	0	100		11087
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	71	23	5	2	0	0	100		224987
Admn/Man	58	28	13	0	0	0	100		98131
Clerical	85	13	3	0	0	0	100		265634
Sales	82	14	3	1	0	0	100		112653
Service	78	21	1	0	0	0	100		96965
Ag/Fish	77	4	12	6	0	1	100		168889
Prod/Lab	83	11	5	0	0	0	100		309767
Not spec.	85	13	1	0	0	1	100		617770
Urban/Rural									
main urban	81	15	3	0	0	0	100		1326310
secondary urban	78	17	3	2	0	0	100		134181
minor urban	78	18	4	0	0	1	100		130575
rural	80	7	9	3	0	1	100		303731
Total New Zealand	80	14	4	1	0	0	100		1894796

TABLE 19: Respondents preferring home ownership. Reasons why people prefer to own their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Yours to alter/redecorate

	How important is this						All	All respondents
	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	66	23	9	2	0	0	100	903926
female	67	25	5	2	1	0	100	990870
Age								
15-29	55	33	9	2	0	0	100	481757
30-44	62	27	10	1	0	0	100	586663
45-59	75	16	5	4	1	0	100	426315
60 +	78	17	3	0	2	1	100	400062
Ethnic origin								
European	67	24	7	2	1	0	100	1640127
NZ Maori	73	21	4	1	1	1	100	96489
NZ Maori-European	61	34	4	1	0	0	100	43859
Other	57	24	14	2	0	3	100	103234
Not spec.	44	56	0	0	0	0	100	11087
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	49	36	11	4	0	0	100	224987
Admn/Man	44	39	17	0	0	0	100	98131
Clerical	70	21	6	4	0	0	100	265634
Sales	77	15	8	0	0	0	100	112653
Service	63	35	2	0	0	0	100	96965
Ag/Fish	67	26	6	0	0	0	100	168889
Prod/Lab	71	17	11	1	0	0	100	309767
Not spec.	71	21	3	2	2	1	100	617770
Urban/Rural								
main urban	67	24	8	1	0	0	100	1326310
secondary urban	64	27	5	0	3	0	100	134181
minor urban	73	19	7	0	0	2	100	130575
rural	64	25	4	5	2	0	100	303731
Total New Zealand	66	24	7	2	1	0	100	1894796

TABLE 20: Attitudes towards different forms of housing assistance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Government should help homebuyers

	Level of agreement								All	All respondents
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Not spec.	%		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex										
male	16	53	10	15	4	1	1	100		1196988
female	15	57	9	14	2	2	0	100		1253491
Age										
15-29	17	57	9	13	2	1	1	100		830720
30-44	17	47	9	17	8	1	0	100		691798
45-59	19	55	11	13	0	1	0	100		461674
60 +	7	63	9	17	1	2	1	100		466287
Ethnic origin										
European	14	56	10	16	3	1	0	100		2079268
NZ Maori	33	48	7	8	1	1	0	100		131126
NZ Maori-European	26	60	5	7	0	1	0	100		66833
Other	25	48	5	11	4	4	3	100		153986
Not spec.	1	24	33	0	0	0	42	100		19266
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	22	56	9	10	2	0	0	100		292680
Admn/Man	26	37	5	14	18	0	0	100		104887
Clerical	11	59	8	17	4	1	1	100		333438
Sales	17	46	12	17	7	0	0	100		158891
Service	17	69	8	4	0	2	0	100		119606
Ag/Fish	11	53	13	21	2	0	0	100		191475
Prod/Lab	23	49	10	15	2	1	0	100		405676
Not spec.	11	59	10	15	2	2	1	100		843826
Urban/Rural										
main urban	18	54	8	16	3	1	0	100		1717271
secondary urban	17	63	7	14	0	0	0	100		172754
minor urban	11	62	11	11	2	2	1	100		206739
rural	8	54	16	14	5	1	2	100		353714
Total New Zealand	16	55	10	15	3	1	1	100		2450479

TABLE 20: Attitudes towards different forms of housing assistance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Use taxes to provide low cost rentals

		Level of agreement											
		Agree		Neither agree nor disagree		Disagree		Don't know		Not spec.		All respondents	
		strongly	Agree	disagree	Disagree	strongly	know	spec.	All	Number			
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%				
<hr/>													
Sex													
male		17	53	9	15	5	0	1	100	1196988			
female		17	52	13	14	3	2	0	100	1253491			
Age													
15-29		16	59	14	7	2	1	1	100	830720			
30-44		15	53	9	16	5	1	0	100	691798			
45-59		18	51	9	16	6	0	0	100	461674			
60 +		20	42	10	22	3	3	1	100	466287			
Ethnic origin													
European		15	52	12	15	4	1	0	100	2079268			
NZ Maori		31	50	8	9	0	2	0	100	131126			
NZ Maori-European		25	47	13	10	4	1	0	100	66833			
Other		23	53	4	9	5	2	3	100	153986			
Not spec.		1	56	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266			
Occupation													
Prof/Tech		30	47	8	12	2	0	0	100	292680			
Admn/Man		20	48	8	5	19	0	0	100	104887			
Clerical		10	57	19	8	6	0	0	100	333438			
Sales		11	45	10	28	5	0	0	100	158891			
Service		11	70	9	7	3	1	0	100	119606			
Ag/Fish		16	60	7	15	2	0	0	100	191475			
Prod/Lab		16	49	14	17	2	1	1	100	405676			
Not spec.		17	51	9	15	3	3	1	100	843826			
Urban/Rural													
main urban		18	49	12	16	4	1	0	100	1717271			
secondary urban		7	66	14	9	1	3	0	100	172754			
minor urban		18	61	4	13	3	0	1	100	206739			
rural		15	56	10	11	6	0	2	100	353714			
Total New Zealand													
		17	52	11	14	4	1	1	100	2450479			

TABLE 20: Attitudes towards different forms of housing assistance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Government ensure adequate housing

	Level of agreement								All	All respondents
	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Not spec.				
			%				%	%		
Sex										
male	20	53	8	17	1	1	1	100	1196988	
female	27	51	7	12	1	1	0	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29	28	54	7	9	0	0	1	100	830720	
30-44	23	52	6	16	2	1	0	100	691798	
45-59	22	50	9	15	3	1	0	100	461674	
60 +	16	49	11	20	1	2	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European	22	52	8	16	2	1	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	40	47	6	6	0	1	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori-European	23	63	10	3	0	1	0	100	66833	
Other	26	54	4	6	1	6	3	100	153986	
Not spec.	1	24	32	0	0	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	39	46	3	12	1	0	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man	25	37	13	20	4	0	0	100	104887	
Clerical	21	54	9	12	4	0	0	100	333438	
Sales	26	52	6	14	1	0	0	100	158891	
Service	26	59	5	9	0	0	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	20	44	19	16	0	0	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	21	54	5	15	2	2	0	100	405676	
Not spec.	19	55	7	15	1	2	1	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban	25	49	8	15	2	1	0	100	1717271	
secondary urban	13	71	3	10	0	2	0	100	172754	
minor urban	24	61	7	7	1	0	1	100	206739	
rural	19	51	10	17	0	0	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand	23	52	8	14	1	1	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 21: Receipt of education in the last 12 months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Any education received				All respondents
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	All
	%	%	%	%	%
Sex					
male	37	63	0	1	100
female	34	66	0	0	100
Age					
15-29	60	39	0	1	100
30-44	36	64	0	0	100
45-59	22	78	0	0	100
60 +	4	95	0	1	100
Ethnic origin					
European	35	65	0	0	100
NZ Maori	35	65	0	0	100
NZ Maori-European	47	53	0	0	100
Other	33	64	0	3	100
Not spec.	57	1	0	42	100
Occupation					
Prof/Tech	73	27	0	0	100
Admn/Man	36	64	0	0	100
Clerical	40	60	0	0	100
Sales	49	51	0	0	100
Service	45	55	0	0	100
Ag/Fish	23	77	0	0	100
Prod/Lab	31	68	0	0	100
Not spec.	21	77	0	1	100
Urban/Rural					
main urban	38	62	0	0	100
secondary urban	18	82	0	0	100
minor urban	30	69	1	1	100
rural	33	65	0	2	100
Total New Zealand	35	64	0	1	100

TABLE 22: Respondents receiving education in the last 12 months¹. Type of education received, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Involved in preschool	Secondary	Tertiary	On the job training	Hobby, cultural	Other	Don't know	All res- pondents Number
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Sex								
male	0	22	23	58	19	6	0	436987
female	2	20	20	49	36	4	0	428670
Age								
15-29	1	35	21	45	23	5	0	495280
30-44	1	2	26	65	29	5	0	246741
45-59	1	1	16	74	36	6	0	101474
60 +	3	0	0	33	55	4	6	22162
Ethnic origin								
European	1	20	23	53	27	4	0	726510
NZ Maori	7	23	11	46	24	10	0	45442
NZ Maori- European	2	27	37	60	13	12	0	31248
Other	0	27	6	62	24	12	0	51521
Not spec.	0	0	0	100	99	0	0	10936
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	2	0	36	73	29	4	0	212631
Admn/Man	0	0	45	55	28	0	0	37674
Clerical	0	5	21	70	30	5	0	131793
Sales	0	30	15	60	22	10	0	78288
Service	0	15	11	51	37	13	0	53842
Ag/Fish	0	28	33	48	16	3	0	43931
Prod/Lab	0	20	11	62	25	5	0	127560
Not spec.	2	57	10	12	27	4	1	179937
Urban/Rural								
main urban	1	18	23	53	26	4	0	655827
secondary urban	2	29	23	22	5	22	0	31765
minor urban	0	39	9	37	14	11	2	62976
rural	0	23	21	75	45	3	0	115089
Total New Zealand	1	21	22	54	27	5	0	865657

¹ Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total to more than 100 percent.

TABLE 23: Respondents receiving education in the last 12 months. Satisfaction with education received in last 12 months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Satisfaction with education							All	All respondents
	Very satisfied	Fairly satisfied	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	Fairly dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	39	50	2	5	1	1	1	100	436987
female	47	38	6	6	3	0	0	100	428670
Age									
15-29	45	41	6	6	2	0	1	100	495280
30-44	42	47	3	4	2	2	0	100	246741
45-59	33	55	0	11	0	0	0	100	101474
60 +	66	26	1	0	6	1	0	100	22162
Ethnic origin									
European	43	44	4	6	2	1	1	100	726510
NZ Maori	40	46	5	3	4	1	1	100	45442
NZ Maori-European	30	65	1	1	3	0	0	100	31248
Other	57	38	3	1	0	0	1	100	51521
Not spec.	43	0	57	0	0	0	0	100	10936
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	42	43	5	6	1	3	0	100	212631
Admn/Man	67	24	9	0	0	0	0	100	37674
Clerical	36	47	4	11	2	0	0	100	131793
Sales	49	47	4	0	0	0	0	100	78288
Service	62	25	1	9	3	0	0	100	53842
Ag/Fish	37	62	0	0	1	0	0	100	43931
Prod/Lab	46	41	1	11	0	0	1	100	127560
Not spec.	36	48	7	2	5	0	2	100	179937
Urban/Rural									
main urban	40	48	3	5	2	1	1	100	655827
secondary									
urban	63	14	1	21	1	1	0	100	31765
minor urban	27	55	10	5	3	0	0	100	62976
rural	67	22	6	6	0	0	0	100	115089
Total New Zealand	43	44	4	6	2	1	1	100	865657

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Preschool education in New Zealand

	Perceived quality of education							All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	18	45	9	3	2	21	2	100	1196988
female	27	49	4	4	1	14	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	20	46	8	5	1	20	1	100	830720
30-44	26	50	6	3	1	13	1	100	691798
45-59	21	47	6	3	3	17	4	100	461674
60 +	25	45	5	3	2	20	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	21	48	6	4	1	18	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	42	40	6	2	2	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	25	54	6	3	2	10	0	100	66833
Other	33	31	10	1	0	21	3	100	153986
Not spec.	24	32	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	17	54	10	3	0	15	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	23	23	17	5	5	20	7	100	104887
Clerical	28	45	4	4	1	16	2	100	333438
Sales	27	39	10	11	1	13	0	100	158891
Service	32	53	7	0	0	7	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	14	66	6	5	0	9	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	22	41	7	2	1	24	2	100	405676
Not spec.	23	47	3	3	2	19	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	23	44	7	4	1	20	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	25	53	4	2	0	16	0	100	172754
minor urban	16	54	8	5	0	14	3	100	206739
rural	27	56	2	2	3	7	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	23	47	6	4	1	17	2	100	2450479

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Primary education in New Zealand

	Perceived quality of education								All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither		Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.		
			good nor bad							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex										
male	14	56	8	6	4	12	1	100	1196988	
female	23	51	10	5	2	10	0	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29	16	53	11	6	2	11	1	100	830720	
30-44	21	54	7	7	2	8	0	100	691798	
45-59	20	53	9	5	4	9	0	100	461674	
60 +	18	52	6	4	4	16	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European	17	54	9	6	3	11	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	27	51	6	5	3	7	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori-European	25	53	9	7	1	4	0	100	66833	
Other	27	50	4	3	0	14	3	100	153986	
Not spec.	25	0	32	0	0	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	14	63	11	4	2	6	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man	2	50	5	13	9	21	0	100	104887	
Clerical	16	48	13	6	2	16	0	100	333438	
Sales	19	49	13	9	5	4	0	100	158891	
Service	33	53	5	5	0	4	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	27	49	6	13	1	4	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	14	55	9	4	1	17	0	100	405676	
Not spec.	22	53	7	3	4	10	1	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban	16	55	8	5	2	13	0	100	1717271	
secondary urban	25	41	12	3	3	16	0	100	172754	
minor urban	14	58	14	6	5	1	1	100	206739	
rural	29	47	7	7	3	4	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand										
	19	53	9	5	3	11	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Intermediate education in New Zealand

		Perceived quality of education								All	All respondents
		Neither									
		Very good	Fairly good	good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.			
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
<hr/>											
Sex											
male	001	9	46	14	7	3	19	1	100	1196988	
female	001	14	43	13	8	3	18	0	100	1253491	
Age											
15-29	001	9	45	13	11	2	19	1	100	630720	
30-44	001	10	42	16	7	3	22	0	100	691798	
45-59	001	14	43	13	9	4	17	0	100	461674	
60 +	001	15	49	12	3	2	16	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin											
European	001	10	46	14	7	3	19	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	001	22	39	13	6	3	17	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori-European	001	11	51	15	9	2	12	0	100	66833	
Other	001	21	38	6	16	1	15	3	100	153986	
Not spec.	001	1	1	24	0	32	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	001	6	45	16	11	4	17	1	100	292680	
Admn/Man	001	4	37	11	16	0	31	0	100	104887	
Clerical	001	9	41	19	10	2	19	0	100	333438	
Sales	001	13	41	15	9	8	14	0	100	158891	
Service	001	23	43	14	2	1	12	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	001	8	47	15	11	2	17	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	001	14	45	10	9	1	20	0	100	405676	
Not spec.	001	13	47	12	4	3	19	1	100	843826	
Urban/Rural											
main urban	001	12	47	13	8	2	18	0	100	1717271	
secondary urban	001	10	39	21	8	1	21	0	100	172754	
minor urban	001	8	50	14	5	5	17	1	100	206739	
rural	001	11	37	15	8	6	21	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand											
	001	12	45	14	8	3	19	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Secondary education in New Zealand

	Perceived quality of education								All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.	%		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex										
male	12	46	14	11	5	11	1	100	1196988	
female	19	39	14	9	3	14	1	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29	13	40	17	13	5	11	1	100	830720	
30-44	12	43	15	11	1	17	1	100	691798	
45-59	17	47	8	11	9	8	0	100	461674	
60 +	25	41	13	2	3	15	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European	15	43	14	10	4	13	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	22	42	17	7	5	7	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori-European	15	39	23	14	4	6	0	100	66833	
Other	24	39	5	10	0	18	3	100	153986	
Not spec.	1	24	0	0	33	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	8	53	14	10	10	6	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man	7	37	7	28	1	20	0	100	104887	
Clerical	9	42	19	15	1	13	1	100	333438	
Sales	15	29	22	16	7	10	0	100	158891	
Service	28	46	11	7	4	3	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	15	49	17	7	7	5	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	18	37	13	11	4	17	1	100	405676	
Not spec.	19	43	12	5	3	16	2	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban	15	41	14	10	4	15	1	100	1717271	
secondary urban	21	52	4	8	2	12	0	100	172754	
minor urban	14	47	19	9	6	3	1	100	206739	
rural	15	41	16	9	8	9	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand	16	42	14	10	4	13	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Tertiary education in New Zealand

	Perceived quality of education								All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.	%		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		Number
Sex										
male	23	44	7	4	2	18	1	100		1196988
female	20	52	3	0	1	23	0	100		1253491
Age										
15-29	22	47	5	3	1	21	1	100		830720
30-44	22	50	4	2	0	21	1	100		691798
45-59	20	49	4	3	5	18	0	100		461674
60 +	20	47	8	1	1	21	1	100		466287
Ethnic origin										
European	20	51	5	2	2	19	0	100		2079268
NZ Maori	28	34	6	2	2	27	1	100		131126
NZ Maori-European	24	47	1	0	0	26	1	100		66833
Other	33	22	3	5	0	34	3	100		153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	0	1	0	42	100		19266
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	26	60	7	2	2	3	0	100		292680
Admn/Man	24	50	11	0	0	14	0	100		104887
Clerical	19	57	3	0	1	21	0	100		333438
Sales	20	44	5	6	0	24	0	100		158891
Service	29	48	5	1	0	17	0	100		119606
Ag/Fish	15	50	3	9	5	17	0	100		191475
Prod/Lab	31	37	5	3	1	23	1	100		405676
Not spec.	17	46	6	1	2	27	2	100		843826
Urban/Rural										
main urban	23	47	6	2	1	20	1	100		1717271
secondary urban	14	45	5	1	1	34	0	100		172754
minor urban	17	52	9	3	2	15	1	100		206739
rural	18	50	1	5	6	19	2	100		353714
Total New Zealand	21	48	5	2	2	21	1	100		2450479

TABLE 24: Perceived quality of different types of education in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(f) Overall education in New Zealand

	Perceived quality of education							All	All respondents
	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	14	59	9	11	3	3	1	100	1196988
female	18	57	11	8	2	3	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	17	57	10	13	1	1	1	100	830720
30-44	17	57	11	11	2	2	1	100	691798
45-59	14	57	10	6	6	6	0	100	461674
60 +	15	63	9	5	2	5	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	15	59	10	10	2	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	19	54	11	8	5	3	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	19	58	13	9	1	1	0	100	66833
Other	22	52	8	10	0	5	3	100	153986
Not spec.	0	24	1	32	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	11	60	15	13	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	15	50	12	15	4	5	0	100	104887
Clerical	17	62	7	10	1	3	0	100	333438
Sales	20	51	10	11	8	0	0	100	158891
Service	23	58	6	11	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	14	56	12	12	6	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	17	59	6	11	0	5	1	100	405676
Not spec.	16	58	12	6	3	4	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	16	59	10	10	2	3	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	66	8	4	2	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	15	50	20	11	3	1	1	100	206739
rural	18	54	5	11	6	3	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	16	58	10	10	2	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 25: Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Not enough job preparation

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	53	33	0	13	100	182160
female	72	24	0	3	100	130393
Age						
15-29	64	29	0	7	100	128027
30-44	49	40	0	11	100	95159
45-59	66	23	1	10	100	57630
60 +	79	11	0	10	100	31737
Ethnic origin						
European	65	28	0	6	100	254904
NZ Maori	73	22	3	2	100	17324
European	81	10	9	0	100	6089
Other	39	41	0	21	100	19824
Not spec.	0	43	0	57	100	14412
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	57	43	0	0	100	40322
Admn/Man	78	22	0	0	100	19591
Clerical	71	29	0	0	100	36693
Sales	40	44	0	16	100	30429
Service	75	21	2	2	100	14177
Ag/Fish	73	25	2	0	100	34056
Prod/Lab	62	17	0	20	100	52584
Not spec.	56	29	0	15	100	84699
Urban/Rural						
main urban	64	27	0	9	100	206087
secondary						
urban	91	8	2	0	100	10101
minor urban	68	27	0	5	100	28937
rural	48	39	1	12	100	67427
Total New Zealand	61	29	0	9	100	312553

TABLE 25: Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Lack of basic reading/writing skills

	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All respondents
	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex						
male	67	22	0	11	100	182160
female	81	14	2	3	100	130393
Age						
15-29	68	25	0	7	100	128027
30-44	85	9	0	6	100	95159
45-59	63	23	4	10	100	57630
60 +	73	16	0	10	100	31737
Ethnic origin						
European	76	18	1	4	100	254904
NZ Maori	72	24	2	2	100	17324
NZ Maori-European	79	21	0	0	100	6089
Other	45	35	0	21	100	19824
Not spec.	43	0	0	57	100	14412
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	84	16	0	0	100	40322
Admn/Man	99	1	0	0	100	19591
Clerical	87	6	7	0	100	36693
Sales	74	10	0	16	100	30429
Service	68	30	0	2	100	14177
Ag/Fish	100	0	0	0	100	34056
Prod/Lab	57	32	0	11	100	52584
Not spec.	55	30	0	15	100	84699
Urban/Rural						
main urban	72	21	0	7	100	206087
secondary urban	94	6	0	0	100	10101
minor urban	73	13	9	5	100	28937
rural	71	17	0	12	100	67427
Total New Zealand	73	19	1	7	100	312553

TABLE 25: Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Not enough years of education

		Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All respondents
		%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex							
male		29	59	2	11	100	182160
female		44	45	9	3	100	130393
Age							
15-29		39	50	5	7	100	128027
30-44		33	59	2	6	100	95159
45-59		34	56	0	10	100	57630
60+		28	44	18	10	100	31737
Ethnic origin							
European		35	56	5	4	100	254904
NZ Maori		61	30	8	2	100	17324
NZ Maori-European		23	77	0	0	100	6089
Other		15	64	0	21	100	19824
Not spec.		43	0	0	57	100	14412
Occupation							
Prof/Tech		40	60	0	0	100	40322
Admn/Man		63	25	12	0	100	19591
Clerical		54	46	0	0	100	36693
Sales		17	68	0	16	100	30429
Service		21	77	1	2	100	14177
Ag/Fish		59	41	0	0	100	34056
Prod/Lab		27	58	5	11	100	52584
Not spec.		22	52	11	15	100	84699
Urban/Rural							
main urban		35	53	5	7	100	206087
secondary urban		37	63	0	0	100	10101
minor urban		26	58	11	5	100	28937
rural		37	51	0	12	100	67427
Total New Zealand							
		35	53	5	7	100	312553

TABLE 25: Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Poor interpersonal relationships

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
male	55	30	4	11	100	182160
female	55	37	6	3	100	130393
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	64	27	2	7	100	128027
30-44	52	40	2	6	100	95159
45-59	44	45	1	9	100	57630
60 +	49	13	28	10	100	31737
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	58	33	5	4	100	254904
NZ Maori	65	24	10	1	100	17324
NZ Maori- European	59	41	0	0	100	6089
Other	16	62	1	21	100	19824
Not spec.	43	0	0	57	100	14412
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	76	24	0	0	100	40322
Admn/Man	78	22	0	0	100	19591
Clerical	57	43	0	0	100	36693
Sales	13	65	6	16	100	30429
Service	89	6	4	1	100	14177
Ag/Fish	31	68	0	0	100	34056
Prod/Lab	59	28	1	11	100	52584
Not spec.	55	18	13	15	100	84699
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	60	28	6	6	100	206087
secondary urban	96	2	1	0	100	10101
minor urban	50	37	8	5	100	28937
rural	35	52	0	12	100	67427
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	55	33	4	7	100	312553

TABLE 25: Respondents who think the education people get is bad. Reasons why they think it is bad, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(e) Poor knowledge of other cultures

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	48	41	0	11	100	182160
female	69	27	2	3	100	130393
Age						
15-29	60	32	2	7	100	128027
30-44	53	40	0	6	100	95159
45-59	50	40	0	9	100	57630
60 +	65	25	0	10	100	31737
Ethnic origin						
European	58	37	1	4	100	254904
NZ Maori	73	23	2	2	100	17324
European	71	29	0	0	100	6089
Other	32	44	2	21	100	19824
Not spec.	43	0	0	57	100	14412
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	72	28	0	0	100	40322
Admn/Man	98	1	0	1	100	19591
Clerical	43	53	5	0	100	36693
Sales	26	58	0	16	100	30429
Service	89	10	0	1	100	14177
Ag/Fish	58	42	0	0	100	34056
Prod/Lab	45	44	1	11	100	52584
Not spec.	58	27	0	15	100	84699
Urban/Rural						
main urban	62	30	1	7	100	206087
secondary						
urban	88	6	3	3	100	10101
minor urban	45	50	0	5	100	28937
rural	40	48	0	12	100	67427
Total New Zealand	57	35	1	7	100	312553

TABLE 26: Perceived fairness of the education system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Very fair %	Fair %	Unfair %	Very unfair %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>								
<i>male</i>	10	65	17	3	3	1	100	1196988
<i>female</i>	13	65	16	1	3	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	9	63	21	4	3	1	100	830720
30-44	9	63	22	2	2	2	100	691798
45-59	11	72	11	2	3	0	100	461674
60 +	22	65	6	0	6	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	12	66	16	2	3	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	8	64	19	6	2	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	11	67	18	3	1	0	100	66833
Other	15	60	15	5	1	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	33	24	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	11	61	23	4	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	12	46	30	0	11	0	100	104887
Clerical	14	68	15	2	1	0	100	333438
Sales	16	53	19	10	3	0	100	158891
Service	16	70	14	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	6	70	24	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	7	65	16	5	5	1	100	405676
Not spec.	14	68	11	0	4	3	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	12	64	17	3	4	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	23	67	5	1	3	1	100	172754
minor urban	8	68	19	3	0	1	100	206739
rural	8	70	19	0	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	12	65	16	2	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 27: Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Kohanga Reo should be encouraged

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	10	41	16	23	8	1	2	100	1196988
female	16	42	16	16	5	4	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	14	45	20	15	2	2	3	100	830720
30-44	12	47	15	18	7	1	0	100	691798
45-59	11	39	16	18	11	4	0	100	461674
60 +	16	30	11	29	8	5	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	10	42	17	21	7	2	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	51	36	7	4	1	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	26	57	9	7	1	1	0	100	66833
Other	17	34	17	19	3	8	3	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	25	41	18	11	2	0	2	100	292680
Admn/Man	3	33	9	43	11	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	11	56	17	10	5	0	0	100	333438
Sales	4	42	19	22	14	0	0	100	158891
Service	19	57	12	10	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	5	36	21	21	8	5	4	100	191475
Prod/Lab	9	42	19	20	8	2	0	100	405676
Not spec.	16	36	13	22	6	5	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	13	41	17	20	6	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	16	41	11	26	2	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	13	43	18	15	6	4	1	100	206739
rural	12	44	15	12	10	3	5	100	353714
Total New Zealand	13	42	16	19	6	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 27: Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Taxes should be used for Kohanga Reo

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	6	23	14	41	14	1	1	100	1196988
female	6	32	14	31	14	3	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	6	27	21	34	9	3	1	100	830720
30-44	7	31	10	36	15	1	0	100	691798
45-59	6	26	14	34	18	1	0	100	461674
60 +	4	26	8	40	16	5	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	4	27	13	38	16	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	33	35	15	14	1	2	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	13	45	17	22	1	3	0	100	66833
Other	8	18	18	41	7	5	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	33	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	16	38	15	21	10	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	1	16	8	46	29	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	3	31	19	38	8	0	0	100	333438
Sales	2	16	12	44	26	0	0	100	158891
Service	13	27	26	29	3	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	3	22	20	41	14	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	5	26	15	39	13	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	5	29	9	35	15	6	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	6	27	12	37	15	2	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	6	28	20	38	1	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	6	27	15	32	16	3	1	100	206739
rural	4	29	19	30	15	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	6	28	14	36	14	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 27: Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Extend Kohanga Reo to primary school

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	5	37	9	34	12	2	1	100	1196988
female	8	33	11	35	9	4	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	7	36	10	35	7	3	1	100	830720
30-44	7	39	11	29	11	1	0	100	691798
45-59	7	32	10	32	15	4	1	100	461674
60 +	3	28	8	45	11	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	4	34	10	36	12	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	36	43	11	8	0	2	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	13	48	8	24	4	3	0	100	66833
Other	8	30	8	42	5	5	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	19	41	9	23	6	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	1	31	0	41	27	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	4	34	15	39	5	2	1	100	333438
Sales	2	24	12	38	24	0	0	100	158891
Service	7	51	19	22	1	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	3	43	5	36	13	1	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	5	35	10	35	11	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	6	31	10	37	10	4	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	7	33	11	36	10	3	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	8	30	12	37	5	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	7	34	12	32	14	0	2	100	206739
rural	5	47	3	30	12	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	6	35	10	35	11	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 28: Whether respondent considers they have been the victim of a crime in the last twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
male	21	78	0	1	100	1196988
female	17	82	1	0	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	25	73	1	1	100	830720
30-44	24	75	0	0	100	691798
45-59	9	90	0	0	100	461674
60 +	9	91	0	0	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	19	81	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	22	77	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	20	80	0	0	100	66833
Other	18	80	1	1	100	153986
Not spec.	32	25	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	26	74	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	33	65	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	16	84	0	0	100	333438
Sales	25	75	0	0	100	158891
Service	25	71	3	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	12	88	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	20	79	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	15	84	0	1	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	21	78	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	14	86	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	8	91	0	1	100	206739
rural	17	80	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	19	80	0	0	100	2450479

TABLE 29: Respondents who have been victims of crime(s) in the past twelve months.
Whether victimisation occurred in the past six months, by sex, age, ethnic origin,
occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	64	36	0	0	100	250795
female	61	36	0	2	100	213332
Age						
15-29	52	46	0	2	100	210952
30-44	78	22	0	0	100	168084
45-59	72	28	0	0	100	43040
60 +	48	52	0	0	100	42050
Ethnic origin						
European	64	34	0	1	100	387469
NZ Maori	69	28	3	0	100	28963
NZ Maori- European	57	43	0	0	100	13526
Other	48	52	0	0	100	27935
Not spec.	0	100	0	0	100	6233
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	60	40	0	0	100	75596
Admn/Man	68	32	0	0	100	34817
Clerical	62	38	0	0	100	52693
Sales	51	46	2	0	100	40416
Service	76	24	0	0	100	30309
Ag/Fish	94	6	0	0	100	22808
Prod/Lab	60	40	0	0	100	81465
Not spec.	59	37	0	4	100	126024
Urban/Rural						
main urban	66	34	0	0	100	363090
secondary urban	42	39	0	19	100	23711
minor urban	30	70	0	0	100	16060
rural	58	42	0	0	100	61266
Total New Zealand	63	36	0	1	100	464127

TABLE 30: Level of confidence in the police in own area, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Great deal of confi- dence %	Only some confi- dence %	Hardly any confi- dence %	No confi- dence %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	38	46	6	3	5	-1	100	1196988
female	46	38	6	2	8	0	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	25	57	7	2	8	1	100	830720
30-44	46	36	9	5	4	0	100	691798
45-59	47	40	4	2	7	0	100	461674
60 +	62	24	4	1	10	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	43	42	6	2	7	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	31	46	12	6	5	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	33	43	13	8	4	0	100	66833
Other	43	36	2	8	10	1	100	153986
Not spec.	56	1	0	0	1	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	36	43	8	6	7	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	42	48	5	2	3	0	100	104887
Clerical	37	46	7	2	8	0	100	333438
Sales	35	58	5	0	1	0	100	158891
Service	40	50	6	2	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	47	45	6	2	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	37	44	8	6	5	0	100	405676
Not spec.	49	33	5	1	11	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	39	44	6	3	7	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	58	24	5	1	13	0	100	172754
minor urban	39	41	11	3	5	1	100	206739
rural	49	40	5	1	3	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	42	42	6	3	7	0	100	2450479

TABLE 31: Whether there is anything the respondent does not do for fear of becoming a victim of a crime, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	27	71	0	1	100	1196988
female	58	41	0	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	41	57	0	1	100	830720
30-44	43	55	0	1	100	691798
45-59	35	64	1	0	100	461674
60 +	55	45	0	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	45	55	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	29	68	2	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	33	67	0	0	100	66833
Other	42	56	1	1	100	153986
Not spec.	0	58	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	41	58	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	49	51	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	62	38	0	0	100	333438
Sales	34	64	0	2	100	158891
Service	44	56	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	20	79	2	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	30	68	1	2	100	405676
Not spec.	49	50	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	47	53	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	45	54	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	36	61	0	2	100	206739
rural	30	68	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	43	56	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 32: Respondents whose activities are restricted through fear of becoming a victim of a crime. Extent to which this interferes with enjoyment of life, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Extent of interference						All %	All respondents Number
	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	Not at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex								
male	5	31	49	14	0	0	100	326253
female	11	21	54	14	0	0	100	732627
Age								
15-29	7	23	57	13	0	0	100	339425
30-44	9	34	49	8	0	0	100	300277
45-59	18	29	50	3	0	0	100	161838
60 +	6	11	53	30	0	0	100	257341
Ethnic origin								
European	7	24	54	16	0	0	100	932780
NZ Maori	24	39	34	4	0	0	100	38599
NZ Maori- European	33	12	54	2	0	0	100	22247
Other	23	30	42	4	0	0	100	65254
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	18	21	49	12	0	0	100	121256
Admn/Man	7	27	65	0	0	0	100	51471
Clerical	7	37	51	6	0	0	100	206469
Sales	2	36	42	19	0	0	100	54438
Service	7	17	68	7	0	0	100	52363
Ag/Fish	3	23	48	26	0	0	100	37933
Prod/Lab	11	26	59	4	0	0	100	121635
Not spec.	9	18	51	23	0	0	100	413315
Urban/Rural								
main urban	10	27	50	13	0	0	100	801659
secondary urban	2	12	63	22	0	0	100	78158
minor urban	9	20	46	24	0	0	100	74498
rural	2	18	66	13	0	0	100	104565
Total New Zealand	9	24	53	14	0	0	100	1058881

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Reducing unemployment

Perceived effect on reducing crime

	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	41	44	10	3	0	1	100	1196988
female	38	45	13	1	2	0	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	33	46	16	3	1	1	100	830720
30-44	40	45	11	4	0	0	100	691798
45-59	46	38	13	0	1	0	100	461674
60 +	44	48	5	1	1	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	40	46	11	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	48	36	9	5	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	27	47	23	3	0	0	100	66833
Other	30	30	21	14	2	3	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	40	49	8	2	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	40	47	12	1	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	37	44	18	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	48	32	17	2	0	1	100	158891
Service	28	49	20	2	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	38	53	9	0	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	45	37	12	5	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	38	46	9	3	2	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	36	47	14	2	1	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	49	24	12	7	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	48	45	5	1	0	1	100	206739
rural	45	44	6	2	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	40	45	12	2	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Longer sentences

