



# **Proceedings**

## **Summit 2018:**

# **Rethinking the Welfare System for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

**12 September 2018**

**University of Otago, Wellington**

This Summit was proudly supported by Child Poverty Action Group, and the University of Otago, Wellington.

Summit proceedings compiled and edited by M. Claire Dale

**Video and audio files of the summit speakers can be found on the CPAG Website [here](#).**

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**Proceedings: Summit – Rethinking the Welfare System for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

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## Summit Theme

In 2018, it is widely acknowledged that there are inadequacies in the current design of the Welfare System in Aotearoa-New Zealand. Welfare payment levels and tax credits are too low to adequately support families. Policies for the receipt of benefits have been damaging and out of step in a modern world, and Working for Families has been neglected and eroded. While recent changes have been helpful for some, we need to see more meaningful changes so that the needs of all 21st century families can be met adequately. Today, thousands of parents have to go into debt just to meet their families' basic needs. A persistent and damaging focus on paid work is given priority over the needs of young children. In addition, the dominant rhetoric means that many families experience unjust discrimination.

***How can politicians and policy-makers reform the welfare system so that it is fit for families in the 21st century?***

Collectively we share a vision: that children's wellbeing should be at the heart of all policies. Children's needs should be met, and their wellbeing should not be compromised by policies that reduce family income. Reform must be based on principles of **compassion and caring**, and the **real needs of families, without stressful over-emphasis on paid work, and punitive, corrective methods.**

The purpose of the Summit - ***Rethinking the Welfare System for the 21st Century*** - is to fulfil an urgent need to influence the welfare reform agenda, which is a key focus for the current Government. Increasing awareness among the public, politicians and policy makers about chronic problems across the welfare system, and discussing developments to improve that system, could result in it working much better for families and children.

A full-day programme of speakers aligned to this cause will provide their perspectives and recommendations on an effective welfare system that would ensure all children in Aotearoa-New Zealand grow up thriving. We warmly invite audience participation and perspectives during Q&A sessions with the speakers. Working together, we can promote changes that will ensure that Aotearoa-New Zealand has a Welfare System that is fit for families and for children and their unique needs.

## Summit Programme

Time	Topic	Presenter	Chair
8.30 - 9.00	Registration		
9.00 - 9.05	Mihi whakataua		<b>Trevor McGlinchey</b>
9.05 - 9.40	Welfare reform	<b>Marama Davidson</b> 25 min presentation 10 min for questions	<b>Tony Dowell</b>
9.40 - 10.00	Summit introduction	<b>Susan St John</b> 20 min presentation	
10.00 - 10.30	Alternative frames and narratives for child poverty policy solutions	<b>Jess Berenston-Shaw</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	
<b>10.30 – 10.50</b>		<b>Break</b>	
10.50 - 11.20	Social assistance for the 21 <sup>st</sup> Century New Zealand labour market	<b>Michael Fletcher</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	<b>Prudence Stone</b>
11.20 - 11.55	Community led development	<b>David Hanna</b> 25 min presentation 10 min for questions	
11.55 - 12.25	Cultural experiences in the context of village expressions of compassion and sharing, and how this could be translated in a western society.	<b>Efeso Collins</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	
12.25 - 12.55	We Are Beneficiaries: hear from people with lived experience of hardship	<b>Sam Orchard</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	
12.55 - 1.10	MSD's new strategy – Te Pae Tawhiti (Our Future)	<b>Nic Blakeley</b> 15 min presentation	
<b>1.10 - 2.00</b>		<b>Lunch</b>	
2.00 - 2.30	Lived experience of hardship	<b>Debbie Leyland</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	<b>Janfrie Wakim</b>
2.30 - 3.00	Whānau Ora and a Mātauranga Māori Approach to Welfare	<b>Hirini Kaa</b> 20 min presentation 10 min for questions	
3.00 - 4.00	Panel discussion	<b>Bill Rosenberg, Alan Johnson, Amanda D'Souza, Trevor McGlinchey</b>	
4.00 - 4.30	Comments/questions	Audience questions for panel	
4.30 - 4.45	Closing remarks	<b>Mike O'Brien</b>	
4.45 – 5.30	Networking/refreshments	All welcome	

## Presenter abstracts and bios



**Marama Davidson** is a list MP and Green Party Co-Leader. She is passionate about social and Treaty justice, the environment, and ensuring marginalised and minority voices are represented in decision-making. Marama is passionate about all areas of injustice, and is committed to using her voice wherever she can to elevate issues. She is inspired by community leaders who do the hard work and stay connected to the issues and the people in their neighbourhoods.

**Abstract:** Setting out the vision for welfare reform



**Honorary Associate Professor Susan St John**, QSO, Economics Department, University of Auckland and director of the Retirement Policy and Research Centre. She is a CPAG founding member, economics spokesperson, and co-author/editor of many of CPAG's flagship publications for over 20 years, including more recently, The complexities of relationship in the welfare system and the consequences for children (Dec 2014), The further fraying of the welfare safety net (Dec 2017), Priorities for family income support (June 2017) Children and the Living Wage (February 2017), How effective are 2018 policy settings for the worst-off children? Working paper (Feb 2018), Institute for Governance and Policy Studies, Victoria

University of Wellington, Progressive universalisation of Working for Families (March 2018).

**Abstract:** This is CPAG's fifth summit on the welfare state. In 2018, the year of the promised welfare review, the Government's vision is for "a welfare system that ensures people have an adequate income and standard of living, are treated with and can live in dignity and are able to participate meaningfully in their communities". But how will that be made a practical reality? While our focus is children we locate this concern for child poverty in the context of the welfare system the tax system and labour market. That context must be sound for children to thrive. The systematic and deliberate undermining of that context has now been halted but the hard work of reconstruction must begin. The purpose of today is to clarify the purpose and principles of the task proving input into the deliberations of the Welfare Expert Advisory Group.



**Dr Jess Berentson-Shaw** is a New Zealand researcher, writer and communicator with an interest in how we build public and political support for more inclusive and evidence-based policy. Her current work focuses on the role of values and beliefs in the development and implementation of inclusive public policy. Jess was awarded a PhD in Health Psychology from Victoria University in 2003 and has worked in the UK and New Zealand applying evidence to achieving equity in a variety of settings. Her work spans the spectrum of health, wellbeing, social care and economics policy. In 2017 Jess published *Pennies from Heaven*, a book that investigates the most effective policy actions for moving families and children out of

poverty. In 2018 She published *A Matter of Fact. Talking Truth in a Post-Truth World*, a book exploring the research on how to talk about evidence in ways that achieve traction. She is co-director of the not-for-profit research and policy organisation The Workshop, and a research associate at the Public Policy Institute at the University of Auckland.

**Abstract:** Those of use who are interested in, research, and talk about policy solutions for child poverty care deeply about changing our systems for the better for children and families. There is a much brighter future possible for New Zealand families if only the evidence were followed. It is tantalisingly close. Presenting our evidence should, we feel, lead to policy change, or changes in public attitudes. This isn't the case. Why? Because people do not assimilate and act on good information in the way we think they should. Our model for information assimilation, logic and decision making is incomplete.

People process our information through their own well embedded explanations about why child poverty happens. These common core stories or cultural narratives that explain child poverty can hamper efforts to convince the public and policy makers to accept solutions. They also create a double burden for children and

parents living without enough. We can as researchers and communicators however construct narratives that are more effective in promoting policy change. There are alternative frames and stories to tell, ones that will help the public and policy makers act on the solutions that are needed to ensure all children and families thrive. I will discuss some of these narratives at the summit and give ideas on how to change the story.



**Dr Michael Fletcher** is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Governance and Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington. Prior to his current role Michael worked for seven years as a senior lecturer and senior research officer at Auckland University of Technology teaching in the areas of social policy, public policy and employment relations. He has extensive experience as an economic and social policy advisor, researcher and manager working in numerous New Zealand government agencies. Michael has published in the areas of employment, social welfare, child poverty and child support and his current research interests are focused on welfare and social assistance policies, child support, and their interactions with the labour market. He has been the New Zealand Correspondent for the Max Planck Institute for Social Law and Social Policy in Munich since 2015. Michael is currently the independent Specialist Advisor to the Government's Welfare Experts Advisory Group. The views expressed here are his own and do not represent those of the Group.

**Abstract: Social assistance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century New Zealand labour market.** New Zealand's social welfare and tax credit provisions are no longer well suited to the labour market they operate within. Many of the problems are historical – the decline of the principles of full-employment, a family wage and home-ownership that underpinned the 'wage-earner's welfare state'; cuts to real benefit rates and reliance on tight targeting of supplementary assistance to minimise fiscal costs; and the low level and poor quality of spending on active labour market and vocational training programmes. The result has been long-term high rates of poverty among beneficiaries, substantial in-work poverty, increased inequality and persistent ethnic disparities. Overlaid on these problems are new challenges arising from the impact of technological change on jobs and employment. The size and character of these changes are uncertain, but the biggest effect is likely to be a significant increase in redundancies and technological unemployment. This presentation focuses on what we know about parents' employment patterns with the aim of identifying key areas of change needed to create a social assistance system suited to the current and likely future New Zealand labour market.



**David Hanna** is a fourth generation Pākehā, a partner in a civil union, a father of four children, a Director of a Social Change/Service Organisation (Wesley Community Action) and National Coordinator of Inspiring Communities. He has worked as a national NGO youth director, a policy manager in Central Government, a consultant on youth development, a trainer in policy analysis and now a director. Key themes across his activities are bicultural/Treaty of Waitangi perspectives, systems/holistic action/thinking, positive child and youth development and grounding what we do in an authentic spirituality. David is currently working in dual roles with Inspiring Communities and as the Director of Wesley Community Action.

**Abstract:** Effective reform is not just about the policy, it's also about HOW we do reform. Issues like child poverty involve every part of society, so the solutions need to involve and mobilise everyone. The Child Rich Communities project aims to grow a movement of people who think and work in community-led ways to improve child, family and whānau wellbeing. It recognises that children, families, whānau and communities have a unique basket of skills, knowledge, strengths and assets fundamental to achieving long term positive change. Across Aotearoa, there are many community-led initiatives making positive change for local children and families - the Child Rich Communities project is harnessing this knowledge and experience. It builds on research with communities and initiatives proudly taking community-led action in their places.

There is no single model or definition for what a Child Rich Community is. Rather it's a way of working that is driven by a set of principles that enable people in local places to make positive changes for themselves, their children, their family and the wider community. This session will go over the importance of community-led development and the Child Rich Communities framework. It will also touch on the recent Weaving our

Strengths Forum – where a range of stakeholders from the children’s sector, government, philanthropic sector, service providers, community groups and those with lived experiences got together at a one-day hui to talk about what’s needed to reduce child poverty and improve child wellbeing.



**Efeso Collins** was born and raised in Otara, south Auckland. He is the youngest child of six and his parents emigrated from Samoa in the early 1960s. He was the first in his family to attend and graduate from university and is currently serving his first term as an Auckland Councillor representing the residents of Manukau. A former university lecturer in Education and Youth Development, Collins is passionate about young people and seeing them realise their full potential. He has facilitated and designed youth development programmes over many years and advocate for the aspirations of youth and under-represented groups. He mentors young Pasifika men and speaks often on emerging and inclusive leadership, and cultural humility. Efeso and his wife and young daughter live in Otahuhu, south Auckland where he is often seen shopping and swimming, and is well known for his love of coffee and community engagement. He holds the Samoan chiefly matai title Fa’anana from his mother’s village in Satupaitea.

**Abstract:** Efeso will look at his cultural experiences in the context of village expressions of compassion and sharing, and how this could be translated in a western society.



**Sam Orchard** works in community development and art spaces. He is interested in finding new and accessible ways to communicate complex ideas, and telling stories that celebrate our differences

**Abstract: We Are Beneficiaries.** In mid-July 2017 Metiria Turei, the co-leader of the New Zealand Green Party, spoke at the party’s AGM about her time on social welfare in the 1990’s. She used her experiences to speak out about how the social welfare system was a broken safety net that needed to be mended. Within the month she had resigned as the co-leader. In the wake of her resignation a group of artists began creating art sharing their experiences as beneficiaries. ‘We Are Beneficiaries’ was set up on facebook, Instagram and twitter, in the hope of continuing the conversation Metiria Turei started - demanding a more compassionate welfare system. The group received hundreds of submissions and created masses of art – shedding light on the real-life stories of beneficiaries in New Zealand.

The first 200 stories were collected into a report, detailing the common themes and experiences shared. Alongside these themes were a number of recommendations for how the government could create a more compassionate welfare system. These reports were given to a number of Ministers, including the Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern, and Minister for Social Development Carmel Sepuloni.

Sam Orchard, one of the founders of We Are Beneficiaries, will talk about:

- The emergence of this grass-roots initiative,
- Creating space to magnify voices
- Using art and social media to create change



**Nic Blakeley** is the Deputy Chief Executive Insights and Investment at the Ministry of Social Development. The Ministry’s purpose is *Manaaki Tangata, Manaaki Whānau* - we help New Zealanders to be safe, strong and independent. The Insights and Investment group provides insights to support high-quality decision-making, whether that is decisions by Ministers on strategy and overall investment, right through to decisions by case managers at the front line. Nic has been at the Ministry since 2013. Before that, Nic worked at the New Zealand Treasury for almost ten years, including a period as economic advisor to the Minister of Finance

**Abstract:** MSD has recently adopted a new strategy – Te Pae Tawhiti (Our Future) – that aims to further



enhance the social outcomes achieved through MSD's work. Nic Blakeley, Deputy Chief Executive of MSD's Insights and Investment group, will talk through the strategy and the reasons behind its adoption.



**Debbie Leyland** has vast experience in community campaigning, particularly in the area of health. She is the co-founder, coordinator and spokesperson for United Community Action Network (UCAN) - a network of NGOs focused on improving health services in Aotearoa. Debbie is also on the steering group of the Equality Network and has served on the Board of the Newtown Union Health Service for the past 5 years

**Abstract:** Debbie will talk about her experience living on a benefit, and bring home the reality of what it's like to live on a low income. She'll discuss the challenges and policies that would help make a difference.



**Dr Hirini Kaa** is of Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and Rongowhakaata descent. Currently working as Kaiārahi in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Auckland, Hirini has worked in a range of areas including in the social services sector, for the Anglican Church and for his iwi. Hirini has extensive television experience including presenting, researching and co-writing the seven part historical documentary series 'The Prophets' for Māori Television. His PhD thesis was 'He Ngākau Hou: Te Hāhi Mihinare and the Renegotiation of Mātauranga, c.1800-1992' and his MA thesis was 'Te Wiwi Naati: The Cultural Economy of Ngati Porou, 1926-1939'.

**Abstract: Whānau Ora and a Mātauranga Māori Approach to Welfare.** Although it may be gone from Parliament, the legacy of the Māori Party lives on in a Whānau-centred approach to welfare policy. Based on Mātauranga Māori (a Māori worldview) and articulated in the work of the Waitangi Tribunal and their report *Wai262 Ko Aotearoa Tēnei*, as well as historical approaches to this issue it can be argued that Whānau Ora represents true Māori aspirations for welfare, rather than a solely state-centred approach.

## Panel



**Dr Bill Rosenberg** is Economist and Director of Policy at the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions Te Kauae Kaimahi. Bill Rosenberg is widely published on labour issues, social welfare policy, globalisation and trade.

**Abstract:** One of the functions of the welfare system is to support people and families through structural change and job loss (such as redundancy due to firm closure or layoffs, and changing industry structure due to globalisation or climate change). That function has much in common with the support families need due to relationship breakup, illness and other personal and social causes, but there are additional needs. The evidence is that New Zealand is carrying out this poorly, yet it is increasingly important. This contribution will briefly sketch the evidence as to why it is needed and its weak current state, and then at what good policies would look like.



**Alan Johnson** is a social policy analyst for The Salvation Army's Social Policy & Parliamentary Unit. He is author of the Salvation Army's State of the Nation reports, including 'Off the Track' in 2017. In his spare time he is a community activist in South Auckland, an administrator in local sports clubs and a school trustee. He is also a trustee of the Auckland Community Housing Trust and an executive member CPAG. Alan has an academic background in town planning and economics and has been involved in Auckland local government for over 15 years both as politician and bureaucrat. He wrote the housing chapter in CPAG's *Our children, our choice: priorities for policy*, 2014.

**Abstract:** My presentation/contribution will focus more on the conceptual and emotional changes we need to bring about a welfare system which is not only more effective but more compassionate and just. My main argument is that a decent welfare system depends fundamentally on the moral support of most citizens in order to create the political mandate and to provide the budgets for such a system. It is the erosion of this support over the past three decades which has allowed the erosion of our welfare system. My discussion will consider ways in which we might re-build and even re-cast public support for a decent welfare system as a basis for the other more administrative type reforms which are also required.



**Dr Amanda D'Souza** is a public health physician with a special interest in child health and wellbeing. Amanda is a senior lecturer at the University of Otago, Wellington, and is involved in undergraduate and postgraduate teaching. Amanda's research interests include: child health promotion; healthy public policy; early childhood; child maltreatment prevention; and children's rights. Her PhD research examined public policy for children in New Zealand compared to Sweden and Australia. Amanda is a Fellow of the NZ College of Public Health Medicine and a member of the Paediatric Society and the Public Health Association.

**Abstract: A new era for children in New Zealand? Embedding a wider culture of prioritising and respecting children.** Amanda's PhD research is a qualitative macro-level case study of how child-centred the public policy process has been in New Zealand compared to Australia and Sweden. She examined the key influences on policy development in each country using a framework based on political and sociological theory and data from 45 interviews with policy elites. She found that children's rights and wellbeing were far more coherently embedded in the policy process in Sweden. Sweden was an example of how a wider system of child-friendly public policy can be created and a "children in all policies" approach can become structurally embedded. A major explanation appeared to be the decades-long consensus across Swedish society that children were important and their wellbeing was a top priority for all. Children were viewed as individuals in their own right, the caregiving role was valued, and the concept of wellbeing was broad. This presentation will examine the implications for building our own system of public policy that prioritises and respects all children so that they can flourish. Embedding a wider culture that celebrates and values children is attainable in New Zealand with strong political and community leadership, sustained action at every level and in every organisation, and by widening the perspective on what matters for children.



**Trevor McGlinchey** (Kāi Tahu) spent the first 15 years of his working life as a meat worker, an apple picker and working in a many short-term jobs and Labour Department work schemes. He and his young family also spent times either without income or on an unemployment benefit between jobs. In the midst of the neoliberal reforms of the 1980s he established "Te Mahi o Waitaki" kaupapa Māori community trust based at Oamaru, near his tūrangawaewae, Moeraki. This Trust provided a backbone organisation for multiple social enterprises which provided education, training and employment for those impacted by the excesses of Rogernomics. In the early 2000s Trevor joined the Public Service as a Regional

Advisor Māori for the Education and Training Support Agency (later for Skill New Zealand) before becoming the Southern Regional Manager of the Tertiary Education Commission. Trevor is now the long standing Executive Officer of the New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services where he supports Council members in their mission to achieve a just and compassionate society in Aotearoa New Zealand. He remains strongly linked with his home marae, Moeraki, where he is the Chair of their investment company, Moeraki Limited. He is also a governance member of a number of community organisations

**Abstract: NZCCSS Vision For an Effective Welfare System for Aotearoa NZ.** The New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services (NZCCSS) advocates for a welfare system that delivers improved wellbeing for vulnerable people by achieving equity of outcomes, has an intergenerational focus and delivers a systemic approach that includes the range of supports needed to build and sustain wellbeing.

## Closing remarks



**Honorary Associate Professor Mike O'Brien** is an Honorary Academic in the School of Counselling, Human Services and Social Work at the University of Auckland. He is a member of the CPAG Management Committee and contributed to the two recent CPAG reports on children. He has written extensively in New Zealand and internationally on child poverty, social security and social service changes and social policy. He chaired the Alternative Welfare Working Group in 2011 and is currently working on social investment and its implications for social services.

**Abstract:** Summary of the Summit presentations and questions from the floor, and closing remarks

## Chairpersons

**Tony Dowell** is Professor of Primary Health Care and General Practice, and Head of Department of Obstetrics, Gynaecology and Women's Health at the University of Otago, Wellington, and a General Practitioner in Wellington. He has previously worked in General Practice in the UK and Central Africa. His current academic interests include research in the areas of Mental Health, Health Systems Quality and communication between health practitioners and patients.

**Prudence Stone** is co-chair of the Public Health Association Wellington branch and steering group member of the United Community Action Network. Working for UNICEF NZ last year she administrated the highly successful Tick 4 Kids campaign against child poverty in New Zealand. She was Executive Director of the Smokefree Coalition for seven years and was a post-doc Fellow for Victoria University's Stout Research Centre in New Zealand Studies. Her book *Black Inc. One nation's identity, a global politic* was published in 2012.

**Janfrie Wakim** co-convenor Child Poverty Action Group, was a founding member of CPAG in 1994 and has held numerous positions on the Management Committee. She is constantly motivated to keep fighting issues of inequality and social justice. Janfrie puts this down to her family background, her experience as a teacher in secondary and tertiary institutions and working in the family business. Her experiences as a mother and a grandmother highlight the effects and long term consequences of child poverty.

## Presentations

### Setting out the vision for welfare reform, Honourable Marama Davidson

View Hon Marama Davidson's summit presentation on facebook:

<https://www.facebook.com/cpagNZ/videos/550949128673708/>

I am proud to be also here on behalf of Jan Logie, our long time and incredible representative across all positions not least the work that she is driving in terms of overhauling welfare in this country to actually make it one that cares and seeks to help rather than one that punishes and seeks to shame. And I am very pleased to be able to stand here with her, her work and all of my colleagues of the Green Party. You triggered this conference and the prospect of me coming here today, triggered no end of experiences that, as a privileged MP with resource and power and influence, actually too easily get pushed down into the depths to make way for the everyday treadmill that is a part of my political working environment. Not the least the ride over here on the taxi. The taxi that I don't have to pay for. Transport that I get to take for granted to go about doing my business and a whole host of other privileges that are now such an ordinary part of my life. Such an ordinary part of my life, and this is not the life that I was used to when I became a member of parliament and a representative in the House.