Perceived effect on reducing crime										
		Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number	
<hr/>										
Sex										
male		22	30	30	14	3	1	100	1196988	
female		21	34	29	14	2	0	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29		26	33	29	10	1	1	100	830720	
30-44		18	26	40	16	1	0	100	691798	
45-59		21	31	21	22	4	0	100	461674	
60 +		20	40	24	11	5	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European		21	33	30	14	2	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori		28	27	23	15	5	1	100	131126	
NZ Maori- European		16	39	28	15	2	0	100	66833	
Other		27	27	25	14	4	3	100	153986	
Not spec.		1	1	24	32	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech		12	26	41	21	0	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man		36	23	26	14	0	0	100	104887	
Clerical		26	26	35	13	1	0	100	333438	
Sales		18	34	36	11	1	0	100	158891	
Service		14	50	24	10	2	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish		14	27	34	22	3	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab		31	29	27	9	3	0	100	405676	
Not spec.		20	38	24	14	4	2	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban		23	33	29	13	2	0	100	1717271	
secondary urban		13	34	28	14	12	0	100	172754	
minor urban		24	31	35	8	2	1	100	206739	
rural		16	27	31	24	0	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand										
Zealand		21	32	30	14	2	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Rehabilitation of criminals

	Perceived effect on reducing crime							All %	All res- pondents Number
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.			
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Sex									
male	19	42	28	9	1	1	100	1196988	
female	27	41	24	6	2	1	100	1253491	
Age									
15-29	26	40	27	4	1	1	100	830720	
30-44	25	42	23	8	1	1	100	691798	
45-59	23	46	22	8	1	0	100	461674	
60 +	16	38	30	12	3	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin									
European	24	42	26	7	1	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori	31	38	17	10	3	1	100	131126	
NZ Maori- European	20	37	36	4	1	1	100	66833	
Other	18	35	26	15	4	3	100	153986	
Not spec.	0	56	1	0	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	19	51	24	5	0	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man	13	43	32	12	0	0	100	104887	
Clerical	29	47	17	6	0	0	100	333438	
Sales	26	34	39	1	0	0	100	158891	
Service	37	43	16	2	1	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish	21	41	25	9	4	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab	27	43	19	10	1	1	100	405676	
Not spec.	20	36	31	9	3	2	100	843826	
Urban/Rural									
main urban	23	40	28	7	1	1	100	1717271	
secondary urban	23	46	19	8	4	0	100	172754	
minor urban	21	43	22	7	5	2	100	206739	
rural	26	42	21	9	0	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand	23	41	26	7	1	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Increasing police numbers

	Perceived effect on reducing crime							All respondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	23	39	28	8	1	1	100	1196988
female	28	44	21	6	0	0	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	21	38	33	7	1	1	100	830720
30-44	28	41	25	6	0	0	100	691798
45-59	28	42	22	8	0	0	100	461674
60 +	28	50	12	7	1	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	26	43	23	7	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	25	36	20	15	4	1	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	17	28	50	4	1	0	100	66833
Other	29	31	31	5	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	32	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	15	37	36	11	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	34	32	25	8	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	24	42	24	9	1	0	100	333438
Sales	20	38	34	8	0	0	100	158891
Service	25	57	15	3	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	31	45	22	2	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	30	40	25	3	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	27	42	20	8	1	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	26	41	26	7	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	31	39	17	10	3	0	100	172754
minor urban	31	48	13	6	0	1	100	206739
rural	19	44	27	8	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	26	42	24	7	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(e) Encouraging non-violence in schools

		Perceived effect on reducing crime								
		Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number	
Sex										
male		53	32	11	3	1	1	100	1196988	
female		52	35	11	1	0	0	100	1253491	
Age										
15-29		44	32	20	1	1	1	100	830720	
30-44		62	28	7	1	0	1	100	691798	
45-59		57	37	6	0	0	0	100	461674	
60 +		49	40	6	4	0	1	100	466287	
Ethnic origin										
European		53	34	11	2	0	0	100	2079268	
NZ Maori		54	31	9	4	1	0	100	131126	
NZ Maori- European		45	46	8	2	0	0	100	66833	
Other		46	30	13	1	3	7	100	153986	
Not spec.		34	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266	
Occupation										
Prof/Tech		61	25	13	1	0	0	100	292680	
Admn/Man		54	35	10	1	0	0	100	104887	
Clerical		49	41	9	0	0	0	100	333438	
Sales		43	49	8	0	0	0	100	158891	
Service		49	31	19	1	0	0	100	119606	
Ag/Fish		50	34	14	0	2	0	100	191475	
Prod/Lab		60	27	9	2	0	2	100	405676	
Not spec.		50	34	11	3	1	1	100	843826	
Urban/Rural										
main urban		54	32	11	2	0	1	100	1717271	
secondary urban		60	26	13	1	0	0	100	172754	
minor urban		39	48	10	1	2	1	100	206739	
rural		50	34	13	0	0	2	100	353714	
Total New Zealand		52	33	11	2	1	1	100	2450479	

TABLE 33: Attitudes on suggestions for reducing crime in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(f) Reducing violence on television, films etc

Perceived effect on reducing crime

	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	39	25	24	11	1	1	100	1196988
female	53	27	14	4	2	0	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	25	28	33	12	1	1	100	830720
30-44	43	32	19	5	0	0	100	691798
45-59	61	21	9	7	2	0	100	461674
60 +	71	19	3	3	3	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	46	26	19	7	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	44	26	19	9	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	32	33	30	5	1	0	100	66833
Other	42	33	10	12	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	57	0	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	53	27	16	4	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	51	14	27	7	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	41	32	23	4	0	0	100	333438
Sales	24	39	19	15	2	0	100	158891
Service	45	33	18	2	3	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	35	36	12	15	2	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	35	23	30	12	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	56	21	14	5	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	45	26	21	7	1	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	54	29	8	7	2	0	100	172754
minor urban	41	28	22	5	2	2	100	206739
rural	49	23	15	10	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	46	26	19	7	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 34: Attitudes towards unemployment, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) All should have a job who want one

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	35	48	6	9	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	41	47	7	5	0	0	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	32	49	9	8	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44	38	46	7	7	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	46	46	4	5	0	0	0	100	461674
60 +	40	50	3	5	1	0	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	38	48	6	7	1	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	41	48	7	4	0	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	52	33	7	7	0	0	0	100	66833
Other	30	53	8	6	0	0	3	100	153986
Not spec.	24	1	33	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	51	40	5	2	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	29	49	0	15	6	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	37	47	8	7	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	33	51	11	4	1	0	0	100	158891
Service	26	57	4	13	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	40	49	4	7	0	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	37	46	9	7	1	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	38	49	6	5	1	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	39	45	7	8	1	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	24	68	6	1	0	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	32	54	5	6	2	0	1	100	206739
rural	42	48	4	3	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	38	48	7	6	1	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 34: Attitudes towards unemployment, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Taxes should be used to create jobs

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	12	38	13	30	5	1	1	100	1196988
female	12	39	20	22	3	4	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	10	40	19	25	2	3	1	100	830720
30-44	13	34	15	32	4	2	1	100	691798
45-59	17	35	15	24	7	2	0	100	461674
60 +	9	45	16	21	4	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	11	38	17	27	4	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	25	41	11	13	2	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	15	51	14	9	10	1	0	100	66833
Other	12	37	10	26	4	8	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	33	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	12	38	18	25	7	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	16	37	12	23	13	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	8	38	24	25	3	3	0	100	333438
Sales	14	22	23	38	1	0	1	100	158891
Service	5	48	12	27	3	5	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	16	46	9	28	1	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	13	36	11	33	5	2	0	100	405676
Not spec.	13	40	17	20	3	5	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	10	37	18	27	5	3	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	11	49	14	15	2	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	14	40	15	24	4	2	2	100	206739
rural	21	38	9	26	2	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	12	38	16	26	4	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 34: Attitudes towards unemployment, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Some find jobs harder to get

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	19	59	7	12	1	2	1	100	1196988
female	20	65	7	5	1	2	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	26	57	5	11	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44	15	72	4	5	1	1	1	100	691798
45-59	21	58	9	10	0	2	0	100	461674
60 +	13	59	11	8	1	6	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	18	63	7	9	1	2	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	35	50	5	8	1	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	34	57	5	3	1	0	0	100	66833
Other	26	50	5	9	2	4	3	100	153986
Not spec.	0	57	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	26	65	2	6	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	15	70	11	1	2	1	0	100	104887
Clerical	21	67	6	3	1	3	0	100	333438
Sales	27	59	4	8	2	0	1	100	158891
Service	21	66	3	10	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	19	57	7	17	1	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	22	55	8	13	0	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	15	62	8	8	1	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	20	65	7	6	1	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	14	56	7	9	1	13	0	100	172754
minor urban	16	54	11	16	0	2	2	100	206739
rural	24	54	4	13	0	2	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	20	62	7	8	1	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 35: Suggestions as to why people are unemployed, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Don't try hard enough to get jobs

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	21	43	14	16	4	0	1	100	1196988
female	17	44	16	18	3	1	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	15	43	17	19	5	0	1	100	830720
30-44	19	45	12	21	2	0	1	100	691798
45-59	16	47	15	16	5	1	0	100	461674
60 +	27	41	18	9	1	2	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	18	44	16	17	4	1	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	24	43	10	19	3	0	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	18	38	23	13	9	0	0	100	66833
Other	24	46	11	14	0	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	32	0	1	25	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	13	33	19	26	9	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	31	34	13	21	0	1	0	100	104887
Clerical	17	40	16	22	3	1	0	100	333438
Sales	23	33	23	13	7	0	1	100	158891
Service	22	40	17	21	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	16	57	9	17	0	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	23	50	8	12	6	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	17	47	17	14	1	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	19	42	16	17	4	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	12	47	17	21	0	3	0	100	172754
minor urban	22	48	11	14	3	0	2	100	206739
rural	18	49	13	14	3	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	19	44	15	17	3	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 35: Suggestions as to why people are unemployed, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Live in areas with few jobs

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	12	63	4	20	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	10	63	9	14	1	1	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	8	60	10	21	1	1	1	100	830720
30-44	10	66	7	16	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	16	60	6	16	0	1	0	100	461674
60 +	15	68	2	11	1	1	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	11	64	7	17	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	15	57	10	15	0	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	17	56	12	15	1	0	0	100	66833
Other	3	65	4	22	1	2	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	10	68	6	14	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	6	60	2	29	0	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	10	66	11	12	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	18	51	6	25	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	14	57	12	14	3	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	10	64	4	19	2	1	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	12	62	7	18	0	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	10	64	6	16	1	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	10	63	8	17	1	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	9	70	2	13	0	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	19	63	5	12	0	0	1	100	206739
rural	12	59	6	20	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	11	63	7	17	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 35: Suggestions as to why people are unemployed, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Lack skills or qualifications

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	12	59	7	19	2	1	1	100	1196988
female	12	57	12	16	0	1	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	7	58	13	18	1	1	1	100	830720
30-44	13	61	6	18	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	21	51	10	16	2	1	0	100	461674
60 +	11	59	8	17	1	1	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	12	59	10	17	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	13	59	10	16	0	0	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	13	56	18	10	2	2	0	100	66833
Other	14	52	2	28	0	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	33	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	16	61	12	10	2	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	14	52	3	29	0	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	10	67	8	15	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	13	60	8	19	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	10	57	9	23	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	10	54	8	22	3	2	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	14	56	7	20	2	0	0	100	405676
Not spec.	11	56	12	16	1	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	12	61	9	15	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	14	56	2	22	0	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	16	40	15	25	0	2	1	100	206739
rural	7	55	12	22	2	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	12	58	10	17	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 35: Suggestions as to why people are unemployed, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Because workplaces have closed down

	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All re- spondents Number
Sex									
male	17	60	10	10	1	1	1	100	1196988
female	16	65	5	11	0	1	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	13	60	11	11	1	1	1	100	830720
30-44	13	59	9	17	1	1	0	100	691798
45-59	18	69	4	8	0	0	0	100	461674
60 +	25	66	2	4	1	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	16	64	6	11	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	21	56	11	9	0	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	19	59	11	10	0	1	0	100	66833
Other	14	52	20	8	2	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	57	0	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	13	62	11	9	4	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	6	56	6	32	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	10	61	11	18	1	0	0	100	333438
Sales	18	56	12	13	0	1	0	100	158891
Service	20	54	6	19	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	17	70	7	6	0	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	16	66	5	11	0	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	20	64	6	5	0	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	15	61	9	12	1	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	70	6	9	0	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	23	65	3	5	0	2	1	100	206739
rural	20	67	4	7	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	16	63	8	11	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 36: Whether the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	72	20	7	1	100	1196988
female	64	28	7	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	70	21	7	1	100	830720
30-44	66	27	7	0	100	691798
45-59	78	18	4	0	100	461674
60 +	58	31	10	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	69	24	7	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	70	22	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	69	21	10	0	100	66833
Other	54	31	12	3	100	153986
Not spec.	25	33	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	81	14	5	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	79	19	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	57	30	13	0	100	333438
Sales	67	31	2	0	100	158891
Service	65	28	7	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	77	19	3	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	68	24	8	1	100	405676
Not spec.	65	26	8	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	68	24	7	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	73	18	10	0	100	172754
minor urban	69	20	11	1	100	206739
rural	64	30	4	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	68	24	7	1	100	2450479

TABLE 37: Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on. Whether the unemployed should have to do some sort of work for the money they are paid, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex					
male	91	7	2	100	861130
female	93	5	2	100	804750
Age					
15-29	89	8	3	100	581838
30-44	92	7	1	100	453833
45-59	93	3	4	100	358570
60 +	96	3	1	100	271639
Ethnic origin					
European	93	5	2	100	1440915
NZ Maori	87	10	3	100	91895
NZ Maori- European	81	15	4	100	45791
Other	86	13	1	100	82521
Not spec.	100	0	0	100	4757
Occupation					
Prof/Tech	87	12	0	100	235969
Admn/Man	95	5	0	100	83156
Clerical	95	5	0	100	188847
Sales	98	1	0	100	106252
Service	95	3	2	100	77358
Ag/Fish	91	9	0	100	147769
Prod/Lab	93	2	5	100	276772
Not spec.	91	5	4	100	549758
Urban/Rural					
main urban	92	6	2	100	1170715
secondary urban	80	9	11	100	125449
minor urban	96	2	2	100	142553
rural	94	6	0	100	227163
Total New Zealand	92	6	2	100	1665880

TABLE 38: Whether the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
male	92	6	1	1	100	1196988
female	95	4	1	0	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	92	4	2	1	100	830720
30-44	94	6	1	0	100	691798
45-59	96	3	1	1	100	461674
60 +	94	6	0	0	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	94	5	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	93	4	3	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	93	5	2	0	100	66833
Other	93	5	1	1	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	94	6	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	86	4	10	0	100	104887
Clerical	96	3	1	0	100	333438
Sales	88	10	1	0	100	158891
Service	99	1	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	93	6	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	95	4	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	94	4	1	1	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	94	5	1	0	100	1717271
secondary						
urban	91	8	1	0	100	172754
minor urban	95	3	0	1	100	206739
rural	93	4	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	94	5	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 39: Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on. Age at which income support should be given to the elderly, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	At age 60 years	At age 65 years	Under 60 years	Age 60- 65 years	Over 65 years	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All re- spondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex									
male	52	28	6	2	5	6	0	100	1117462
female	52	35	4	2	3	3	0	100	1206041
Age									
15-29	55	24	7	3	4	7	0	100	786690
30-44	52	30	8	1	3	6	0	100	651685
45-59	57	33	2	1	5	1	1	100	446891
60 +	41	46	0	3	6	3	0	100	438237
Ethnic origin									
European	50	34	4	2	4	5	0	100	1977401
NZ Maori	62	16	12	1	3	4	1	100	125737
NZ Maori- European	51	25	11	6	3	2	0	100	63479
Other	63	15	8	5	6	3	0	100	145799
Not spec.	99	1	0	0	0	0	0	100	11087
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	49	29	4	1	8	6	2	100	273858
Admn/Man	46	27	9	0	9	9	0	100	100208
Clerical	56	28	5	2	6	3	0	100	322181
Sales	47	36	2	4	4	6	0	100	142384
Service	62	25	5	0	5	2	0	100	118852
Ag/Fish	44	45	5	2	0	4	0	100	177202
Prod/Lab	59	18	13	3	3	4	0	100	388928
Not spec.	49	38	2	3	3	5	0	100	799890
Urban/Rural									
main urban	50	33	5	3	4	5	0	100	1635788
secondary urban	55	29	2	0	10	3	0	100	159451
minor urban	61	21	3	3	4	7	1	100	198164
rural	56	32	6	0	2	4	0	100	330100
Total New Zealand	52	32	5	2	4	5	0	100	2323503

TABLE 40: Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure the elderly have enough money to live on. Whether all elderly persons who qualify for income support should get the same amount, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Same for all %	Less if well off %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	45	53	1	0	100	1117462
female	42	56	2	0	100	1206041
Age						
15-29	39	59	1	0	100	786690
30-44	47	51	2	0	100	651685
45-59	45	51	3	1	100	446891
60 +	45	53	1	0	100	438237
Ethnic origin						
European	43	55	1	0	100	1977401
NZ Maori	43	52	4	1	100	125737
NZ Maori- European	43	54	2	0	100	63479
Other	49	46	5	0	100	145799
Not spec.	57	43	0	0	100	11087
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	41	57	0	2	100	273858
Admn/Man	46	54	0	0	100	100208
Clerical	44	55	1	0	100	322181
Sales	51	47	2	0	100	142384
Service	53	44	3	0	100	118852
Ag/Fish	40	54	5	0	100	177202
Prod/Lab	47	52	1	0	100	388928
Not spec.	41	57	2	0	100	799890
Urban/Rural						
main urban	45	53	2	0	100	1635788
secondary						
urban	40	59	0	0	100	159451
minor urban	29	68	3	0	100	198164
rural	49	48	3	0	100	330100
Total New Zealand	44	54	2	0	100	2323503

TABLE 41: Should the Government use taxes to make sure that the long-term sick and disabled have enough money to live on, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All re- spondents Number
Sex						
male	93	4	2	1	100	1196988
female	97	2	1	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	95	2	2	1	100	830720
30-44	95	4	1	0	100	691798
45-59	98	0	1	1	100	461674
60 +	92	4	2	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	95	3	1	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	94	4	2	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	97	1	2	0	100	66833
Other	94	1	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	95	3	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	86	11	3	0	100	104887
Clerical	98	2	0	0	100	333438
Sales	88	6	7	0	100	158891
Service	98	1	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	99	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	97	2	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	94	2	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	94	3	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	100	0	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	96	1	0	3	100	206739
rural	95	2	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	95	3	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 42: Respondents who believe that the Government should use taxes to make sure that the long-term sick and disabled have enough money to live on. Whether all sick and disabled should get the same amount, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Same for all %	Less if well off %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	42	55	3	0	100	1141404
female	40	55	5	0	100	1221455
Age						
15-29	42	53	5	0	100	803008
30-44	45	53	1	1	100	663387
45-59	36	59	5	0	100	457299
60 +	37	57	6	0	100	439166
Ethnic origin						
European	39	57	4	0	100	2013482
NZ Maori	47	47	5	1	100	125425
NZ Maori- European	49	47	3	0	100	65988
Other	56	40	3	1	100	146878
Not spec.	1	99	0	0	100	11087
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	40	58	2	0	100	283685
Admn/Man	32	68	0	0	100	92961
Clerical	45	55	0	0	100	326287
Sales	54	43	3	0	100	149686
Service	51	44	5	0	100	118177
Ag/Fish	39	53	7	0	100	189418
Prod/Lab	41	54	4	1	100	397538
Not spec.	36	57	6	0	100	805108
Urban/Rural						
main urban	42	54	4	0	100	1654386
secondary urban	30	66	4	1	100	172754
minor urban	41	57	2	1	100	198654
rural	39	55	5	0	100	337066
Total New Zealand	41	55	4	0	100	2362860

TABLE 43: Whether taxes should be used to help people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	86	9	4	1	100	1196988
female	89	6	4	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	83	10	6	1	100	830720
30-44	90	9	0	0	100	691798
45-59	93	2	4	1	100	461674
60 +	86	6	6	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	88	7	4	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	90	6	3	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	93	5	2	0	100	66833
Other	80	13	3	4	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	88	9	3	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	90	7	4	0	100	104887
Clerical	85	7	8	0	100	333438
Sales	95	4	1	0	100	158891
Service	89	9	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	92	7	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	92	7	1	0	100	405676
Not spec.	84	8	6	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	89	6	5	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	73	20	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	91	6	1	3	100	206739
rural	88	9	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	88	7	4	1	100	2450479

TABLE 44: Respondents who believe that taxes should be used to help people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home. Whether all people should receive this assistance, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	All	Only less well off	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex						
male	45	52	3	0	100	1071916
female	48	48	4	0	100	1174617
Age						
15-29	48	46	6	0	100	740202
30-44	53	45	1	0	100	628819
45-59	45	53	2	0	100	446456
60 +	36	61	3	0	100	431056
Ethnic origin						
European	46	51	3	0	100	1920738
NZ Maori	46	48	6	0	100	122773
NZ Maori- European	54	44	2	0	100	63461
Other	53	39	7	1	100	128472
Not spec.	1	99	0	0	100	11087
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	44	52	4	0	100	266826
Admn/Man	56	44	0	0	100	97753
Clerical	48	49	3	0	100	311598
Sales	51	47	2	0	100	152984
Service	51	46	3	0	100	108391
Ag/Fish	52	47	1	0	100	176089
Prod/Lab	44	53	3	0	100	377080
Not spec.	44	51	5	0	100	755812
Urban/Rural						
main urban	45	51	4	0	100	1606433
secondary urban	36	63	0	0	100	138865
minor urban	49	48	2	0	100	189018
Rural	55	43	2	0	100	312216
Total New Zealand	46	50	3	0	100	2246532

TABLE 45: Whether taxes should be used to help families with children that do not have enough income to meet their needs, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	71	21	7	1	100	1196988
female	67	24	8	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	74	18	7	1	100	830720
30-44	64	28	8	0	100	691798
45-59	72	22	5	1	100	461674
60 +	64	24	10	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	69	23	8	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	79	14	6	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	70	18	11	0	100	66833
Other	71	21	5	4	100	153986
Not spec.	25	32	1	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	72	26	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	66	24	10	0	100	104887
Clerical	54	32	14	0	100	333438
Sales	76	17	7	0	100	158891
Service	71	22	7	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	69	21	9	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	76	20	3	0	100	405676
Not spec.	69	20	8	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	70	22	7	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	67	22	11	0	100	172754
minor urban	68	23	6	3	100	206739
rural	67	23	7	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	69	23	7	1	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Health

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	3	36	0	3	23	33	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	2	32	0	3	23	36	1	0	3	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	3	32	0	2	26	34	1	0	2	100	830720
30-44	3	33	0	1	25	37	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	2	34	0	8	20	34	0	0	1	100	461674
60 +	2	40	0	2	19	33	1	0	5	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	2	36	0	3	24	33	0	0	2	100	2079268
NZ Maori	2	30	0	1	15	48	1	0	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	1	24	0	2	24	46	2	0	0	100	66833
Other	1	21	0	1	24	47	1	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	32	24	0	0	1	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	7	27	0	4	26	36	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	2	49	0	9	13	27	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	0	37	0	3	30	27	1	0	2	100	333438
Sales	3	27	0	1	27	40	2	0	0	100	158891
Service	3	28	0	5	23	41	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	0	47	0	4	24	23	1	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	4	28	0	3	17	47	0	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	2	36	0	2	23	32	1	0	4	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	3	33	0	2	24	36	1	0	2	100	1717271
secondary urban	3	35	0	6	25	30	0	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	0	33	0	5	21	37	2	0	2	100	206739
rural	3	42	0	6	19	26	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	3	34	0	3	23	34	1	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Education

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	1	31	0	2	19	43	1	0	2	100	1196988
female	1	29	0	2	18	44	2	0	3	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	2	30	0	1	22	42	0	0	2	100	830720
30-44	1	22	0	1	19	55	1	0	1	100	691798
45-59	0	32	0	5	13	44	5	0	1	100	461674
60 +	2	40	0	5	17	28	2	0	5	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	1	30	0	3	19	43	2	0	2	100	2079268
NZ Maori	4	26	0	2	15	50	1	0	3	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	0	36	0	1	14	46	1	0	1	100	66833
Other	4	32	0	0	16	41	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	0	0	0	1	57	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	0	14	0	0	22	62	0	0	3	100	292680
Admin/Man	0	33	0	10	20	38	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	0	26	0	0	23	43	5	0	2	100	333438
Sales	0	22	0	0	24	34	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	5	25	0	1	16	53	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	0	44	0	6	11	37	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	1	30	0	1	20	46	2	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	2	37	0	4	16	35	1	0	4	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	1	29	0	2	19	44	2	0	2	100	1717271
secondary urban	0	40	0	5	22	31	0	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	0	33	0	0	19	43	1	0	2	100	206739
rural	2	31	0	5	12	46	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	1	30	0	2	19	44	2	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Housing		Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex												
male		13	40	0	3	18	22	2	0	2	100	1196988
female		6	40	1	3	22	25	2	0	3	100	1253491
Age												
15-29		6	40	0	1	23	27	1	0	2	100	830720
30-44		15	37	0	1	22	22	1	0	1	100	691798
45-59		12	45	0	9	12	21	0	0	1	100	461674
60 +		6	39	1	3	18	22	6	0	5	100	466287
Ethnic origin												
European		11	41	0	3	20	20	2	0	2	100	2079268
NZ Maori		4	24	1	1	13	53	1	0	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European		2	31	0	2	29	35	0	0	0	100	66833
Other		5	39	0	4	11	36	1	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.		0	32	0	0	24	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation												
Prof/Tech		6	47	0	0	16	28	1	0	3	100	292680
Admn/Man		32	22	0	12	6	27	1	0	0	100	104887
Clerical		9	35	0	3	22	25	3	0	2	100	333438
Sales		20	52	0	2	14	9	3	0	0	100	158891
Service		5	34	0	1	23	36	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish		12	48	0	6	21	12	0	0	2	100	191475
Prod/Lab		13	30	0	0	28	29	0	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.		5	43	1	4	18	21	3	0	4	100	843826
Urban/Rural												
main urban		11	37	0	2	21	25	1	0	2	100	1717271
secondary urban		4	45	0	3	16	-20	10	0	2	100	172754
minor urban		4	49	0	6	16	20	1	0	2	100	206739
rural		8	47	0	6	16	18	2	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand		10	40	0	3	20	23	2	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(d) Preventing crime

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	3	23	0	3	19	49	1	0	2	100	1196988
female	2	18	0	3	22	51	1	0	3	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	2	27	0	1	22	44	0	0	3	100	830720
30-44	3	21	0	1	19	54	0	0	2	100	691798
45-59	3	20	0	8	18	48	3	0	1	100	461674
60 +	1	9	0	3	23	58	2	0	5	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	2	21	0	3	22	50	1	0	2	100	2079268
NZ Maori	5	22	1	1	13	54	1	1	3	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	1	16	0	1	18	63	0	0	1	100	66833
Other	8	20	0	0	13	53	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	0	0	32	24	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	3	30	0	5	25	34	0	0	3	100	292680
Admn/Man	7	23	0	7	13	51	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	3	17	0	2	13	61	2	0	2	100	333438
Sales	0	34	0	1	15	48	0	1	0	100	158891
Service	1	23	0	0	22	53	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	1	17	0	7	23	50	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	4	19	0	0	22	51	2	0	2	100	405676
Not spec.	1	17	0	3	22	51	1	0	4	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	3	20	0	1	20	52	1	0	3	100	1717271
secondary urban	0	33	0	2	19	43	0	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	3	17	0	3	23	51	0	0	2	100	206739
rural	0	19	0	11	21	46	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	2	21	0	3	20	50	1	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Defence		Less	Same	More - not at all imp	More - not very imp	More - fairly imp	More - very imp	Don't know if more or less	Don't know how much more	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex												
male		47	30	2	3	7	8	2	0	1	100	1196988
female		36	39	1	1	11	9	2	0	1	100	1253491
Age												
15-29		49	33	0	1	8	7	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44		50	33	0	1	9	6	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59		33	44	4	3	5	8	2	0	1	100	461674
60 +		22	33	1	5	14	18	4	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin												
European		42	35	1	2	9	8	2	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori		28	37	1	2	13	15	1	0	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European		52	27	0	5	6	9	2	0	0	100	66833
Other		35	41	0	1	8	10	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.		32	24	0	1	0	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation												
Prof/Tech		63	28	0	0	2	6	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man		63	21	0	0	7	9	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical		44	39	0	0	8	5	4	0	0	100	333438
Sales		42	41	0	2	2	12	0	0	0	100	158891
Service		41	41	0	0	13	5	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish		53	25	6	0	10	4	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab		39	39	0	1	7	10	2	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.		28	35	2	5	14	11	3	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural												
main urban		44	33	0	2	9	10	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban		31	39	0	4	8	7	8	0	2	100	172754
minor urban		30	36	0	5	11	15	2	0	2	100	206739
rural		38	40	6	2	7	3	2	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand		41	35	1	2	9	9	2	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(f) Creating jobs

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	14	25	1	2	21	34	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	7	27	1	2	20	39	2	0	2	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	6	25	0	2	22	41	1	0	2	100	830720
30-44	13	29	0	2	18	35	2	0	0	100	691798
45-59	14	26	4	4	21	29	1	0	1	100	461674
60 +	9	24	0	2	21	38	3	0	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	11	28	1	2	21	35	1	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	2	18	1	2	16	58	0	0	3	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	10	9	0	4	21	56	0	0	0	100	66833
Other	9	23	0	1	20	39	5	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	32	0	0	1	25	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	12	32	0	4	16	35	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	35	25	1	7	7	25	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	8	34	0	0	22	31	2	0	2	100	333438
Sales	14	25	0	0	24	35	2	0	0	100	158891
Service	7	27	0	0	25	40	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	8	32	5	7	17	29	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	12	21	0	2	19	43	2	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	7	22	1	2	23	39	2	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	11	26	0	2	20	37	2	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	4	28	0	6	28	32	0	0	3	100	172754
minor urban	10	22	0	2	23	40	1	0	2	100	206739
rural	8	30	6	3	15	36	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	10	26	1	2	20	37	2	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(g) Job training

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex										
male	3	32	1	5	19	32	0	2	100	1196988
female	6	26	1	3	29	32	2	1	100	1253491
Age										
15-29	6	33	0	4	31	25	0	1	100	830720
30-44	6	26	0	4	21	39	2	1	100	691798
45-59	8	31	4	5	22	29	0	1	100	461674
60 +	11	24	0	3	17	38	4	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin										
European	6	29	1	4	25	31	2	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	4	29	1	2	15	47	0	3	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	6	31	0	2	23	36	1	1	100	66833
Other	3	21	0	9	24	39	1	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	32	0	0	1	25	0	42	100	19266
Occupation										
Prof/Tech	3	31	0	3	28	31	0	3	100	292680
Admn/Man	18	29	0	7	12	35	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	6	27	0	1	34	30	2	0	100	333438
Sales	15	38	0	4	17	33	0	0	100	158891
Service	1	38	0	6	30	25	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	6	41	5	7	14	23	2	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	6	30	0	3	23	36	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	8	24	1	4	23	34	3	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural										
main urban	9	27	0	3	25	33	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	2	26	0	15	22	32	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	5	35	0	4	20	32	1	2	100	206739
rural	4	37	6	4	20	27	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	7	29	1	4	24	32	1	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(h) Work for a bicultural society

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All re- spondents Number
Sex											
male	36	42	1	2	9	7	2	0	1	100	1196988
female	21	53	1	1	10	10	4	0	1	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	27	49	0	3	9	10	2	0	1	100	830720
30-44	26	49	0	1	10	11	3	0	0	100	691798
45-59	30	48	4	1	6	6	3	0	1	100	461674
60 +	31	45	0	1	10	6	5	0	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	30	49	1	1	8	7	3	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	10	37	0	2	16	30	3	0	3	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	12	50	0	2	16	16	4	0	0	100	66833
Other	26	42	0	3	13	10	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	1	0	0	56	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	22	35	0	0	13	26	4	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	52	39	0	1	6	1	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	25	62	0	2	5	3	4	0	0	100	333438
Sales	40	45	0	4	4	5	2	0	0	100	158891
Service	12	64	0	0	13	10	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	33	41	5	3	8	4	4	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	36	44	0	2	10	7	1	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	24	49	1	2	10	8	3	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	29	49	0	1	8	9	3	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	24	49	0	3	11	10	0	0	3	100	172754
minor urban	33	38	0	4	15	6	2	0	3	100	206739
rural	23	47	6	3	11	6	2	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	28	48	1	2	9	8	3	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(i) Overseas aid

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	48	39	1	1	5	2	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	42	47	1	1	4	2	2	0	1	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	41	49	1	1	5	2	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44	53	37	1	2	3	2	2	0	0	100	691798
45-59	40	45	4	2	5	1	2	0	1	100	461674
60 +	45	40	0	1	6	2	4	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	46	43	1	1	5	2	2	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	40	38	2	3	5	5	5	0	1	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	33	58	2	1	4	1	1	0	0	100	66833
Other	41	44	0	2	3	4	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	32	24	0	0	0	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	38	42	0	2	12	6	0	0	0	100	292680
Admin/Man	56	43	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	38	54	0	0	1	0	5	0	0	100	333438
Sales	59	35	0	0	4	0	1	0	1	100	158891
Service	41	51	0	3	1	4	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	39	49	5	0	3	1	1	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	47	43	1	1	2	3	1	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	46	38	2	2	6	1	2	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	44	44	1	1	5	2	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	46	41	0	0	1	3	7	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	50	38	0	2	5	1	4	0	1	100	206739
rural	45	42	6	0	2	2	1	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	45	43	1	1	5	2	2	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(i) Help for farmers

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	26	48	1	4	11	8	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	18	50	0	2	11	16	2	0	1	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	18	49	0	3	14	13	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44	28	49	1	2	10	10	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	26	46	0	3	9	14	2	0	1	100	461674
60 +	17	53	0	6	7	12	2	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	23	50	0	3	11	12	1	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	15	43	2	2	11	24	1	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	35	42	0	3	4	14	1	0	0	100	66833
Other	18	52	0	1	10	12	3	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	1	0	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof//Tech	25	67	0	0	3	6	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	36	53	0	9	1	1	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	22	52	0	1	11	14	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	33	38	0	6	11	11	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	8	66	0	6	8	11	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	13	36	0	6	18	26	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	28	42	1	2	13	11	1	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	19	47	0	3	12	13	3	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	24	49	0	3	10	11	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	18	55	0	3	8	12	2	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	26	53	0	1	7	12	2	0	1	100	206739
rural	11	44	0	6	16	21	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	22	49	0	3	11	12	1	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(k) Help for industry