When I became a member of parliament, I believe yesterday was exactly three years since the announcement was made that Russell would be leaving the Green Party and going to head Greenpeace and that I would be stepping in as the next list MP on the list. Exactly three years yesterday. I could not have charted my life at that point and what was going to happen and I'm incredibly honoured and privileged to be standing here in a position as co-leader, continuing to use my platform to be a voice for transformation and change and to reject the status quo that we have for far too long and been held hostage to that has caused incredible hardship.

But at the time of three years ago I was in a very different position and there are a few memories that came up. One was I remember: oh I had a debt. I was single Mum at that time with our children. I had been working full time. I was living in Manurewa in a house that was not worth the rent that I was paying but it was one of the only houses that was being offered to me because single brown women with young children do not make it to the front of the line when looking for properties to rent in the private property market, or any market actually.

So the house I was living in was simply making money and it was sitting in a really shitty condition. I remember during the winter, I remember hot water bottles saved our butts at night time. Sending all of us each to bed with hot water bottles, some with two. I remember every night the routine of filling up eight hot water bottles every night with the hot water, put them in the cozy, send each kid to put it in the bed before the kid goes to bed to help warm up our freezing cold rooms. Thermals, sometimes beanies and socks because when your feet are cold you've lost all chance of being able to get to sleep. And I remember not being able to pay my power bill when coming into parliament, calling Work & Income for turning my power back on. The only way that I was able to have that happen was because they paid the overdue power bill in full and then I continued to pay them back and it still took some months to pay that power bill back. That was just one winter, it was enough to set us into an incredibly vulnerable position.

Those are just a couple of memories that came up. It's ridiculous that it took me to become an MP to pull myself out of that. Absolutely unacceptable and something that just this morning

and yesterday we heard about reporting into how our power companies are operating and the fact that even though many of us have long known that paying power bills have been sending families, children, elderly into incredible hardship. We've actually had that confirmed and possibly even worse than what we anecdotally saw. What sort of country is this that can allow corporations to be putting people into hardship? These are some of the things that are all of our challenge. These are some of the things that we have been held hostage to for decades.

So, I stand here co-leader of the Green Party with our eight years of parliament in the current partnership MP arrangement. I stand here as the child of parents who just could not sit down and shut up when they felt things were wrong and unjust and that lifelong experiences and learnings and visions are what have brought me to this place today, to keep asking primarily ... I mean, I have an ask, I have an ask of all of us. So many of you have already been doing this work forever and it is only because of you and your organisations, your commitment, your drive and your sacrificing work that in the last election that child poverty became one of the main election issues. We saw political parties making up poverty reduction targets on the face because of the work that all of you and many more have been doing for decades. You need to keep it up. We need to keep it up and we need to stay strong and picky because I am not interested in transactional change. We need transformational change, otherwise we will continue to be putting sticking plasters over the symptoms without addressing the drivers of poverty. I am very proud that this government is setting off in a whole different direction to be able to actually address this properly, but I want us to still stay picky. The next generations deserve that from all of us. Stay picky, make sure that we are actually being transformational.

Now I can't gloss over enough the work that you continue to do. Your advocacy, your research, the work to confirm exactly what we suspect is going on, the solutions, the ideas that you've been able to help drive policy and put measures and productions and definitions on to the policy radar. It is only because of all of you that we are even able to consider this.

So ... I'm trying to keep a little bit of a track of my time. I do want to get into a bit of some policy overview stuff. Before I go into that, I think it would be remiss of me not to mention that, just very recently I was very honoured to be taken back up to Hokianga where I'm from, from Ngāpuhi on my father's side and Ngāti Porou Tairāwhiti on my mother's side. I spent a lot of my childhood growing up in Hokianga. It wasn't until I became an adult and moved to Auckland that I realised exactly how much grounding Hokianga had given me in having an understanding of collective responsibility and our relationships to each other and our relationships to our land and our water and how all of our systems are connected and interdependent on each other and that when we only focus on an issue in a narrow sense, we are holding up a lie that things happen in vacuums.

Hokianga instilled all of that in me and I was privileged to go back only a few weeks ago to my turangawaewae and have my people welcome me back onto my marae and celebrate my co-leadership role but for me it was also a reset, a reminder, of understanding exactly where my very privileged childhood in that place brought me to in terms of an understanding of systemic change, of structural discrimination and racism and bias, of transformational systems and of a world view, and our world view impact from everyday lives and push those already struggling further to the margins and trample over our whenua and that all of that is connected.

So what I thought I would do is take us a little bit through some of the government's work, some of the Green wins, some of the Green aspiration work we would like to push further and then understanding what that actually means in a bigger picture. So just very quickly, and you all know ... I think so many of you know, perhaps even more than I do, some of the details of

these so I will skim over. The Families Package we welcomed, we absolutely welcomed. In this time of struggle far too many children and families, we absolutely welcomed and support including extending the Working for Families, extending paid parental leave, Best Start payment for all newborns and extending the Winter Payment for older people and for all people. I am so pleased I am the spokesperson for our Children's portfolio, the Housing portfolio, our Maori Development portfolio, Rural Community, Regional Economic Development, Water, Sport and Recreation and there's probably a couple of others I've missed. They are all connected as well.

I absolutely welcome therefore a focus on maintaining and trying to restore a stronger public housing system in this country. I've called it public housing because that is what we need, public or state, as opposed to 'social'. But I welcome that we will start stopping the selloff. Those are sort of the clean selloffs of state houses but I will say that we also have to be mindful of how we approach redevelopment of public housing and state housing and that I have a differentiation approach which says we are still beholden to the current economic status quo if we believe that the only way to redevelop housing is to pull off private development capital funds to be able to develop housing in the way that we should use land and homes better.

I have a different view. I think that we will continue to, and especially right now at a time where the government has an ability to borrow at one of the lowest rates possible. I have a different view that I don't ... certainly in a ratio of only holding on to, in some developments, only holding on to 30% of the land and selling off 70% to be privately developed. I don't believe that ratio is acceptable but we are held hostage by an economic fiscal approach which at this moment seems to demand that that's the way things are done. I think we need to reject that once and for all. I think we need to reject excuses to selloff or relinquish public land. And so I just wanted to be very clear that we welcome redevelopment, we welcome stopping selloffs, I think I would appreciate any help and economic analysis which shows that, not only is that in a long-term damaging to our stock, quality and amount, but it's fiscally wrong as well.

I welcome the fact that we are making sure that we have more ... I don't want to use transitional housing and I think we should say emergency housing, that's another point that I would welcome assistance and advocacy on. Transitional housing sets us up to welcoming and accepting and being more tolerant of people staying in these homes for longer than they should. Emergency housing absolutely is needed right now and what we are wanting is more of a focus on public, long-term, affordable, warm and secure housing. I absolutely welcome the winter package which ensured that we would get places for an extra 1,500 families for winter. That was the least that was needed in the short-term.

I want to pay homage particularly to Metiria Turei and her over ten years of political work in the hallways and advocacy and the introduction of her Child Poverty Reduction Bill in 2016. To try and insist that we have a target, that we have a measure and a definition in the first place which the previous government refused to have; that we have regular reporting and track our progress. I welcomed this, and this is sort of just a quick stocktake and not all inclusive, but I welcomed all of that direction and I'm proud of Labour for pushing that through and I'm proud of our part in making sure we get the best progressive outcomes possible.

I am really proud that we have kept strong as the Green Party on insulation and making sure that homes, more homes, are not making people sick because they just quite simply are and will continue to for quite some time. We've been very strong in pushing for a Warrant of Fitness. Just over the weekend I announced the Healthy Homes Conversation and the

consultation that the government is currently doing. We've been very strong on the renters' rights consultation that the government has also just announced and I was proud to announce with Minister Phil Twyford. Secure tenancies are one of the areas of hardship that creates cumulative hardship and particularly for children, people, families, living with any sort of disability. Secure tenure continues to be raised to me directly as one of the things that would make a key difference to the lives of people with a disability, who are disabled by society. We need to be very strong in ensuring that there is a robust measure for secure tenancies. I'm particularly proud of Jan Logie's members bill that is now law that will put protections in the workplace for people dealing with the impacts of domestic violence. Understanding that that always, always, has impacts for tamariki and that it more seriously creates hardship for those on a lower income as well. It holds people to struggling situations when they need a hand.

We will stay strong and it is in our confidence as per our agreement on inclusive education because I know for far too long parents, whanau, of children with a disability just battling every day to try and get a place the human right of a right to education for their children alongside all of our children. It just turns people's lives upside down and creates incredible profound stress and anxiety on a day to day, hourly basis. I appreciate strong advocacy for ensuring we achieve that and I'm really proud of Catherine Delahunty's bill announced in the election around inclusive education. I'm proud that we have achieved a pilot scheme for free mental health services for 18-25 year olds but my gosh we need to do so much more than that and not just for young people. We absolutely need to continue addressing the gender pay gap, the unacceptable, immoral, unnecessary gender pay gap, particularly in the industries and the jobs that are predominantly worked and upheld by women.

The welfare, the safety net provisions that the Green Party has for our country got highlighted during the 2017 election with the incredibly brave step of our former co-leader Metiria Turei and her personal story and our policy to overhaul and fix our safety net. I'll pull that back a little bit later because there's a whole lot of stuff going on in the narrative. But we need to overhaul it and I'm so pleased that we have the Welfare Expert Advisory Group, an independent group with incredible mana in their hearts about what needs to be done. I'm so privileged to give a draft report in October and then a final report I think in February. I'm really looking forward to that and again appreciate all advocacy and push to make sure we have the most progressive changes possible. How are we going, we're OK?

There's one I really want to get on to is the push that we all know about. This is not so much the work behind us, for us now ahead of us, is absolutely dependent on policy leaders, yes, but it is about narrative and it is about changing and rejecting the narratives of old. Individualism, blaming people for being poor, separating the systemic causes and the systemic drivers of poverty. And this is has been able to be very clear that we cannot separate the work around poverty and wellbeing from the need for this country to decolonise and address systemic racism in all of our systems.

And if I can just pick up on health as only one small example of the areas where that creates further hardship, puts people into further poverty. And when you have studies, for example, one done a few years ago, which says that even though young Maori pregnant women are presenting initially to healthcare providers at the same rate and at the same instance as all other young and pregnant women, the outcomes and the drop-off from that ongoing healthcare is stark. So we know and have 24, 22 and 21 year old daughters and young primary children, so we know, and I remember, that we want to do what's best, we want to take care of ourselves and our time of haputanga. We want to. So we go and do the things,

we want to do the things and we go out there and try and find the assistance and support and it doesn't suit us. It's not culturally appropriate, it doesn't understand our living situations, our thinking, our family and whanau support, it doesn't understand that, and so we drop off. That's just systemic racism. It's one small example of a connection with pushing people, families, tamariki into further hardship and poverty and we cannot let that continue any longer.

So we have a job to do in terms of rejecting an insistence that it is just people who are not educated, who are not working enough, who do not know enough, who are making bad decisions, who do not have enough motivation, who do not love their children as much as others. This is what we deal with every day. That's what we have to turn around. Understanding that for the most part, all of us care for our whanau and our tamariki, and in actual fact the research shows that those living in extreme hardship will go above and beyond what the rest of us have to do to provide, or make sacrifices above and beyond what the rest of us have to do to survive, will do more for their tamariki and their whanau than the rest of us have to do to survive. Those are the stories.

Something else, and I hope I can save the wonderful Jess' presentation, but those are the stories that turning this narrative around depends on. That we have collective responsibility for each other as communities. That the current economic way of working that has been dominant for far too long upholds some lies but it has been successful because of narrative and appealing to certain values within us as individuals that make us go against our best interests, our own best interests. So how do we get smarter and appeal to those very same values but put up instead the visionary and aggressive stories that hold people to that narrative. That's incredibly challenging and we haven't quite got it right. We need all the help we can with getting that right. That corporate welfare has in fact dominated our economic system. They are unelected politicians. They hold power over policy and legislation and it's why we have a criminal minimum wage that currently people are having to work 60 hours per week when they could be working 40 or less to achieve the same thing and are still not able to pay unscrupulously high rents for crappy homes, unscrupulously high power bills, not making ends meet, incredibly harmful narratives that we are now up because, as we also know, facts and evidence don't do the convincing and they never have. If they did we would be in a whole different situation. It is narrative and it is mobilising and supporting grass roots change, grass roots community development and leadership, supporting power from our flax roots, grass roots changes where real change for progressive and modern system thinking will come from.

I think we're OK but have we got time for questions still? So I would actually like to end at this point and allow some time for discussion and just finish on upholding the champions, the groups, the organisations. I'm so pleased, and I hope you're still here, Sam and We are the Beneficiaries work. I'm so pleased to see us continuing to provide a platform. That is the exact work, grass roots driven, narrative driven, mobilising, centring the voices of those being impacted on. Making sure those voices are the centre of our discussions and our influence, rather than seeing those very lived experiences to the side while we sort this out in the middle.

Thank you all for the work that you have done, thank you all for the work that you will continue to do. I am grateful that you all have put child poverty on our social radar and I'm going to ask that you continue to stay picky, hold us to account and push more absolutely on the most transformational change that you can have in this beautiful country of ours.

Kia ora kotou.



## Summit Introduction, Honorary Associate Professor Susan St John

Ngā mihi o te ata.

On behalf of CPAG I am pleased to welcome everyone here today. Our grateful thanks to Green party co-leader Marama Davidson for her excellent presentation in her busy schedule. Her humility and humanity and lived experiences give us hope.

First a little a background to how we have got to this day.

In 2008, Caritas Aotearoa New Zealand commissioned the Beneficiary Advocacy Federation of New Zealand to examine and document changes to the welfare state since 1991. Their report, [The Unravelling of the Welfare Safety Net](#), painted a picture of cumulative attacks that by 2008 had seriously undermined the welfare state's original purpose:

*Caritas believes many people are unaware of changes that have occurred in recent years. More disturbingly, it appears to us that, despite overall increased social spending, many of the changes are fundamentally at odds with the concept of meeting need. (McGurk, 2008)*

CPAG updated this in 2017. Our report [Further fraying of the welfare state](#) documents the further erosion, and deliberate undermining of the welfare system from 2008-2017. These changes carried on the momentum of cuts and neglect identified by Caritas to create a country that is now almost unrecognisable to those who grew up here in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s.

This is CPAG's fifth major summit on the welfare state. It has been very sobering to review these events and alarming to see so very little progress.

Our first summit was held in 2010- the year of the first welfare working group led by Paula Rebstock. Ambitiously, we also called that summit [Rethinking welfare for the 21st century](#). The more things change....

We welcomed Paula herself to speak along with a number of speakers from Australia to the summit in the hope we could learn something from them. At that time Australia seemed to be a beacon of light. Multiple Prime Ministers later it is not so clear.

Our best efforts at the 2010 summit, along with the Alternative Welfare Working Group chaired by Mike O'Brien, who with others wrote an alternative report, [Welfare Justice for All](#), came to naught. The problem was that momentum for change was already accelerating in a direction to take us even further away from what would work in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. **Reducing welfare dependency** became the catch-cry, drowning out any efforts to question the archaic and damaging assumptions behind the welfare policies themselves. Children were all but invisible and the poverty mess deepened.

In 2015 CPAG held a 2nd summit wistfully called [Welfare fit for families](#), and then, to put a more positive spin on things, a third in 2016 called [Investing in children](#). We were trying to counter the narrow focus of the social investment approach of the new reforms. The 4th summit held last year was somewhat despairingly called [Beyond Social Investment](#). It was a plea for a new way of thinking.

Paul Smyth, Professor of Social Policy at Melbourne University and the director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence, spoke at the 2010 summit and observed

*Working for social policy change can often seem like watching the grass grow.*

Perhaps in 2018 he might observe it has been *like seeing the grass slowly die*. The signs of collapse of the welfare state have been all around us:

- Homelessness, not just in Queen St, on a scale never seen since the 1930s.
- Working poor- who cannot feed their children after devastating housing costs, if they are lucky enough to have a house.
- Foodbanks and social services and private charities such as KidsCan overwhelmed with demand from families for the necessities of life.
- Stories about harsh treatment from Work and Income that have echoes of the UK film [Daniel Blake](#).
- Worrying poor social indicators around suicide/incarceration and diseases of poverty.

At the same time, the [wealth divide](#) grows ever more pronounced. Corporate bonuses, stratospheric pay packets and obscene compounding of unearned property and share market wealth at the top end, sit alongside an unfolding social disaster of extreme and widespread need at the other end.

After nearly 30 years there can be no quick fix. Yes, it is good to have some extra spending in the [Families Package](#) but restoring the devastated balance sheets of families who have seen their assets disappear and their debt and disadvantage compound will take our very best efforts for decades to come.

This year we return again to the 2010 theme: **Rethinking the welfare system for the 21st century**. But this time more optimistically. This time it really **could** be different. Let's take a look at the government's 2018 vision:

*The Government's vision is for a welfare system that ensures people have an adequate income and standard of living, are treated with, and can live in dignity and are able to participate meaningfully in their communities.*

[Welfare Expert Advisory group's Terms of Reference](#).

A lot of care has gone into framing that and it stands in sharp contrast to the mealy-mouthed purposes and principles set out in the current Act:

The current Purposes section says that welfare is to **help alleviate hardship**: with requirement people **use resources available to them first, before seeking financial support**.

What does that mean? Such a vague statement, but one that appears to have been increasingly interpreted that people must run down their balance sheets and if they get loans, they can be offset as if they were income against any benefit entitlement.

The recent High Court decision that loans are not income was hard won. An eight and half year battle in the courts. We had been heading in a direction dangerously close to reinventing the poor laws of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Has the tide actually turned?

**The current principles section** mentions paid work 9 times. For example:

- *work in paid employment offers the best opportunity for people to achieve social and economic wellbeing;*
- *the priority for people of working age should be to find and retain work;*
- *people for whom work may not currently be an appropriate outcome should be assisted to plan for work ...*

There is no acknowledgement of unpaid caring as work and no framing around concepts of dignity and participation.

You will recall John Key's famous line: ['paid work is the way out of poverty'](#).

I have been reading commentary in the New York Times this month where top intellectuals, in articles like one titled 'The Metamorphosis of the Western Soul', have claimed that hearts and minds of a generation were fundamentally changed by neoliberalism. Over 30 years ago in the UK and US, Maggie Thatcher and Ronald Regan set in train a new seemingly unstoppable ideology around self-reliance and small state. In NZ, in 1991, Ruth Richardson and Jenny Shipley unashamedly went after hearts and minds of New Zealanders. In unleashing Ruthanasia and Jennicide they were our most successful politicians because they and their likeminded acolytes utterly changed the thinking of a whole generation.

The post-war flowering of the welfare state where the other is my neighbour, and broad based social insurance schemes meant we looked after each other, was overtaken by the new ethos: winner takes all; individualism; self-responsibility; stand on your own two feet, don't breed them if you can't feed them and paid work is the only way to achieve social inclusion.

There has been little understanding of the hard-won victories of the original welfare state- or even why a welfare state is needed. Any redistribution to the worst off has been regarded with suspicion. Recently, grown men have even been [debating at length](#) that children tax credits are at best corporate welfare or at worst communism by stealth! Of course, Working for Families is actually [a vital redistributive package](#) that supports the young and should be understood and supported with the same vigour as our redistribution to the old with NZ Superannuation.

Fundamental misunderstandings of why we have a welfare state stem from a profound lack of education, even in our universities. Few economists are exposed to issues of the welfare state: public economics used to be a core subject but it is now marginalised. This has allowed the narrative around welfare to become about the 'othering' of 'those' people who are not like us.

Nicolas Barr, a famous UK economist is an exception. In his textbook 'Economics of the welfare state' he argues that the purpose of the welfare state is not just poverty relief but also to enhance efficiency in the use of resources. Many of the needs for protection *cannot* be provided by private insurance markets. This fact lies at the heart of much of the welfare state: health, justice, education; loss of income: sickness unemployment, costs of children, accidents and old age.

Barr claims the **insurance role** of the welfare state is the most significant and least understood role. We actually can't have a decent welfare state without it also being about the middle class.

Nearly 30 years ago, NZ adopted a low tax, flattish tax structure and user pays for much social provision, with tightly targeted assistance for low income people. Sadly the strain of confining welfare to low income groups has proved both destructive and counterproductive. Ruth Richardson's mantra that 'welfare is only for the poor' has been very, very dangerous, producing suffocating poverty traps for low income working families.

Neither the Tax Working Group nor the Welfare Expert Advisory Group are resourced to grapple with the tax/welfare interface where abatements of social provision like Working for

Families, the Accommodation Supplement and Best Start interact with high tax rates and student loan repayments.

Perhaps we can learn from Australia after all. In spite of their much more progressive tax structure and low 10% GST with protections on basics, their redistribution policies (with one or two exceptions) are more inclusive and generous. They do not seem to have the sharp edge of New Zealand's policies.

For example, their tax credits for families go far further up the income scale than Working for Families and reduce more slowly—the loans repayments for students start at a much higher income and the rate of repayment is lower than here. They seem to understand the importance of income support for children and I have never heard of anyone there saying that their family tax credits are 'just a subsidy to employers'.

Nicholas Barr concludes we have more need of the welfare state in the 21<sup>st</sup> century not less. **The 21<sup>st</sup> century is full of uncertainty that is uninsurable.** Are we up to rethinking our deeply embedded conditioning? It is time to take a hard look at some of the assumptions of last century that have never been challenged.