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	19	42	1	3	17	16	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	12	49	0	2	16	16	2	0	2	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	14	50	0	3	19	11	1	0	2	100	830720
30-44	21	42	1	3	16	16	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	16	46	0	0	18	14	4	0	1	100	461674
60 +	8	45	0	2	12	26	3	1	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	16	47	0	2	17	16	2	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	13	39	2	3	13	23	3	1	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	19	44	0	1	16	18	1	0	1	100	66833
Other	11	41	0	8	19	14	3	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	56	0	0	1	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	26	60	0	0	7	6	1	0	0	100	292680
Admin/Man	42	36	0	1	9	12	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	14	49	0	1	17	16	1	0	2	100	333438
Sales	19	22	0	4	31	20	3	0	0	100	158891
Service	9	60	0	1	16	14	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	10	40	0	1	22	25	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	12	44	1	3	21	17	1	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	11	46	0	3	15	17	3	1	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	15	46	0	2	16	16	2	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	19	49	0	5	14	11	0	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	19	45	0	2	14	15	2	0	3	100	206739
rural	10	44	0	3	21	18	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	15	46	0	2	17	16	2	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(1) Public transport

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much more %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	16	54	0	5	14	7	1	0	2	100	1196988
female	9	58	0	4	15	9	2	0	2	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	12	64	0	4	13	4	0	0	2	100	830720
30-44	14	58	1	4	12	9	1	0	2	100	691798
45-59	13	52	0	7	18	6	3	0	1	100	461674
60 +	11	43	0	2	21	17	4	0	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	13	55	0	5	16	8	1	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	14	50	1	3	14	14	2	1	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	15	59	1	1	6	9	8	0	0	100	66833
Other	6	69	0	1	11	7	2	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	57	0	0	0	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	11	54	0	8	17	5	2	0	3	100	292680
Admn/Man	35	52	0	1	9	4	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	9	71	0	2	9	6	2	0	2	100	333438
Sales	22	60	1	3	13	1	1	0	0	100	158891
Service	5	74	0	4	14	3	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	9	63	0	7	13	6	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	16	55	1	2	12	12	1	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	11	48	0	5	20	11	3	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	13	54	0	4	17	9	2	0	2	100	1717271
secondary urban	9	62	0	7	11	6	4	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	24	51	1	1	11	7	2	0	2	100	206739
rural	7	68	0	7	10	5	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	13	56	0	4	15	8	2	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 46: Whether the Government should spend more or less on the following services and benefits and, if more, then how important this is, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(m) Sport and recreation

	Less %	Same %	More - not at all imp %	More - not very imp %	More - fairly imp %	More - very imp %	Don't know if more or less %	Don't know how much %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex											
male	15	49	1	4	14	13	0	0	3	100	1196988
female	15	56	1	4	10	11	1	0	1	100	1253491
Age											
15-29	15	57	0	5	11	9	0	0	1	100	830720
30-44	16	48	0	4	16	13	1	0	2	100	691798
45-59	15	48	4	3	11	16	1	0	3	100	461674
60 +	14	56	1	3	7	14	2	0	3	100	466287
Ethnic origin											
European	16	54	1	4	12	11	1	0	2	100	2079268
NZ Maori	14	39	1	2	16	24	0	0	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	12	46	1	8	14	17	1	0	1	100	66833
Other	6	55	0	6	8	19	1	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	56	0	0	1	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation											
Prof/Tech	9	58	0	5	11	11	1	0	6	100	292680
Admn/Man	37	48	0	1	3	12	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	15	63	0	3	12	6	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	16	41	0	9	20	14	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	16	57	0	3	3	20	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	12	53	6	2	10	14	0	0	3	100	191475
Prod/Lab	16	51	0	3	15	14	0	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	15	50	2	5	12	12	2	0	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural											
main urban	15	52	0	4	12	13	1	0	2	100	1717271
secondary urban	22	46	0	5	13	8	3	0	2	100	172754
minor urban	19	56	0	2	10	10	0	0	2	100	206739
rural	12	55	6	3	11	10	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	15	53	1	4	12	12	1	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 47: Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Very fair %	Fair %	Unfair %	Very unfair %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	1	44	41	11	2	1	100	1196988
female	1	38	47	7	6	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	0	42	43	7	7	1	100	830720
30-44	2	42	44	9	2	1	100	691798
45-59	1	40	44	13	2	1	100	461674
60 +	0	39	45	8	6	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	1	41	46	9	4	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	3	40	41	7	8	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	3	47	33	13	3	0	100	66833
Other	1	42	32	12	8	5	100	153986
Not spec.	0	56	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	1	41	50	7	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	0	50	26	23	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	0	39	53	6	1	0	100	333438
Sales	2	52	22	14	8	2	100	158891
Service	0	35	54	4	7	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	1	39	54	5	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	1	43	42	11	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	2	39	41	8	8	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	1	42	43	9	5	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	0	33	56	5	6	0	100	172754
minor urban	2	43	39	7	8	1	100	206739
rural	0	41	45	10	1	3	100	353714
Total New Zealand	1	41	44	9	4	1	100	2450479

TABLE 48: Respondents who believe the tax system is unfair. Whether the system is unfair to them, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
<i>male</i>	65	34	1	0	100	613487
<i>female</i>	64	33	4	0	100	673120
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	56	39	5	0	100	413008
30-44	65	34	1	0	100	363758
45-59	71	28	1	0	100	261546
60 +	69	31	1	0	100	248295
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	64	34	2	0	100	1125761
NZ Maori	72	23	5	0	100	62109
NZ Maori- European	63	35	2	0	100	30758
Other	60	39	1	0	100	67730
Not spec.	61	0	39	0	100	248
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	52	47	1	0	100	166970
Admn/Man	88	11	0	1	100	51671
Clerical	67	33	0	0	100	197582
Sales	63	32	5	0	100	58257
Service	61	36	3	0	100	69317
Ag/Fish	71	29	0	0	100	113261
Prod/Lab	75	22	3	0	100	215667
Not spec.	58	39	4	0	100	413881
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	63	34	2	0	100	891397
secondary urban	52	47	0	0	100	105677
minor urban	78	15	7	0	100	95072
rural	68	32	0	0	100	194460
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	64	34	2	0	100	1286606

TABLE 49: Whether respondents get good value from system of taxes, services and benefits in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	47	43	8	1	100	1196988
female	47	43	9	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	36	46	17	1	100	830720
30-44	47	48	4	1	100	691798
45-59	50	45	4	1	100	461674
60 +	63	28	6	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	47	44	8	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	47	39	12	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	53	38	9	0	100	66833
Other	41	39	14	5	100	153986
Not spec.	56	1	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	58	40	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	20	72	8	0	100	104887
Clerical	39	55	6	0	100	333438
Sales	49	35	14	2	100	158891
Service	59	39	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	39	53	6	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	37	55	8	1	100	405676
Not spec.	54	30	13	3	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	47	43	9	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	47	33	10	1	100	172754
minor urban	56	35	9	1	100	206739
rural	55	35	9	1	100	353714
Total New Zealand	49	40	10	1	100	2450479

TABLE 50: Whether respondents will have had good value from system of taxes, services and benefits over their lifetime, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
male	48	40	11	1	100	1196988
female	51	34	15	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	43	34	22	1	100	830720
30-44	42	45	12	1	100	691798
45-59	49	42	9	1	100	461674
60 +	70	25	4	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	49	38	13	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	46	37	16	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	53	31	16	0	100	66833
Other	47	29	18	5	100	153986
Not spec.	56	1	1	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	60	28	12	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	42	57	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	45	46	8	0	100	333438
Sales	38	38	22	2	100	158891
Service	46	37	17	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	43	46	10	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	39	43	17	1	100	405676
Not spec.	57	28	14	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	50	36	13	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	46	38	16	0	100	172754
minor urban	51	33	15	1	100	206739
rural	46	42	10	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	49	37	13	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Effect on jobs available

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	55	37	4	1	1	1	100	1196988
female	54	39	3	0	3	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	48	47	3	0	1	1	100	830720
30-44	53	39	6	1	0	1	100	691798
45-59	61	31	3	0	3	1	100	461674
60+	61	28	2	1	6	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	53	40	4	1	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	61	32	3	0	3	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	62	35	2	0	1	0	100	66833
Other	68	23	1	0	2	5	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	58	37	4	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	54	29	17	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	47	49	2	0	1	0	100	333438
Sales	39	47	10	2	0	2	100	158891
Service	52	46	1	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	53	43	2	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	66	9	2	1	2	1	100	405676
Not spec.	55	36	2	1	5	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	53	40	4	0	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	56	35	1	3	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	57	35	6	1	1	1	100	206739
rural	62	34	1	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	55	38	4	1	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Effect on everyday prices

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	65	28	4	2	0	1	100	1196988
female	77	20	1	0	2	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	66	30	2	0	1	1	100	830720
30-44	72	22	5	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	75	22	2	0	0	1	100	461674
60+	75	17	0	3	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	70	26	3	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	76	18	3	1	2	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	73	22	5	0	0	0	100	66833
Other	85	9	1	1	0	3	100	153986
Not spec.	57	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	70	26	3	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	57	30	9	4	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	76	20	4	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	56	39	4	0	2	0	100	158891
Service	80	19	1	0	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	63	31	5	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	71	25	2	0	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	74	20	0	2	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	70	25	3	0	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	74	19	1	3	3	0	100	172754
minor urban	68	24	1	4	2	1	100	206739
rural	73	23	1	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	71	24	3	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Effect on home buying

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	44	43	9	2	1	1	100	1196988
female	46	43	6	2	3	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	43	48	6	0	1	1	100	830720
30-44	42	44	9	3	1	0	100	691798
45-59	44	44	8	1	2	1	100	461674
60+	53	31	7	4	4	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	43	45	8	2	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	67	27	3	0	2	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	44	41	14	0	0	0	100	66833
Other	62	28	4	0	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	38	56	4	2	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	44	25	23	8	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	40	49	7	1	2	0	100	333438
Sales	34	52	7	4	3	0	100	158891
Service	56	41	2	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	43	49	7	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	52	38	8	0	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	46	38	8	3	3	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	47	41	7	2	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	51	36	5	2	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	39	42	14	3	3	1	100	206739
rural	34	55	8	0	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	45	43	7	2	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Effect on poorer people

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	62	33	3	1	0	1	100	1196988
female	65	31	2	1	1	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	67	29	2	0	0	1	100	830720
30-44	61	34	4	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	64	32	2	0	1	1	100	461674
60+	61	33	3	2	1	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	62	34	3	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	80	17	1	1	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	68	25	5	1	1	0	100	66833
Other	77	18	2	0	0	3	100	153986
Not spec.	25	32	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	69	29	3	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	64	21	8	8	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	61	37	1	0	0	0	100	333438
Sales	60	34	6	0	0	0	100	158891
Service	74	24	1	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	63	32	3	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	70	27	3	0	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	59	35	2	1	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	65	31	2	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	63	25	7	0	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	58	39	3	0	0	1	100	206739
rural	62	33	2	0	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	64	32	3	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(e) Effect on business profit

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>								
male	27	40	23	8	1	1	100	1196988
female	20	45	26	4	4	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	18	42	32	5	2	1	100	830720
30-44	21	47	24	6	1	0	100	691798
45-59	32	40	19	6	2	1	100	461674
60+	31	40	17	6	5	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	24	42	26	6	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	36	33	18	5	7	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	18	55	17	6	3	0	100	66833
Other	18	48	18	9	3	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	57	0	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	17	42	33	8	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	26	29	26	18	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	22	44	30	4	1	0	100	333438
Sales	21	46	25	5	2	0	100	158891
Service	29	40	22	1	7	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	25	54	16	4	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	28	44	21	5	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	24	40	24	6	4	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	24	41	26	6	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	25	29	35	5	6	0	100	172754
minor urban	22	48	19	7	3	1	100	206739
rural	23	54	16	4	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	24	43	25	6	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(f) Effect on people's health

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	66	28	4	0	1	1	100	1196988
female	71	25	2	1	2	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	66	29	3	0	1	1	100	830720
30-44	70	25	2	1	1	0	100	691798
45-59	70	24	3	0	2	1	100	461674
60+	67	27	2	2	1	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	67	28	3	1	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	81	16	1	0	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	73	24	1	0	1	0	100	66833
Other	80	16	0	0	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	75	24	1	0	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	72	17	7	4	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	66	28	2	0	4	0	100	333438
Sales	51	35	9	0	5	0	100	158891
Service	77	17	5	0	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	75	22	2	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	69	27	3	0	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	66	29	2	1	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	67	29	2	1	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	71	24	5	0	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	68	18	11	1	2	1	100	206739
rural	73	22	2	0	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	68	27	3	1	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 51: Consideration for Government when making an economic decision, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(g) Treaty of Waitangi

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all imp- ortant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	11	23	29	26	10	1	100	1196988
female	13	30	22	21	14	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	11	28	29	20	11	1	100	830720
30-44	13	25	31	24	8	0	100	691798
45-59	13	26	20	23	17	1	100	461674
60+	11	28	17	30	14	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	8	26	27	26	12	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	56	21	10	4	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	26	36	15	18	4	1	100	66833
Other	20	32	18	11	15	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	1	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	19	33	23	21	5	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	4	25	20	50	1	0	100	104887
Clerical	12	26	35	13	14	0	100	333438
Sales	10	7	34	31	19	0	100	158891
Service	12	54	21	10	4	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	10	18	32	28	10	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	9	28	29	19	14	1	100	405676
Not spec.	13	26	19	27	14	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	11	27	25	25	12	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	12	20	24	21	24	0	100	172754
minor urban	14	26	26	23	10	1	100	206739
rural	16	27	29	20	6	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	12	27	25	24	12	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Individual freedoms protected

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>							
male	79	3	15	2	1	100	1196988
female	81	4	13	1	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>							
15-29	73	7	16	2	1	100	830720
30-44	81	2	15	1	0	100	691798
45-59	81	3	14	1	1	100	461674
60 +	90	0	9	0	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>							
European	81	4	14	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	88	3	7	2	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	85	2	11	1	0	100	66833
Other	69	2	23	2	3	100	153986
Not spec.	57	0	0	1	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>							
Prof/Tech	79	5	14	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	87	0	13	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	78	6	15	0	0	100	333438
Sales	74	5	21	0	0	100	158891
Service	72	5	19	3	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	90	0	9	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	76	5	16	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	83	2	12	1	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>							
main urban	80	4	14	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	87	1	12	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	77	5	17	0	1	100	206739
rural	81	5	12	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	80	4	14	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) More religious influence

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	21	13	62	3	1	100	1196988
female	23	18	55	4	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	12	17	66	3	1	100	830720
30-44	17	16	62	4	0	100	691798
45-59	31	11	55	2	1	100	461674
60 +	37	16	43	3	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	21	16	60	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	28	16	50	6	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	20	21	58	1	0	100	66833
Other	34	9	48	6	3	100	153986
Not spec.	32	24	1	0	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	23	20	51	5	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	21	14	66	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	26	18	54	2	0	100	333438
Sales	10	15	75	0	0	100	158891
Service	27	6	63	5	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	26	15	55	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	14	12	71	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	24	17	53	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	20	16	59	4	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	36	17	42	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	22	13	62	3	1	100	206739
rural	22	14	61	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	22	16	58	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) No victimisation of homosexuals

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>							
male	36	12	43	7	2	100	1196988
female	46	10	35	7	2	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>							
15-29	47	14	32	5	2	100	830720
30-44	47	12	34	7	0	100	691798
45-59	36	8	46	7	2	100	461674
60 +	26	9	49	13	3	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>							
European	42	12	38	7	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	37	9	44	10	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	43	8	37	11	0	100	66833
Other	26	7	52	7	8	100	153986
Not spec.	57	1	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>							
Prof/Tech	67	12	18	3	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	44	2	42	11	0	100	104887
Clerical	52	11	29	6	2	100	333438
Sales	41	16	43	0	0	100	158891
Service	44	18	33	6	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	32	3	58	6	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	29	16	43	11	1	100	405676
Not spec.	34	11	42	9	4	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>							
main urban	44	13	35	7	2	100	1717271
secondary urban	31	7	41	20	0	100	172754
minor urban	34	8	51	7	1	100	206739
rural	35	10	50	2	4	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	41	11	39	7	2	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Treaty of Waitangi honoured

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>							
male	45	17	21	15	2	100	1196988
female	48	19	16	17	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>							
15-29	46	21	16	16	1	100	830720
30-44	47	17	20	14	2	100	691798
45-59	47	14	21	18	1	100	461674
60 +	46	17	19	17	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>							
European	44	19	20	17	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	78	8	6	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	57	21	12	10	0	100	66833
Other	52	12	14	14	8	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>							
Prof/Tech	48	17	26	10	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	28	28	30	14	0	100	104887
Clerical	46	15	11	28	0	100	333438
Sales	34	20	18	29	0	100	158891
Service	69	12	11	8	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	41	29	21	9	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	44	19	19	15	3	100	405676
Not spec.	50	16	18	14	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>							
main urban	45	17	19	18	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	45	13	20	22	0	100	172754
minor urban	51	20	19	9	1	100	206739
rural	50	24	17	8	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	46	18	19	16	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(e) Government ensures people's welfare

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>							
male	42	9	43	5	1	100	1196988
female	48	13	33	5	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>							
15-29	60	11	22	5	1	100	830720
30-44	38	10	47	4	1	100	691798
45-59	30	14	52	3	1	100	461674
60 +	43	9	39	8	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>							
European	43	11	41	5	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	71	6	17	6	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	53	15	28	3	0	100	66833
Other	54	10	23	5	7	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	1	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>							
Prof/Tech	50	10	35	4	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	38	9	49	4	0	100	104887
Clerical	33	14	46	7	0	100	333438
Sales	43	9	43	5	0	100	158891
Service	52	2	37	4	5	100	119606
Ag/Fish	25	18	53	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	57	11	29	2	1	100	405676
Not spec.	47	10	35	7	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>							
main urban	45	11	38	5	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	52	7	25	13	3	100	172754
minor urban	54	6	35	4	1	100	206739
rural	35	15	47	1	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	45	11	38	5	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(f) Maori land returned

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	23	12	53	12	1	100	1196988
female	25	19	41	15	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	23	17	46	12	1	100	830720
30-44	24	15	51	11	0	100	691798
45-59	27	15	46	11	1	100	461674
60 +	22	13	44	21	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	20	15	52	13	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	64	14	12	8	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	47	21	20	12	0	100	66833
Other	29	12	31	23	4	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	1	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	31	24	37	9	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	14	13	70	3	0	100	104887
Clerical	25	17	40	19	0	100	333438
Sales	21	6	57	16	0	100	158891
Service	19	27	45	8	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	24	15	55	5	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	21	12	55	12	1	100	405676
Not spec.	25	13	43	17	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	24	16	46	14	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	27	9	42	21	0	100	172754
minor urban	23	13	52	11	1	100	206739
rural	22	17	51	8	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	24	15	47	13	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(g) More women in high positions

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	69	17	11	2	1	100	1196988
female	80	8	8	4	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	73	15	8	3	1	100	830720
30-44	77	10	8	4	0	100	691798
45-59	73	13	11	3	1	100	461674
60 +	74	10	13	2	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	74	13	9	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	82	6	6	5	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	74	14	9	3	0	100	66833
Other	71	5	16	5	3	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	84	8	7	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	76	21	1	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	75	12	11	2	0	100	333438
Sales	71	23	3	3	0	100	158891
Service	82	5	12	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	78	11	8	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	68	16	9	6	1	100	405676
Not spec.	72	10	12	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	75	13	9	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	71	6	11	12	0	100	172754
minor urban	68	17	11	3	1	100	206739
rural	79	6	10	2	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	74	12	9	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(h) More Maori in high positions

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	58	21	17	3	1	100	1196988
female	65	16	13	6	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	61	22	10	5	1	100	830720
30-44	61	17	14	7	0	100	691798
45-59	62	15	21	1	1	100	461674
60 +	65	17	16	1	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	62	19	15	4	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	82	9	5	3	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	65	20	8	6	0	100	66833
Other	43	20	22	11	3	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	77	10	13	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	71	20	7	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	65	18	13	4	0	100	333438
Sales	58	27	11	2	1	100	158891
Service	48	12	26	12	1	100	119606
Ag/Fish	49	15	30	5	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	51	9	33	6	1	100	405676
Not spec.	52	7	27	12	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	49	9	31	10	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	53	11	31	5	0	10	172754
minor urban	50	15	30	5	1	100	206739
rural	57	7	32	3	1	100	353714
Total New Zealand	50	10	31	8	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(i) Less tax /more work incentive

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	46	10	39	2	2	100	1196988
female	45	9	38	6	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	43	10	39	6	1	100	830720
30-44	51	11	34	3	1	100	691798
45-59	48	7	42	2	1	100	461674
60 +	41	10	42	6	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	45	10	40	4	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	60	9	24	6	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	52	6	35	7	0	100	66833
Other	42	10	33	8	8	100	153986
Not spec.	1	0	56	0	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	36	14	47	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	65	6	28	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	46	10	41	3	0	100	333438
Sales	51	15	31	2	1	100	158891
Service	45	14	39	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	44	9	43	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	49	9	39	1	2	100	405676
Not spec.	44	8	38	9	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	45	10	39	5	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	50	10	36	4	0	100	172754
minor urban	52	10	31	5	2	100	206739
rural	44	9	44	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	46	10	39	4	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(j) Employers pay a basic wage

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>							
<i>male</i>	93	3	3	1	1	100	1196988
<i>female</i>	93	2	3	1	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>							
15-29	95	3	1	0	1	100	830720
30-44	90	3	4	2	1	100	691798
45-59	93	3	2	1	1	100	461674
60 +	91	1	5	0	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>							
European	93	3	3	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	92	3	4	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	93	1	5	0	0	100	66833
Other	87	1	5	3	4	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>							
Prof/Tech	97	1	2	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	84	10	2	4	0	100	104887
Clerical	97	0	2	0	0	100	333438
Sales	91	4	4	0	1	100	158891
Service	99	0	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	87	5	4	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	93	2	3	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	91	3	4	1	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>							
main urban	94	2	3	1	1	100	1717271
secondary							
urban	91	5	3	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	93	2	3	0	2	100	206739
rural	88	4	4	1	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	93	3	3	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status
(k) People be more self-reliant

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	73	12	13	2	1	100	1196988
female	64	13	16	5	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	50	21	21	6	1	100	830720
30-44	74	9	14	2	0	100	691798
45-59	84	3	9	1	3	100	461674
60 +	78	12	9	0	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	71	12	13	3	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	52	17	26	5	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	58	17	21	4	0	100	66833
Other	58	15	21	3	4	100	153986
Not spec.	32	0	25	1	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	66	12	19	3	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	86	9	5	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	66	16	16	3	0	100	333438
Sales	64	16	16	2	1	100	158891
Service	71	7	12	9	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	78	9	6	1	6	100	191475
Prod/Lab	65	16	17	2	1	100	405676
Not spec.	68	11	15	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	67	14	15	3	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	82	5	10	3	0	100	172754
minor urban	68	11	14	5	2	100	206739
rural	69	12	14	1	5	100	353714
Total New Zealand	68	13	15	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(1) Incomes be more equitable

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	43	11	42	3	1	100	1196988
female	50	12	32	6	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	49	11	35	4	1	100	830720
30-44	43	13	40	4	0	100	691798
45-59	40	11	46	3	1	100	461674
60 +	54	10	27	8	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	47	11	38	4	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	54	11	27	7	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	40	16	40	4	0	100	66833
Other	50	9	25	11	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	32	1	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	41	14	44	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	29	15	53	4	0	100	104887
Clerical	42	12	38	7	0	100	333438
Sales	34	9	53	3	1	100	158891
Service	64	8	26	3	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	36	16	47	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	57	11	27	4	1	100	405676
Not spec.	50	9	33	7	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	46	12	37	4	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	45	7	31	16	0	100	172754
minor urban	46	9	37	6	2	100	206739
rural	49	10	37	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	47	11	37	5	1	100	2450479

TABLE 52: Attitudes towards things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(m) Welfare of society shared by all

	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	84	6	7	1	2	100	1196988
female	82	7	6	3	2	100	1253491
Age							
15-29	76	12	8	2	1	100	830720
30-44	84	5	9	1	1	100	691798
45-59	88	4	3	2	3	100	461674
60 +	89	3	5	2	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European	84	7	6	2	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	79	8	8	4	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	82	6	9	3	1	100	66833
Other	75	4	13	4	4	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	84	7	8	0	2	100	292680
Admn/Man	82	10	6	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	86	6	5	2	1	100	333438
Sales	72	14	7	4	1	100	158891
Service	79	9	8	1	4	100	119606
Ag/Fish	90	6	3	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	84	5	7	2	1	100	405676
Not spec.	82	6	8	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban	83	6	7	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	78	8	10	2	3	100	172754
minor urban	76	10	11	1	2	100	206739
rural	88	7	2	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	79	6	9	4	1	100	24504791

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Maori health centres

	Level of support						All	All respondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	14	30	26	26	3	1	100	1196988
female	19	38	22	17	3	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	13	29	32	22	3	1	100	830720
30-44	13	32	30	22	2	0	100	691798
45-59	25	29	15	28	2	1	100	461674
60 +	18	52	10	14	5	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	15	35	24	23	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	42	31	13	9	5	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	15	52	23	8	2	0	100	66833
Other	14	20	34	20	8	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	1	32	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	21	37	23	18	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	9	23	33	33	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	9	38	27	23	2	0	100	333438
Sales	4	37	32	21	4	1	100	158891
Service	12	48	28	11	1	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	28	21	23	25	1	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	18	21	31	26	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	18	40	16	20	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	15	37	25	20	3	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	38	17	25	5	0	100	172754
minor urban	12	30	31	22	4	2	100	206739
rural	28	20	20	29	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	16	34	24	22	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) All students taught Maori

		Level of support							All respondents Number
		Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Sex									
male		3	7	24	63	1	2	100	1196988
female		6	11	25	56	2	1	100	1253491
Age									
15-29		6	10	24	58	1	1	100	830720
30-44		4	8	33	54	1	1	100	691798
45-59		5	7	27	58	2	1	100	461674
60 +		2	11	13	70	3	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European		3	8	24	63	1	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori		23	20	33	22	1	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European		9	16	41	29	5	0	100	66833
Other		7	12	17	59	2	3	100	153986
Not spec.		0	1	24	32	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech		7	15	38	40	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man		0	3	20	77	0	0	100	104887
Clerical		4	5	30	60	1	0	100	333438
Sales		1	1	18	79	0	0	100	158891
Service		9	22	30	39	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish		2	3	23	69	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab		4	9	24	60	1	2	100	405676
Not spec.		5	10	20	60	3	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban		4	9	25	60	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban		3	11	16	64	5	0	100	172754
minor urban		5	8	27	57	2	1	100	206739
rural		6	9	27	55	1	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand		4	9	25	59	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Maori for those who want to learn it

Level of support

	<i>Very great deal</i>	<i>Quite a lot</i>	<i>Only a little</i>	<i>None at all</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Not spec.</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>All res- pondents Number</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<i>Sex</i>								
male	27	40	24	8	0	1	100	1196988
female	30	47	19	3	0	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	36	41	20	2	0	1	100	830720
30-44	31	46	15	7	0	0	100	691798
45-59	23	49	22	6	0	1	100	461674
60 +	16	41	31	11	0	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	25	46	23	6	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	65	25	8	0	0	2	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	61	33	4	0	1	1	100	66833
Other	23	42	22	8	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	1	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	48	36	12	3	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	21	44	21	14	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	22	54	18	6	0	0	100	333438
Sales	23	36	36	5	0	0	100	158891
Service	20	69	5	6	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	26	50	23	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	30	40	24	5	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	26	41	24	7	0	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	27	44	23	5	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	29	38	22	12	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	28	44	18	8	0	1	100	206739
rural	33	45	15	4	0	3	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	28	44	21	6	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Maori fishing rights protected

	Level of support						All	All respondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	10	15	22	43	9	1	100	1196988
female	14	18	21	32	13	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	10	16	29	32	11	1	100	830720
30-44	13	21	17	39	9	0	100	691798
45-59	13	11	22	42	9	3	100	461674
60 +	12	17	13	38	18	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	8	16	22	41	12	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	62	18	7	8	5	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	26	18	29	14	13	0	100	66833
Other	16	28	20	20	11	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	0	56	0	1	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	17	18	29	35	1	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	1	11	18	66	4	0	100	104887
Clerical	5	15	25	36	19	0	100	333438
Sales	5	12	29	36	18	0	100	158891
Service	12	21	38	25	4	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	10	21	16	39	8	6	100	191475
Prod/Lab	11	22	22	36	9	1	100	405676
Not spec.	17	15	15	37	14	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	11	17	23	37	12	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	14	13	37	20	0	100	172754
minor urban	16	23	18	38	4	1	100	206739
rural	14	16	22	38	6	5	100	353714
Total New Zealand	12	17	21	37	11	1	100	2450479

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Better housing on Maori land

	Level of support						All	All res- pondents
	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex								
male	10	22	29	34	4	1	100	1196988
female	14	29	24	25	8	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	8	27	32	28	4	1	100	830720
30-44	12	21	26	34	6	0	100	691798
45-59	18	22	25	26	9	1	100	461674
60 +	13	36	17	28	5	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	8	26	28	32	5	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	55	26	9	7	2	2	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	28	40	17	8	7	0	100	66833
Other	17	17	27	21	14	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	24	0	32	1	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	21	28	21	26	4	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	1	16	35	46	2	0	100	104887
Clerical	7	22	28	32	10	0	100	333438
Sales	3	20	35	36	5	0	100	158891
Service	12	38	31	18	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	7	22	27	35	8	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	12	23	32	29	3	1	100	405676
Not spec.	15	30	21	26	7	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	11	27	23	32	6	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	19	48	10	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	14	30	25	25	5	1	100	206739
rural	14	20	30	30	3	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	12	26	26	29	6	1	100	2450479

TABLE 53: Support for Maori concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(f) Monetary control to tribal authorities

	Level of support						All	All respondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	12	31	21	30	5	1	100	1196988
female	15	28	23	21	11	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	14	33	23	22	7	1	100	830720
30-44	13	27	23	28	7	1	100	691798
45-59	18	24	21	27	9	1	100	461674
60+	8	33	20	25	12	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	12	30	22	27	8	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	37	26	19	12	6	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	25	32	22	16	4	0	100	66833
Other	12	24	22	22	16	4	100	153986
Not spec.	1	32	24	0	1	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	16	41	21	20	2	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	1	21	21	50	7	0	100	104887
Clerical	16	22	27	30	4	2	100	333438
Sales	6	29	26	30	8	0	100	158891
Service	24	35	24	14	3	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	19	36	17	22	6	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	13	30	24	25	8	1	100	405676
Not spec.	12	28	20	24	14	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	12	29	22	27	8	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	14	24	24	24	13	0	100	172754
minor urban	15	35	20	20	9	1	100	206739
rural	17	35	22	19	4	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand								
	13	30	22	25	8	1	100	2450479

TABLE 54: Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Equal job opportunities for women

	Level of support						All	All respondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
<i>Sex</i>								
male	52	39	7	2	0	1	100	1196988
female	65	28	3	2	1	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	61	30	6	1	1	1	100	830720
30-44	67	28	3	1	0	0	100	691798
45-59	54	35	7	2	1	1	100	461674
60 +	46	44	3	6	0	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	59	34	4	2	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	61	30	5	2	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	61	29	9	1	0	0	100	66833
Other	44	32	16	4	1	3	100	153986
Not spec.	57	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	78	21	1	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	75	18	6	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	67	30	2	1	0	0	100	333438
Sales	49	46	2	2	0	0	100	158891
Service	64	32	1	1	0	1	100	119606
Ag/Fish	46	41	12	0	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	57	34	7	2	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	51	36	6	4	1	2	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	60	33	4	1	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	48	38	6	6	2	0	100	172754
minor urban	51	38	9	2	0	1	100	206739
rural	61	28	5	4	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	59	33	5	2	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 54: Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Flexible work hours

	Level of support						All	All res- pondents
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex								
male	36	39	16	5	2	1	100	1196988
female	47	33	10	7	2	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	47	34	15	2	2	1	100	830720
30-44	49	35	12	4	1	0	100	691798
45-59	38	33	16	9	3	1	100	461674
60 +	26	45	10	15	3	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	41	36	14	7	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	59	25	11	2	2	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	45	39	12	4	1	0	100	66833
Other	39	40	13	5	0	3	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	55	35	8	2	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	47	32	8	5	8	0	100	104887
Clerical	50	35	11	2	1	0	100	333438
Sales	33	38	25	4	0	0	100	158891
Service	47	45	3	5	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	38	27	30	4	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	41	35	20	3	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	36	38	9	12	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	45	37	11	4	1	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	31	44	9	9	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	26	35	18	16	4	1	100	206739
rural	39	27	22	9	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	42	36	13	6	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 54: Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(c) Part/fully paid child daycare

	Level of support						All	All res- pondents
	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex								
male	13	24	31	30	1	1	100	1196988
female	17	26	27	27	3	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	21	33	29	15	1	1	100	830720
30-44	16	21	31	29	2	0	100	691798
45-59	14	23	22	38	2	1	100	461674
60 +	5	17	30	43	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	13	25	29	31	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	36	25	22	9	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	22	23	31	23	1	0	100	66833
Other	24	29	26	15	2	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	0	56	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	18	29	30	22	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	11	27	28	33	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	11	22	34	29	3	0	100	333438
Sales	5	19	44	30	2	0	100	158891
Service	22	31	22	25	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	8	23	32	35	1	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	23	28	23	24	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	15	23	26	31	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	15	28	29	26	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	15	18	26	32	9	0	100	172754
minor urban	13	14	31	40	2	1	100	206739
rural	16	20	27	34	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	15	25	29	28	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 54: Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(d) Part/fully paid invalid daycare

	Level of support						All	All respondents Number
	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex								
male	24	49	21	3	1	1	100	1196988
female	28	46	21	2	2	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	26	47	23	2	1	1	100	830720
30-44	22	52	20	3	2	0	100	691798
45-59	37	41	18	2	1	1	100	461674
60 +	21	47	24	5	2	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	25	48	22	3	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	44	35	11	2	8	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	32	52	12	2	0	3	100	66833
Other	28	48	16	1	3	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	0	56	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	27	55	14	4	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	20	50	18	11	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	27	48	23	0	2	0	100	333438
Sales	16	58	22	0	4	0	100	158891
Service	24	57	17	1	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	24	49	24	1	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	31	47	18	3	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	27	41	25	3	2	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	25	48	22	3	2	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	27	49	17	3	4	0	100	172754
minor urban	29	42	23	3	2	1	100	206739
rural	31	46	19	1	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	26	47	21	3	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 54: Support for specific concerns, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(e) Controls on pornography

	Level of support						All %	All res- pondents Number
	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Sex								
male	34	23	24	17	1	1	100	1196988
female	53	23	12	8	3	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	26	25	30	16	3	1	100	830720
30-44	41	26	19	14	1	0	100	691798
45-59	54	24	12	8	1	1	100	461674
60 +	69	16	1	9	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	44	23	18	13	2	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	53	19	13	11	4	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	35	21	22	18	5	0	100	66833
Other	33	34	16	9	4	3	100	153986
Not spec.	25	32	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	39	28	18	15	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	36	12	28	24	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	41	30	13	15	0	0	100	333438
Sales	18	18	37	22	5	0	100	158891
Service	59	19	19	2	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	38	26	23	12	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	38	21	29	10	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	53	22	9	10	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	41	22	20	13	3	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	63	17	6	13	1	0	100	172754
minor urban	49	23	14	12	2	1	100	206739
rural	41	30	17	9	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	44	23	18	12	2	1	100	2450479