We first need to work on the underlying philosophy and have a clear vision of the values we want to become embedded in the NZ psyche. We need to respect and understand the scale of the problem. Strategic framing, effective lobbying and activism must ensure this year of Welfare Expert Advisory Group review is not a rerun of 2010. I look forward to Jess Berentson-Shaw's thoughts on narrative framing.

CPAG's focus is children, but we locate the concern for child poverty in the context of the overall welfare system, the tax system and labour market. That context must be sound for children to thrive. We will hear more about that context during today.

Finally, lets us acknowledge that it has been a long harsh winter for far too many children. The Families Package was too slow coming, and for the [140,000+ children below the very lowest 40% poverty line](#) it has been a drop in the bucket. Without a longer-term goal of systemic reform, short term improvements can seem like tinkering and band aids. Or even worse, they may create the illusion the problems are solved.

Welcome to today's summit that is offered in the spirit that **this time it is different**. We all look forward to the opportunity to influence the meaningful outcomes we all want to see.

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## **The stories we tell about child poverty, Dr Jess Berentson-Shaw**

Kia ora Koutou,

Thank you Marama and to Susan. It is a wonderful opportunity to follow two such brilliant and stong wahine. Thank you again to CPAG for asking me to talk and to all of you. I want to acknowledge the mana whenua of this land in Newtown Te Ata Awa. This is my home ground also. I am lucky enough to live in Newtown. So I know that up on the hill behind us was once one of the main pa in the area, and the slopes of this valley were the food gardens for local iwi. Today It is a vibrant and diverse community to live in, one that reflects much of what makes Aotearoa such a great place to raise children when the condtions are right.

I am Jess Berentson-Shaw and I am I co-director with Marianne Elliott at The Workshop. The Workshop is a research and policy collaborative that takes a creative approach to building the conditions for good evidence to have an impact on policy.

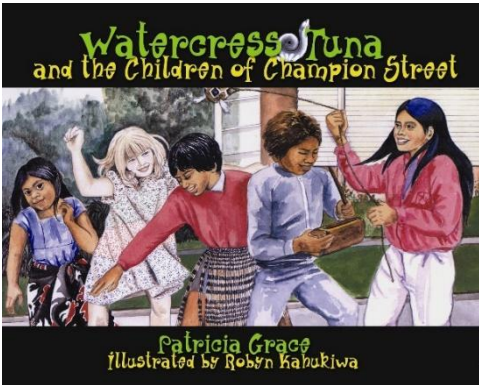
We combine listening, research, and knowledge translation - through the science of story. The aim is to give people and organizations' doing the mahi in our big social and environmental issues effective tools and a sense of hope.

**Talking about stories:**

Many of you know may know that I am an advocate for the importance of unconditional financial support for improving outcomes for children and families who do not have sufficient resources. I have written extensively on the evidence we have to support it as part of the approach we must take to alleviate the burden people in governments have placed on too many families with poorly considered policies.

I also know that all of our solutions need more than evidence. Today I am not going to talk about the importance of sufficient & unconditional reserouces or the other critical ingredients that many of you are experts in. Rather I am going to talk about why there is something we need to be learning and practicing in addtion to our good research. And that is how to tell effective stories.

And I want to start with a story: *Watercress Tuna and the children of Champion street*. This is the delightful story told by Patricia Grace and Robyn Kahukiwa of a group of children living in Cannon's creek just north of where we stand now.



Watercress Tuna has a magic throat or koro, and out of it comes gifts unique to each child's cultural heritage. By the end of the story these gifts allow the tamariki to join together and kane kane (or dance) together all night.

It is a story about connectedness. About recognising the inherent value of all children and communities as they are right now. It is not about enabling their future worth to us.

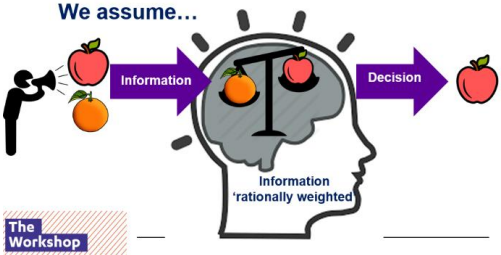


Rather It is a vision for the children of Aotearoa grounded in recognizing the inherent joy & strengths of children and communities as they already are.

**Using our vision (our stories) to build support for our evidence**

It is a vision that we need to keep in mind as we get into discussing welfare, child wellbeing, and child poverty reduction. Because a vision helps focus us on what barriers we need to tear down and supports need to be built up. What is possible. It gives people hope and a sense of agency.

We also need to bring others along with us in that vision. This is part of how we can get the public and politicians to accept our evidence for what works to tear down the barriers and build new supports.



At the moment we don't really tell the right kinds of stories. We assume that the facts are enough of a

story to tell. That is because there is a deeply held belief that people assimilate information and make decisions based on rationally weighing the pros and cons of it. If they do not then we have not talked loudly enough or they have not listened.

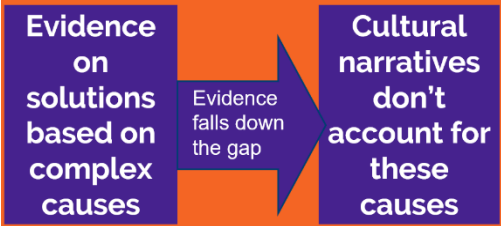
Tell them where they are wrong and provide the correct information.

This remains the key method evidence practitioners employ to get our evidence seen. Despite a lack of evidence for it.

However, what we know is that there are already stories or deep cultural models in society explaining how the world and people work.

There are any number of cultural models, but they generally fall into dominant and recessive. The dominant models are our default ways of thinking about an issue in the world.

We experts, (which includes those with lived experience) present evidence on solutions based on complex understandings of the causes and issues. The default stories make no room for this evidence. If we present a solution to which there is no problem in the public mind then the evidence cannot be seen or heard.



There are many narratives about poverty in society and child and family wellbeing. Generally speaking dominant narratives are often simple, or simply wrong and do not match how experts, including those with lived experience understand the problem. In the area of child and family poverty and child wellbeing the dominant or default ways of thinking are obvious to many of us working in the sector.

Structural and systems issues are very difficult for all of us to see. In complex issues like child wellbeing and poverty complex intergenerational and systems causes are invisible especially when there is a temporal nature.

The default or dominant models are exercised more frequently than other.

But they are not the only stories. There are quieter stories, more complex ones that if we listen hard we can hear. These are called recessive cultural models.

**Some dominant & recessive narratives about child wellbeing**

If we look at how people think about how children thrive from research from the Frameworks institute in America we see some examples of two dominant and unhelpful narratives and one recessive and helpful one.

**The Family Bubble** is a model in which child rearing takes place in the family, making those things that occur outside the family largely irrelevant to the discussion.

**The Self-Made Child:** The goal of this family-centred child rearing is to raise a successful and self-reliant child, who can “stand on his own two feet in the world,” placing the emphasis on autonomy over interdependence.

A recessive model is **The Whole of Child** model. That is the model in which people understand the influence of a child’s physical environment, network of community relationships, social and emotional growth are critical to their wellbeing- a focus on their heart,



soul and mind. Stress, especially stress from poverty is understood to be a major issue in this model. This is a very quiet story.

**Solutions have to have relevance to the perceived problem. But our information environment has a significant effect on the cultural narratives about the problem.**

News media promotes many of these stereotyped frames.

It is hard to navigate our way to good information.

And experts' and advocates' materials fail to contest them effectively or to substitute better stories and frames.



More good information is not enough to bridge the gap. A significant issue is our brains. They are built to process new information using **short-cuts not logic**.

Here are four:

1. Emotions
2. Mental models
3. Values aligned messengers (including media)
4. Perceived majority view

We use *emotions* as a short cut to tell us if information is aligned with what we already believe- a physical reaction to information tells our body to accept or reject new data.

We use *mental models* or causal chains to explain events and actions. Singular facts are not sufficient to overcome complex embedded models with many parts.

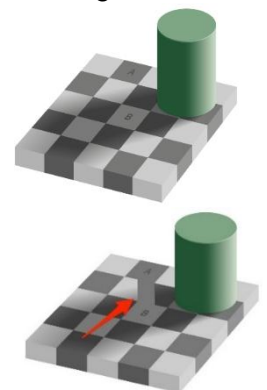
We are influenced by people who we see as being *values aligned* and by *what we think everybody else thinks*.

**Mental short-cuts have a purpose**

Of course we all like to think that we are not using mental short cuts to assimilate new information and complexity, but seems like a failing or a weakness sometimes. Really that is simply because of the over-riding cultural narrative we have adopted in the west of logic and rationality. It does not make it true.

Do you think square A & B are the same colour or different?

They are the same. But we cannot see that in the earlier picture because our brain is following a short cut- drawing inferences from the context and surrounding information, the light, the colours. All information is like this, it is interpreted by our brains in contexts. it is not a failure to be overcome, it is simply how we work to ensure we are not overwhelmed in the world, so we need to learn how to work with this reality.



**Talk about family & child wellbeing in ways that frame evidence in helpful narratives**

Because information alone does not penetrate cultural stories and deeply held beliefs and mental short cuts, we need to tell effective stories that do. Stories that will frame our evidence and solutions in ways that people can allow themselves to see and believe it.

But don't we already do that?

## Words mean things but do we know what they mean?

Our words, imagery, metaphor draw on our cultural narratives about child poverty.

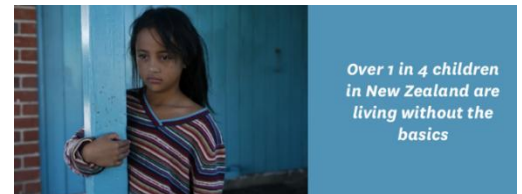
Language, metaphors or imagery bring to front of mind particular values, frames, beliefs and cultural stories for people. Yet we as evidence communicators are not always familiar with the story we are telling or not telling. That we are drawing on the very problematic and dominant narratives that stop people seeing our best evidence.



I am going to show now three examples from within the sector- those who are working towards a better system. This is not intended to shame. I myself have frequently told a story without realising what beliefs and values I was drawing upon. Rather it is to highlight how easy it can be to do in a context where the narratives that are not helpful are so very dominant.

Do we frame a whole system? Or just the child? Which children?

In this image there is a clear message about WHO is poor in New Zealand. Māori working in different domains of research and policy have made a strong call for researchers, policy makers and communicators to reassess the negatively couched or deficit language and imagery that is used to frame indigenous people's lives. In this picture yet again Maori are being framed.



In addition, there is a key factor left out of this story- the whole of child. This is an image that frames by NOT including the whole of child story. It acts to reinforce the dominant stories about family responsibility or lack of it. Sometime what we don't say is as powerful as what we do say.

The words tell a story too. Why is this child living without the basics? If we are not told, we fill in the blanks with the dominant narratives, the default explanations. In the case of children it is their parents.

## Metaphors are powerful & othering

*"The experience of poverty and material hardship can have negative impacts on many aspects of a child's well-being and opportunities and leave lifetime scars."*

*"Evidence indicates that the harmful effects of child poverty .....have a further damaging effect on the country's social fabric and economic performance." (Child Poverty Reduction Bill)*

We also tell stories with metaphors. We may mean well with our language, but be drawing on default cultural models that serve to "other" children and families who are under-resourced. In this case children are scarred, they damage the country.

This is not a story that helps people to see our solutions which reduce stress in families and across communities.

It does not help people understand child poverty is a solvable problem, that can be turned around by a whole of community approach.

## Drawing on stories that point towards ineffective welfare solutions



"...analysis of lifetime costs of people who receive a benefit found that one of the most expensive groups is people who have recently returned to work from being on a benefit. This is because they are likely to slip back onto benefits. ....the government needs to do more to help those people stay independent." (The Treasury)

This is a very clear framing of the idea self-reliance: 'Stand on your own two feet son!' It is a 'strict father' story or frame. The strict father frame is a cultural story that tells us people need tough love, punishment and sufficient negative motivation to gain self-reliance.

What we know from the evidence is that enabling people, who have been underresourced in multiple ways sometimes across lifetimes or generations, to achieve their goals requires long term whole of person, whole of whanau, whole of community approaches.

**Stories that unintentionally draw on dominant models are hurting children & families and the work.**

In my report with AUT that is being released today I detail the powerful impact that our dominant cultural narratives have on children and families' sense of self. The bullying children experience when identified as being poor and failing to be autonomous and "self-reliant".

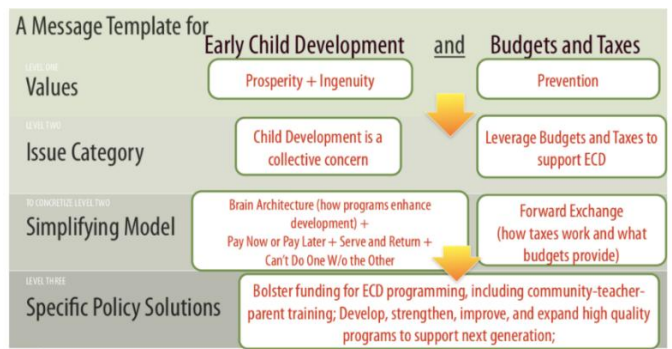


In addition, the language and imagery we employ help reinforce dominant narratives and reduce public support for the interventions we know can work: interventions that reduce the stress in families and see support for child and families as part of a wider system of wellbeing across society.

**The solution? Frame evidence in new stories drawing on helpful existing narratives.**

We don't need to change people's minds, rather we need to find those quieter recessive narratives that already exist and get them out exercising. Boot camp for our better stories...

This is one example from Frameworks in the US. It is a template for talking about how people in government can use the budget to support child wellbeing.



It draws on recessive and helpful cultural narratives about child wellbeing and development. In this case by talking about something called serve and return interactions in families and communities building brain architecture. It puts that together with stories about budgets and taxes that are helpful to the solutions. In this case the idea of forward exchange where budgets are developed in order to build strong communities into the future. This is I expect why the words social investment resonated with so many people.

**Mokopuna as part of an entire supported healthy system across generations**

In New Zealand, we have some interesting examples where we can see elements of this approach at work. At Waikato University Professor Leonie Pihama and her team have developed Tiakina te Pā Harakeke.

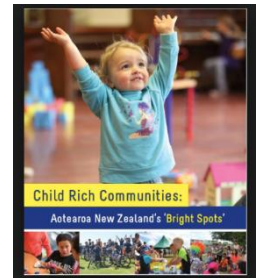


Drawing on the deep knowledge and understanding from the world of Te Ao

Maori. It is a frame in which mokopuna are at the heart of a healthy and cared for society that focuses on multiple generational wellbeing.

### Thriving communities as part of wider child development & wellbeing

Child rich communities: Aotearoa New Zealand's bright spots. This is a story that frames the whole of child narrative and also focuses like Watercress Tuna on enabling the skills and assets communities have right now.



Another example I include in my report is the early years challenge as part of the southern initiative which use the Frameworks developed message of the importance of serve and return interactions to help build the architecture of children's brains.

*We live in story like a fish lives in water. We swim through words and images siphoning story through our minds the way a fish siphons water through its gills. We cannot think without language. (Christina Baldwin)*

While anecdote is not the plural of data, stories give data and evidence soul, values, emotions and the ability for people to more easily consider it. We cannot make our facts more powerful by just talking about them more loudly, not when stories, values, beliefs, and emotions are the ocean we swim in. It is time to use science to tell a more effective story about our good information.

My report, 'Telling a new story about "child poverty" in New Zealand', detailing some of this work, is now available on the AUT website, [www.thepolicyobservatory.aut.ac.nz](http://www.thepolicyobservatory.aut.ac.nz).



And finally nga mihi, I have hope. I hope you do to.



## Welfare State: Repairs and Redesign, Dr Michael Fletcher

### I. Introduction

Kia ora tatou

Thank you to the Child Poverty Action Group for opportunity to speak today. And thank you all for being here. This summit is a timely and extremely important event and I am confident the discussions today will make a significant contribution to the wider debate on how to redesign New Zealand's welfare system to make it fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

I need to start with a disclaimer: I am the independent specialist advisor to the Government's Welfare Expert Advisory Group. My presentation here is my own views and does not in any way represent their views. I cannot speak for the Group. Several Group members are here today though to hear the discussion. I should also say that the data and other information I am presenting do not draw on material provided to the Group.

So what's needed to make our welfare system fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century? I was going to focus on what I see as the implications of some trends in patterns of employment. However I realised that there are important questions that also relate to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century labour market but which come prior so I want to start with those and have cut the second part short to fit into the time available (hopefully).

To my mind, the changes needed fall into two categories:

- Repairs
- Redesign work

Think of it like a house if you like. Several previous owners left the place to decline and there's a lot of deferred maintenance needed. As well as that, the household is changing and the way we use the house is also changing. So there is some repair work needed and then also some redesign work. I'll drop the house metaphor before it gets too convoluted, but I think the distinction is a useful way of thinking about what's needed.

## **II. Repairing the welfare state**

First, the restoration work.

The welfare system in New Zealand has been subject to 30 years or so of neglect, mostly deliberate or convenient neglect, with the occasional bout of plain vandalism thrown in. This has been essentially a political problem – the othering of certain groups of people seen as undeserving poor, a series of efforts to cut fiscal costs.

The previous National-led Government did this through its so-called 'social investment approach'. The rhetoric was different but essentially the policy was based on a) targeting small numbers of 'high [fiscal] cost' individuals and b) discouraging access to welfare. It was successful in reducing benefit rolls and short-term fiscal costs. It was not successful in raising wellbeing, reducing poverty or improving Work and Income's employment outcomes.

Investment is very much needed. But it is investment in the welfare system as a fundamental piece of New Zealand's social infrastructure. It is investment in the system as a whole. The major part of this investment relates to adequacy, and on maintaining adequacy through proper indexation, while also attempting to improve returns from work.

The current system simply does not provide enough support to ensure that beneficiaries are not in poverty. I don't need to rehearse the stats here, but 80% of individuals whose household's main source of income is a benefit are in poverty - using the 60% after-housing costs '2007 constant value' measure (Perry 2017). Using the same measure, the same statistic for children is 75%. This is not the ideal measure because it is based on 2007 prices – but it gives a clear indication of the ubiquity of the problem. Our working-age benefit system is not protecting children or adults from poverty.

The same point is captured by considering the well-known principle laid down by the 1972 Royal Commission on Social Security of belonging and participating:

*...no-one is to be so poor that they cannot eat the sort of food that New Zealanders usually eat, wear the same sort of clothes, take a moderate part in those activities which the ordinary New Zealander takes part in as a matter of course. The goal is to enable any citizen to meet and mix with other New Zealanders as one of them, as a full member of the community-in brief to belong.'* (Royal Commission on Social Security 1972:62).

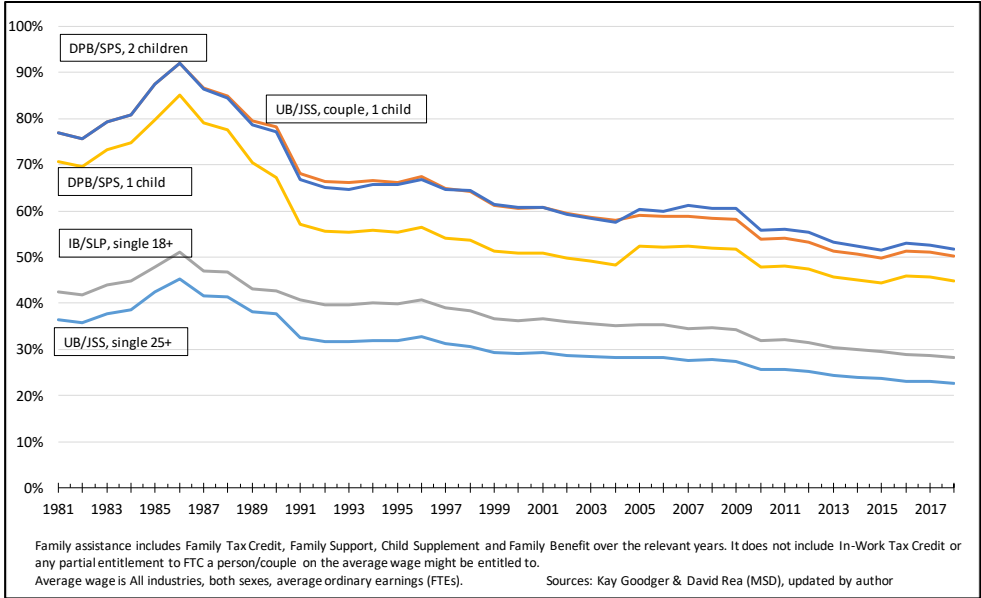
It is sometimes said that when the Royal Commission wrote this they were unaware of the impending oil shocks and other economic changes of the mid- and late-1970s. That is true – but it is hard to say that those changes in any way undermined the validity of the principle. Nor did it undermine our economy’s capacity to meet it – if we had chosen to do so. The historical fact is simply that we chose not to.

I think most people would still support this principle. (Try turning the words around: “it is okay for some people to be so poor they cannot eat the sort of food that New Zealanders usually eat...etc”.) Where we do need to do a better job is at linking support for the principle with support for paying the taxes to make it possible.

Whatever measure one uses the adequacy gap has become very large. Susan St John and Yun So’s (2018) work shows incomes for people on benefit range between 21% and 33% of the median after-housing costs. That is to say, benefit levels are nowhere near the 50% median measure to be used in the Child Poverty Reduction targets. They don’t even reach the 40% of median indicator of extreme poverty.

The extent of the decline in adequacy can also be illustrated by comparing net benefits against the net average wage. Despite technical issues with the comparison, it provides a good indication. Figure 1 shows the ratio of after-tax benefit rates to the after-tax average wage rate<sup>1</sup> for 36 years 1981 to 2017.<sup>2</sup> The bottom (blue) line is the single adult unemployment/jobseeker benefit. The grey line above it is the single adult rate of the Invalids Benefit/Supported Living Payment. Above that, the yellow and dark blue lines are the DPB/Sole Parent Support rates for a one child and two-child family respectively. The red line is for an unemployed couple with one child. The data include family assistance, but does not include the In-Work Tax Credit (or its predecessors) or the Accommodation Supplement (or Income-Related Rents).