TABLE 55: Whether respondent suffers from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
<i>male</i>	27	72	0	1	100	1196988
<i>female</i>	22	77	0	1	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	19	80	0	1	100	830720
30-44	22	78	0	0	100	691798
45-59	29	70	0	1	100	461674
60 +	34	65	0	1	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	23	76	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	37	63	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	42	58	0	0	100	66833
Other	29	70	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	0	58	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	23	77	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	22	78	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	18	82	0	0	100	333438
Sales	31	69	0	0	100	158891
Service	22	76	0	2	100	119606
Ag/Fish	30	69	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	25	74	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	26	73	0	1	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	24	76	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	40	59	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	26	73	0	1	100	206739
rural	21	77	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	25	75	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 56: Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability. Degree to which this interferes with their ability to work and enjoy life, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Interferes with work

	<i>Very great deal</i> %	<i>Quite a lot</i> %	<i>Only a little</i> %	<i>None at all</i> %	<i>Don't know</i> %	<i>Not spec.</i> %	<i>All</i> %	<i>All res- pondents</i> Number
<i>Sex</i>								
<i>male</i>	17	23	36	24	0	0	100	326687
<i>female</i>	14	19	29	35	0	2	100	277854
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	10	18	35	35	0	2	100	158024
30-44	9	15	44	30	0	2	100	152528
45-59	19	17	41	23	0	0	100	134899
60 +	27	33	12	28	0	0	100	159090
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	15	21	32	30	0	1	100	483628
NZ Maori	22	24	42	12	0	0	100	48471
NZ Maori- European	20	16	35	26	0	3	100	28272
Other	16	20	27	37	0	0	100	44170
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	11	8	40	41	0	0	100	67691
Admn/Man	37	11	34	17	0	0	100	22909
Clerical	0	6	41	43	0	10	100	60147
Sales	4	17	37	42	0	0	100	48963
Service	18	14	23	45	0	0	100	26096
Ag/Fish	2	28	63	7	0	0	100	57880
Prod/Lab	6	30	45	20	0	0	100	100809
Not spec.	30	27	14	28	0	0	100	220046
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	19	20	34	25	0	2	100	405693
secondary								
urban	3	19	17	61	0	0	100	69637
minor urban	21	25	27	27	0	0	100	54526
rural	7	27	44	23	0	0	100	74685
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	16	21	33	29	0	1	100	604540

TABLE 56: Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability. Degree to which this interferes with their ability to work and enjoy life, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Interferes with enjoyment of life

	Very great deal %	Quite a lot %	Only a little %	None at all %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	12	27	45	16	0	0	100	326687
female	9	30	42	18	0	0	100	277854
Age								
15-29	4	26	45	23	0	1	100	158024
30-44	9	28	44	19	0	0	100	152528
45-59	13	19	57	11	0	0	100	134899
60 +	17	39	31	13	0	0	100	159090
Ethnic origin								
European	11	28	46	15	0	0	100	483628
NZ Maori	18	28	24	29	1	0	100	48471
NZ Maori- European	7	18	39	33	0	3	100	28272
Other	6	45	36	12	0	0	100	44170
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	10	17	58	14	0	0	100	67691
Admn/Man	0	39	59	2	0	0	100	22909
Clerical	1	25	38	35	0	2	100	60147
Sales	3	21	50	26	0	0	100	48963
Service	20	41	12	27	0	0	100	26096
Ag/Fish	7	18	41	34	0	0	100	57880
Prod/Lab	6	25	59	10	0	0	100	100809
Not spec.	19	37	35	10	0	0	100	220046
Urban/Rural								
main urban	12	27	45	15	0	0	100	405693
secondary urban	1	41	50	8	0	0	100	69637
minor urban	17	33	34	16	0	0	100	54526
rural	7	22	37	34	0	0	100	74685
Total New Zealand	11	29	44	17	0	0	100	604540

TABLE 57: Membership and involvement of respondents in trade unions or employers' associations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Member

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	39	59	0	2	100	1196988
female	28	72	0	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	35	63	1	2	100	830720
30-44	42	57	0	0	100	691798
45-59	41	58	0	1	100	461674
60 +	10	90	0	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	32	67	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	35	65	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	34	65	1	0	100	66833
Other	51	47	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	59	41	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	35	65	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	56	43	1	0	100	333438
Sales	20	77	3	0	100	158891
Service	59	39	0	2	100	119606
Ag/Fish	20	79	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	55	44	0	2	100	405676
Not spec.	7	92	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	35	64	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	29	70	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	35	64	0	1	100	206739
rural	28	70	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	33	65	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 57: Membership and involvement of respondents in trade unions or employers' associations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Active in membership

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	48	50	0	2	100	503154
female	35	64	0	1	100	373560
Age						
15-29	38	59	0	3	100	316287
30-44	38	62	0	0	100	299171
45-59	55	44	0	1	100	207743
60 +	41	55	0	4	100	53513
Ethnic origin						
European	41	59	0	0	100	702746
NZ Maori	52	47	0	1	100	49631
NZ Maori- European	41	59	0	0	100	23688
Other	56	41	0	2	100	81383
Not spec.	0	58	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	55	45	0	0	100	173433
Admn/Man	23	77	0	0	100	41912
Clerical	37	63	0	0	100	191401
Sales	10	90	0	0	100	39078
Service	53	46	0	1	100	70357
Ag/Fish	33	67	0	0	100	43030
Prod/Lab	44	55	0	0	100	227891
Not spec.	41	46	0	13	100	89612
Urban/Rural						
main urban	41	58	0	1	100	633250
secondary urban	62	38	0	0	100	58049
minor urban	53	47	0	0	100	75639
rural	32	61	0	7	100	109775
Total New Zealand	42	56	0	2	100	876714

TABLE 58: Membership and involvement of respondents in political party organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Member

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	11	88	0	1	100	1196988
female	9	91	0	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	3	96	0	1	100	830720
30-44	10	89	0	0	100	691798
45-59	12	87	0	1	100	461674
60 +	19	81	0	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	10	89	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	8	91	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	5	95	0	0	100	66833
Other	5	94	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	0	58	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	8	92	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	9	91	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	6	94	0	0	100	333438
Sales	4	96	0	0	100	158891
Service	2	95	0	2	100	119606
Ag/Fish	25	74	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	7	92	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	12	87	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	8	91	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	4	96	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	6	93	0	1	100	206739
rural	23	75	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	10	89	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 58: Membership and involvement of respondents in political party organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Active in membership

				Yes	No	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
				%	%	%	%	Number
<i>Sex</i>								
male				36	64	0	100	151174
female				50	50	0	100	119803
<i>Age</i>								
15-29				17	83	1	100	31468
30-44				45	55	0	100	87162
45-59				58	41	0	100	61125
60 +				38	62	0	100	91222
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European				43	57	0	100	242228
NZ Maori				25	75	0	100	15596
NZ Maori- European				52	48	0	100	4509
Other				47	48	5	100	8493
Not spec.				0	100	0	100	151
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech				45	55	0	100	34997
Admn/Man				0	100	0	100	12062
Clerical				32	68	0	100	21086
Sales				88	12	0	100	6481
Service				46	54	0	100	3385
Ag/Fish				35	65	0	100	48246
Prod/Lab				63	36	1	100	33930
Not spec.				42	58	0	100	110791
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban				39	61	0	100	168746
secondary urban				21	79	0	100	9005
minor urban				79	21	0	100	12684
rural				46	54	0	100	80542
<i>Total New Zealand</i>								
				42	58	0	100	270977

TABLE 59: Membership and involvement of respondents in churches or religious organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Member

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>						
male	26	73	0	1	100	1196988
female	35	65	0	0	100	1253491
<i>Age</i>						
15-29	18	81	1	1	100	830720
30-44	26	74	0	0	100	691798
45-59	44	55	0	1	100	461674
60 +	47	53	0	0	100	466287
<i>Ethnic origin</i>						
European	29	70	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	39	59	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	25	74	2	0	100	66833
Other	40	58	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	33	24	0	42	100	19266
<i>Occupation</i>						
Prof/Tech	31	69	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	37	63	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	35	65	0	0	100	333438
Sales	18	82	0	0	100	158891
Service	34	66	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	30	69	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	16	84	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	37	61	0	1	100	843826
<i>Urban/Rural</i>						
main urban	27	73	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	45	55	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	39	59	1	1	100	206739
rural	36	62	0	2	100	353714
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	30	69	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 59: Membership and involvement of respondents in churches or religious organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Active in membership

				Yes %	No %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
<i>Sex</i>								
male	100	1	25	62	33	4	100	343424
female	100	1	25	64	34	2	100	464349
<i>Age</i>								
15-29	100	2	88	61	31	8	100	181289
30-44	100	0	15	65	34	1	100	191090
45-59	100	1	55	61	37	2	100	210109
60 +	100	0	55	66	32	2	100	225286
<i>Ethnic origin</i>								
European	100	0	85	63	35	2	100	650464
NZ Maori	100	1	80	54	43	3	100	59531
NZ Maori- European	100	0	88	47	46	7	100	18313
Other	100	1	58	82	15	3	100	64902
Not spec.	100	5	82	43	1	56	100	14563
<i>Occupation</i>								
Prof/Tech	100	0	70	72	27	0	100	98859
Admn/Man	100	0	56	40	60	0	100	41367
Clerical	100	0	55	73	27	0	100	129579
Sales	100	1	48	54	46	0	100	31166
Service	100	0	48	42	57	1	100	41629
Ag/Fish	100	1	15	53	43	5	100	63516
Prod/Lab	100	1	88	59	38	3	100	70535
Not spec.	100	5	76	66	28	5	100	331122
<i>Urban/Rural</i>								
main urban	100	0	78	64	35	1	100	503402
secondary urban	100	0	81	74	26	0	100	79421
minor urban	100	2	80	56	34	10	100	85854
rural	100	2	69	61	34	6	100	139096
<i>Total New Zealand</i>								
Zealand	100	1	55	63	34	3	100	807773

TABLE 60: Membership and involvement of respondents in community service organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Member

			Yes	No	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
			%	%	%	%	Number
Sex							
male			24	75	1	100	1196988
female			20	79	1	100	1253491
Age							
15-29			11	88	2	100	830720
30-44			29	71	0	100	691798
45-59			22	77	1	100	461674
60 +			33	67	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin							
European			23	76	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori			19	80	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European			12	88	0	100	66833
Other			16	82	1	100	153986
Not spec.			0	58	42	100	19266
Occupation							
Prof/Tech			30	70	0	100	292680
Admn/Man			38	62	0	100	104887
Clerical			27	73	0	100	333438
Sales			15	84	1	100	158891
Service			16	84	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish			28	71	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab			10	89	1	100	405676
Not spec.			23	76	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural							
main urban			22	78	0	100	1717271
secondary							
urban			19	81	0	100	172754
minor urban			17	80	2	100	206739
rural			28	69	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand			22	77	1	100	2450479

TABLE 60: Membership and involvement of respondents in community service organisations, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Active in membership

	Yes %	No %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex					
male	81	19	0	100	304922
female	88	12	0	100	280465
Age					
15-29	64	35	1	100	114424
30-44	93	6	0	100	201850
45-59	87	13	0	100	112935
60 +	85	15	0	100	156176
Ethnic origin					
European	84	16	0	100	519194
NZ Maori	75	24	0	100	30952
NZ Maori- European	89	11	0	100	8763
Other	90	7	3	100	26230
Not spec.	39	61	0	100	248
Occupation					
Prof/Tech	100	0	0	100	86806
Admn/Man	43	57	0	100	45235
Clerical	81	19	0	100	105800
Sales	93	7	0	100	24628
Service	92	7	1	100	19866
Ag/Fish	98	2	0	100	54543
Prod/Lab	66	33	1	100	46358
Not spec.	87	13	0	100	202151
Urban/Rural					
main urban	82	17	0	100	411101
secondary urban	95	5	0	100	33656
minor urban	64	36	0	100	35805
rural	95	5	0	100	104825
Total New Zealand	84	16	0	100	585386

TABLE 61: Membership and involvement of respondents in sports clubs or any other groups, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(a) Member

	Yes %	No %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex					
male	62	37	1	100	1196988
female	48	51	0	100	1253491
Age					
15-29	55	44	1	100	830720
30-44	60	40	0	100	691798
45-59	52	47	1	100	461674
60 +	51	48	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin					
European	57	43	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	49	51	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	46	54	0	100	66833
Other	38	61	1	100	153986
Not spec.	58	0	42	100	19266
Occupation					
Prof/Tech	67	32	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	58	42	0	100	104887
Clerical	57	43	0	100	333438
Sales	60	40	0	100	158891
Service	48	52	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	62	37	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	56	44	1	100	405676
Not spec.	48	51	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural					
main urban	53	47	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	50	50	0	100	172754
minor urban	59	40	1	100	206739
rural	67	31	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	55	44	1	100	2450479

TABLE 61: Membership and involvement of respondents in sports clubs or any other groups, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

(b) Active in membership

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	82	17	0	2	100	773581
female	81	19	0	0	100	623003
Age						
15-29	82	16	0	2	100	477516
30-44	83	16	0	1	100	425510
45-59	73	26	0	1	100	252004
60 +	86	14	0	0	100	241554
Ethnic origin						
European	82	18	0	0	100	1216701
NZ Maori	80	18	1	1	100	68663
NZ Maori- European	88	12	0	0	100	32367
Other	79	19	0	2	100	59587
Not spec.	25	32	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	80	19	0	0	100	205719
Admn/Man	95	5	0	0	100	61391
Clerical	73	27	0	0	100	203189
Sales	93	7	0	0	100	94653
Service	97	3	0	0	100	57697
Ag/Fish	92	6	0	2	100	121397
Prod/Lab	73	26	0	1	100	230913
Not spec.	80	18	0	2	100	421625
Urban/Rural						
main urban	81	18	0	0	100	938724
secondary urban	71	29	0	0	100	87836
minor urban	87	13	0	0	100	125455
rural	82	14	0	4	100	244569
Total New Zealand	81	18	0	1	100	1396584

TABLE 62: Participation in unpaid help for people outside own household, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	68	31	0	1	100	1196988
female	60	39	0	0	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	54	45	0	1	100	830720
30-44	68	32	0	0	100	691798
45-59	74	25	0	1	100	461674
60 +	66	34	0	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	64	36	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	71	28	0	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	60	40	0	0	100	66833
Other	65	34	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	68	32	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	53	47	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	59	41	0	0	100	333438
Sales	72	28	0	0	100	158891
Service	72	28	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	77	22	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	59	40	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	62	36	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
Main urban	64	36	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	54	46	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	57	42	0	1	100	206739
rural	73	25	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	64	35	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 63: Respondents who assist unpaid outside their own home¹. Whether assistance is for relatives or other people, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

					Relatives %	Other people %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male	0	2	4	2	58	88	810027
female	0	6	4	6	54	85	754876
Age							
15-29	0	6	2	6	55	86	445093
30-44	0	7	4	2	56	85	470615
45-59	0	2	6	1	55	90	342618
60 +	0	10	6	12	58	88	306577
Ethnic origin							
European	0	2	4	2	53	88	1331424
NZ Maori	0	4	9	6	82	80	93117
NZ Maori- European	0	11	2	10	69	91	40023
Other	0	1	2	1	59	74	100092
Not spec.	0	0	0	0	61	39	248
Occupation							
Prof/Tech	0	0	2	8	51	93	199957
Admn/Man	0	2	9	12	51	100	55187
Clerical	0	2	0	2	73	88	196603
Sales	0	6	2	1	42	91	114642
Service	0	2	2	2	61	86	86488
Ag/Fish	0	10	2	2	47	95	148032
Prod/Lab	0	2	1	1	67	81	238637
Not spec.	0	2	6	8	52	82	525357
Urban/Rural							
main urban	0	4	4	2	57	85	1095322
secondary urban	0	12	6	1	41	86	93338
minor urban	0	2	2	2	66	84	118673
rural	0	2	2	1	51	98	257571
Total New Zealand	0	2	4	2	56	87	1564903

¹Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total more than 100.

TABLE 64: Respondents who assist unpaid outside their own home. Numbers of hours per week spent doing unpaid work, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	1-4 hours %	5-9 hours %	10-14 hours %	More than 14 hours %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	75	12	5	4	5	0	100	810027
female	68	16	6	4	6	0	100	754876
Age								
15-29	73	13	6	2	6	0	100	445093
30-44	79	14	3	4	1	0	100	470615
45-59	72	16	1	6	5	0	100	342618
60 +	60	11	13	6	10	0	100	306577
Ethnic origin								
European	72	13	5	4	5	0	100	1331424
NZ Maori	65	17	6	9	4	0	100	93117
NZ Maori- European	65	10	10	5	11	0	100	40023
Other	76	16	1	5	1	0	100	100092
Not spec.	100	0	0	0	0	0	100	248
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	62	22	8	7	0	0	100	199957
Admn/Man	68	5	15	9	3	0	100	55187
Clerical	80	12	2	0	5	0	100	196603
Sales	76	14	1	3	6	0	100	114642
Service	85	10	2	2	2	0	100	86488
Ag/Fish	76	9	2	2	10	0	100	148032
Prod/Lab	82	13	1	1	3	0	100	238637
Not spec.	64	14	8	6	7	0	100	525357
Urban/Rural								
main urban	71	14	7	4	4	0	100	1095322
secondary urban	70	8	1	6	15	0	100	93338
minor urban	62	19	5	7	7	0	100	118673
rural	80	11	1	3	5	0	100	257571
Total New Zealand	72	14	5	4	5	0	100	1564903

Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total more than 100

TABLE 65: Whether respondents give money regularly to others outside their household, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	46	53	0	1	100	1196988
female	45	53	0	1	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	33	66	0	1	100	830720
30-44	48	51	0	1	100	691798
45-59	54	44	0	2	100	461674
60 +	58	41	0	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	47	52	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	55	44	1	1	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	30	70	0	0	100	66833
Other	38	61	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	0	42	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	53	47	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	58	42	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	54	44	0	2	100	333438
Sales	48	52	0	0	100	158891
Service	32	65	0	3	100	119606
Ag/Fish	44	55	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	41	58	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	43	55	0	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	47	52	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	51	49	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	42	57	0	1	100	206739
rural	42	56	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	46	53	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 66: Respondents who give money regularly.¹ Whether money is given to relatives, other people or to groups, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

				Relatives %	Other people %	Groups %	All res- pondents Number
Sex							
male				21	25	81	551662
female				15	23	83	570089
Age							
15-29				11	25	78	273306
30-44				21	24	79	330622
45-59				14	16	86	248986
60 +				23	29	85	268838
Ethnic origin							
European				13	21	85	971413
NZ Maori				53	44	59	71558
NZ Maori- European				16	27	79	19953
Other				56	39	54	58580
Not spec.				61	0	39	248
Occupation							
Prof/Tech				11	19	73	154883
Admn/Man				15	30	87	60311
Clerical				22	26	80	181495
Sales				7	19	96	75960
Service				14	19	70	38745
Ag/Fish				22	16	77	83386
Prod/Lab				21	18	84	165019
Not spec.				19	29	84	361953
Urban/Rural							
main urban				20	24	80	799946
secondary							
urban				9	19	83	87341
minor urban				14	25	91	86614
rural				12	21	84	147850
Total New Zealand				18	24	82	1121752

¹ Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total more than 100.

TABLE 67: Importance of religious or spiritual things, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Very import- ant %	Fairly import- ant %	Not very import- ant %	Not at all im- portant %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex								
male	19	20	36	22	2	1	100	1196988
female	26	27	33	12	0	1	100	1253491
Age								
15-29	15	20	38	25	2	1	100	830720
30-44	18	24	39	18	0	0	100	691798
45-59	34	25	36	5	0	1	100	461674
60 +	33	29	21	13	2	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin								
European	20	24	37	18	1	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	50	27	17	6	0	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	23	34	22	21	0	0	100	66833
Other	33	21	23	19	0	3	100	153986
Not spec.	1	1	56	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation								
Prof/Tech	25	17	43	15	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	28	27	21	24	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	26	28	30	12	3	0	100	333438
Sales	8	24	36	31	0	0	100	158891
Service	20	24	47	8	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	28	18	42	9	3	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	16	22	40	20	1	1	100	405676
Not spec.	25	26	28	18	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural								
main urban	21	23	34	20	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	27	30	25	10	8	0	100	172754
minor urban	27	21	40	9	2	1	100	206739
rural	26	24	38	9	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	23	24	34	17	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 68: Receipt of benefits or allowances from Department of Social Welfare in past twelve months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex						
male	30	68	0	1	100	1196988
female	62	36	0	2	100	1253491
Age						
15-29	28	69	1	2	100	830720
30-44	49	50	0	1	100	691798
45-59	26	73	0	1	100	461674
60 +	96	2	0	2	100	466287
Ethnic origin						
European	47	52	0	1	100	2079268
NZ Maori	54	43	0	3	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	33	66	0	0	100	66833
Other	42	54	0	4	100	153986
Not spec.	0	25	0	75	100	19266
Occupation						
Prof/Tech	27	70	0	2	100	292680
Admn/Man	36	64	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	41	58	0	1	100	333438
Sales	42	58	0	0	100	158891
Service	36	64	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	32	67	0	1	100	191475
Prod/Lab	24	75	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	73	23	1	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural						
main urban	46	53	0	1	100	1717271
secondary urban	68	31	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	53	44	3	1	100	206739
rural	35	61	0	5	100	353714
Total New Zealand	47	52	0	2	100	2450479

TABLE 69: Respondents who have received benefits or allowances in the past twelve months.¹ Types of benefits or allowances received, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	National Super		Unemployment		Widows		Domestic Purposes		Invalids		Sickness		War Pensions		Family Benefit		Family Orphan's Care		Accommodation Benefit		Disability All.		Handicapped Children All.		All respondents	
	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Benefit	%	Number
Sex																										
male	56	18	0	1	2	2	4	19	9	0	3	4	0	0	4	3	4	0	0	4	363966					
female	33	4	2	5	1	3	1	56	13	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	776532					
Age																										
15-29	0	32	0	6	1	5	0	57	16	0	3	4	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	3	234573					
30-44	1	4	0	7	1	1	0	92	20	0	2	1	1	1	2	338734										
45-59	14	9	12	7	6	9	0	48	16	1	0	3	0	2	120328											
60 +	98	0	1	0	1	1	4	0	2	0	2	1	0	2	446864											
Ethnic origin																										
European	45	6	1	3	1	2	2	42	11	0	2	2	0	0	2	983600										
NZ Maori	13	22	7	12	4	5	0	51	23	1	6	0	1	6	70157											
NZ Maori-European	23	27	3	9	2	12	0	32	10	2	5	0	0	1	22315											
Other	8	26	2	3	2	3	0	66	14	0	1	0	0	2	64427											
Occupation																										
Prof/Tech	9	8	0	1	2	0	0	78	6	0	0	2	0	0	7	79739										
Admin/Man	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	35	0	0	22	0	0	0	37782										
Clerical	12	5	0	2	0	5	0	82	13	0	2	0	0	0	136137											
Sales	0	27	0	4	0	1	0	66	16	0	0	0	0	0	6	66794										
Service	19	8	1	17	0	0	0	63	10	0	0	0	0	0	1	42516										
Ag/Fish	28	7	6	2	0	7	0	56	34	0	0	0	0	0	9	60792										
Prod/Lab	3	34	0	4	1	4	0	55	13	0	1	0	0	2	96577											
Not spec.	64	5	2	5	2	3	3	24	7	0	3	1	0	1	620161											
Urban/Rural																										
main urban	41	7	1	4	2	3	1	46	9	0	3	2	0	0	1	790034										
secondary urban	56	12	0	1	0	4	4	22	11	0	0	0	2	1	118125											
minor urban	38	12	3	4	0	3	5	32	14	0	1	0	0	11	108629											
rural	24	12	3	6	0	3	0	60	29	1	0	0	0	5	123710											
Total New Zealand	40	9	2	4	1	3	2	44	12	0	2	2	0	2	1140498											

¹ Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total more than 100.

TABLE 70: Total gross income for the past 12 months, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Level of Income \$											All respondents	
	None	\$2,500	\$2,501-\$7,500	\$7,501-\$10,000	\$10,001-\$14,500	\$14,501-\$18,500	\$18,501-\$23,500	\$23,501-\$30,500	Over \$30,500	Don't know	Not spec.		All
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Sex													
male	5	4	7	7	11	8	14	18	22	3	1	100	1196988
female	9	11	17	17	17	9	10	5	3	3	0	100	1253491
Age													
15-29	11	12	13	7	15	10	11	9	8	3	1	100	830720
30-44	4	8	7	7	14	8	13	15	22	2	1	100	691798
45-59	11	4	13	5	11	10	15	13	17	3	0	100	461674
60 +	1	1	18	36	15	5	10	9	1	4	1	100	466287
Ethnic origin													
European	7	7	12	12	13	8	12	12	13	3	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	8	7	18	9	14	12	15	6	6	3	2	100	131126
NZ Maori-European	7	9	11	16	14	9	16	5	12	1	1	100	66833
Other	7	11	8	9	22	7	11	5	12	6	2	100	153986
Not spec.	0	0	0	0	1	32	0	24	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation													
Prof/Tech	2	2	3	3	8	9	13	24	31	4	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	0	5	0	0	0	2	4	35	53	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	0	5	9	8	16	16	26	12	8	0	0	100	333438
Sales	1	14	9	7	19	7	9	18	17	0	0	100	158891
Service	0	5	20	15	25	9	8	4	10	2	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	8	6	19	9	14	4	18	3	17	2	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	0	2	7	5	19	16	18	18	9	4	2	100	405676
Not spec.	17	12	19	23	12	4	4	2	2	4	2	100	843826
Urban/Rural													
main urban	6	6	11	12	13	10	13	12	13	3	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	8	12	9	22	22	4	5	12	3	1	3	100	172754
minor urban	9	4	20	13	17	9	12	7	7	1	1	100	206739
rural	8	11	16	8	12	5	12	8	14	4	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	7	7	12	12	14	9	12	11	12	3	1	100	2450479

TABLE 71: Satisfaction with standard of living, by sex, age, ethnic origin, occupation and urban/rural status

	Very satis- fied %	Fairly satis- fied %	Neither satis- fied nor dissatis- fied %	Fairly dissatis- fied %	Very dissatis- fied %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Sex									
male	39	45	5	5	5	0	1	100	1196988
female	42	43	6	6	2	0	0	100	1253491
Age									
15-29	36	44	7	9	3	0	1	100	830720
30-44	29	56	7	4	3	0	0	100	691798
45-59	40	42	4	6	7	0	0	100	461674
60 +	64	31	3	1	1	0	0	100	466287
Ethnic origin									
European	40	45	5	6	3	0	0	100	2079268
NZ Maori	44	35	10	5	5	1	0	100	131126
NZ Maori- European	41	43	8	3	4	0	0	100	66833
Other	42	36	10	4	6	0	1	100	153986
Not spec.	1	56	1	0	0	0	42	100	19266
Occupation									
Prof/Tech	40	48	6	5	1	0	0	100	292680
Admn/Man	33	47	9	11	0	0	0	100	104887
Clerical	27	55	9	8	2	0	0	100	333438
Sales	42	44	8	3	3	0	0	100	158891
Service	40	53	2	1	4	0	0	100	119606
Ag/Fish	37	42	6	9	6	0	0	100	191475
Prod/Lab	34	48	4	5	8	0	1	100	405676
Not spec.	51	36	5	4	3	0	1	100	843826
Urban/Rural									
main urban	40	46	6	6	3	0	0	100	1717271
secondary urban	51	36	6	4	3	0	0	100	172754
minor urban	46	38	10	2	3	0	1	100	206739
rural	36	44	4	7	6	0	2	100	353714
Total New Zealand	40	44	6	6	3	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 72: Attitudes of respondents in various income groups to tax and employment issues

Percentage agreeing	Income (\$)			
	Under 10,001	10,001- 18,500	18,501- 30,500	Over 30,500
That the whole cost of visits to GP's or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes	32	35	31	25
The Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on	72	61	70	74
People who are getting money from the Government because they are unemployed should have to do some sort of work for it	93	92	94	91
The Government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on	96	94	93	91
The Government should use taxes to make sure that people who are disabled or sick for long periods have enough money to live on	97	97	96	92
Taxes should be used to give help to people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home	89	89	88	88
Where families with children do not have enough income to meet their needs, the Government should use taxes to increase their income	75	73	62	63
There should be less tax on high incomes so people have an incentive to work harder	49	38	42	61
Employers should have to pay at least a basic wage that is enough for people to live on	94	94	95	89
People should have to look after themselves more with less help from Government	64	68	71	87
There should be less difference between what the highest paid people get and what the lowest paid people get	52	58	40	25

TABLE 73: Attitudes of respondents in various income groups to housing and unemployment issues

Percentage agreeing	Income (\$)			
	Under 10,001	10,001- 18,500	18,501- 30,500	Over 30,500
There are some people the Government should help to buy their own home	71	74	72	64
Taxes should be used to provide enough low-cost rental housing so people who need a home can get one	74	71	65	67
The Government should make sure that everyone is able to get adequate housing	78	81	71	69
Anyone who wants a job should have one	87	87	85	82
The Government should tackle unemployment by using taxes to create jobs	54	54	48	42
Some people have a worse chance than others of getting a job even when they are just as capable of doing the job	82	86	82	85

TABLE 74: Attitudes towards various tax, education, and employment issues by labour force status

Percentage agreeing	Labour force status		
	Employed	Unemployed	Not in labour force
Taxes should be used to provide enough low-cost rental housing so people who need a home can get one	69	84	69
The Government should make sure sure that everyone is able to get adequate housing	75	95	75
Overall the education people get in New Zealand is very good/fairly good	74	88	75
Anybody who wants a job should have one	85	90	88
The Government should tackle unemployment by using taxes to create jobs	49	61	54
Some groups of people have a worse chance than others of getting a job even when they are just as capable of doing the job	83	98	78
People are unemployed because they do not try hard enough to get a job	63	58	66
People are unemployed because they live in areas where jobs are scarce	74	82	77
People are unemployed because they do not have enough skills or qualifications	71	78	68
People are unemployed because so many factories and workplaces have closed down	76	88	86

TABLE 75: Attitudes of church attenders and non-attenders

Percentage agreeing	Church attendance	
	Church attenders	Non-attenders
That individuals should be free to live in whatever way they think is right as long as they don't harm others	78	89
That religion should have more influence over people's lives	62	28
That people should be able to live openly as homosexuals without fearing that society will treat them badly	34	34
That New Zealand should honour the Treaty of Waitangi	55	50
That people should be able to feel sure that whatever happens to them, the Government will look after them	37	51
That Maori land grievances should be settled by giving back the land, giving other land or paying the Maori for the land	24	26
There should be a greater number of capable women in high positions in business and Government	65	73
There should be a greater number of capable Maori in high positions in business and Government	58	61
There should be less tax on high incomes so people have an incentive to work harder	36	58
Employers should have to pay at least a basic wage that is enough for people to live on	91	92
People should have to look after themselves more with less help from Government	73	85
There should be less difference between what the highest paid people get and what the lowest paid people get	43	54
Every person has some responsibility for the welfare of all people in society	93	83
People don't get enough knowledge about relationships between people, including sex education	25	80
People don't get enough understanding of the culture and values of other people	40	40

TABLE 76: Experience of and attitudes towards health and welfare systems by disability status

Percentage	Disability status	
	Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability	Respondents who do not suffer from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability
Who received any health care of any kind in the past 12 months	86	69
Who were satisfied with the health care they received in the past 12 months	90	90
Who are covered by medical or health insurance	41	43
Who received a benefit or allowance from the Department of Social Welfare in the past 12 months	52	46
Who feel satisfied about their standard of living	81	87

TABLE 77: Attitudes towards aspects of health care by disability status

Percentage agreeing	Disability status	
	Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury, any long standing illness or disability	Respondents who do not suffer from the effects of an injury, any long standing illness or disability
That the health care that GPs or family doctors give in New Zealand is in general good	87	84
That health care in New Zealand hospitals is good.	84	68
That overall the health care people get in New Zealand is good	83	81
That health care in New Zealand is in general fair	72	76
That the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes	37	31

TABLE 78: Attitudes towards health care by whether covered by medical insurance

Percentage agreeing	Medical insurance status	
	Covered	Not covered
That the health care that GPs or family doctors give is good	84	87
That health care in New Zealand hospitals is good	70	75
That overall the health care people get in New Zealand is good	82	83

TABLE 79: Attitudes towards care issues by belief about responsibility to all people in society

Percentage agreeing	Respondents who believe that every person has some responsibility for the welfare of all people in society	Respondents who do not believe that every person has some responsibility for the welfare of all people in society
That the whole cost of visits to GP's or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes	32	31
Taxes should be used to provide enough low-cost rental housing so people who need a home can get one	71	64
The Government should use taxes to help pay for kohanga reo	36	21
The Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on	71	55
The Government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on	95	87
Taxes should be used to give help to people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home	90	81
The Government should use taxes to increase the income of families with children that do not have enough income to meet their needs	71	56

TABLE 80: Satisfaction of different income groups with health care, housing, education and standard of living

Percentage satisfied with	Income (\$)			
	Under 10,000	10,001 18,500	18,501 30,000	Over 30,500
Health care received in past 12 months	92	87	91	81
Housing respondent has at the moment	90	83	91	83
Education received in past 12 months	89	71	88	98
Standard of living	86	81	89	88

TABLE 81: Maori speaking respondents. Attitudes towards Kohanga Reo by how well Maori is spoken

How well Maori is spoken	Agree strongly %	Agree %	Neither agree nor disagree %	Disagree %	Disagree strongly %	Don't know %	All %	All respondents Number
(a) Kohanga Reo should be encouraged								
A little	44	49	6	1	0	0	100	37589
Can converse	60	33	3	2	2	1	100	47900
All respondents	53	40	4	1	1	0	100	85490
(b) Taxes should be used for Kohanga Reo								
A little	30	24	9	29	7	1	100	37589
Can converse	43	34	6	14	2	1	100	47900
All respondents	37	30	7	21	4	1	100	85490
(c) Extend Kohanga Reo to primary school								
A little	27	50	10	11	0	2	100	37589
Can converse	46	36	2	16	1	1	100	47900
All respondents	38	42	5	14	0	1	100	85490

TABLE 82: Support for things that Maori are concerned about by how well Maori is spoken

	Level of support							
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
(a) Maori health centres								
A little	26	45	19	8	2	0	100	37589
Can converse	43	41	12	4	0	0	100	47900
All respondents	36	43	15	6	1	0	100	85490
(b) All students taught Maori								
A little	14	14	47	25	0	0	100	37589
Can converse	21	26	26	25	1	1	100	47900
All respondents	18	21	35	25	1	1	100	85490
(c) Maori for those who want it								
A little	52	37	11	0	0	0	100	37589
Can converse	67	27	5	1	0	0	100	47900
All respondents	60	31	7	1	0	0	100	85490
(d) Maori fishing rights protected								
A little	59	23	9	7	3	0	100	37589
Can converse	64	21	14	1	0	0	100	47900
All respondents	61	22	12	4	1	0	100	85490
(e) Better housing on Maori land								
A little	41	29	24	4	3	0	100	37589
Can converse	63	29	3	3	1	0	100	47900
All respondents	53	29	12	4	2	0	100	85490
(f) Monetary control to tribal authorities								
A little	29	41	15	12	4	0	100	37589
Can converse	42	23	10	20	4	0	100	47900
All respondents	36	31	12	17	4	0	100	85490

TABLE 83: Satisfaction with housing by tenure of housing

Tenure	Very satis- fied %	Fairly satis- fied %	Neither satis- fied nor dissatis- fied %	Fairly dissatis- fied %	Very dissatis- fied %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
Owens with mortgage	52	39	4	4	1	0	0	100	918874
Owens without mortgage	69	27	2	2	0	0	0	100	770003
Rents or leases	25	47	8	14	6	0	0	100	607357
Rent free	65	26	0	5	5	0	0	100	95022
Not spec.	40	41	13	5	2	0	0	100	59222
All respondents	51	37	4	6	2	0	0	100	2450479

TABLE 84: Preference to own one's own home by tenure of housing¹

Tenure	Preferred tenure					All respondents Number
	Own %	Rent %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	
Owens with mortgage	90	4	1	5	100	832487
Owens without mortgage	90	3	2	5	100	722787
Rents or leases	59	33	2	5	100	578007
Rent free	81	7	0	12	100	94366
Not spec.	68	1	0	31	100	52008
All respondents	81	11	2	6	100	2279655

¹Excludes repondents aged less than 18 years of age.

TABLE 85: Satisfaction with housing by preference to own one's own home¹

Preferred tenure	Very satis- fied	Fairly satis- fied	Neither satis- fied nor dissat- isfied	Fairly dissat- isfied	Very dissat- isfied	Don't know	Not Spec.	All	All res- pondents
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Own	54	34	4	6	2	0	0	100	1857179
Rent	30	52	7	8	3	0	0	100	249020
Don't know	45	50	1	1	2	0	0	100	37617
Not spec.	49	33	3	8	6	0	0	100	135838
All respondents	51	36	4	6	2	0	0	100	2279655

¹Excludes respondents aged less than 18 years of age.

TABLE 86: Receipt of education in last twelve months by labour force status

Whether education received

Labour force status	Whether education received				All	All res- pondents
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %		
Not in labour force	21	78	0	1	100	838372
Employed	43	57	0	0	100	1543920
Unemployed	31	69	0	0	100	68186
All respondents	35	64	0	1	100	2450479

Excludes respondents aged less than 18 years of age.

TABLE 87: Satisfaction with Housing Respondents who received education in last 12 months. Type of education received by labour force status¹

<i>Labour force status</i>	<i>Preschool</i>	<i>Secondary</i>	<i>Tertiary</i>	<i>On the job training</i>	<i>Hobby- Cultural</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>All res- pondents Number</i>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
<i>Not in labour force</i>	2	58	10	10	27	4	1	174827
<i>Employed</i>	1	10	25	66	28	5	0	669582
<i>Unemployed</i>	0	40	5	39	1	17	0	21248
<i>Total New Zealand</i>	1	21	22	54	27	5	0	865657

¹Respondents could choose more than one option so percentages will total more than 100.

TABLE 88: Confidence in the police in own area by whether a victim of a crime(s) in last 12 months

<i>Whether a victim of a crime</i>	<i>Great deal of confi- dence %</i>	<i>Only some confi- dence %</i>	<i>Hardly any confi- dence %</i>	<i>No confi- dence %</i>	<i>Don't know %</i>	<i>Not spec. %</i>	<i>All %</i>	<i>All res- pondents Number</i>
<i>Yes</i>	36	49	11	3	1	0	100	464127
<i>No</i>	44	40	5	2	8	0	100	1967113
<i>Don't know</i>	3	48	0	0	49	0	100	8284
<i>Not spec.</i>	0	0	0	0	0	100	100	10954
<i>All respondents</i>	42	42	6	3	7	0	100	2450479

TABLE 89: Satisfaction with standard of living by total gross income received in last twelve months

Gross income	Very satis- fied %	Fairly satis- fied %	Neither satis- fied nor dissat- isfied %	Fairly dissat- isfied %	Very dissat- isfied %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	All res- pondents Number
None	49	30	6	3	12	0	0	100	171175
\$10,000	44	43	6	5	3	0	0	100	770471
\$10,001-\$18,500	43	38	7	7	5	0	0	100	551415
\$18,501-\$30,500	36	53	5	5	1	0	0	100	568953
\$30,500	40	48	4	7	2	0	0	100	298063
Don't know	12	70	12	4	2	1	0	100	68414
Not spec.	6	28	1	0	0	0	65	100	21986
All respondents	40	44	6	6	3	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 90: Whether Government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on, by respondent's total gross income received in past twelve months

<i>Gross income</i>	<i>Whether taxes should be used for elderly</i>				<i>All</i>	<i>All res- pondents</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Not spec.</i>		
	%	%	%	%	%	<i>Number</i>
<i>None</i>	99	0	1	0	100	171175
<i><\$10,000</i>	95	4	1	0	100	770471
<i>\$10,001-\$18,500</i>	94	5	1	0	100	551415
<i>\$18,501-\$30,500</i>	93	4	2	0	100	568953
<i>>\$30,500</i>	91	9	0	0	100	298063
<i>Don't know</i>	99	1	0	0	100	68414
<i>Not spec.</i>	45	2	1	52	100	21986
<i>All respondents</i>	94	5	1	1	100	2450479

TABLE 91: Respondents who think Government should use taxes to ensure the elderly have enough money to live on. Whether all the elderly should be paid the same amount or whether the well off should receive less, by respondent's total gross income received in past twelve months

	Level of income support				All	All res- pondents
	Same for all	Less if well off	Don't know	Not spec.		
Gross income	%	%	%	%	%	Number
None	33	64	3	0	100	171175
<\$10,000	45	53	2	0	100	737129
\$10,001-\$18,500	39	59	2	0	100	523983
\$18,501-\$30,500	45	54	2	0	100	543377
>\$30,500	52	46	0	2	100	270018
Don't know	41	56	3	0	100	67697
Not spec.	79	17	4	0	100	10123
All respondents	44	54	2	0	100	2323503

TABLE 92: Respondents who suffer from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability. Extent to which this interferes with their ability to work and their enjoyment of life, by labour force status

Labour force status	Extent of interference of disability						All %	All res- pondents Number
	Very great deal	Quite a lot	Only a little	None at all	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
(a) Interferes with work								
Not in labour force	30	27	14	28	0	0	100	220046
Employed	7	15	44	31	0	2	100	363841
Unemployed	11	65	22	2	0	0	100	20653
All respondents	16	21	33	29	0	1	100	604540
(b) Interferes with enjoyment of life								
Not in labour force	19	37	35	10	0	0	100	220046
Employed	6	23	48	22	0	0	100	363841
Unemployed	11	34	49	5	0	0	100	20653
All respondents	11	29	44	17	0	0	100	604540

TABLE 93: Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand by receipt of Department of Social Welfare benefit or allowance in past twelve months

Whether benefit received	Perceived fairness of tax system						All respondents
	Very fair	Fair	Unfair	Very unfair	Don't know	Not spec.	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Yes	1	41	43	9	5	0	1140498
No	1	41	45	9	3	0	1266566
Don't know	0	0	4	0	96	0	6177
Not spec.	0	35	10	1	2	53	37237
All respondents	1	41	44	9	4	1	2450479

TABLE 94: Perceived fairness of the tax system in New Zealand by total gross income received in past twelve months

Gross income	Perceived fairness of tax system						All	All respondents
	Very fair	Fair	Unfair	Very unfair	Don't know	Not spec.		
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	Number
None	3	27	46	11	14	0	100	171175
<\$10,000	1	43	42	5	8	0	100	770471
\$10,001-\$18,500	1	40	45	11	2	0	100	551415
\$18,501-\$30,500	1	40	48	10	1	0	100	568953
>\$30,500	1	48	39	10	0	1	100	298063
Don't know	0	43	42	12	3	0	100	68414
Not spec.	0	3	23	6	2	65	100	21986
All respondents	1	41	44	9	4	1	100	2450479

TABLE 95: Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether health care of any kind received in past twelve months

Whether health care received	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes					All %	All res- pondents Number
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %			
Yes	31	65	4	0	100		1800789
No	36	61	3	0	100		648399
Don't know	0	100	0	0	100		155
Not spec.	23	28	0	50	100		1136
All respondents	33	64	4	0	100		2450479

TABLE 96: Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether covered by medical or health insurance

	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes						All res-
Whether covered by medical insurance	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	All		pondents
	%	%	%	%	%		Number
Yes	28	69	3	0	100		1036863
No	37	59	4	0	100		1369445
Don't know	35	46	19	0	100		23814
Not spec.	2	96	0	3	100		20357
All respondents	33	64	4	0	100		2450479

TABLE 97: Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by whether respondent suffers from the effects of an injury or long-standing illness or disability

	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes				All	All res- pondents
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.		
Whether disabled	%	%	%	%	%	Number
Yes	36	58	5	1	100	603821
No	31	66	3	0	100	1825719
Don't know	16	0	84	0	100	719
Not spec.	61	25	11	2	100	20219
All respondents	33	64	4	0	100	2450479

TABLE 98: Whether the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes, by total gross income received in past twelve months

Gross income	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes					All respondents
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	All	
	%	%	%	%	%	Number
None	40	52	8	0	100	171175
<\$2,500	26	71	4	0	100	178536
\$2,501-\$7,500	33	66	1	0	100	298285
\$7,501-\$10,000	30	62	6	1	100	293650
\$10,001-\$14,500	38	54	8	0	100	336582
\$14,501-\$18,500	30	69	2	0	100	214833
\$18,501-\$23,500	30	68	2	0	100	292860
\$23,500-\$30,500	32	66	2	0	100	276093
>\$30,500	25	73	1	0	100	298063
Don't know	53	44	3	0	100	68414
Not spec.	81	13	3	2	100	21986
All respondents	33	64	4	0	100	2450479

TABLE 99: Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether health care received in past twelve months

<i>Whether health care received</i>	<i>Should GP visits be paid out of taxes</i>				<i>All %</i>	<i>All res- pondents Number</i>
	<i>Yes %</i>	<i>No %</i>	<i>Don't know %</i>	<i>Not spec. %</i>		
<i>Yes</i>	41	50	8	2	100	563796
<i>No</i>	37	50	12	2	100	234483
<i>Not spec.</i>	0	0	100	0	100	257
<i>All respondents</i>	40	50	9	2	100	798536

TABLE 100: Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether covered by medical or health insurance

<i>Whether covered by medical insurance</i>	<i>Should GP visits be paid out of taxes</i>				<i>All %</i>	<i>All res- pondents Number</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Not spec.</i>		
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
<i>Yes</i>	37	55	8	0	100	286240
<i>No</i>	41	47	9	3	100	503574
<i>Don't know</i>	22	30	49	0	100	8396
<i>Not spec.</i>	37	0	0	63	100	326
<i>All respondents</i>	40	50	9	2	100	798536

TABLE 101: Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by whether they suffer from the effects of an injury or any long-standing illness or disability

	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes				All respondents
	Yes	No	Don't know	Not spec.	
Whether disabled	%	%	%	%	Number
Yes	47	50	2	0	100 219543
No	37	50	12	1	100 566449
Don't know	0	100	0	0	100 112
Not spec.	6	20	4	70	100 12431
All respondents	40	50	9	2	100 798536

TABLE 102: Respondents who think the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes. Whether they would still agree if this meant less money for hospitals and other health care, by total gross income received in past 12 months

Gross income	Should GP visits be paid out of taxes				All respondents
	Yes %	No %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	Number
None	52	32	16	1	67880
\$2,500	16	79	5	0	46171
\$2,501-\$7,500	40	45	15	0	98703
\$7,501-\$10,000	55	36	9	0	89562
\$10,001-\$14,500	38	43	20	0	128051
\$14,501-\$18,500	27	65	2	7	63471
\$18,501-\$23,500	29	70	1	0	86499
\$23,500-\$30,500	32	61	7	0	88635
>\$30,500	52	47	1	0	75644
Don't know	60	35	5	0	36056
Not spec.	33	17	3	47	17864
All respondents	40	50	9	2	798536

TABLE 103: Receipt of health care in the past 12 months by whether covered by medical or health insurance

Whether covered by medical insurance	Whether health care received			All %	All res- pondents Number
	Yes %	No %	Not spec. %		
Yes	73	27	0	100	286240
No	70	30	0	100	503574
Don't know	40	60	0	100	8396
Not spec.	63	37	0	100	326
All respondents	71	29	0	100	798536

TABLE 104: Whether there is anything the respondent does not do for fear of becoming a victim of a crime, by whether anything has happened in the past 12 months that the respondent thought was a crime

<i>Whether a victim of a crime</i>	<i>Whether activities restricted by fear</i>				<i>All res-</i>	
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Don't know</i>	<i>Not spec.</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>pondents</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Yes</i>	46	53	0	1	100	464127
<i>No</i>	43	57	0	0	100	1967113
<i>Don't know</i>	97	3	0	0	100	8284
<i>Not spec.</i>	0	0	0	100	100	10954
<i>All respondents</i>	43	56	0	1	100	2450479

TABLE 105: Level of confidence in the police in own area, by whether anything not done for fear of becoming a victim of a crime

Whether activities restricted by fear	Level of confidence in police							All res- pondents
	Great deal of confi- dence %	Only some confi- dence %	Hardly any confi- dence %	No confi- dence %	Don't know %	Not spec. %	All %	
Yes	38	42	8	3	9	0	100	1058881
No	45	42	5	2	5	0	100	1364860
Don't know	62	17	7	2	11	0	100	7677
Not spec.	27	16	0	0	0	57	100	19061
All respondents	42	42	6	3	7	0	100	2450479

2 Explanatory Notes

2.1 Survey Objectives

The Royal Commission on Social Policy requested that this survey of the New Zealand public be carried out to assist in satisfying its terms of reference. The objectives of the survey were thus to:

- 1 ascertain whether the public thinks New Zealand has a fair society;
- 2 determine the public's social policy preferences and the values underlying these preferences;
- 3 determine whether differences in social policy experience and preference exist between different groups, (such as different age groups, ethnic groups and occupation groups).

2.2 Survey Coverage

The Attitudes and Values Survey covered the total usually-resident non-institutionalised, civilian population aged 15 years and over in private households in the North and South Islands. Thus, the following people were excluded from the survey:

- 1 long-term residents (that is six weeks or more) of old people's homes, hospitals and psychiatric institutions;
- 2 inmates of penal institutions;
- 3 members of the New Zealand permanent armed forces;
- 4 non-New Zealand diplomats and non-New Zealand members of their staff and households;
- 5 members of non-New Zealand armed forces stationed in New Zealand, and their dependants;
- 6 overseas visitors who have been resident in New Zealand for less than 12 months and who do not propose to stay in New Zealand for a total period of more than 12 months.

The estimated size of the eligible population was 2,450,000.

2.3 Sample Design

Because the Royal Commission was interested in sub-populations (such as Maori, Pacific Island Polynesian, the young, the elderly, and urban/rural dwellers), the design of the Attitudes and Values Survey attempted to ensure that a high number of these sub-populations would be sampled while maintaining a relatively small sample size overall. The department therefore used a sub-sample of its Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS) where characteristics of households were already known. This meant large reductions in the required sample size were possible.

For example, using a simple random sample design, a sample of about 10,000 people would have been required to ensure 1,000 Maori in the sample whereas this survey involved a sample of about 3,000 persons of whom 900 were Maori. The following section describes the survey design with a brief description of the sample design of the HLFS given first.

HLFS Design

The design is a stratified cluster design. The smallest geographic unit used by the Department of Statistics is the meshblock. Because there is large variation in the number of dwellings in meshblocks, they are not used as primary sampling units (PSUs). Instead, combinations of meshblocks are used for this first level of clustering. These clusters contain, on average, 60 dwellings and, in general, between 30 and 80 dwellings. These PSUs are further randomly divided into panels so that a partial overlapping sample from quarter to quarter can be drawn.

The stratification is in two stages. First, large strata (superstrata) are formed on a geographic basis (for example, the greater Auckland urban area is a superstratum). There are 29 superstrata and PSUs are assigned to them. Within superstrata, substrata are formed by using a cluster analysis of various socio-economic variables (such as ethnicity or car ownership) associated with each PSU. The data for the analysis came from the 1981 Census of Population. Substrata are not necessarily contiguous geographic areas (for example a substratum in a large city may be a collection of discontinuous areas that contain high Maori populations). There are 194 substrata.

In the private household frame, 2,400 PSUs are sampled. The number of PSUs selected from each substratum is determined using optimal allocation methods. The allocation is designed to efficiently estimate labour force characteristics and so may not be as efficient, say, for estimating income. The allocation of PSUs to month within quarter and to panel have been controlled so that the sample is more or less evenly spread throughout the quarter and between panels.

Approximately five households are surveyed each quarter in each of these 2,400 PSUs, giving approximately 24,000 eligible respondents aged 15 and over. The response rate is better than 90 percent.

Attitudes and Values Survey Design

There was much discussion with the Survey Consulting Group set up to advise the Royal Commission on the Attitudes and Values Survey about whether one or more people should be selected in a household. On variance grounds, because of high within-household correlation of attitudes, it is more efficient to select one person in a household. On fieldwork grounds, however, it is more efficient to select all eligible members in a household. A further consideration, which relates to controlling non-sampling error, is whether in Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian households accurate answers are collected from individuals when many attitudes are arrived at through collective agreement. It was said that if the person with greatest mana in the household was not selected, then accurate answers may not be given; that in such households, to answer a question about attitudes, it was natural to seek a collective opinion. Clearly, a requirement to select a specified person sits uncomfortably with the notion of classical random sampling unless all people within a household are selected.

In simple terms, the following situation existed. In all households, high within-household correlation of attitudes was expected. In Maori and Pacific Island Polynesian households, the highly correlated attitudes might not be measured accurately unless the 'right' person was asked. An appropriate sampling scheme would have been to sample only one individual in a Pakeha household but to sample all individuals in other households. Finally, in order to simplify fieldwork instructions (which are an important control on non-sampling error), and to ensure that if there was strong within-household correlation due to 'leakage' of opinions

from one person to another then at least all sub-populations would be treated equally, it was agreed that in all households all eligible people would be interviewed. Thus, there would be a trade-off between controlling sampling and non-sampling error.

In principle, the design for the Attitudes and Values Survey was an extension of a double sampling scheme. Normally in a double sampling scheme, a large simple random sample is drawn to enable the population to be classified so that a smaller sample which still has large enough sub-population sample sizes can be drawn. For this survey, the HLFS sample was used as the large sample. Of course, this sample is not a simple random sample but the first-order inclusion probabilities are known so that a Horvitz-Thompson estimator can be used to estimate the statistics. It is difficult to calculate sample errors via an analytic formula but some form of replicated sampling errors can be used. Nevertheless, the gains in reduced sample size to ensure large sub-population sample sizes more than offset these technical difficulties.

This survey used the HLFS private household frame for quarter 7. Due to the timing of the survey, and because of the desire to control respondent burden, only households belonging to six of the eight rotation groups and nine of the thirteen weeks of the frame were used. Households within each PSU were split into two groups based on their quarter 7 characteristics: households that contained at least one Maori or one Pacific Island Polynesian aged 15 or over (called 'mixed households'); and households that contained no Maori or Pacific Island Polynesians aged 15 or over (called 'other' households). All 'mixed' households were sampled and a fraction of 'other' households were sampled. All eligible members in a selected household were sampled. The final number of eligible people selected for the survey was about 3050.

Estimation

Each individual was assigned a weight which was the inverse of the inclusion probability of that person. This weight was a composite weight.

The first weight was the HLFS household weight. Each household retained its probability of selection from the HLFS. It was likely that some households would change their characteristics from the time the sample selection was done in quarter 7 to the time of Attitudes and Values Survey fieldwork in quarter 9. This is

due to the mobility of the population. Households that were subsequently found to have changed their ethnic characteristic still carried their original selection probability.

The second weight adjusted for the Attitudes and Values Survey using six of the eight rotation groups and nine of the thirteen weeks of the HLFS so that not all HLFS PSUs were selected. The method of calculating this weight adjusted for the second phase of sampling households (that is households which at quarter 7 contained at least one eligible Maori or one eligible Pacific Island Polynesian were selected with probability 1; the rest were selected with probability fixed but less than 1).

Two stages were involved here. First of all, the assigning of PSUs to rotation groups and weeks was regarded as simple random sampling. This was reasonable as the PSUs were randomly ordered and then assigned systematically after a random start. Within PSUs, households were assigned a rotation group systematically after a random start. Thus, when the restriction of six out of the eight rotation groups and nine out of the thirteen weeks was imposed, it was assumed that a simple random sample of households from the HLFS frame had been drawn.

The probability of selecting an 'other' household was calculated by dividing the number of 'other' households in rotation groups one to six, weeks one to nine of quarter 7, by the number of 'other' households in all rotation groups and weeks. This was:

$$4952/10302 = .4807$$

The probability of selecting a 'mixed' household was calculated by dividing the number of 'mixed' households in rotation groups one to six, weeks one to nine of quarter 7, by the number of 'mixed' households in all rotation groups and weeks. This was:

$$985/2124 = .4637$$

Secondly, a further sub-sample of the 'other' households was taken. This probability was calculated by dividing the estimated number of 'other' households required to achieve the estimated sample size of 'others' who reside in 'other' households by the number of 'other' households in rotation groups one to six, weeks one to nine. This probability was:

$$470/4952 = .0949$$

Each individual in the survey was assigned to one of the mutually exclusive groups:

- 1 Ineligible post-contact
- 2 Eligible responding

- 3 Eligible non-responding
- 4 Unknown eligibility.

This assignment reflected the eligibility status and response status of each individual and was used to account for individual non-response.

This assignment was based in part on the HLFS participation code and in part on the outcome of the Attitudes and Values Survey. HLFS participation codes are as follows:

- 01 = Full response
- 02 = Full refusal
- 03 = Part refusal
- 04 = Full non-contact—verified
- 05 = Full non-contact—not verified
- 06 = Part non-contact
- 07 = Death or illness
- 08 = All persons out on scope
- 09 = Vacant dwelling
- 10 = Dwelling under construction
- 11 = Dwelling converted to non-dwelling
- 12 = Derelict dwelling
- 13 = Dwelling demolished

Clearly, any household in the HLFS that has HLFS participation codes 9, 10, 11, 12 or 13 (and so is ineligible pre-contact for the HLFS) will not have any individuals in it to be assigned an estimation status. Hence, for the Attitudes and Values Survey, there is no group corresponding to the 'Ineligible pre-contact' of the HLFS.

'Ineligible post-contact' consists of all individuals observed in households which have an HLFS participation code of 04 or 08.

'Eligible responding' consists of all individuals in households which have an HLFS participation code of 01, 03 or 06 and who respond in part or in full to the Attitudes and Values Survey questionnaire.

'Eligible non-responding' consists of all individuals in households which have an HLFS participation code of 01, 03 or 06, and who do not respond to the Attitudes and Values Survey questionnaire.

'Unknown eligibility' consists of all individuals in households which have an HLFS participation code of 02, 05 or 07. These households were not approached for the Attitudes and Values Survey.

To account for non-response of eligible individuals and to account for the unknown eligibility of individuals, the following weight was used:

$$(A + B + F) / A \quad \text{-----} \quad (1)$$

where

A = weighted sum (eligible responding individuals);

B = weighted sum (eligible non-responding individuals);

F = estimated number (unknown eligibility who are eligible).

By weighted sum is meant weighting each individual with their weight calculated above and then summing up.

F can be calculated in two ways:

$$C * (A / (A + D))$$

or

$$C * ((A + B) / (A + B + D))$$

where

C = weighted sum (unknown eligibility)

D = weighted sum (ineligible post-contact).

The second method produces a more stable weight since it is using the extra information about the eligible non-responding, but, in general, these will be very similar. Hence, the response factor weight will be

$$1 + (B/A) + (C/A) * ((A+B) / (A+B + D)).$$

Ideally, this weight should be calculated at as low a level as possible since response rates are likely to be very dependent on household characteristics (the difficulty in large households of interviewing every person during the survey period) or PSU characteristics (poor interviewer technique may mean that all households in a PSU, irrespective of their characteristics, have high non-response). Equally, this weight should not be such as to unnecessarily contribute to the variability of the estimates. To balance these two factors, the HLFS estimation groups, which are collections of substrata, are used. Combining these with the month gives 26 groups to calculate response factors on (this survey did not use the third month of the HLFS quarter).

The final weight which is applied to each individual is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{finalwgt} &= \text{estwgt} * \text{respfact} && \text{if individual is eligible} \\ & && \text{responding} \\ &= 0 && \text{otherwise} \end{aligned}$$

where

- finalwgt = the final weight to be applied to each selected individual;
- estwgt = the sample design weight to be applied to each selected individual;
- respfact = the response factor weight to be applied to each selected individual

Because of non-response, it was decided to control the non-response bias through post-stratifying the sampled population by age and sex. As Appendix C of this report, Study of Non-respondents, shows, if good estimates of ethnic origin had been available, it would have been better to include ethnic origin. However the best estimates of quarterly ethnic origin come from the HLFS and have error which attenuates any gain from the extra post-stratification variable.

The sex-age distributions of the eligible population have been obtained from departmental estimates. The ratios of the sex-age distributions from the population with the sex-age distributions from the sample are formed and finalwgt is multiplied by the appropriate ratio.

2.4 Field Procedures

The survey was conducted in the last quarter of 1987, specifically in the nine weeks between 5 October and 4 December. Eligibility for the Attitudes and Values Survey was dependent on being a member of a sampled household and having had an HLFS questionnaire completed for that person during the quarter. The dataset for the Attitudes and Values Survey consisted of all variables derived from the Attitudes and Values Survey, together with selected demographic and socio-economic variables from the HLFS questionnaire.

Following the completion of HLFS interviews, selected households were invited to participate in the Attitudes and Values Survey. All household members aged 15 years and over were asked to take part. As the Attitudes and Values Survey was an attitudinal survey using interviewer-administered questionnaires and show cards, all Attitudes and Values Survey interviews were conducted face-to-face. Appointments were made for the interviewer to visit at a time suitable to household members. The use of a proxy (that

is a person within a household answering on behalf of another individual) was not permitted.

In order to ensure that weekly workloads were manageable, and to minimise the chance of household membership undergoing considerable change between the HLFS and the Attitudes and Values Survey, the 'survey period' was restricted to two weeks. That is, HLFS interviews had to be completed in a household, contact made over the Attitudes and Values Survey, and Attitudes and Values Survey interviews undertaken, all within a two-week period.

In order to place an upper limit on the fieldwork costs of the survey, personal visits to households were restricted to two. Initial telephone contact attempts followed the same procedure as for the HLFS with a maximum number of ten per household made at different times of the day and evening.

A pamphlet on the survey and the Royal Commission was left with households following the first interviewer visit. This explained the survey in more detail to participants, thanking them for taking part, and acted as background information for individuals still to be interviewed. Interviewers were instructed to request that interviews be held in private, away from people who had already answered the questions and people yet to participate. Interviewers noted that generally this request was understood and respected, although there were instances where space restrictions precluded strict adherence to the rule.

At the conclusion of each interview, the interviewer's final task was to seek the respondent's written consent to making his or her coded responses available to the Royal Commission. This resulted from the Royal Commission's desire to obtain access to a data tape containing individual responses. The legislation governing the operation of the Department of Statistics, the Statistics Act 1975, contains provisions which ensure the security of any information collected. Among these is the provision that the department can release 'unit record' information so long as the person supplying it has consented to its release in writing.

This consent was obtained by way of a final question in the personal questionnaire. The Royal Commission's desire for a data tape was explained to respondents and consent for data release was requested. If consent was given, the interviewer ticked the appropriate box and the respondent signed the questionnaire. If consent

was not given, the interviewer ticked the refusal box and the interview concluded at that point. It should be noted that for 'consent' to be given, both the appropriately ticked box and the signature had to appear on the page. Eighty-six percent of respondents agreed to their coded data being released to the Royal Commission.

2.5 Reliability of Survey Estimates

Total survey error can be broken down into four main components: sampling error, non-sampling error, instrumental error, and processing error. Sampling error arises through the variation that occurs by chance because a random sample of a population, rather than the entire population, is surveyed. Non-sampling error arises through failure to implement the sample design (for example failing to achieve 100 percent response, imperfections in the frame or failing to make a random selection). Instrumental error arises through failing to extract the correct information (such as through poor questionnaire design, poor interviewer technique or poor respondent recall). Processing error arises through poor data capture and processing techniques.

All of these errors need to be controlled as all can have an important bearing on the reliability of the results. However, generally, only the size of the sampling and processing errors can be measured easily. Indeed, to measure non-sampling error and instrumental error really requires follow-up studies. Without such studies, the sampling statistician is left to look for the presence of past indicators of large biases.

Sampling Error

Generally speaking, for the tables prepared for the Royal Commission on Social Policy, the design effect (DEFF) is between 2 and 4. This means that because of various stages of clustering and reduction in effective sample size due to non-response, variances of estimators for the design are between 2 and 4 times larger than corresponding estimators from a simple random sample of the same size. These estimates of sampling error have been obtained by using a replicated balanced p-group sampling error technique (see K.M. Wolter, 'Introduction to Variance Estimation', Springer, 1985).

Sampling error estimates include the components of variation arising from the unbiased component of non-response and instrument error. Thought was given to producing a summary table of sampling errors. However, because of the imbalanced design (for example, Maori households were sampled at about ten times the rate of Pakeha households), it is difficult to produce a table of sampling errors which adequately summarises the DEFFs and which would not lead to wrong inferences being drawn.

Exact sampling errors for most tables produced from the survey are available in printout form from the Royal Commission. Nevertheless, the DEFFs are within the range estimated at the design stage and so from a sampling error perspective, the objective of the survey to measure large differences between attitudes held by different sub-populations or within populations was still met.

Processing Error

Every effort was made to ensure accurate processing of the survey data through careful manual and computer-assisted editing. The final dataset for analysis is expected to have had a very low error rate which would be insignificant in relation to the other sources of error.

Instrumental Error

From the reported comments of the interviewers cited in section 2.7, it was clear that for certain questions, there will be some large but unknown instrumental errors. Thus, any inferences drawn from these questions must be drawn cautiously.

Non-sampling Error

The response rate for this survey was lower than expected (see section 2.6). Practically speaking, this means that the estimates from this survey may be biased, that is the non-response may have affected the accuracy of the estimates. It is rare in a social survey to have any individual information available on non-respondents, and to be able to give reliable qualitative information about the effects of non-response. However, in this survey there were some accurate socio-demographic data on the non-respondents, obtained from the

HLFS, and this can be used to point to areas where caution is warranted in drawing inferences (see Appendix C which contains a study of the characteristics of non-respondents).

Ethnic origin, age and sex (the three best predictors of non-response) can be considered auxiliary variables whereas the questions eliciting attitudes can be considered object variables. If deficiencies in the sampling affect the distribution of the auxiliary (that is the sample under-represents Pacific Island Polynesians as a proportion of the population) but not the conditional distribution of an object variable, given the auxiliary (that is the Pacific Island Polynesians sampled hold an attitude in the same proportion as the sub-population of all Pacific Island Polynesians), then the method used to correct for non-response bias in this survey is appropriate.

Summary

The effective sample size after the various stages of clustering and non-response is still large enough to produce estimators whose variance is not larger than the design required or expected. Information is given in section 2.7 on difficulties experienced by some respondents with some questions, and in section 2.6 and Appendix C on characteristics of non-respondents. If this further information is used, then reliable conclusions can be drawn from the survey.

2.6 Response Rate

1,455 private dwellings were included in the sample yielding:

1,792 eligible responding individuals;

1,260 eligible non-responding individuals;

96 ineligible individuals;

66 individuals whose eligibility was unknown.

In line with international conventions, it was recognised that a proportion of those individuals who had unknown eligibility would have been ineligible. To cater for this in calculating the response rates, individuals with an estimation status of 'unknown eligibility' were apportioned to the estimation groups 'eligible responding' and 'ineligible' as indicated in section 2.3 of this report.

The formula for calculating the response rate was:

$$R = \frac{\text{weighted sum (eligible responding)}}{\text{estimated eligible sample size}} \times 100$$

where the estimated eligible sample size was defined as the numerator in formula (1) of section 2.3.

The overall response rate was 64 percent.

This response rate is an individual rate. That is the appropriate rate for this survey. While sample selection was done at a household level, estimation was based on individuals. This means that more responses are able to be included in the final analysis.

Lower response rates occurred in some categories of the population. Response was significantly lower for Pacific Island PolyneSIans and for Maori. It was also low for those aged 15–24 years, or 65 and over. The response rate was lower for males than for females. A much more detailed analysis is given in Appendix C.

Various reasons can be given for the level of variation in non-response. A number of valuable observations were made by interviewers, which are now summarised.

As shown by the study of non-respondents contained in Appendix C, the younger age-groups had the highest non-contact rate. For those respondents aged 15–24, interviewers commented that participation in sport and study for exams were the most common reasons for contact not being made or appointments not being kept. Among the working population, shift-work was often the reason. Even though interviewers attempted to make contact at various times of day and evening, a considerable number of people could not be contacted or were not available to be interviewed in the time available.

Refusals

As far as refusals were concerned, interviewers observed that there appeared to be four major reasons for people to refuse to participate in the survey. These were:

LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OR INTEREST Interviewers reported that many people approached to participate had not heard of the Royal Commission and did not know of the survey. This is in spite of the considerable publicity undertaken by the Royal Commission, including specifically advertising the survey in the media at the commencement of fieldwork.

Another factor contributing to the refusal rate was a perceived lack of interest on the part of potential respondents. Interviewers reported that when the Royal Commission was explained, or in some cases where people already knew of its existence, there was still a disinterest in participating. The most-commonly expressed

reason was the fact that the Government had already decided what it wanted to do in the area of social policy.

Also commented on by interviewers were the groups of people who refused to participate on the grounds that their opinions did not matter. This seemed to apply particularly to the elderly who felt that social policy issues concerned only younger people who still had a future ahead of them. Also, some recent immigrants expressed the belief that they could not contribute meaningfully to the survey as they did not have sufficient knowledge of New Zealand.

ANTI-SURVEY FEELING Several interviewers reported respondent anti-survey reaction. This included some who viewed household surveys as an invasion of privacy and, in particular, any 'official' survey as interference in their lives by Government.

In the Attitudes and Values Survey, there was also a group of potential respondents who felt that participation in the compulsory HLFS was sufficient. Taking part each quarter was seen as 'doing their bit' and any further official requests for information were burdensome. Given the non-compulsory nature of the Attitudes and Values Survey, these individuals chose to exercise their right to refuse.

RESPONDENT BURDEN Interviewers expressed the view that the length of the questionnaire put some respondents off participating. The 30-45 minutes per person was considered too long. This problem of respondent burden was accentuated by the fact that all household members were requested to participate in the survey. Whereas the HLFS permits the use of a proxy to provide details on behalf of other household members, the nature of the Attitudes and Values Survey required that the questionnaire be put individually. Because of its length, the burden on some households was considerable. On learning of the likely time commitment, it was common for people to refuse to participate.