**Figure 1: Net benefit rates (family assistance included) as a percentage of net average wage rates, 1981 - 2017**



Several important points can be seen from the graph:

<sup>1</sup> All industries, all persons, FTEs  
<sup>2</sup> It could be argued that it would be better to plot benefits relative to MEDIAN wages, not the average but a long-run series of median wages is not available and, in any case, the overall picture would be the same.

- First, that peak in the 1980s: it can be more or less ignored. It was due mainly to the wage/price freeze and its after-effects.
- Second, the impact of the 1991 benefit cuts is clear – it affected all rates except the IB, and had an especially large impact on beneficiaries with children.<sup>3</sup>
- Third, apart from a smallish improvement in 2005 due to Working for Families changes, and again in 2016, the level of benefits relative to the average wage has continued to decline.
- That decline is main due the fact that productivity growth in the economy, which has led to at least modest average wage growth, has not been shared with beneficiaries, whose rates are linked only to CPI changes.
- A further point to note is that, infamous as they were, the 1991 cuts account for less than half of the long-run decline relative to wages.<sup>4</sup>
- Finally, the most obvious point: notwithstanding the omission of AS, the declines have been very large. There is nothing magic about the pre-1991 rates but using them as an illustration: If the single adult rate had the same relationship to the average wage as it did in 1990, it would be \$146pw higher - \$361pw instead of \$215pw. You'd need to be getting near-maximum AS in Area 1 to make up that gap – and of course a person only gets maximum AS if there housing costs are high. And a sole parent with one child would need an additional \$210 per week.

So how to decide what is adequate?

There are many technical issues and government hasn't ever done proper research to inform those decisions, but it's important to recognise that it ultimately it is a social decision. Hopefully it is one that in future can have all-Party support.

One of the best starting points is probably the Poverty Measurement Project carried out by Bob Stephens, Charles Waldegrave and others. It's fairly dated now but their methodology of asking low-income householders to come up with a minimum adequate budget came out reasonably consistently to equate in income terms to near to the 60% of median income AHC line.

Given the size of the gap, and the urgency, I am inclined to think the best, most feasible approach is a series of phased increases over say 3-5 years, with rates and thresholds indexed to wages not just prices. While this is going on a serious research programme is needed that would include:

- Focus groups along the PMP lines
- Better information on intra-household/family/whanau income-sharing
- Research on the impacts of income on outcomes (especially children's outcomes) – and research on the impacts of directly provided services.

Before I move on, three other quick points:

- Child Support is not tax revenue. It is collected from one parent for another to help care for their children. The current system of retaining child support payments where the other is on a sole parent benefit sees it as a substitute for welfare. In my view, it should be regarded as a complement: all child support payments should be passed on

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, earlier this year MSD released a 1994 evaluation of Special Needs Grants that included the statement: "Referring to reductions in benefit levels in 1991, staff, programme clients and community agencies generally believed that basic benefits were now inadequate to meet the necessities of life." (p4).

<sup>4</sup> I should note here, though, that AS, which was introduced in 1993, is not included in this graph and this would have raised people's benefit package to varying degrees. I do not have an 'average AS' figure. At the same time, however, we know that housing costs absorb more of low-income people's income now than they did then.

to the parent with care and if s/he is on benefit it should be treated like any other income for benefit abatement purposes.

- Second, I am not persuaded that the abatement-free zone should be extended. If it is a trade-off (which is likely) I think it would be better to have a higher base rate and a small free zone and gentler abatement rate rather than a large zone followed by high effective marginal tax rates.
- Third, I don't see social security as being for volunteering. Voluntary work is a vital contribution to communities but it should be recognised through stand-alone schemes and proper payments and grants. A similar point applies to other community work, artists and writers etc. (You may detect I am not a supporter of the UBI idea – happy to discuss that in questions after.)

### III. Redesign issues – modernising the welfare system

Turning to 'redesign' issues, for reasons of time I will focus on only four areas where I think our current system needs updating. Which leaves out lots of other important issues including active labour market programmes (which NZ does very poorly on); front-line delivery issues; the importance of an explicit legislative requirement that the Ministry of Social Development ensures full and complete entitlement; and the huge housing issues (although I will touch on one aspect).

The first issue I want to raise concerns primarily two-parent families with children.

The one-worker family is now a minority among couple families with children. Moreover, what the 1998 Royal Commission on Social Policy described as the 'one-and-a-bit-worker' family is also increasingly less common.<sup>5</sup> As shown in Table 1, at the time of the 2013 Census, one third of all couples with children had two full-time workers and 60% had at least one full-time and one part-time worker. Only 29% fitted the single-earner model and in fact for many of these this was just a temporary situation when the youngest child was under school age. Notably, the two-earner pattern is evident even when the youngest child is quite young: by the time the youngest is aged between one and two years, 50% of couple families have two earners.

For some couples, these employment patterns will be a matter of choice, but for many two-parent families two incomes are necessary to get by. It is important to remember that 44% of children below the 60% after-housing cost poverty threshold live in two-parent households. We also know that where both parents work full-time, the child poverty rate is low (5%) but where only one of the parents has work it is high (17%).

**Table 1: Employment patterns of two-parent families by age of the youngest dependent child**

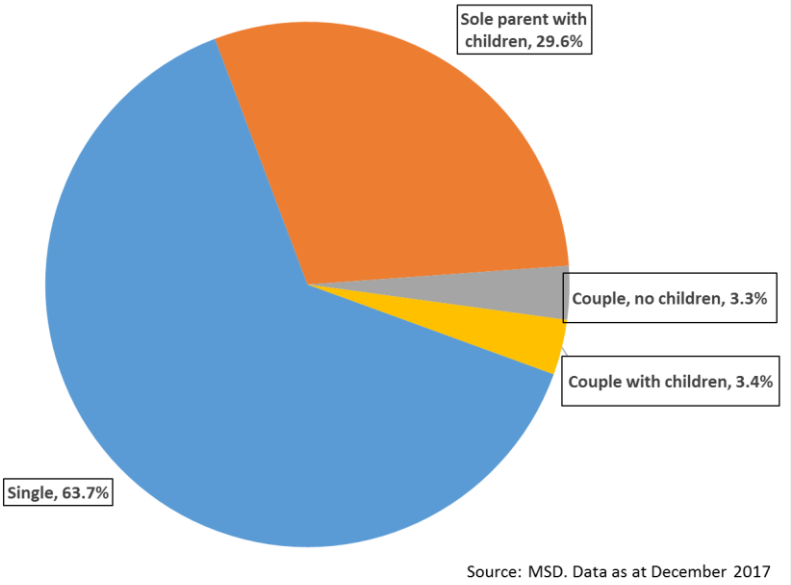
	All ages	0 – 1 year	1 – 2 years	3 -4 years	5 – 6 years	7 – 13 years	14-17 years
2 Full-time	33.4%	15.1%	24.2%	29.1%	33.2%	40.4%	49.1%
1 Full-time & 1 Part-time	26.2%	14.5%	25.9%	28.6%	30.7%	29.2%	24.0%
2 Part-time	1.2%	0.7%	1.1%	1.1%	1.2%	1.4%	1.3%
1 Full-time & 1 Nil	29.1%	55.5%	37.8%	31.2%	25.1%	20.1%	17.0%
1 Part-time & 1 Nil	3.2%	3.2%	3.1%	3.0%	3.3%	3.3%	3.1%
2 Nil	7.0%	11.0%	8.0%	7.1%	6.6%	5.6%	5.5%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Stats NZ, Census 2013, customised tables

<sup>5</sup> Not shown in this summary table.

However, the way our welfare system is set up currently, it does not adequately protect two-parent families that need two incomes. Because it is still based on the male-breadwinner model and on the couple as the unit of assessment for entitlement to benefits, and because the abatement regime is sharp, a person whose partner is employed is not usually entitled to any main benefit support if they become unemployed. The impact of this is evident in Figure 2. Of the 289,788 benefits in force at the end of December 2017, only 3.4% were being paid to couples with children and a further 3.3% to couples with no children. Essentially our core benefit system now only serves single people, either without dependent children or as sole parents.

**Figure 2: Numbers of working-age benefits in force by family type, December 2017**



This is a poverty issue but it is also a wider social-protection issue. Whether we think about possible technological redundancies due to artificial intelligence and ‘Future of Work’ job losses, a second Global Financial Crisis, or a plain old-fashioned business cycle recession, a welfare system fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century needs to provide adequate protection for families that need two jobs. Our current system does not do so and I, for one, would not like to see a world where the middle classes rely on private income insurance while the rest of society is left at risk.

There are various options for better protecting families that need two incomes. It is beyond the time available now to go into them in any depth but they include:

- Extending the Working for Families tax credits. I suspect it would be hard to make these large enough to be effective.
- Individualising benefit entitlements. This is an attractive option but it has its difficulties.
- A payroll-levy funded redundancy levy. This was suggested by the OECD (2017). It could cover a part of the problem.
- A limited payroll-levy funded social insurance component to the system. This could take the form of short-term income-related payment that has relatively low maximum cap. There are both pros and cons to such an approach.
- A spousal income disregard in the benefit system. For example, spousal earnings below, say, the average wage, are disregarded for abatement purposes for a person’s

benefit. This approach has potential in my view. It can be thought of as a sort of targeted step towards individualisation of benefit entitlement.

## ii) Early childhood education and out-of-school care and recreation

Among sole parents, employment rates are relatively low until children are at school and don't really pick up until children reach college age (see Table 2).

**Table 2: Employment patterns by sole-parents, by age of youngest dependent child**

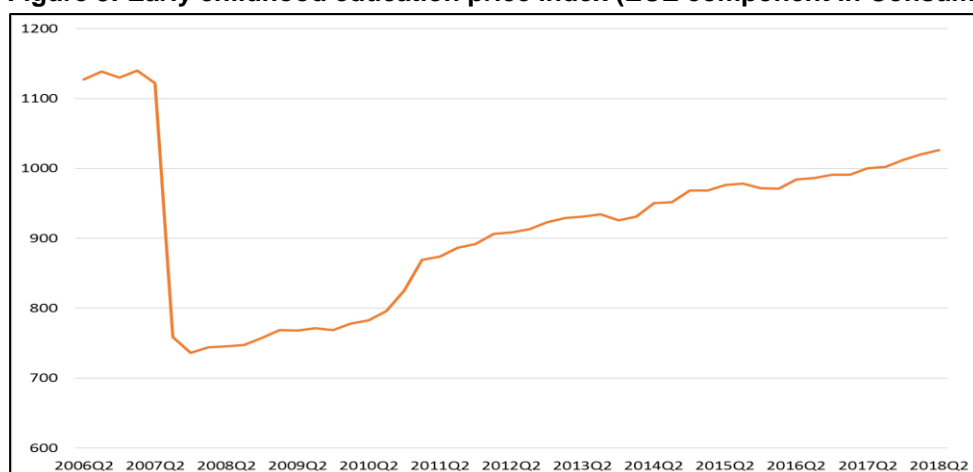
	Age of youngest dependent child							
	All ages	0 – 1 year	1 – 2 years	3 – 4 years	5 – 6 years	7 – 13 years	14–17 years	
Full-time	33.1%	9.1%	15.6%	23.0%	29.4%	39.8%	52.0%	
Part-time	16.1%	6.2%	11.9%	15.7%	19.1%	19.4%	15.1%	
Nil	50.9%	84.6%	72.5%	61.2%	51.5%	40.8%	33.0%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Source: Stats NZ, Census 2013, customised tables

One issue is cost – unless a sole parent can earn at least close to the average wage there is often little gain from entering paid employment. ECEC costs fell substantially when the '20-hours' policy was introduced but have been rising rapidly ever since (Figure 3).