TELEPHONE RECRUITMENT It was a commonly-held view amongst interviewers that telephone recruitment contributed in part to the refusal rate because refusal is much more easily given over the phone than it is in person. From the third week of the survey fieldwork, this view was taken into account and field procedures altered in the Auckland North region, where urban Maori and Pacific Island respondents were concentrated, to try to maximise response.

2.7 The Questionnaires

In addition to the questionnaires specifically designed for the Attitudes and Values Survey, the department made use of demographic and socio-economic information collected from respondents in the HLFS. This covered such things as sex, age, ethnicity, location of residence and labour force status. The main purpose of this was to free up as much time as possible for questions on social policy concerns.

The two survey questionnaires are included in this report as Appendices A and B. The first of these, the Household Form, is a record of what happened at each selected household. It contains contact and final status information for each eligible person, as well as details relating to the household generally. These general questions were answered by only one member of the household and covered tenancy/ownership, mortgagee description, and the type of pre-school education being undertaken by children in the household.

The Personal Questionnaire was designed by the department under specific guidelines supplied by a Survey Consulting Group established by the Royal Commission to advise on the survey. Some specific questions were included at the request of Commissioners.

Initially, as questions were being developed, wording was tested on volunteer members of departmental staff with care being taken to choose people of different age, sex and ethnic origin. Once a draft of the questionnaire had been prepared, four Wellington-based interviewers undertook a series of pre-test interviews among the public, including people of differing demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Comments resulting from those pre-test interviews were fed back to design staff and amendments made to the questionnaire.

The final questionnaire received the approval of the Survey Consulting Group and the Royal Commission. It was designed to be administered over a period of 30 minutes. Interviewers reported, however, that times of 45 minutes were more common with 1-hour or longer interview times also being recorded.

The longer interviews, and the bulk of the problems described in relation to specific questions, are thought to have occurred because of the nature of attitudinal interviewing. When asked for factual information, all the respondent has to do is remember something

from their past. However, attitudes and opinions require more effort on the part of the respondent. Interviewers stated that requests for questions to be repeated, often more than once, were common amongst respondents and that a great deal of concentration and thought appeared to go into responses. It also appeared that in a number of cases the respondents had given no conscious thought to the issues involved before the interview took place.

The survey debriefing revealed that interviewers had found difficulty in administering particular questions. Common problems were experienced with the following:

- 1 Questions where 'good/bad' and then 'fair/unfair' decisions were required. It was observed that some respondents became confused between the two, believing that in answering the first they had answered the second.

- 2 Question 46 listed 13 areas in which the Government currently spends money and asked if more, less, or about the same should continue to be spent. The question then asked for those areas where respondents thought more should be spent, how important this was to them.

The question caused problems on two fronts. Firstly, most respondents had no idea of how much money Government presently spends in the areas listed. They felt that that knowledge was essential to answering the question properly.

Also, some interviewers had difficulty in correctly administering the question. Especially in the first few weeks of the fieldwork, some were asking the first part of the question and determining that the respondent thought more should be spent in various areas. They were then neglecting to ask the second part on how important it was for more to be spent. In these instances the response code showed as a blank because the category 'more' did not have its own code number.

- 3 Question 51 stated that there were a number of things that the Government could think about when making an economic decision. It then listed seven of them and asked how important the respondent thought it was that each be taken into account in economic decision-making.

A number of respondents were reported as not understanding the term 'economic decision' used in the introduction. These people experienced a degree of difficulty with all parts of the question (a - g), finding it complicated and difficult to follow.

4 Question 52 listed 13 things that 'some people would like to see happen in New Zealand'. It then asked for the respondent to state whether he or she agreed with each of them.

Comprehension problems were also reported with this question. Again, all parts often needed repeating with parts (i) and (l) causing particular difficulty.

Interviewers noted that this and the following question highlighted a fairly widespread ignorance of the Treaty of Waitangi and Maori rights issues generally. This was found among recent immigrants to New Zealand and among Pakehas, but interviewers also reported that a considerable number of Maori respondents claimed little knowledge of 'Maori concerns'.

5 Question 53 listed some Maori concerns and asked for the respondent to specify his or her degree of support for each.

The lack of knowledge identified initially in Question 52 meant that a number of respondents found it difficult to reply to this section. A small number experienced difficulty in formulating any opinion on the issues. Others reacted against what they saw as a Maori bias in the survey. Interviewers noted that this was true of a number of Pacific Island Polynesians, who saw Maori needs being catered for by the survey but no mention of their problems and specific interests being included. It was generally felt that this question caused a degree of respondent resentment.

2.8 The Interviewers

Fieldwork for the Attitudes and Values Survey involved a team of 94 interviewers. These consisted of the department's HLFS field force plus 14 additional Maori interviewers recruited for field work in the upper North Island. These additional interviewers were recruited as the result of a request from the Survey Consulting Group. Members believed that Maori respondents were likely to feel more at ease with Maori interviewers, particularly when it came to answering the questions dealing with specific Maori concerns.

The department decided to recruit Maori interviewers in two of the four fieldwork regions, namely 'Auckland North' which takes in Auckland city and Northland, and 'Auckland South' which runs from Papakura down to Taupo and across to Gisborne. New

Zealand's Maori population is concentrated in the upper North Island.

The main criterion for employing Maori interviewers in an area was having at least five weeks' work available with a minimum of three Maori households to interview each of those weeks. In addition to their primary task of interviewing Maori respondents, they also assisted in non-Maori households. It is estimated that 74 per cent of the upper North Island Maori interviews were allocated to Maori interviewers.

All interviewers attended a one-day training course conducted by the department in September. A total of 14 courses were held around the country, run by the four regional fieldwork managers. The courses were designed to provide instruction in attitudinal surveying, Attitudes and Values Survey procedures and the survey questionnaire, plus background on the Royal Commission and the reasons for the survey being conducted. Part of each course included aspects of Maori culture and points to be observed while interviewing in Maori households.

Auckland city contained a considerable number of Pacific Island Polynesian respondents. In order to assist in interviews where language problems may be present, a team of interpreters was made available. Interviewers called on interpreters if initial contact with the household revealed the likelihood of problems with language.

2.9 Concepts and Terms

The following terms and definitions are used in this report:

Ethnic Origin

Respondents to the HLFS are asked for their ethnic origin and are able to choose up to three from the following list:

- 1 European
- 2 New Zealand Maori
- 3 Samoan
- 4 Cook Island Maori
- 5 Niuean
- 6 Tongan
- 7 Chinese
- 8 Indian

9 Other.

The ethnic origin categories used in tabulations are assigned according to the origin(s) reported. These categories are:

- 1 European: persons reporting European origin only;
- 2 New Zealand Maori: persons reporting New Zealand Maori origin only;
- 3 New Zealand Maori/European: persons who reported both New Zealand Maori and European origins;
- 4 Other: persons who reported any other single origin or combination of origins;
- 5 Not Specified: persons who reported no origin.

Labour Force Status

The labour force category to which a person is assigned depends on his or her actual activity (that is whether working, looking for work or not) during the HLFS survey reference week (that is the week prior to the HLFS interview). The following definitions apply:

1 The Employed:

All persons in the usually-resident, non-institutionalised, civilian population aged 15 years and over who during the HLFS reference week:

- (a) worked for one hour or more for pay or profit in the context of an employee/employer relationship or self-employment;
- (b) worked without pay for 15 hours or more in work which contributed directly to the operation of a farm, business or professional practice owned or operated by a relative;
- (c) had a job but were not at work due to:
 - (i) own illness or injury;
 - (ii) personal or family responsibilities;
 - (iii) bad weather or mechanical breakdown;
 - (iv) direct involvement in an industrial dispute;
 - (v) leave or holiday.

2 The Unemployed:

All persons in the working-age population who during their HLFS survey reference week were without a paid job, were available for work and:

- (a) had actively sought work in the past four weeks ending with the reference week, or
- (b) had a new job to start within four weeks.

Actively seeking work refers to any of the following activities undertaken in the past four weeks ending with the reference week:

- (a) written, phoned or applied in person to an employer;
- (b) contacted a private employment agency;
- (c) contacted the Department of Labour's employment centre;
- (d) placed advertisements about a job;
- (e) contacted friends or relatives about a job;
- (f) taken steps to set up own business;
- (g) contacted career advisors or vocational guidance officers;
- (h) any other form of active job search.

A person whose only job search method in the previous four weeks has been to look at job advertisements in newspapers is not considered to be actively seeking work.

3 Persons Not in the Labour Force:

Any person who is neither employed nor unemployed, as defined above, is deemed to be 'not in the labour force'.

This residual category includes:

- (a) retired persons;
- (b) persons with personal or family responsibilities such as unpaid housework and child care;
- (c) persons attending educational institutions;
- (d) persons permanently unable to work due to physical or mental handicaps;
- (e) persons who were temporarily unavailable for work in the reference week;
- (f) persons who do not want to work.

Occupation

In the HLFS, the respondent's occupation is coded to the second level of the New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations (NZSCO). For HLFS publication purposes and for the purposes of

the Attitudes and Values Survey, occupation codes were amalgamated up to the first level of the NZSCO. This produced the following categories:

- 1 professional/technical;
- 2 administrative/managerial;
- 3 clerical;
- 4 sales;
- 5 service;
- 6 agricultural/fishing;
- 7 production/labouring.

Urban/Rural

Respondents' residence is allocated to one of four categories, as outlined below. The categories are defined as at the 1986 Census of Population.

1 Main Urban Areas

There are 17 main urban areas defined as having 30,000 or more population. The areas are as follows:

- (a) Whangarei
- (b) Auckland
 - (i) Northern Auckland Zone
 - (ii) Western Auckland Zone
 - (iii) Central Auckland Zone
 - (iv) Southern Auckland Zone
- (c) Hamilton
- (d) Tauranga
- (e) Rotorua
- (f) Gisborne
- (g) Napier
- (h) Hastings
- (i) New Plymouth
- (j) Wanganui
- (k) Palmerston North
- (l) Wellington
 - (i) Upper Hutt Valley Zone
 - (ii) Lower Hutt Valley Zone
 - (iii) Porirua Basin Zone
 - (iv) Wellington City Zone

- (m) Nelson
- (n) Christchurch
- (o) Timaru
- (p) Dunedin
- (q) Invercargill.

2 Secondary Urban Areas

There are 14 secondary urban areas defined as having populations between 10,000 and 29,999. These areas are:

- (a) Pukekohe
- (b) Tokoroa
- (c) Taupo
- (d) Whakatane
- (e) Hawera
- (f) Feilding
- (g) Levin
- (h) Kapiti
- (i) Masterton
- (j) Blenheim
- (k) Greymouth
- (l) Ashburton
- (m) Oamaru
- (n) Gore.

3 Minor Urban Areas

This category comprises all other towns with a population of 1,000 or over and which are not already classified as a main or secondary urban area.

4 Rural

This classification takes in all other areas not already classified as one of the above-mentioned three.

Glossary of Abbreviations and Terms

DEFF	<i>Design Effect</i>
Ethnic origin	<i>Respondents can choose up to three from the following: European, New Zealand Maori, Samoan, Cook Island Maori, Niuean, Tongan, Chinese, Indian, Other. In tabulations, these are divided into five groups: European; New Zealand Maori; New Zealand Maori/European; Other; Not specified.</i>
HLFS	<i>Household Labour Force Survey</i>
Labour force status	<i>Respondents are defined as 'employed', 'unemployed' or 'not in the labour force'.</i>
NZSCO	<i>New Zealand Standard Classification of Occupations</i>
Occupation	<i>There are seven categories of occupation: professional/technical, administrative/managerial, clerical, sales, service, agricultural/fishing, production/labouring.</i>
PSU	<i>Primary Sampling Unit</i>
SPS	<i>Social Policy Survey (Attitudes and Values Survey)</i>
Urban/Rural	<i>Respondent's residence is assigned to one of four categories: main urban, secondary urban, minor urban, or rural.</i>

Appendix A

Household Form

Address

Household Form
Social Policy Survey

Telephone number

Reference number

CO/SP/01

1. Does your household:

- | | |
|----|--|
| 11 | own this house/flat with a mortgage, → Q.2 |
| 12 | own it without a mortgage, → Q.4 |
| 13 | rent or lease it, or → Q.3 |
| 14 | have it provided rent-free ? → Q.3 |

IF RENT OR LEASE OR RENT-FREE

3. Is the owner of your house/flat:

- 31 ☐ the Housing Corporation,
32 ☐ another government department/body, or
33 ☐ a local authority ?
34 ☐ OTHER

IF OWN WITH A MORTGAGE

2. Does your household have a mortgage with:
(TICK ALL THAT APPLY)

- 21 ☐ the Housing Corporation,
22 ☐ bank or other financial
institution, or
23 ☐ another government department ?
24 ☐ OTHER

(GO TO QUESTION 4)

4. Are there any children in this household who attend a:

- | | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 41 | | kindergarten, | |
| 42 | | playcentre, | |
| 43 | | day care centre, or | (TICK ALL THAT APPLY) |
| 44 | | kohanga reo ? | |
| 45 | | UNKNOWN TYPE | |
| 46 | | OTHER PRESCHOOL | |
| 47 | | DON'T KNOW | |
| 40 | | NO | |

[illegible]

ETHNIC ORIGIN CODES

- 1 = no Maori
2 = ethnic origin is Maori or includes Maori

FINAL STATUS CODES

- 1 = Non-contact
2 = Refusal
3 = Interviewed

Appendix B

Personal Questionnaire

CO/SP/02

PERSON NUMBER

	MAORI/NON MAORI
1. Age	
2. Sex	
3. Education	
4. Income	
5. Employment	
6. Health status	
7. Social network	
8. Attitudes	
9. Knowledge	
10. Skills	
11. Resources	
12. Support	
13. Motivation	
14. Self-efficacy	
15. Resilience	
16. Coping strategies	
17. Problem-solving skills	
18. Decision-making skills	
19. Communication skills	
20. Leadership skills	
21. Teamwork skills	
22. Conflict resolution skills	
23. Stress management skills	
24. Time management skills	
25. Financial literacy skills	
26. Digital literacy skills	
27. Language skills	
28. Cultural awareness	
29. Diversity appreciation	
30. Global citizenship	
31. Environmental stewardship	
32. Civic engagement	
33. Volunteerism	
34. Philanthropy	
35. Entrepreneurship	
36. Innovation	
37. Creativity	
38. Critical thinking	
39. Analytical skills	
40. Research skills	
41. Writing skills	
42. Public speaking skills	
43. Negotiation skills	
44. Persuasion skills	
45. Collaboration skills	
46. Networking skills	
47. Mentorship skills	
48. Coaching skills	
49. Training skills	
50. Evaluation skills	
51. Reflection skills	
52. Goal setting	
53. Planning skills	
54. Organization skills	
55. Prioritization skills	
56. Delegation skills	
57. Accountability	
58. Responsibility	
59. Integrity	
60. Honesty	
61. Transparency	
62. Openness	
63. Vulnerability	
64. Empathy	
65. Compassion	
66. Kindness	
67. Generosity	
68. Gratitude	
69. Positivity	
70. Optimism	
71. Hope	
72. Faith	
73. Love	
74. Peace	
75. Harmony	
76. Unity	
77. Brotherhood	
78. Sisterhood	
79. Community	
80. Belonging	
81. Purpose	
82. Meaning	
83. Fulfillment	
84. Satisfaction	
85. Well-being	
86. Happiness	
87. Joy	
88. Contentment	
89. Serenity	
90. Tranquility	
91. Calmness	
92. Patience	
93. Tolerance	
94. Forgiveness	
95. Reconciliation	
96. Healing	
97. Restoration	
98. Renewal	
99. Transformation	
100. Growth	

INTERVIEWER NUMBER

INTERVIEW ORDER

SURVEY FOR THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

PERSONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

The information recorded on this questionnaire is subject to the confidentiality provisions of the Statistics Act 1975.

FOR RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE MAORI AS ONE OF THEIR
ETHNIC ORIGIN CHOICES

OTHER RESPONDENTS BEGIN AT QUESTIONS 5

1. To what tribe(s) do you claim strongest ties?
RECORD UP TO THREE

1	
---	--

1	
---	--

1	
---	--

100	
-----	--

NO TRIBE

108	
-----	--

DON'T KNOW

2. Have you been to any marae or tribal hui in the past six months?

21	
----	--

YES

22	
----	--

NO

QUESTION 5

23	
----	--

DON'T KNOW QUESTION 5

3. How many marae or tribal hui have you been to in the
past six months?

3

ENTER NUMBER

300	
-----	--

DON'T KNOW

4. What benefits, if any, do you get from marae or tribal hui; would it be:

TICK AS MANY AS APPLY

41	<input type="checkbox"/>	meeting family or friends
42	<input type="checkbox"/>	identity boost
43	<input type="checkbox"/>	learning marae kawa
44	<input type="checkbox"/>	meeting tribal elders
45	<input type="checkbox"/>	opportunity to have a say in decisions
46	<input type="checkbox"/>	opportunity to contribute to tribal life
47	<input type="checkbox"/>	other (specify).....
48	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

ASK ALL RESPONDENTS

5. Do you speak any language other than English?

51	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
52	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO QUESTION 8

6. What language is that?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY

60	<input type="checkbox"/>	MAORI	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
61	<input type="checkbox"/>	COOK ISLAND MAORI	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
62	<input type="checkbox"/>	FIJIAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
63	<input type="checkbox"/>	SAMOAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
64	<input type="checkbox"/>	TOKELAUAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
65	<input type="checkbox"/>	TONGAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
66	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER POLYNESIAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
67	<input type="checkbox"/>	EUROPEAN LANGUAGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
68	<input type="checkbox"/>	ASIAN LANGUAGE	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
69	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER	<input type="checkbox"/>	18

7. IF MAORI IS ONE OF LANGUAGES ASK:

Would you say you speak Maori only a little or well enough to have a conversation in Maori?

71	<input type="checkbox"/>	LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
72	<input type="checkbox"/>	CAN HOLD CONVERSATION	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
73	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	18

HEALTH

Now I am going to ask you a few questions about health care in New Zealand?

8. Have you received any health care of any kind in the past 12 months? (I mean visits to the doctor or hospital, any other sort of care you got because you were ill or pregnant, or care that was meant to stop you from getting ill.)

81	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

YES

82	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

NO QUESTION 10

88	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

DON'T KNOW

9. (SHOWCARD A)

Were you satisfied with the health care you've received in the past 12 months?
(Were you very satisfied (dissatisfied) or fairly satisfied (dissatisfied)?)

91	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

VERY SATISFIED

92	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

FAIRLY SATISFIED

93	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED

94	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

FAIRLY DISSATISFIED

95	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

VERY DISSATISFIED

98	<input type="checkbox"/>
----	--------------------------

DON'T KNOW

10. (SHOWCARD B)

Do you think that the health care that GPs or family doctors give in NZ is, in general, good or bad?
(Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

1001	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1001
1002	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1002
1003	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1003
1004	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1004
1005	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1005
1008	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	1008

11. (SHOWCARD B)

Do you think that health care in N.Z. hospitals is good or bad? (Is that very good (bad)?)

1101	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1101
1102	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1102
1103	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1103
1104	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1104
1105	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>	1105
1108	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	1108

12. (SHOWCARD B)

Do you think that overall, the health care people get in New Zealand is good or bad?

(Is it fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

1201	VERY GOOD
1202	FAIRLY GOOD
1203	NEITHER GOOD NOR BAD
1204	FAIRLY BAD
1205	VERY BAD
1208	DON'T KNOW

13. (SHOWCARD C)

Thinking about the system of health care in NZ, do you think that it is in general fair or unfair??

(Do you think it is very fair (unfair)?)

1301	VERY FAIR
1302	FAIR
1303	UNFAIR
1304	VERY UNFAIR
1308	DON'T KNOW

14. Do you think that the whole cost of visits to GPs or family doctors should be paid for out of taxes?

1401	YES
1402	NO
1408	DON'T KNOW

QUESTION 16

QUESTION 16

15. Would you say yes even if that meant that there was less money left to pay for hospitals and other health care?

1501 ☐ YES

1502 ☐ NO

1508 ☐ DON'T KNOW

16. Are you covered by any medical or health insurance?
DOES NOT INCLUDE PUBLIC SERVICE WELFARE SOCIETY

1601 ☐ YES

1602 ☐ NO

1608 ☐ DON'T KNOW

HOUSING

Now there are some questions about housing in New Zealand.

17. (SHOWCARD A)
How do you feel about the housing you have at the moment? Are you satisfied or dissatisfied?
(Is that fairly satisfied (dissatisfied) or very satisfied (dissatisfied)?)

1701	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY SATISFIED
1702	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY SATISFIED
1703	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED
1704	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY DISSATISFIED
1705	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY DISSATISFIED
1708	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

18. IF RESPONDENT IS AGED UNDER 18 AND STILL LIVING AT HOME
GO TO QUESTION 20.

Right now, do you prefer to own your own home,
or to rent?

1801	<input type="checkbox"/>	OWN
1802	<input type="checkbox"/>	RENT
1808	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

QUESTION 20

- 19 (SHOWCARD D)
I will read out some reasons why people prefer to own their own home.
Tell me how important you think each one is.

(a) When you buy a home you have something for the money you spend, but when you rent it s money down the drain.

1911		VERY IMPORTANT
1912		FAIRLY IMPORTANT
1913		NOT VERY IMPORTANT
1914		NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
1918		DON'T KNOW

(b) The value of a home increases with time

1921		VERY IMPORTANT
1922		FAIRLY IMPORTANT
1923		NOT VERY IMPORTANT
1924		NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
1928		DON'T KNOW

(c) When you own a home you know you can stay in it as long as you like; there isn't a landlord who can tell you to move out.

1931		VERY IMPORTANT
1932		FAIRLY IMPORTANT
1933		NOT VERY IMPORTANT
1934		NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
1938		DON'T KNOW

(d) When you own a home, you can alter it or redecorate it in any way you like

1941	VERY IMPORTANT
1942	FAIRLY IMPORTANT
1943	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
1944	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
1948	DON'T KNOW

20. (SHOWCARD E)

Now I am going to read out some statements about housing. Tell me whether you agree or disagree with each (Is that agree (disagree) strongly.)

(a) There are some people the Government should help to buy their own home.

2011	AGREE STRONGLY
2012	AGREE
2013	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
2014	DISAGREE
2015	DISAGREE STRONGLY
2018	DON'T KNOW

(b) Taxes should be used to provide enough low-cost rental housing so people who need a home can get one

2021	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE STRONGLY
2022	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
2023	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
2024	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
2025	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE STRONGLY
2028	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) The government should make sure that everyone is able to get adequate housing.

2031	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE STRONGLY
2032	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
2033	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
2034	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
2035	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE STRONGLY
2038	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

EDUCATION

Now some questions about education

21. Have you received any education of any kind in the past 12 months? I mean any sort of learning at courses, at work or elsewhere, or any sort of private lessons.

2101	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
------	--------------------------	-----

2102	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO QUESTION 24
------	--------------------------	----------------

2108	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW
------	--------------------------	------------

22. What sort of education was that?
PROBE AND RECORD AS ONE OR MORE OF THESE:

2201	<input type="checkbox"/>	PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN PRESCHOOL (E.G. KOHANGA REO OR PLAYCENTRE)
------	--------------------------	---

2203	<input type="checkbox"/>	SECONDARY
------	--------------------------	-----------

2204	<input type="checkbox"/>	TERTIARY
------	--------------------------	----------

2205	<input type="checkbox"/>	ON THE JOB TRAINING (INCLUDE COURSES ATTENDED OUTSIDE OF WORK)
------	--------------------------	---

2206	<input type="checkbox"/>	HOBBY, INTEREST, CULTURAL (CONTINUING)
------	--------------------------	--

2207	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER
------	--------------------------	-------

2208	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW
------	--------------------------	------------

23. (SHOWCARD A) (b) What about school education that you think is good or bad? (Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)
- Were you satisfied or dissatisfied with the education you've received in the past 12 months? (Is that very satisfied (dissatisfied) or fairly satisfied (dissatisfied).)

2301	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY SATISFIED	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2302	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY SATISFIED	GOOD FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2303	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	NEITHER	<input type="checkbox"/>
2304	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY DISSATISFIED	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2305	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY DISSATISFIED	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2308	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>

24. (SHOWCARD B) (b) What about school education that you think is good or bad? (Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)
- (a) Do you think that preschool education in NZ is, in general, good or bad? (Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

2411	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY GOOD	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2412	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY GOOD	GOOD FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2413	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER	NEITHER	<input type="checkbox"/>
2414	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY BAD	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2415	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY BAD	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2418	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) What about primary school education - do you think that is good or bad?
(Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

2421	VERY GOOD	1201
2422	FAIRLY GOOD	1202
2423	NEITHER	1203
2424	FAIRLY BAD	1204
2425	VERY BAD	1205
2428	DON'T KNOW	1208

(c) What about intermediate school education?
(Do you think that is good or bad?)
(Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

2431	VERY GOOD	1211
2432	FAIRLY GOOD	1212
2433	NEITHER	1213
2434	FAIRLY BAD	1214
2435	VERY BAD	1215
2438	DON'T KNOW	1218

- (d) What about secondary school education? (Do you think that is good or bad?)
(Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

2441	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2442	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2443	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER	<input type="checkbox"/>
2444	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2445	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2448	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>

- (e) What about university education and other sorts of tertiary education like polytechnic or training college?
(Do you think that is good or bad?)
(Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?)

2451	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2452	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY GOOD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2453	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER	<input type="checkbox"/>
2454	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2455	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY BAD	<input type="checkbox"/>
2458	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>

(f) Do you think that, overall, the education people get in New Zealand is good or bad? (b) What about the education people get in New Zealand? (c) Do you think the education people get in New Zealand is fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)? (d) Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?

2461		VERY GOOD	QUESTION 26	VERY GOOD	1001
2462		FAIRLY GOOD	QUESTION 26	FAIRLY GOOD	1002
2463		NEITHER	QUESTION 26	NEITHER	1003
2464		FAIRLY BAD		FAIRLY BAD	1004
2465		VERY BAD		VERY BAD	1005
2468		DON'T KNOW	QUESTION 26	DON'T KNOW	1008

25. Why do you think it's bad? (b) What about the education people get in New Zealand? (c) Do you think the education people get in New Zealand is fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)? (d) Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?

(a) Is it because people don't get enough preparation for the jobs that are available now. (b) Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?

2511		YES	VERY GOOD	1001
2512		NO	FAIRLY GOOD	1002
2518		DON'T KNOW	NEITHER	1003

(b) Is it because people don't get enough of the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic (b) Is that fairly good (bad) or very good (bad)?

2521		YES	VERY BAD	1001
2522		NO	DON'T KNOW	1002
2528		DON'T KNOW		

(c) people don't get enough education - they don't get enough years of education

2531		YES
2532		NO
2538		DON'T KNOW

- (d) people don't get enough knowledge about relationships between people, including sex education.

2541	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
2542	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
2548	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

- (e) people don't get enough understanding of the culture and values of other people.

2551	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
2552	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
2558	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

26. (SHOWCARD C)
Do you think the education system in NZ is fair or unfair?
(Do you think it is very fair (unfair)?)

2601	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY FAIR
2602	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIR
2603	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNFAIR
2604	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY UNFAIR
2608	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

27. Kohanga reo is a voluntary preschool education centre where everyone speaks the Maori language. It has been set up by Maori people to help revive the Maori language.

(SHOWCARD E)

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these statements.
(Is that strongly agree (disagree)?)

- (a) Kohanga reo should be encouraged.

2711	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE STRONGLY
2712	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
2713	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
2714	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
2715	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE STRONGLY
2718	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

- (b) The government should use taxes to help pay for kohanga reo.

2721	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE STRONGLY
2722	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
2723	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
2724	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
2725	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE STRONGLY
2728	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) The kohanga reo idea of education in Maori language and culture should be extended to some primary schools.

2731	
2732	
2733	
2734	
2735	
2738	

AGREE STRONGLY

AGREE

NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE

DISAGREE

DISAGREE STRONGLY

DON'T KNOW

JUSTICE

Now there are some questions about crime and justice.

28. Has anything happened to you in the past 12 months that you thought was a crime?

2801	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
2802	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO QUESTION 30
2808	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW QUESTION 30

29. Did any of those things happen in the past 6 months?

2901	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
2902	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
2908	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

30. Thinking about the police in your area, would you say you had

3001	<input type="checkbox"/>	a great deal of confidence
3002	<input type="checkbox"/>	only some confidence
3003	<input type="checkbox"/>	or hardly any confidence in them?
3004	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO CONFIDENCE
3008	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

31. Is there anything you want to do but don't because you are afraid someone may commit a crime against you? (for example not going out alone at night)

3101	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
3102	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO QUESTION 33
3108	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW QUESTION 33

32. (SHOWCARD F)

How much would you say that that interferes with your enjoyment of life? (Would you say a very great deal, quite a lot, only a little, or not at all?)

3201 ☐ A VERY GREAT DEAL

3202 ☐ QUITE A LOT

3203 ☐ ONLY A LITTLE

3204 ☐ NONE OR NOT AT ALL

3208 ☐ DON'T KNOW

33. (SHOWCARD F)

I am going to read you a number of actions that have been suggested to cut down the number of crimes like assaults, burglary and other similar crimes.

- (a) Reducing unemployment - how much effect do you think that would have in the long term?
(Do you think it would have no effect at all, only a little, quite a lot, or a very great deal?)

3311 ☐ A VERY GREAT DEAL

3312 ☐ QUITE A LOT

3313 ☐ ONLY A LITTLE

3314 ☐ NONE OR NOT AT ALL

3318 ☐ DON'T KNOW

(b) Making sentences for crimes longer.

3321	A VERY GREAT DEAL
3322	QUITE A LOT
3323	ONLY A LITTLE
3324	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
3328	DON'T KNOW

(c) Helping criminals to deal with their problems - offering treatment if needed

3331	A VERY GREAT DEAL
3332	QUITE A LOT
3333	ONLY A LITTLE
3334	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
3338	DON'T KNOW

(d) Increasing the number of police

3341	A VERY GREAT DEAL
3342	QUITE A LOT
3343	ONLY A LITTLE
3344	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
3348	DON'T KNOW

(e) Teaching children in schools how to settle differences without violence

3351 ☐ A VERY GREAT DEAL

3352 ☐ QUITE A LOT

3353 ☐ ONLY A LITTLE

3354 ☐ NONE OR NOT AT ALL

3358 ☐ DON'T KNOW

(f) Reducing the amount of violence and crime shown on T.V, films and videos

3361 ☐ A VERY GREAT DEAL

3362 ☐ QUITE A LOT

3363 ☐ ONLY A LITTLE

3364 ☐ NONE OR NOT AT ALL

3368 ☐ DON'T KNOW

UNEMPLOYMENT

Now some questions about unemployment and jobs

34. (SHOWCARD E)
Tell me whether you agree
or disagree with each of these statements.
(Is that strongly agree (disagree)?).

(a) Anybody who wants a job should have one

3411	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3412	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3413	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3414	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3415	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3418	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) The government should tackle
unemployment by using taxes to create jobs

3421	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3422	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3423	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3424	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3425	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3428	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

- (c) Some groups of people have a worse chance than others at getting a job even when they are just as capable of doing the job.

3431	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3432	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3433	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3434	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3435	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3438	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

35. (SHOWCARD E)

There have been a number of suggestions about why people are unemployed. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of these.

(Is that strongly agree (disagree)?)

People are unemployed

(a) because they do not try hard enough to get a job

3511	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3512	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3513	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3514	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3515	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3518	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) because they live in areas where jobs are scarce

3521	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3522	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3523	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE OR DISAGREE
3524	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3525	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3528	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) because they do not have enough skills or qualifications

3531	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3532	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3533	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3534	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3535	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3538	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(d) because so many factories and workplaces have closed down

3541	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY AGREE
3542	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
3543	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
3544	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
3545	<input type="checkbox"/>	STRONGLY DISAGREE
3548	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

36. Do you think the Government should use taxes to make sure that people who cannot get a job have enough money to live on?

3601 ☐ YES

3602 ☐ NO QUESTION 38

3608 ☐ DON'T KNOW

37. Do you think that people who are getting money from the government because they are unemployed should have to do some sort of work for it,

3701 ☐ YES

3702 ☐ NO

3708 ☐ DON'T KNOW

There are some groups in society like the elderly, the sick and the disabled who are less able to look after themselves than others. There are other people who find it hard to get an adequate standard of living, like some families with young children.

I want to ask about how much support you think some of these groups ought to be given by the rest of the community.

First let's talk about the elderly

38. Do you think that the government should use taxes to make sure that the elderly have enough money to live on?

3801 ☐ YES

3802 ☐ NO QUESTION 41

3808 ☐ DON'T KNOW

39. Do you think that sort of support should be given to people at 60, at 65 or at some other age?

3901 ☐ GET AT 60

3902 ☐ GET AT 65

3903 ☐ OTHER AGE UNDER 60

3904 ☐ OTHER AGE 60-65

3905 ☐ OTHER AGE OVER 65

3908 ☐ DON'T KNOW

40. Should every one who has reached that age be paid a set amount of money, or should less be paid to those who are well off?

4001 ☐ SAME FOR ALL

4002 ☐ LESS IF WELL OFF

4008 ☐ DON'T KNOW

41. Now let's talk about the sick and disabled.

Should the government use taxes to make sure that people who are disabled or sick for long periods have enough to live on.

4101 ☐

YES

4102 ☐

NO QUESTION 43

4108 ☐

DON'T KNOW

42. Should everyone who is too sick or disabled to work get a set amount of money or should less be paid to those who are well off.

4201 ☐

SAME FOR ALL

4202 ☐

LESS IF WELL OFF

4208 ☐

DON'T KNOW

43. Should taxes be used to give help to people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home

4301 ☐

YES

4302 ☐

NO QUESTION 45

4308 ☐

DON'T KNOW

44. Should that help be provided for all people who want it or only those who are less well off

4401 ☐

ALL

4402 ☐

ONLY LESS WELL OFF

4408 ☐

DON'T KNOW

45. Now we're going to talk about families.

Where families with children do not have enough income to meet their needs, should the government use taxes to increase their income?

4501	YES
4502	NO
4508	DON'T KNOW

4501	YES
4502	NO QUESTION 45
4508	DON'T KNOW

46. Should everyone who is too sick or disabled to work get a set amount of money or should less be paid to those who are well off.

4601	SAME FOR ALL
4602	LESS IF WELL OFF
4608	DON'T KNOW

47. Should taxes be used to give help to people who are looking after an invalid or disabled person in their own home?

4701	YES
4702	NO QUESTION 47
4708	DON'T KNOW

48. Should that help be provided for all people who want it or only those who are less well off?

4801	ALL
4802	ONLY LESS WELL OFF
4808	DON'T KNOW

GO RIGHT THROUGH LIST MARKING COLUMN FOR LESS, MORE
OR SAME THEN, FOR ITEMS WHERE MORE IS THE
RESPONSE ASK:

(SHOWCARD D)

You said you think more should be spent on
(.....). How important is it to you that
the government should spend more? (Would you say it
is very important, fairly important, not very
important or not at all important?)

	DK	LESS	SAME	MORE	NOT AT ALL	NOT VERY	FAIRLY	VERY	DK
	8	1	2		3	4	5	6	9
Health									
Education.....									
Housing.....									
Preventing Crime.....									
Defence.....									
Creating Jobs.....									
Job Training.....									
Work for a bi- cultural society.....									
Overseas Aid.....									
Help for Farmers.....									
Help for Industry.....									
Public Transport.....									
Sport and Recreation.....									

47. (SHOWCARD C)

Do you think the tax system in New Zealand is fair or unfair?
(Is it very fair (unfair)?)

4701	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY FAIR	QUESTION 49
4702	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIR	QUESTION 49
4703	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNFAIR	
4704	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY UNFAIR	
4708	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	QUESTION 49

48. Are you one of the people that the system is unfair to?

4801	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
4802	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
4808	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

49. Do you think that you get good value from the system of taxes, services and benefits in NZ?

4901	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
4902	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
4908	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

50. Do you think that over your life time you will have had good value from the system of taxes, services and benefits?

5001	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
5002	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
5008	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

51. (SHOWCARD D)

When the government is making an economic decision, there are a number of things that it could think about.

(a) Should it consider the effect on the number of jobs available when it is making an economic decision - how important is that? (Do you think it is very important, fairly important, not very important, or not at all important?)

5111	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY IMPORTANT
5112	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY IMPORTANT
5113	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
5114	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
5118	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) How important is it for the government to consider the effect on the prices of everyday things like food when it's making economic decisions?

5121	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY IMPORTANT
5122	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY IMPORTANT
5123	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
5124	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
5128	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) the effect on people's ability to buy a home

5131	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5132	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5133	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5134	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5138	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(d) the effect on the poorer people in society

5141	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5142	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5143	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5144	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5148	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(e) the effect on the profits that businesses can make

5151	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY IMPORTANT
5152	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY IMPORTANT
5153	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
5154	<input type="checkbox"/>	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
5158	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(f) the effect on people's health

5161	VERY IMPORTANT	5161
5162	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	5162
5163	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5163
5164	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	5164
5168	DON'T KNOW	5168

(g) whether what is done will conflict with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

5171	VERY IMPORTANT	5171
5172	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	5172
5173	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5173
5174	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	5174
5178	DON'T KNOW	5178

(h) the effect on the people that business can make

5181	VERY IMPORTANT	5181
5182	FAIRLY IMPORTANT	5182
5183	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	5183
5184	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT	5184
5188	DON'T KNOW	5188

52. I will read you a list of things that some people would like to see happen in New Zealand. Tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of them. If you don't agree or disagree, just say so.

(a) Individuals should be free to live in whatever way they think is right, as long as they don't harm others

52011	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52012	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52013	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52018	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) Religion should have more influence over people's lives

52021	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52022	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52023	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52028	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) People should be able to live openly as homosexuals without fearing that society will treat them badly

52031	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52032	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52033	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52038	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(d) New Zealand should honour the Treaty of Waitangi

52041	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52042	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52043	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52048	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(e) People should be able to feel sure that, whatever happens to them, the government will look after them

52051	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52052	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52053	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52056	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(f) Maori land grievances should be settled by giving back the land, giving other land, or paying the Maori for the land.

52061	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52062	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52063	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52068	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(g) There should be a greater number of capable women in high positions in business and government

52071	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52072	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52073	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52078	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(h) There should be a greater number of capable Maori in high positions in business and government

52081	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52082	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52083	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52088	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(i) There should be less tax on high incomes so people have an incentive to work harder

52091	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52092	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52093	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52098	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(j) Employers should have to pay at least a basic wage that is enough for people to live on

52101	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52102	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52103	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52108	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(k) People should have to look after themselves more with less help from the government

52111	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52112	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52113	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52118	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(l) There should be less difference between what the highest paid people get and what the lowest paid people get.

52121	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52122	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52123	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52128	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(m) Every person has some responsibility for the welfare of all the people in society

52131	<input type="checkbox"/>	AGREE
52132	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER
52133	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISAGREE
52138	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

53. (SHOWCARD F)
Here is a list of some of the things that Maori people are concerned about, or that they would like to see happen. Would you tell me how much you support each one?

(a) Marae or community health centres (for Maori people) staffed by Maori health workers.

5311	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5312	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5313	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5314	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5318	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) All students in NZ schools to be taught the Maori language

5321	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5321
5322	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5322
5323	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5323
5324	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5324
5328	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5328

(c) All New Zealand schools to teach Maori language to those who want to learn it.

5331	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5331
5332	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5332
5333	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5333
5334	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5334
5338	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5338

(d) Maori fishing rights to be restored and protected

5341	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5342	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5343	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5344	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5348	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(e) Improved housing for Maori people on Maori land.

5351	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5351
5352	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5352
5353	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5353
5354	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5354
5358	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5358

(f) Giving tribal authorities more control over how money available for Maori concerns is spent.

5361	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5361
5362	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5362
5363	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5363
5364	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5364
5368	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5368

54. (SHOWCARD F)

Would you tell me how much you support each of these issues?

(a) Equal job opportunities for women

5411	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5412	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5413	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5414	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5418	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(b) Jobs being organised so parents can work flexible hours, have leave to look after children, and so on.

5421	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5422	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5423	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5424	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5428	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(c) Day care for children, partly or fully paid for by taxes

5431	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5432	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5433	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5434	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5438	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

(d) Day care for invalids, partly or fully paid for by taxes

5441	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5441
5442	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5442
5443	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5443
5444	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5444
5448	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5448

(e) Controls that would stop pornography from being available.

5451	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5451
5452	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT	<input type="checkbox"/>	5452
5453	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5453
5454	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL	<input type="checkbox"/>	5454
5458	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	5458

55. Do you suffer from the effects of an injury, any long-standing illness or disability?

5501	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES
5502	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO
5508	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

QUESTION 57

56. (SHOWCARD F)

- (a) How much would you say that that problem interferes with your ability to work?

5611	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5612	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5613	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5614	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5618	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

- (b) How much would you say that that problem interferes with your ability to enjoy life.

5621	<input type="checkbox"/>	A VERY GREAT DEAL
5622	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUITE A LOT
5623	<input type="checkbox"/>	ONLY A LITTLE
5624	<input type="checkbox"/>	NONE OR NOT AT ALL
5628	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW

57. (a) Are you a member of a trade union or employers association?

5711	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES	5701	<input type="checkbox"/>
5712	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	5702	<input type="checkbox"/>
5718	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	5708	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) Have you attended any meetings or been actively involved this year?

5721	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES	5711	<input type="checkbox"/>
5722	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	5712	<input type="checkbox"/>
5728	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	5718	<input type="checkbox"/>

58. (a) Are you a member of a political party organisation

5811	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES	5801	<input type="checkbox"/>
5812	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	5802	<input type="checkbox"/>
5818	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	5808	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) Have you attended any meetings or been actively involved this year?

5821	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES	5811	<input type="checkbox"/>
5822	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	5812	<input type="checkbox"/>
5828	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	5818	<input type="checkbox"/>

59. (a) Are you a member of a church or religious organisation? (a) 10

5911 ☐ YES

5912 ☐ NO QUESTION 60

5918 ☐ DON'T KNOW

(b) Have you attended any meetings or been actively involved this year? (b) 10

5921 ☐ YES

5922 ☐ NO

5928 ☐ DON'T KNOW

60. (a) - a community services group

6011 ☐ YES

6012 ☐ NO QUESTION 61

6018 ☐ DON'T KNOW

(b) Have you attended any meetings or been actively involved this year?

6021 ☐ YES

6022 ☐ NO

6028 ☐ DON'T KNOW

61. (a) - a sports club or any other group or organisation of any kind?

6111 ☐ YES

6112 ☐ NO QUESTION 62

6118 ☐ DON'T KNOW

(b) Have you attended any meetings or been actively involved this year?

6121 ☐ YES

6122 ☐ NO

6128 ☐ DON'T KNOW

62. Do you do anything to help people outside this household, for which you do not get paid?

6201 ☐ YES

6202 ☐ NO QUESTION 65

6208 ☐ DON'T KNOW QUESTION 65

63. Is that for relatives, or is it for other people? TICK ALL THAT APPLY.

6301 ☐ RELATIVES

6302 ☐ OTHER PEOPLE

64. About how many hours a week do you spend doing it?

Would you say:

6401	1 - 4 hours
6402	5 - 9 hours
6403	10-14 hours, or
6404	more than 14 hours a week?
6408	DON'T KNOW

65. Do you give money regularly to anybody outside this household or to any group?

6501	YES
6502	NO
6508	DON'T KNOW

66. Is that to relatives, to other people or to groups?
TICK ALL THAT APPLY

6601	RELATIVES
6602	OTHER PEOPLE
6603	GROUPS

67. (SHOWCARD D)

How important would you say religious or spiritual things (te taha wairua) are to you?
(Would you say they are very important, fairly important, not very important, or not at all important.)

6701	VERY IMPORTANT
6702	FAIRLY IMPORTANT
6703	NOT VERY IMPORTANT
6704	NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT
6708	DON'T KNOW

68. Have you received any benefits or allowances from the Department of Social Welfare at any time in the past 12 months?

6801	<input type="checkbox"/>	YES	1 - 4 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
6802	<input type="checkbox"/>	NO	5 - 9 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>
6803	<input type="checkbox"/>	QUESTION 70	10-14 hours, or	<input type="checkbox"/>
6804	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	more than 14 hours	<input type="checkbox"/>

69. Could you tell which benefits or allowances you have received?
TICK ALL THAT HAVE BEEN RECEIVED

6901	<input type="checkbox"/>	NATIONAL SUPERANNUATION	Do you give money regularly to a household or to any group?
6902	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT	YES <input type="checkbox"/>
6903	<input type="checkbox"/>	WIDOWS BENEFIT	NO <input type="checkbox"/>
6904	<input type="checkbox"/>	DOMESTIC PURPOSES BENEFIT	DON'T KNOW <input type="checkbox"/>
6905	<input type="checkbox"/>	INVALIDS BENEFIT	
6906	<input type="checkbox"/>	SICKNESS BENEFIT	
6907	<input type="checkbox"/>	BENEFIT RELATED WAR PENSIONS	RELATIVE <input type="checkbox"/>
6909	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAMILY BENEFIT	OTHER PEOPLE <input type="checkbox"/>
6910	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAMILY CARE	DECEASED <input type="checkbox"/>
6911	<input type="checkbox"/>	ORPHANS BENEFIT	
6912	<input type="checkbox"/>	ACCOMMODATION BENEFIT	
6913	<input type="checkbox"/>	DISABILITY ALLOWANCE	
6914	<input type="checkbox"/>	HANDICAPPED CHILDS ALLOWANCE	VERY IMPORTANT <input type="checkbox"/>
6915	<input type="checkbox"/>	OTHER	FAIRLY IMPORTANT <input type="checkbox"/>
			NOT VERY IMPORTANT <input type="checkbox"/>
			NOT AT ALL IMPORTANT <input type="checkbox"/>
			DON'T KNOW <input type="checkbox"/>

70. (SHOWCARD G)

Could you tell me your total gross income for the past twelve months, that is, your income before tax or any other deductions.

Include income from all sources including wages, unearned income, investments, and any social welfare payments. This card shows yearly and weekly amounts; use whichever is easier for you to estimate and tell me which group your income is in.

7001		A. NONE OR NEGATIVE INCOME
7002		B. UP TO \$2500 OR UP TO \$48
7003		C. 2501 - 7500 OR 49 - 144
7004		D. 7501 - 10000 OR 145 - 192
7005		E. 10001 - 14500 OR 193 - 278
7006		F. 14501 - 18500 OR 279 - 355
7007		G. 18501 - 23500 OR 356 - 451
7009		H. 23500 - 30500 OR 452 - 585
7010		I. MORE THAN 30500 OR MORE THAN 585
7008		DON'T KNOW

71. (SHOWCARD A)
How do you feel about your standard of living?
By standard of living I mean,
the level of comfort which you (and members of this
household) enjoy.
Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your standard
of living?
Is that fairly satisfied (dissatisfied) or very satisfied
(dissatisfied)?

7101	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY SATISFIED	<input type="checkbox"/>	7001
7102	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY SATISFIED	<input type="checkbox"/>	7002
7103	<input type="checkbox"/>	NEITHER SATISFIED NOR DISSATISFIED	<input type="checkbox"/>	7003
7104	<input type="checkbox"/>	FAIRLY DISSATISFIED	<input type="checkbox"/>	7004
7105	<input type="checkbox"/>	VERY DISSATISFIED	<input type="checkbox"/>	7005
7108	<input type="checkbox"/>	DON'T KNOW	<input type="checkbox"/>	7008

Under the Statistics Act, only information in the form of tables can be released. To allow other organisations to have information they can analyse further, the department must get your permission.

This form asks your permission to allow the Royal Commission on Social Policy to have the following information:

- * coded answers to this questionnaire;
- * coded answers to the HLFS questions which have been answered or confirmed by your household this week.

The following information will NOT be released:

- * anything that will identify you (e.g. name and address)

7201	<input type="checkbox"/>
7202	<input type="checkbox"/>

I agree to the release of information.

I do not agree to the release of information.

Signature:

Name:

Date:

Appendix C

Study of Non-Respondents

Introduction

The purpose of this appendix is to examine the characteristics of the people who did not respond to the Attitudes and Values Survey (Attitudes and Values Survey). The low response rate of around 64 percent caused concern about the representativeness of the achieved sample so it was necessary to determine the characteristics associated with non-response. This assisted in deciding how to control for non-response bias and indicated areas where caution should be used when making inferences from the data.

As this survey used a sub-sample of the Department of Statistics' Household Labour Force Survey (HLFS), more information is available about the non-respondents than would usually be the case. The HLFS has a response rate of around 95 percent at the individual level. Thus, for every responding member of the selected household aged 15 or over, reliable information is available on personal characteristics such as age, sex, marital status and ethnic origin, as well as the labour force variables 'labour force status' and 'occupation'.

Main Findings

The results of this study suggested that ethnic origin, age and sex affect an individual's likelihood to respond more than variables like labour force status and occupation. This indicated that the non-response adjustments, which are made at the level of broadly similar strata and are based on respondents, would be enhanced if sex, age and ethnic origin were also controlled for.

Data

Every individual in the Attitudes and Values Survey was assigned a final response status. These were:

- 1 non-contact for the Attitudes and Values Survey,
- 2 refused the Attitudes and Values Survey,
- 3 responded to the Attitudes and Values Survey,

4 ineligible for the Attitudes and Values Survey, and

5 unknown eligibility.

The 'unknown eligibility' category contained those people who did not respond to the HLFS and, consequently, were not approached for the Attitudes and Values Survey. There was no information on the characteristics of individuals whose final response status was 'ineligible' or 'unknown' so this small group was removed from this analysis.

It was thought that seven variables may affect a person's likelihood to respond. These were age, sex, occupation, ethnic origin, labour force status, marital status and initial contact mode (that is whether the first contact was by personal visit or by telephone).

Analysis Method

Sample design weights have not been applied to the results because the characteristics of the non-respondents in this particular sample were of interest, not an estimate of the characteristics of a population of non-respondents.

Tables are attached that show the final response status cross-classified by each of the explanatory variables. The figures are presented as the percentage of each category of the explanatory variable that has each final response status. For example, 21 percent of those sampled who were aged 25–35 refused to respond to the survey.

The tables as presented do not take into account interactions between the explanatory variables. For example, labour force status is related to age with unemployed people tending to be younger. Hence some of the high non-response in the unemployed category may be due to the high non-response by the young.

Standardised tables are also presented. These have been produced using a method known as ANOTA or analysis of tables, a contingency table analogue of multiple regression analysis (Keller W. J. and Verbeek A. 1984 'ANOTA, Analysis of tables'. Department of Statistical Methods, Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics). This method adjusts for first order interactions between the explanatory variables. Higher order interactions are not taken into account. The figures given are the expected percentages in each category of final response status if all relationships between the explanatory

variable and the other variables have been removed. For this analysis, the missing categories were removed in order to avoid problems caused by small numbers in these cells.

To determine which variables had the most effect on response rates a CHAID analysis was carried out on the data. CHAID is a form of AID or Automatic Interaction Detector (Kass, G. V. 1980 'An explanatory technique for investigating large quantities of categorical data' in *Applied Statistician*, 29 No. 2). CHAID is used when there is a dependent variable that is discrete with a nominal scale. In this analysis the dependent variable is final response status. The observations are split into sub-groups with all possible splits over variables and categories tested at each step.

For each explanatory variable in turn, two-way contingency tables are formed for each pair of categories with the response variable. A Chi-square test of significance is performed on these tables with categories of the explanatory variables being combined and the process repeated if no significance is found. The table with the most significant Chi-square test is chosen. For example, in our analysis the table of ethnic origin by response status with the ethnic origin categories combined into three groups was found to be the most significant.

Once an initial split has been found, the process is repeated on the groups formed. Therefore, the analysis becomes conditional on the previous split. The splitting process is stopped when splits become non-significant or when the groups formed are smaller than a set minimum. In this analysis the minimum was set at fifty individuals.

The results of the CHAID analysis are shown on the following diagram. The number of individuals in each sub-group is shown along with the percentages in each category of final response status.

Results

Tables

1 Final Response Status by Age

The individuals at the extreme ends of the age range have lower response rates than the other ages. There is a higher non-contact rate in the younger age group and a higher refusal rate in the older group.

2 Final Response Status by Sex

Females have a higher response rate than males with males having a higher non-contact rate and a slightly higher refusal rate.

3 Final Response Status by Marital Status

While the 'never married' category has a lower response rate than the other categories, this may just be a proxy for the age variable (that is younger people in this category).

4 Final Response Status by Ethnic Origin

The Pacific Island Polynesian category has a lower response rate with a very high refusal rate. The European group has fairly low non-contact.

5 Final Response Status by Occupation

Professional, administration and agricultural occupations had higher response rates than the remaining occupations. The production category had the highest non-contact and refusal rates.

6 Final Response Status by Initial Contact Mode

First contact by telephone had a higher refusal rate but a lower non-contact rate than face-to-face first contact.

7 Final Response Status by Labour Force Status

People with labour force status 'not in the labour force' and 'employed' had higher response rates than the unemployed.

ANOTA Analysis

8 Final Response Status by Age

The standardised response rates for the older age groups (65 and above) are much lower than for the other categories with high refusal rates. Non-contact is still high in the youngest age group.

9 Final Response Status by Sex

The standardised response rates for sex show very similar patterns to the unstandardised rates.

10 Final Response Status by Marital Status

The difference in response rate for the 'never married' category is not as great once the tables have been standardised, probably due mostly to the removal of the age effect. The 'divorced' category now has the highest non-contact rate.

11 Final Response Status by Ethnic Origin

Standardised response rates for ethnic origin show much the same patterns as the unstandardised rates with the Pacific Island Polynesian category having a lower response rate with a very high refusal rate.

12 Final Response Status by Occupation

The dramatic difference in response rates for the production category seen in the unstandardised tables is not found once standardised. After standardisation, both sales and production occupations have low response rates with service occupations having the highest non-contact.

13 Final Response Status by Initial Contact Mode

Before standardisation the response rates for first contact by telephone and by personal visit were similar with telephone having higher refusal but lower non-contact rates. After standardisation the response rate for telephone contact is lower than that for personal visit, although the pattern of lower non-contact and higher refusal for telephones is still apparent.

14 Final Response Status by Labour Force Status

Standardised response rates for labour force status are much the same as unstandardised response rates with the 'unemployed' category having the lowest response rate.

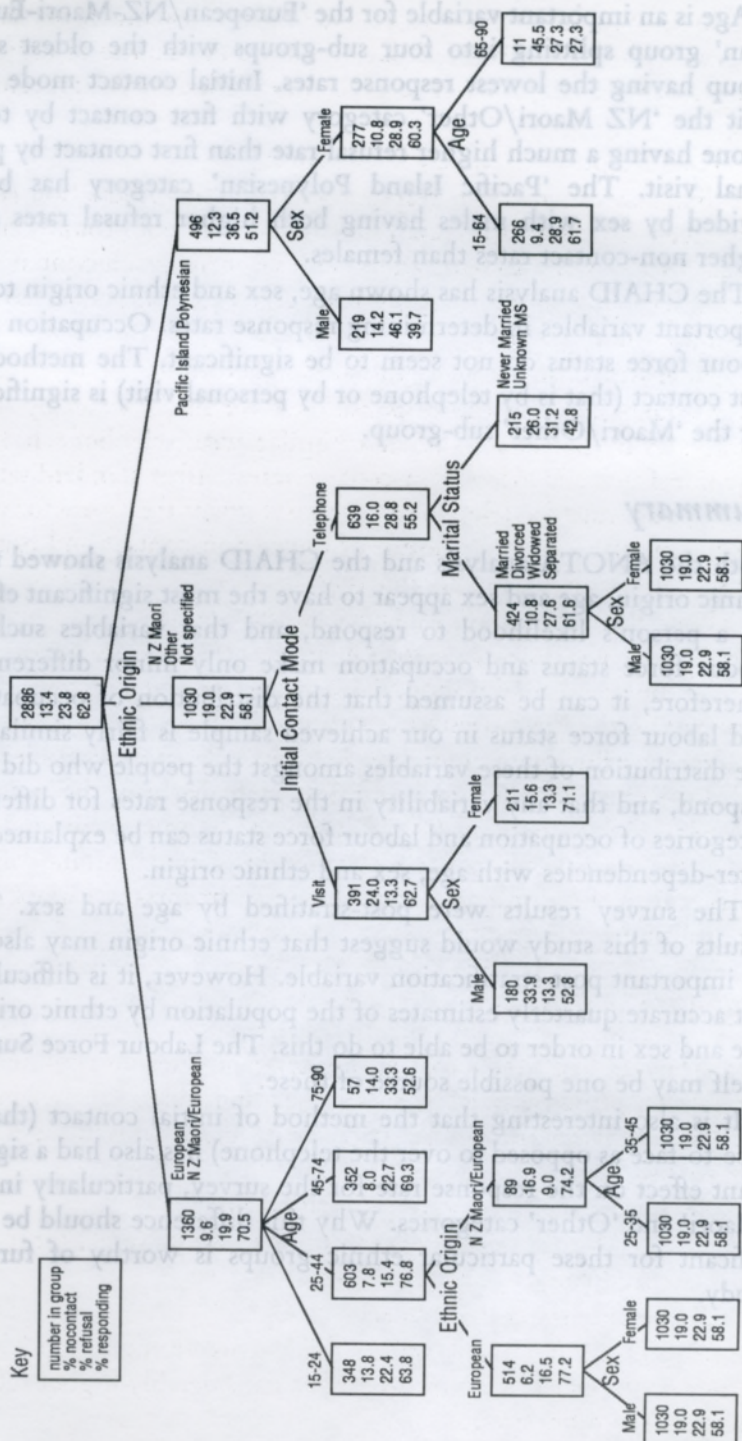
Removing the interactions between the explanatory variables has had some effect on the response rates, particularly in the occupation table. As the patterns found in the age, ethnic origin and sex categories are the same in both standardised and unstandardised tables, the method indicates that these are important variables in determining response rates.

CHAID Analysis

The CHAID tree shows that ethnic origin is the most influential variable on response rates, with age, sex and initial contact mode also being important. The data have been split into three subgroups:

- 1 Europeans and NZ Maori-Europeans;
- 2 NZ Maori, other ethnic origin and ethnic origin not specified;
- 3 Pacific Island Polynesian.

While groups 1 and 2 have quite similar refusal rates, group 2 has a higher non-contact rate. Group 3 has a considerably higher refusal rate than the other groups.

FIGURE A1: CHAID¹ tree for attitudes and values survey non-respondents

Age is an important variable for the 'European/NZ-Maori-European' group splitting into four sub-groups with the oldest sub-group having the lowest response rates. Initial contact mode has split the 'NZ Maori/Other' category with first contact by telephone having a much higher refusal rate than first contact by personal visit. The 'Pacific Island Polynesian' category has been divided by sex with males having both higher refusal rates and higher non-contact rates than females.

The CHAID analysis has shown age, sex and ethnic origin to be important variables in determining response rates. Occupation and labour force status do not seem to be significant. The method of first contact (that is by telephone or by personal visit) is significant for the 'Maori/Other' sub-group.

Summary

Both the ANOTA analysis and the CHAID analysis showed that ethnic origin, age and sex appear to have the most significant effect on a person's likelihood to respond, and that variables such as labour force status and occupation make only minor differences. Therefore, it can be assumed that the distribution of occupation and labour force status in our achieved sample is fairly similar to the distribution of these variables amongst the people who did not respond, and that any variability in the response rates for different categories of occupation and labour force status can be explained by inter-dependencies with age, sex and ethnic origin.

The survey results were post-stratified by age and sex. The results of this study would suggest that ethnic origin may also be an important post-stratification variable. However, it is difficult to get accurate quarterly estimates of the population by ethnic origin, age and sex in order to be able to do this. The Labour Force Survey itself may be one possible source of these.

It is also interesting that the method of initial contact (that is face-to-face as opposed to over the telephone) has also had a significant effect on the response rate for the survey, particularly in the 'Maori' and 'Other' categories. Why this difference should be significant for these particular ethnic groups is worthy of further study.

List of Terms

SPS	<i>Social Policy Survey (Attitudes and Values Survey)</i>
HLFS	<i>Department of Statistics Household Labour Force Survey</i>
ANOTA	<i>A method of statistical analysis of tables</i>
CHAID	<i>A form of Automatic Interaction Detector (or AID)</i>

List of Tables and Figures

Table A1:	Final response status by age as percentages of each age category
Table A2:	Final response status by sex as percentages of each sex category
Table A3:	Final response status by marital status as percentages of each marital status category
Table A4:	Final response status by ethnic origin as percentages of each ethnic origin category
Table A5:	Final response status by occupation as percentages of each occupation category
Table A6:	Final response status by initial contact mode as percentages of each contact mode category
Table A7:	Final response status by labour force status as percentages of each labour force status category
Table A8:	Final response status by age as standardised percentages of each age category
Table A9:	Final response status by sex as standardised percentages of each sex category
Table A10:	Final response status by marital status as standardised percentages of each marital status category
Table A11:	Final response status by ethnic origin as standardised percentages of each ethnic origin category
Table A12:	Final response status by occupation as standardised percentages of each occupation category
Table A13:	Final response status by initial contact mode as standardised percentages of each initial contact mode category
Table A14:	Final response status by labour force status as standardised percentages of each labour force status category
Figure A1:	CHAID tree for social policy survey non-respondents

TABLE A1: Final response status by age as percentages of each age category

		Age							
		Not spec.	15	25	35	45	55	65	75
			-24	-34	-44	-54	-64	-74	-90
<hr/>									
Final response status									
Non-contact	% of age category	24	20	12	10	12	8	13	13
Refusal	% of age category	18	25	21	21	28	23	28	31
Interviewed	% of age category	58	55	67	70	61	69	59	56
Total	% of age category	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Number in category	33	794	691	573	364	233	126	68

TABLE A2: Final response status by sex as percentages of each sex category

		Sex		
		Not specified	Male	Female
<hr/>				
Final response status				
Non-contact	% of sex category	19	17	10
Refusal	% of sex category	19	26	22
Interviewed	% of sex category	61	57	68
Total	% of sex category	100	100	100
	Number in category	31	1345	1506

TABLE A3: Final response status by marital status as percentages of each marital status category

		Marital status					
		Not spec.	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Never married
<hr/>							
Final status							
Non-contact	% of marital status category	22	11	11	13	9	19
Refusal	% of marital status category	20	23	19	21	21	26
Interviewed	% of marital status category	59	66	71	67	69	55
Total	% of marital status category	100	100	100	100	100	100
<hr/>							
	Number in category	41	1656	85	63	160	877
<hr/>							

TABLE A4: Final response status by ethnic origin as percentages of each ethnic origin category

		Ethnic origin				Pacific Island Polyne- sian	Other
		Not spec.	European	NZ Maori	Maori/ European		
Final response status							
Non-contact	% of ethnic origin category	22	9	19	14	12	16
Refusal	% of ethnic origin category	22	20	22	18	36	26
Interviewed	% of ethnic origin category	56	71	58	68	51	58
Total	% of ethnic origin category	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Number in category	45	1127	873	230	496	111

TABLE A5: Final response status by occupation as percentages of each occupation category

		Occupation							
		Not spec.	Profes- sional	Adminis- tration	Cleri- cal	Sales	Service	Agric- ulture	Prod- uction
Final response status									
Non-contact	% of occupational category	19	9	11	9	12	13	12	15
Refusal	% of occupational category	29	16	16	21	24	24	15	27
Interviewed	% of occupational category	51	75	73	69	64	63	73	57
Total	% of occupational category	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Number in category	253	258	63	362	211	388	240	1107

TABLE A6: Final response status by initial contact mode as percentage of each contact mode category

		Initial contact mode	
		Visit	Telephone
Final response status			
Non-contact	% of initial contact mode category	15	12
Refusal	% of initial contact mode category	22	25
Interviewed	% of initial contact mode category	63	63
Total	% of initial contact mode category	100	100
	Number in category	1135	1747

TABLE A7: Final response status by labour force status as percentages of each labour force status category

		Labour force status					
		Un- known labour force status	Not in labour force	Employed	Unem- ployed	More than 1 labour force status	Does not have labour force status
Final response status							
Non-contact	% of labour force status category	42	12	13	23	25	19
Refusal	% of labour force status category	17	24	23	29	25	19
Interviewed	% of labour force status category	42	64	64	47	50	61
Total	% of labour force status category	100	100	100	100	100	100
	Number in category	12	942	1756	137	4	31

TABLE A8: Final response status by age as standardised percentages of each age category

	Age						
	15-24 standard- ised %	25-34 standard- ised %	35-44 standard- ised %	45-54 standard- ised %	55-64 standard- ised %	65-74 standard- ised %	75-90 standard- ised %
Final response status							
Non-contact	18	11	10	11	9	16	17
Refusal	22	21	21	28	24	32	36
Interviewed	60	68	69	61	67	52	47

TABLE A9: Final response status by sex as standardised percentages of each sex category

	Sex	
	Male standardised %	Female standardised %
Final response status		
Non-contact	16	10
Refusal	25	22
Interviewed	59	69

TABLE A10: Final response status by marital status as standard percentages of each marital status category

	Marital status				
	Married standard- ised %	Separated standard- ised %	Divorced standard- ised %	Widowed standard- ised %	Never married standard- ised %
Final response status					
Non-contact	13	13	16	10	14
Refusal	23	20	19	13	27
Interviewed	65	67	65	77	60

TABLE A11: Final response status by ethnic origin as standardised percentages of each ethnic origin category

	Ethnic Origin					
	European standard- ised %	NZ Maori standard- ised %	Maori/ European standard- ised %	Pacific Island Polynesian standard- ised %	Other standard- ised %	Not specified standard- ised %
Final response status						
Non-contact	9	18	13	12	15	26
Refusal	20	23	15	38	20	26
Interviewed	71	59	73	50	64	48

TABLE A12: Final response status by occupation as standardised percentages of each occupation category

	Occupation						
	Profes- sional standard- ised %	Adminis- tration standard- ised %	Clerical standard- ised %	Sales standard- ised %	Service standard- ised %	Agriculture standard- ised %	Production standard- ised %
Final response status							
Non-contact	11	12	12	14	15	10	13
Refusal	17	18	23	26	24	15	26
Interviewed	72	69	65	61	61	75	61

TABLE A13: Final response status by initial contact mode as standardised percentages of each initial contact mode category

	Initial contact mode	
	Visit standard- ised %	Telephone standard- ised %
Final response status		
Non-contact	15	12
Refusal	18	27
Interviewed	68	62

TABLE A14: Final response status by labour force status as standardised percentages of each labour force status category

	Labour force status		
	Not in labour force standard- ised %	Employed standard- ised %	Unemployed standard- ised %
Final response status			
non-contact	12	13	21
Refusal	23	23	28
Interviewed	66	64	51

A CHRONOLOGICAL
NARRATIVE
OF THE INQUIRY

A Chronological Narrative of the Inquiry

1 Establishment

1.1 The Royal Commission on Social Policy was established by Warrant on 30 October 1986. Five Commissioners—Ivor Richardson (Chairman), Ann Ballin, Marion Bruce, Mason Durie and Rosslyn Noonan—were appointed on that date, and a sixth (Len Cook) was added in October 1987. The Commission's reporting date was to be 30 September 1988.

1.2 The Governor-General's Warrant, which is reproduced at the front of this Volume, sets out the Commission's brief or 'terms of reference'. Chapter I of Volume II discusses the terms of reference, but it is worth noting here the deliberate omission of the standard 'secrecy' clause which had restrained previous commissions from airing their thinking in public, or divulging their preliminary views, before reporting to the Governor-General.

2 Beginnings: February 1987

2.1 Although the Commissioners had been appointed on 30 October 1986, their first round-the-table meeting did not take place until the beginning of February 1987 because of the absence of two of their number overseas. During the intervening three months, however, a lot of useful initial work was done by correspondence and teleconferences, including the appointment of a Secretary and an Administration Officer, and the preparation of job descriptions and the placement of advertisements (in English and Maori) for three senior secretariat posts. Preliminary contact was

also established by letter with government departments and agencies, seeking information on relevant research projects and indications of ways in which the departments might usefully co-operate with and assist the Commission in its work.

2.2 In the weeks immediately following their first meeting (in Mayfair House, Wellington) on 2 February 1987, the Commissioners developed a programme of activities for the year. By early March:

- the three major secretariat posts had been filled: Te Kohu Douglas was appointed Senior Research Officer in charge of social policy analysis; Joanna Beresford became the senior officer handling communications and liaison; and Len Cook (later to be made a Commissioner) was seconded from his post as Deputy Government Statistician to be the Commission's senior adviser in the fields of economics and statistics, initially on a part-time basis; Vince Galvin joined him as a full-time research officer;
- first meetings had been held or planned with senior representatives of the departments (see 2.1) and organisations whose work was judged to be of particular importance to the Commission's own brief, including the heads of Education, Health, Housing, Inland Revenue, Justice, Labour, Maori Affairs, Pacific Island Affairs, Police, Social Welfare, Treasury, Women's Affairs, the Accident Compensation Corporation, the Employers' Federation, the Federation of Labour and Combined State Unions, the Maori Women's Welfare League, the New Zealand Maori Council and the New Zealand Planning Council;
- firm agreement had been reached to minimise the formalities of the consultation process: those making oral submissions would not be sworn in and, because it was not an adversarial inquiry, there was no need for legal representation. Later it was decided that few restrictions would be imposed on the format of submissions, which could be typed, handwritten, taped, or made orally by telephone or at a meeting;
- copies of the terms of reference in English, Maori, Cook Island Maori, Niuean, Samoan, Tokelauan and Tongan had been printed and made available on request; and

- broad plans had been formulated for the 1987 programme, including a decision to hold the Commission's first public meeting before the end of February.

2.3 Auckland was chosen as the venue for the Commissioners' initial appearance in public, signalling their recognition of the concentration and diversity of the population in the North, and their wish to move from their home base in Wellington as much as they could.

2.4 At the first meeting, held in the hearing room of the Department of Justice Tribunals Division in the centre of the city on Friday 27 February 1987, the Chairman:

- outlined the principal features of the Commission's terms of reference and emphasised the extraordinary range of matters to be addressed in assessing the needs, concerns and aspirations of all New Zealanders;
- referred to the importance of recent studies and reviews such as those mentioned in the terms of reference, and stressed the Commission's intention to take full account of them;
- announced that in May and June the Commissioners would undertake their first round of travel throughout the country (beginning in the South Island and moving northward), hearing submissions from those who wanted to have their say in public session, and meeting less formally with a range of individuals and community groups; a second round of visits was planned for October and November; and
- set out preliminary deadlines for the receipt of submissions.

2.5 It had been acknowledged from the outset that, during the period of the Commission's life, the machinery of government could not stand still. The Government announced in February that it intended to set up an interdepartmental (Health/Treasury) task force to undertake a wide-ranging review of the entire health sector. It was agreed with government that there would be a close liaison between that task force and the Royal Commission.

2.6 Governmental and state departmental actions continued to impinge on the Commission's areas of concern. The problems of the Accident Compensation scheme were referred by Government to the Law Commission for examination and report; two discussion booklets (*Further Education and Training* and *Tertiary Education in New Zealand*) inviting submissions from the public were issued and widely distributed by the Department of Education, and far-reaching administrative reviews of a number of departments whose

work lay at the heart of social policy—in particular the Departments of Education and Social Welfare, and the Housing Corporation—were announced by government. Arrangements were made to ensure continuing liaison with those involved in the various reviews.

3 Early Days: March/April 1987

3.1 Planning for the first round of travel and hearings in May and June—the arrangement of venues and publicity, and travel and accommodation for the Commissioners and staff members accompanying them—proceeded. The Commissioner of Inland Revenue agreed to make the facilities of 27 district offices available to serve as local points of contact for the Commission and to help with organisation.

3.2 Relationships with government departments developed on a very satisfactory basis, and those with a major involvement in social policy not only nominated senior members of their staff as contact persons but in several cases had also established working groups—such as the Department of Social Welfare's Task Force on the Royal Commission (TORC)—to prepare research papers and data compilations to support and fill out the Royal Commission's own research effort.

3.3 Several departments had also agreed to prepare papers outlining what they saw as the principal issues deserving the Commissioners' attention, and it was arranged that these papers would be presented at public meetings convened at selected venues throughout the country during the first round of travel. These early departmental 'issues papers' were made available free of charge to enquirers and were much in demand as resource documents by people and organisations preparing submissions. Indeed it was the Commission's policy to make particular submissions (other than confidential submissions) available on request, in the interests of encouraging and widening discussion of the views expressed.

3.4 The Commissioners arranged to be briefed and brought up to date on contemporary knowledge and thinking in a wide range of areas. The first of a series of 'in-house seminars' took place in March, when invited speakers led a discussion of the philosophical framework of social policy, which had been the subject matter of an early paper submitted by the Treasury. Seminars of this kind,

and briefings by individual speakers, were to continue throughout 1987 at every available opportunity. As the year progressed they became concentrated into intensive discussions, each lasting two or three days, on major areas such as housing, health, education, and income maintenance.

3.5 In March the Commissioners decided to appoint a Kaihono Maori to the secretariat. Te Aue Davis, of Ngati Maniopoto and Ngati Maru, took up this position in May. Her principal responsibilities were to maintain liaison between the Maori people and the Commission, and to advise on and contribute to the translation of Commission papers into Maori. Arrangements were also made for instructing Commissioners and staff in Maori custom and protocol.

3.6 In addition to the Kaihono, further staff and expanded facilities were soon needed for the communications and liaison section of the secretariat, with whom major responsibilities lay for the design and implementation of the communication and consultation procedures so central to the Commission's approach to its tasks. Some aspects of the section's work undertaken or initiated in March and April are briefly described in the next three paragraphs.

3.7 The compilation of mailing and distribution lists had begun in February, and plans for the production of information circulars followed in the ensuing months. A small information leaflet was soon in the mail, and a more substantial pamphlet planned for distribution during the first round of travel. This 'Invitation from the Royal Commission on Social Policy', issued in May and written in English and Maori, set out in straightforward language what Social Policy was all about, who the Commissioners were, and how and where to make submissions. The same style was adopted for the Commission's Newsletters which appeared in June and August 1987, and in the early months of 1988. The Newsletters were mailed to over 10,000 individuals and groups.

3.8 The importance of ensuring a comprehensive involvement of *people with disabilities* in the work of the Commission led the Commissioners in April to appoint professional consultants with the task of promoting that objective. Robyn Hunt and Allan Jones were engaged on contract for this work, which was to include assisting individuals and established organisations to record their ideas on social policy and present them to the Commission. The consultants travelled extensively throughout New Zealand, and maintained regular contact with the communications staff and the Commissioners themselves.

3.9 In April *the establishment of an office in central Auckland* in quarters provided by the Department of Internal Affairs and staffed by two full-time liaison officers was approved. Graham Wilson and (subsequently) Te Aroha Henare were appointed to the liaison posts. Their area of responsibility spread to the far north and as far south as Hamilton; their duties covered the dissemination of information about the Commission's activities, assistance with arrangements for the Commissioners' visits within the area, and the provision of help and advice to the public on how to go about compiling submissions.

3.10 The Commission decided that, if its consultation process was to be effective, special steps would be needed to draw into its discussions those groups in the community who tend not to be adequately consulted, or who might have difficulty, for financial or other reasons, in making their views known. Ideas for establishing a special *Consultation Fund* to help and encourage such groups to complete submissions were brought forward in March and approved in April; the fund's particular targets for assistance would include young people, the elderly, the low paid and unemployed, beneficiaries, Maori people, Pacific Island people, the disabled and the institutionalised, and those living in sparsely populated or geographically isolated areas. A substantial fund was duly established and a Fund Administrator (Adele Carpinter) appointed to the communications section to administer it; the first allocations were approved in June. A summary of the extensive use made of the fund is given in 9.3.

3.11 The need to conduct *a statistical survey of people's attitudes* towards a variety of social policy questions was agreed upon by the Commissioners. They were aware that the views conveyed in public hearings and written submissions—stemming as they do from sources prepared to make their opinions known—might conceivably be unrepresentative of the population at large. The concept was explored at meetings of Commissioners and secretariat staff in March and April and led to decisions in May to ask the Department of Statistics to undertake such a survey, and to establish an expert consultative group to advise on the project. The outcome is fully described in a separate section ('Social Policy Survey') of this Report.

3.12 A large number of *invitations* were received to address conferences, or speak at seminars and meetings arranged by many types of organisations concerned with social policy. The Commissioners'

accepted these invitations wherever possible, as they provided ideal opportunities to describe their plans and projected programmes and generally enhance the community's awareness of their wish to tap public opinion at every level. Responding to invitations led individual Commissioners or senior secretariat members to many parts of New Zealand. During the period leading up to the general election, the Commissioners declined or deferred requests to appear and speak at meetings involving the general public.

3.13 By March, the secretariat was studying the best means of ensuring that the Commissioners were informed of the content and significance of existing social policy research papers and reports, review studies and statistical analyses. It was expected that the evaluation of this work would enable the Commissioners to identify the projects which the secretariat itself would have to undertake—or commission others to undertake. While this process continued, the planning of the May/June travel period, the receipt of the first submissions, and the establishment of a work programme all required attention. Also during this period there were briefing sessions and the commissioning of studies and papers.

3.14 In these early months, the Commissioners planned to use the first (May/June) round of travel to raise public awareness of the Commission and its terms of reference, to explain the nature of its tasks and how it was going about them, to acquire an early knowledge of local issues and—of course—to hear submissions from those ready to make them. During the ensuing 'at home' period leading up to the general election, it was planned to issue a series of *discussion booklets*, to encourage the wider community to consider and debate the topics set out in them; the second (October/November) round of visits could then be conducted in an atmosphere more alert to and better informed about the social policy problems confronting New Zealanders. The secretariat's staff gave considerable attention to aspects of the content, size and style of the discussion booklets. Material for some of them was commissioned, and a series of booklets was produced in late July and August.

4 The First Visits: May/June 1987

4.1 Planning for the first round of travel had begun in earnest at the end of March, when the first draft itinerary was prepared and

its logistical implications worked out, the latter devolving heavily on a secretariat which was, at the time, noticeably thin on the ground. The Commissioners set themselves a heavy programme: they would hold both public hearings and informal meetings (their proportions depending on the demand) on four days of the week—Tuesday through Friday—and return home for the weekend and a general Monday meeting with staff at their Wellington base. Three to five days were allowed each of the four main centres (Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin); for the remainder of the available time a selection of rural and urban marae and smaller towns and cities was made. To achieve a reasonable coverage and make provision for visits to some of the more remote places, the Commissioners often decided to split up and travel in twos or threes to different places.

4.2 By these means, visits to the following towns and cities were arranged (marae are listed separately in 4.4):

- in the South Island, Invercargill, Dunedin, Balclutha, Oamaru, Timaru, Christchurch, Blenheim, Nelson, Greymouth, and Westport; and
- in the North Island, Wellington, Porirua, Lower Hutt, Wanganui, Patea, New Plymouth, Taihape, Taumarunui, Palmerston North, Hastings, Napier, Gisborne, Rotorua, Whakatane, Tauranga, Hamilton, Ngaurawahia, Auckland, Manukau, Whangarei, Kaikohe and Kaitaia.

Meetings in all of these places usually began at 9.00 a.m., depending on the exigencies of the travel arrangements; secretariat staff accompanying the Commissioners were often abroad well before this because of the organisational tasks to be attended to. The meetings were usually timed to finish in the later afternoon, but it was not uncommon for them to resume in the evening after a short meal break. In all, some 4,000 New Zealanders attended this first round of public meetings, and hundreds of thousands more would have been represented by officials of umbrella or national organisations. Government departments submitting issues papers (see 3.3) were Social Welfare (Invercargill), Women's Affairs (Dunedin), Health (Dunedin), Education (Christchurch), Internal Affairs (Christchurch), Housing (Manukau), Justice (Auckland), Treasury (Hamilton), Police (Hamilton), State Services Commission (Lower Hutt), Labour (Whangarei), Energy (New Plymouth), Inland Revenue (Palmerston North), and Environment (Wellington).

4.3 Meetings were always conducted as informally as circumstances would allow. The quorum of Commissioners specified in their Warrant was three, but their wish to travel as widely as possible meant that only two of them could be present on a number of occasions. That too was the case when, especially in the major centres, the sheer numbers of people and organisations wanting to present submissions in person required two concurrent sessions to accommodate them all. On such occasions the Chairman (or his Deputy) made it clear to the audience that, although no quorum was present, all written submissions presented and all transcripts or oral submissions recorded at the meeting would be passed on to all Commissioners for their study and consideration. Occasionally a speaker sought to present a submission confidentially, and such requests were respected and met.

4.4 The meetings held on marae had, of course, a special character determined by the requirements of marae protocol. The marae visited (up to the end of July 1987) are listed below. Normally, the purpose of each visit was to hold a public hearing of submissions, but occasionally the meeting involved informal discussions or participation in a conference:

South Island marae

Awarua	Bluff	informal
Murihiku	Invercargill	hearing
Arai-te-uru	Dunedin	hearing
Rehua	Christchurch	hearing
Omaka	Blenheim	hearing
Takahanga	Kaikoura	informal

North Island marae

Raukawa	Otaki	informal
Waipatu	Hastings	hearing
Rongopai	Gisborne	conference, hearing
Tamatea-Pokai-Whenua	Judea, Tauranga	hearing
Tumahourangi	Rotorua	hearing
Terenga Paraoa	Whangarei	hearing

In addition, visits were made to the headquarters of the Maori Women's Welfare League in Wellington for an informal meeting, to New Plymouth to attend the League's Conference, and to

Turangawaewae House in Ngaruawahia and Hato Petera in Auckland for public hearings. At these venues the usual marae procedures were followed. When visiting marae, the Commissioners and their party including Te Aue Davis proceeded onto the marae, and after powhiri the conduct of the meeting was usually left in the hands of a person nominated by the tangata whenua. The Commissioners kept notes of the submissions and summarised them at the end.

4.5 Proceedings at public hearings were recorded on tape whenever possible. The tapes were subsequently transcribed and each individual contribution registered as a submission and circulated to all Commissioners. In addition, one of the Commissioners took notes of the principal points made by each speaker, and these too were circulated to the Commissioners. Many contributors had, of course, already lodged written submissions with the Commission, and others handed them in at the hearing. By these means it was ensured that all submissions, written or oral, were formally registered and brought to the Commissioners' attention.

4.6 In spite of the pressures of two full months of travel, the Commissioners were still able to ensure that progress on important projects made reasonable headway at their headquarters in Wellington. Naturally enough, much of the regular Monday meeting time was taken up with confirming itinerary details for the ensuing week, and with exchanging reports on the previous week's events when, as often occurred, the Commissioners had been obliged to divide into separate groups to travel to different places. Nevertheless, during May and June, the Commissioners were able to:

- study a series of papers leading up to, and following, the decision to undertake an *attitudinal survey*;
- consider progress reports on the preparation of *discussion booklets*;
- approve the appointment of a *Communications Officer* to help meet the burgeoning demands of the consultation processes: Trish Hall took up this position in June;
- examine and agree to proposals to participate in a continuous 8-hour *talkback programme* arranged by Radio Pacific in Auckland on 22 June, and in an extended phone-in ('Freephone') session for women for three full days in September; and

- accept proposals for a series of intensive *seminar-type discussions* in July-September covering some of the major areas of social policy.

4.7 The months of May and June were variously described as invigorating, hectic, and exhausting by Commissioners and staff alike, and there was a general feeling that the itinerary for the second round of visits in October and November must, if at all possible, allow a little more relief from the strain of travel than had been possible in the first round. The intervening period—July, August and September—offered the prospect of time to digest and reflect on the experiences and submissions of May and June. But the pace during those three months was not to diminish, with long agendas and a full programme.

5 In Wellington: July to September 1987

5.1 *The Work Programme*

5.1.1 In mid 1987 it was becoming apparent that the Commission's small nucleus of research staff, working with the best will in the world, could no longer be expected to sustain the full range of tasks assigned to them: maintaining liaison with research groups in government departments and elsewhere; analysing the existing bodies of information, identifying gaps and commissioning the necessary work to fill them; carrying on research projects of their own and orchestrating what was beginning to take shape as a research programme of major proportions. The July-September period now provided an opportunity to assess and resolve the problems together.

5.1.2 August was exceptionally busy, for seminar-type briefing sessions (each lasting two or three days) had been arranged in the areas Health, Housing, and Income Maintenance and Taxation, and speakers from throughout New Zealand presented papers in their fields of expertise. It was during this time however that a series of discussion sessions and the preparation of successive draft proposals led to the finalisation, in early September, of the Commission's definitive research work programme. The dimensions of the programme were formidable.

5.1.3 In approaching the problem of how best to divide the work programme into manageable components, the Commissioners

decided not to follow the obvious path of proceeding straight to the major functional areas of social policy (health, education, housing, etc) and tackling them in sequence. Instead, they selected a group of more general study areas whose analysis and evaluation would, it was hoped, yield conclusions and principles which could then be applied to the functional areas themselves. These were (at the time; a few changes were to be made in the ensuing months) The Standards and Foundations of Social Policy; Work; Income Maintenance and Taxation; Women; The Treaty of Waitangi; Social Wellbeing; The Funding of Social Provision; Inter-relationships of Economic and Social Policy; Access to and Outcomes of Social Provision; Processes and Systems for the Delivery of Social Provision; Policy and Management, and Assessment and Monitoring.

5.1.4 The plan was that each of these major topics (or 'phases' as they became known) would be the subject of a thorough week-long period of analysis and examination. For that purpose a special manager or co-managers for each phase would be appointed for a specific period—perhaps one month, perhaps two or more, depending on the range and scope of the phase. During that time the phase managers—chosen for the depth of their knowledge of the topic—would prepare summary/review/background papers for discussion and examination by the Commissioners, join them during the week-long periods set aside for that purpose, and finally prepare the first draft of a comprehensive paper containing the Commissioners' tentative conclusions and recommendations. Each manager would have the assistance of designated secretariat research staff, and would work closely with a Commissioner nominated as being in charge of the particular phase.

5.1.5 By making use of odd days free of travel commitments during November, and working essentially full-time on the work programme for the following months with only a brief Christmas holiday, the Commissioners planned to complete the phase analysis by early April of the following year. During the two succeeding weeks, the functional areas themselves and a further group of topics requiring special attention would be studied in the light of the conclusions drawn from the major phase studies. Special summary papers—and people qualified to write them—would be needed for this purpose on Health, Education, Housing, Justice, Personal Social Services, Energy, the Environment, Transport, Mass Communications, Equality of the Races, the Aged, the Disabled, Young

People, the Unemployed, Consumer Affairs, the Family, and Community Organisation. By late April 1988, it was envisaged, the Commissioners would have succeeded in setting down in a series of draft papers their preliminary thinking on the complete range of social policy issues.

5.1.6 The next step in this sequence of events, planned to take the Commission through to mid-June 1988, was to be a period of consultation and testing. The Commissioners wanted very much to devise a way of testing their tentative conclusions against public opinion. A third round of visits on the scale of the first two was out of the question—there simply wouldn't be time, and a series of special meetings with representative community groups seemed to offer the best means of achieving a worthwhile degree of consultation. The details of such a process, and settlement of the remaining steps in the assembly of a final report for presentation to the Governor-General, were left for later exploration; the urgent need was to get started on the selection and appointment of the all-important phase managers.

5.1.7 But the adoption of so ambitious a research programme had other implications. It was clear at once that a major change in the composition and numerical strength of the staff supporting the Commissioners must occur, and occur quickly. Not only would managers be needed for the major phases, but writers to prepare papers on the functional and special perspective areas, and supporting staff to help with the organisation of material and associated administrative tasks would have to be found. Most of the appointments would be for rather short periods, but the new influx of staff would cause accommodation problems, and a need for a revised management structure in the secretariat and the development of a better records system. In what remained of September the Commissioners set the necessary procedures in train. But time was short, for the second travel round was almost upon them.

5.2 *The Communications Programme*

5.2.1 On the completion of the Commissioners' first travel period, the secretariat's small communications section knew that the second round of visits, timed to begin in early October, was only three months away. Plans and proposals were therefore prepared to ensure that, when the final round was over, the widest possible consultation with all sections and strata of the New

Zealand community would have been achieved. Although encouragement and opportunity must still be given for people to have their say on whatever was of concern to them, it would also be necessary to try to concentrate public attention on the major social policy issues and on what should be done to put things right in areas where the standards of a fair and just society were not being met. The idea of publishing a set of discussion booklets to help catalyse public debate on the important issues had already taken shape in April (see (3.14), and was now coming to fruition.

5.2.2 The first booklet, a straightforward guide to the Royal Commission's terms of reference titled *A Fair and Just Society*, appeared in July and was followed by a series of four discussion booklets. The format was small (between 22 and 42 A5 pages), and their content designed to provide a basis of informative background material and to raise questions for discussion. The booklets were:

- 1 *The Treaty of Waitangi and Social Policy* (published in English and Maori language editions);
- 2 *Public, Private and Voluntary Provision of Social Services in New Zealand*;
- 3 *Work: Its Nature, Role and Value in New Zealand*; and
- 4 *Wealth and Income in New Zealand*.

These publications were supplied free of charge on application, and it was apparent from the large numbers of requests received for copies that their availability had served a very useful purpose in stimulating thinking and discussion. The Treaty of Waitangi booklet was in particular demand and was obviously meeting a need for a succinct exposition of the texts, principles and history of the Treaty, and of the social position of the Maori people today. Over 18,000 copies of it were distributed.

5.2.3 Of concern to the Commissioners at this stage was the extent to which the submissions which had been received by the end of the first round of visits and public hearings reflected the opinion of an adequate cross-section of New Zealanders. An analysis of the submissions revealed that the response from some sectors of the community had been less than the Commissioners would have liked, and a detailed report prepared by the communications section laid out proposals for ensuring a thorough input from all sectors of New Zealand society by the end of the year. An important step which followed the report's approval was the appointment of two consultants, Kura Edwards and Feata Hanipale, to

help organise meetings with the Pacific Island community in the Wellington region and encourage its participation in the Commission's activities. Later, Sam Sefuiva was engaged for similar duties in the Auckland area.

5.2.4 The communications section's general method of approach to its work had always been based on a blend of community liaison and co-ordination including personal contact, media relations and paid advertising; the time had now come to place its publicity, advertising and public relations activities on an enlarged, more systematic basis. The Commissioners and communications staff had been thinking about employing professional agencies for many months, and the imminence of the second travel round and its particular objectives helped crystallise their thinking. Also, the final date for receiving submissions was looming ahead, for it had been announced that they would be accepted until mid-December 1987 or, at the very latest, the end of January 1988. By the end of July the preliminary work of drafting the necessary briefs had been completed, and in early August McCann-Erikson Ltd were engaged to implement an extensive advertising campaign, and Clarity Communications Ltd to assist the Commission in media work.

5.2.5 It must be said that the initial response of the media—press, radio and television—to the Commission's activities had not been considered adequate. The Radio Pacific Talkback (already mentioned, 4.7) however, served to demonstrate that mutual benefits could be derived from Commission/media associations; the Commissioners, for their part, were able to impress on people their willingness to hear and take seriously the diversity of opinion expressed on the programme, which in turn attracted the interest and attention of listeners throughout a full day. From now on, media interest in the Commission's activities was to become more lively and from September onwards, coverage in both provincial and metropolitan media was very good indeed.

5.2.6 As part of the Commission's general plans for giving women ample opportunity to put forward their views on social policy, a 'Freephone' session (see 4.7) which had been proposed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs was arranged and took place on three successive days in September as a joint exercise with the Ministry, with whom the costs were shared. The phone-in was preceded by three weeks of advertising in magazines and newspapers and on radio. On each of the days, three telephones in a large

meeting room in the Commission's premises were staffed continuously from 8 am to 8 pm by a team made up of the three women Commissioners, members of the secretariat, and Ministry staff. The points made by every caller were entered on record sheets and these were registered as submissions to the Commission. Over 820 were registered in this way, and many women who found the telephone lines engaged wrote to give their views; in all, the submissions exceeded 1,000. The exercise, acknowledged to be a great success, was a highlight of the Commission's consultation programme and helped to heighten interest in the Commissioners' second travel round, which was soon to begin.

6 The Second Travel Period: October/November 1987

6.1 It had been envisaged that the second period of travel would be confined to the months of October and November; in the event the round of meetings had to be extended into the first week of December, and a small number of tidy-up public sessions were necessary in late January of 1988. Recalling the strains of the first round, and taking account of the increasing demands of the Wellington-based work programme on their time, the Commissioners decided that the second travel period could not be as intensive nor as wide-ranging as the first; meetings would be limited to no more than three days a week, and the total number of places visited would be somewhat reduced. On the other hand some improved arrangements for evening and weekend meetings would be made because the provision for these in the first round had not been good, but opportunities for the type of informal discussions which had been a feature of the earlier round would be very limited.

6.2 These factors were taken into account when visits were arranged to the following towns and cities:

- in the South Island, Invercargill, Gore, Dunedin, Christchurch and Nelson; and
- in the North Island, Wellington, Porirua, Lower Hutt, Masterton, Palmerston North, Wanganui, New Plymouth, Hamilton, Te Kuiti, Rotorua, Hastings, Napier, Gisborne, Tauranga, Auckland, Manukau, Whangarei, and Kerikeri.

Public hearings were also held on the following marae:

- in the South Island, Awarua (Bluff); and

– in the North Island, Te Wananga o Raukawa (Otaki), Waihi (Tokaanu), Tutanekai (Owhata, Rotorua), Taihoa (Wairoa), Hairini (Tauranga), Manu Ariki (Taumarunui), Waahi (Huntly), Ngati Kapo (Auckland), Hiruharama (Ruatoria), Tahuna (Waiuku), Mataatua (Ruatahuna), Rahui (Tikitiki), Maimaru (Awanui), and Otiria (Moerewa). Marae procedures were also followed at hearings held in the Methodist Centre in Dargaville, and in the North Taranaki District Council Rooms in Waitara.

6.3 Some 3,000 people attended the second-round meetings. The Commissioners returned impressed by the care and thought that had gone into the preparation and presentation of the submissions they had heard, and by the responsiveness of people given the opportunity to speak and be listened to. The experience of meeting and talking with New Zealanders in a variety of settings—in conference rooms, in modest community halls, and on marae—had been invaluable and at times moving. The Commissioners expressed the hope that the consultation processes they had planned and followed might set a pattern for the future.

6.4 October and November were not wholly taken up with travel and hearings, for the Commissioners had allocated the equivalent of about two days in each week for other business. During this time they participated in the Auckland TV Newsline programme during the last week of November, and took part in a 2-day session of briefings on educational issues. The flow of visitors to Mayfair House continued; at different stages during the year several Ministers of the Crown, members of the Parliamentary Opposition, and a number of overseas visitors with special interests in the social policy field, including senior politicians from Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom, had been received and briefed on the Commission's progress and plans. During the current travel period the Commissioners managed to fit in discussions with the British Labour Party politician Bryan Gould, the American Sociologist Charles Murray, the Director of the New Zealand Bankers' Association, members of the Universities Review team, and representatives of the New Zealand Law Society. In addition, there were three matters that required the Commissioners' close attention: these were the development of a system for classifying submissions, the restructuring of the secretariat, and the furtherance of the research work programme.

6.5 *Classification of submissions* Submissions to the Royal Commission—both written submissions and those transcribed from tapes of hearings—had been flowing in at a rate which began to accelerate as the end-of-year deadline approached. In October it was estimated that the total might eventually exceed 3,000 (it did indeed, see 9.2), and all of them had to be read by the Commissioners. For several months the secretariat had been working on ways of coding and classifying submissions so that information about them could be retrieved from an appropriate computer database. The implementation of a system now became a matter of considerable urgency to ensure that the Commissioners and the phase managers and writers dealing with the functional areas and special perspectives would be fully and systematically informed on 'what the submissions have to say' in their particular fields of concern.

6.6 It was therefore decided to appoint a manager to take charge of the establishment and operation of a computer-based classification and information retrieval system for handling submissions, and Judy Owen took up this new position at the beginning of November. Much of the preliminary work had been done by Lyn Jowett and Vince Galvin, so the framework for an appropriate system was quickly agreed upon. Classification would be based on a keyword scheme adapted (with considerable modification) from the Social Science Research Information System (SOSRIS) and one which had been used successfully by the team working on the Review of Tertiary Education in the Department of Education. A team of submission analysts and data-entry operators was established and work on their crucial task was soon moving forward.

6.7 *Restructuring the secretariat* It was remarked in 5.1.7 that the intensified work programme agreed upon in early September would have organisational repercussions for the Commission's secretariat. The need to restructure and strengthen the secretariat had been emphasised by the appointment as a Commissioner of Len Cook, who had been playing a central role in directing the research programme, and an urgent review of the situation was undertaken by Joanna Beresford in consultation with the Commissioners. An important outcome of the review was the appointment of a team of three senior staff members who would be collectively responsible for the efficient functioning of the secretariat. Joanna Beresford, previously head of the communications and liaison section, was made co-ordinator of administration and personnel, Trish Hall was appointed to co-ordinate the communications work

in her place, and Penny Fenwick was seconded from the Ministry of Women's Affairs to a new post as co-ordinator of the research programme. A further outcome of the review was the establishment of a much-improved records system (and accompanying manual) to cater for the increased use which would now be made of the documents, reports, papers and correspondence held by the Commission. By November, when most of the enlarged secretariat was obliged to move into extra accommodation in Dalmuir House (only a short distance from Mayfair House), it was structurally well equipped to cope with its expanded role.

6.8 *The research work programme* Regular weekly meetings during October and November enabled good progress to be made with the appointment of phase managers (in some cases two co-managers), writers, and ancillary staff. Progress was such that, by the end of November, the initial sessions—interrupted through necessity by the travel programme—had been completed in two areas (Standards and Foundations of Social Policy, and Work), and phase managers were at work in several others. The prospects for completing the phase analysis on time, and proceeding thereafter with the remainder of the work programme (the final reporting date, 30 September 1988, was now a full ten months away) appeared to be excellent. December, however, was to bring about a dramatic change in the Commission's outlook.

7 December 1987

7.1 In early December the Press had contained reports of the establishment by the Social Equity Committee of Cabinet of 17 'task forces' to enquire into a wide range of social policy matters. How would these steps affect the brief of the Royal Commission? The Chairman of the Social Equity Committee, The Right Hon Geoffrey Palmer, called on the Commissioners and explained that his Committee did indeed intend to set up working parties of officials (not task forces) but its programme was a three-year one, and no conclusions would be reached on any of the social policy matters before it without first seeking the views of the Royal Commission.

7.2 On 17 December, the Government released a major 'economic package' which included explicit statements of policy affecting taxation, income maintenance, and superannuation, and had major

implications for other areas of social policy. The Commission had examined the Income Maintenance and Taxation phase of its work programme only a week before, with a view to releasing working drafts of its materials and conclusions in February 1988. The Commission's Chairman immediately issued a press statement expressing his concern 'at the impact on the Royal Commission of the major and wide-ranging decisions shaping social policy' which had been announced, and indicating that the decisions 'will inevitably be seen as substantially pre-empting work of the Commission in the crucial areas of income maintenance and taxation and significantly affecting other areas of our inquiry'. An encouraging statement was made by the Prime Minister. The Chairman issued a further press statement on 20 December saying that the Commission would review its programme in mid-January 1988, and held a meeting with staff indicating that, in the meantime, it would be business as usual.

8 January 1988

8.1 The Commissioners met on 14 January, and a decision was made the next day to present a first Report to the Governor-General on 30 April 1988. This action was in accord with the Commissioners' Warrant, which allowed them to report their findings from time to time if they judged it expedient to do so.

8.2 On 18 January the Chairman set out the Commission's intentions in the following statement to the Press:

- The Royal Commission on Social Policy now intends to present a first report to the Governor-General in April next.
- We are required by our Warrant to report by 30 September, but our experience since the inquiry began 12 months ago and particularly the Government Economic Statement of 17 December and the recently announced programme of the Social Equity Committee, have brought home the need to make a report as quickly as possible.
- The submissions we have received and are still receiving from throughout New Zealand and the attitudinal survey commissioned will provide guidelines as to the thinking of New Zealanders on a broad range of social policy questions. A great deal of analytical work is also in progress. In short,

there is a wealth of material which should be taken into account in charting social policy.

- The closing date for submissions is 31 January. By April we shall be able to report on the analysis of submissions and also on the attitudinal survey. To meet this timing such a report will present only an initial analysis but it will also be accompanied by a considerable number of papers which will be available by then. What, if any, work will be undertaken by the Commission after April will be decided later.
- Finally, because of the Government's recent announcements, income maintenance and taxation matters become more urgent and need to be given priority by the Commission. We intend to produce working papers in those areas ahead of our April report—in February or early March.

8.3 As a result of the early reporting date the important task would be to complete the work on the major phases. The period allocated for further discussion and testing (see 5.1.6) would have to be foregone, and the three full months set aside for the final integration and production of the Report would have to be severely curtailed. It was decided to shorten the time allowed for discussion of the major phases of the work programme, the aim now being to produce in each case an overview paper, incorporating the Commission's conclusions and recommendations, by the end of March. The papers on the functional areas and special perspectives would also be required by that date, with little time left to discuss them before the printing deadline. The April Report could not be the finished document the Commissioners had had in mind for 30 September, but the challenge presented by the new target date was accepted. The first big step was to be the publication of the Commission's working papers on Income Maintenance and Taxation—essentially the first draft of the overview paper to follow in the April Report —by mid-March at the latest.

9 Towards the April Report

9.1 Although the final date for the receipt of submissions (31 January 1988) had passed, a small number of them continued to arrive. These were accepted on the understanding that the Commissioners might not be able to devote as much attention to them as before. The new timetable, however, required a revision of the

submission analysis programme (see 6.5, 6.6). Extra staff were appointed to enable the preparation of a *topic analysis* for use in association with each phase overview, and a *general analysis* giving as comprehensive an account of the entire set of submissions as the tight time schedule would allow. The outcome of the work of Judy Owen and her team, which grew to 15 people in late January and most of February, is described in a separate section of this Report.

9.2 By the end of February the total number of submissions received and registered by the Commission was approaching 6,000. This number exceeded the earlier expectations of the Commissioners (see, for example, 6.5). Many people had contributed to this response—the liaison officers in the Northern Office in Auckland (3.0), the specialist staff appointed to cover the interests of the people with disabilities (3.8) and the Pacific Islands community (5.2.3), the participants in the Freephone (5.2.6), the Commission's Kaihono Maori (3.5), the Commissioners themselves through their encouragement of the public at formal and informal meetings, and their appearance on radio talkback (5.2.5) and television Newslane (6.4) programmes, the advertising and media consultants (5.2.4) and the small but enthusiastic group of communications staff whose responsibility it was to keep the public informed and encourage participation in the Commission's work.

9.3 A significant contribution to the submission process was the communication section's administration of the Consultation Fund, whose purpose and targets were described in 3.10. After early discussions with staff members of the Department of Social Welfare who had successfully administered a similar fund to encourage submissions to the 1986 Task Forces, sets of procedures and criteria for obtaining assistance from the Fund had been worked out, approved by the Commissioners, and widely publicised. Applications for grants were thoroughly vetted, clarified, and not infrequently modified by the fund administrator. A total of close to \$435,000 was allocated to 120 applicants. For the most part the grants were made directly to groups (which were representative of a wide spectrum of the target groups) to cover part or all of the costs involved, such as wages, hall time, stationery and photocopying, postage and toll charges, typing, travelling expenses, and so on. Some allocations were made to groups principally within the voluntary sector, who wished to organise seminars on the Commission's terms of reference, or hold discussion sessions on the sorts of ideas that

could be usefully developed into a formal submission. The availability of the Fund resulted in the receipt of ideas, thoughts and proposals on social policy from sources which might otherwise have remained largely untapped.

9.4 The main concern of the communications staff during these last months was the huge organisational task of bringing the many components of the April Report together, steering them through the process of collation and editing in preparation for the final printing by the Government Printing Office, and attending to the associated publicity and media relations work. All of this was co-ordinated by Trish Hall, assisted by Adele Carpinter (appointed a communications officer following the review described in 6.7) and a managing editor, Daphne Brasell. Te Aue Davis was heavily involved in translation. A team of part-time editors and proof readers was available. The first challenge was the production of the Working Papers on Income Maintenance and Taxation; they were launched at a press conference on 16 March. Arrangements had been made for the volume to be on sale at Government Bookshops throughout the country, but the Commission made complimentary copies available on request to all people and organisations who had made submissions in the areas covered by the papers.

9.5 As at 31 March, the following was foreshadowed for the month of April:

- publication of a group of papers on the Role of the State;
- release of *Attitudes and Values: A New Zealand Survey*; and
- release of *The Voice of the People: An Analysis of the Submissions* as separate publications; and
- the publication of the April Report itself in a series of five volumes.

9.6 The Royal Commission thanks Government Printing Office staff who have worked long hours to produce this large and complex five-volume report within an extremely short time-frame.

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THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON SOCIAL POLICY

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