A welfare system that works for families in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, and – equally importantly – works for children, should facilitate sole parents and second-earners in two-parent families to enter paid work when children are young if that is what they wish to do. I know not everyone will agree, but in my opinion part-time work testing once a person's youngest child is three years old is okay *if, and only if*, parents have access to good quality, affordable ECEC and OSCAR programmes (and assuming work-testing is administered in a decent and humane way).

**Figure 3: Early childhood education price index (ECE component in Consumer Price Index)**



Source: StatsNZ, CPI components series SE910100

Looking to the future, I would argue for:

- Free, voluntary ECEC for all three and four year olds attached to all primary schools.
- These would be state-owned and state-run, or run by the same body as the school, with minimal or no private sector involvement.
- Subsidised/affordable OSCAR for 3 – 13 year olds, also attached to all primary schools/
- Support for state- and not-for-profit ECEC for under threes.



As well as ensuring childcare costs don't defeat the financial gains from work for low-paid workers, a key goal of such an approach would be to ensure that all children start school at as close to the same point as is possible.

### **iii) Extension of ACC-like cover to sickness and disability**

A 21<sup>st</sup> Century social security system would include sickness and disability within ACC. There is no convincing case for maintaining such a big disparity in the way incapacity caused by accidents is treated compared to incapacity arising from non-accidental causes. Owen Woodhouse, in the original Royal Commission report that led to ACC being established, always envisaged that the scheme would eventually cover both. And New Zealand came very close to doing so at the time of the Cullen Bill in 1990.

Yes, it would increase levies (although not necessarily the employer levy) but we need to keep in mind that the costs already exist – it is simply a matter of whether they are borne publicly or privately.

Another benefit of extending cover is that there is the potential for a much greater focus on rehabilitation under ACC than the current weak and disjointed provisions that currently exist.

Finally, it is worth noting that ACC's large reserves that have accumulated due to the shift to full-funding makes a gradual transition to extended cover more easily managed (Duncan, 2017).

### **iv) Delivery of at least some second-tier assistance by Inland Revenue rather than MSD**

Lastly, and just quickly, I want to mention a slightly different type of issue.

Many of the 'second-tier' assistance measures, for example Accommodation Supplement, Childcare and OSCAR subsidies, Disability Allowance, are entitlements for both beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Since entitlement to these supports often exists prior to, during, and after spells on benefit, subject only to an income test, there is a strong case for considering whether they would be better delivered by Inland Revenue.

Take-up, especially of the Accommodation Supplement, is very low among non-beneficiaries. Whether this is a failure of Work and Income to actively promote take-up and inform people of their entitlements or a reluctance of non-beneficiaries to engage with W & I (or a mix of both), there are good reasons for thinking Inland Revenue delivery could enable much higher take-up.

Inland Revenue has a relationship with people both when they are in work and when they are not. It also has ready access to monthly income data for employees and beneficiaries via the Employer Monthly Schedule returns. It is no more difficult for an individual to tell IR when their living or family circumstances have changed in ways that may affect their entitlements (and Working for Families recipients already do this).

## **V. In conclusion**

To summarise:

- Substantial reinvestment in the welfare system is needed. This is ‘repair’ work – putting back what has been drained out of welfare by various means over a long period of time.
- It will be fiscally costly but should be seen as reinvesting in a critical element of the social infrastructure.
- Beyond that are other changes necessary to adapt the system to changes in the way NZers live and work, and the consequential social protection needs that are not dealt with well under our current system. I have only covered a few.
- Some of these are also fiscally costly, others not so much.

Lastly:

- Failure to fix the faults in the current system doesn’t make the costs go away – it just shifts them to other people, and from now to the future.

THANK YOU. [michael.fletcher@vuw.ac.nz](mailto:michael.fletcher@vuw.ac.nz) 04 463 6996

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## The value of community-led development, David Hanna



### Inspiring Communities working with communities over 10 years we have learned that ...

- Tackle diverse issues
- Impacts on positive change
- Common elements / patterns
- Central Govt struggles to understand how to work along side communities

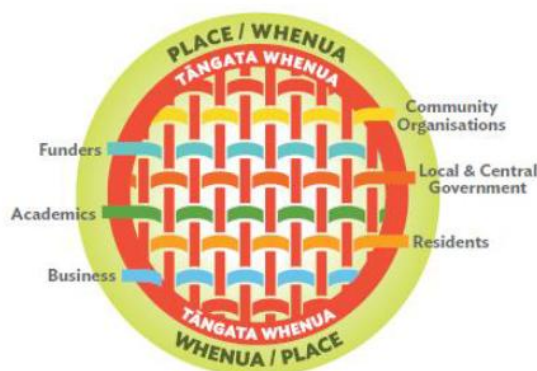
<http://inspiringcommunities.org.nz/child-rich-communities/>



## Te Whakawhanake ā-Hapori ki Aotearoa Community-led Development in Aotearoa

### What is it?

Community-led development strengthens the vitality of communities by activating and weaving the contribution of everyone connected to a place/whenua.



**Te Whakawhanake ā-Hapori**  
Weaving our connections and contributions

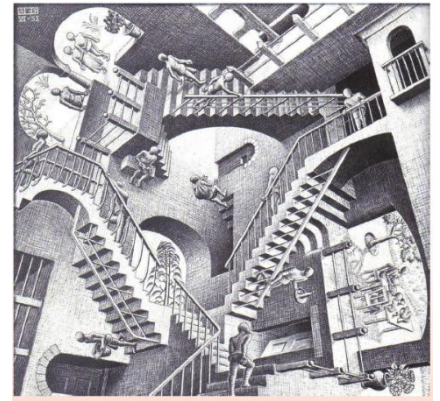
### Ngā Mātāpono / CLD Principles

- Grow from shared local visions
- Build from strengths
- Work with diverse people and sectors
- Grow collaborative local leadership
- Learn by doing



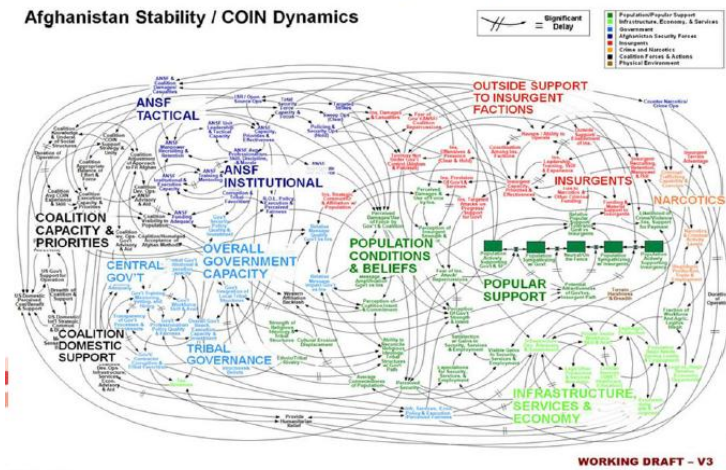
# My Assumptions ....

- Poverty is an outcome of a complex system
- People who experience poverty talk about it differently
- People experiencing a problem need to be active in co-designing a solution for it to be effective.
- Communities are self-organising systems that are highly capably of contributing to solutions



## Enter Complexity .....

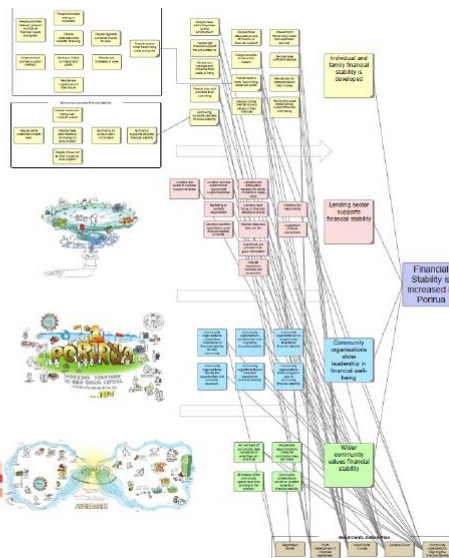
Afghanistan Stability / COIN Dynamics



PA Consulting Group  
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## Good Sense – mapping financial stability in low income households



How we handle complexity - we filter ...

We pay attention to what we expect to see

We hear what we can place in our understanding

We act according to our world views

Wenger (1998)

## Understanding poverty as a complexity issue

Feature	Response
• Difficult to frame	• Good enough framing
• Multiple root causes	• Cross boundary work
• Multiple stakeholders	• Collaborative & Flat
• Emergent	• Adaptive Learning
• Unique	• Customized Responses
• Paradoxes, Dilemmas	• Transparent coping

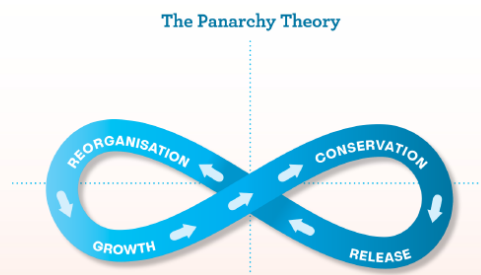
## Wellbeing economics

Professor Amartya Sen  
*“the expansion of the “capabilities” of people to lead the kinds of lives they value and have reason to value’.*



## Community Led Development– theory of change, the DNA

- Dynamic organic process
- Different approach or skills needed at different points
- Similar dynamic occurs at different levels of a system



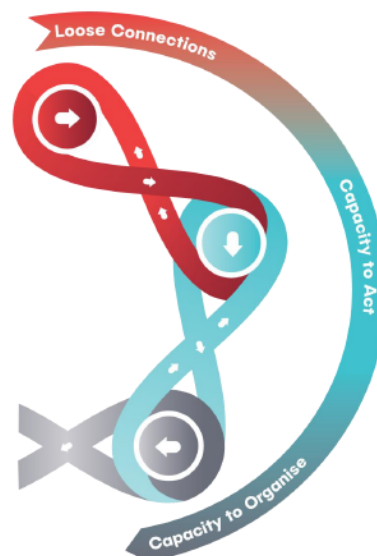
## Theory of Change

Movement around eco-cycle represents growing capacity (link to Wellbeing Economics) - development

Key elements support evolving capacity – stability, leadership, space to learn and reflect - principles guide the process

Never a straight-line (peaks and troughs)

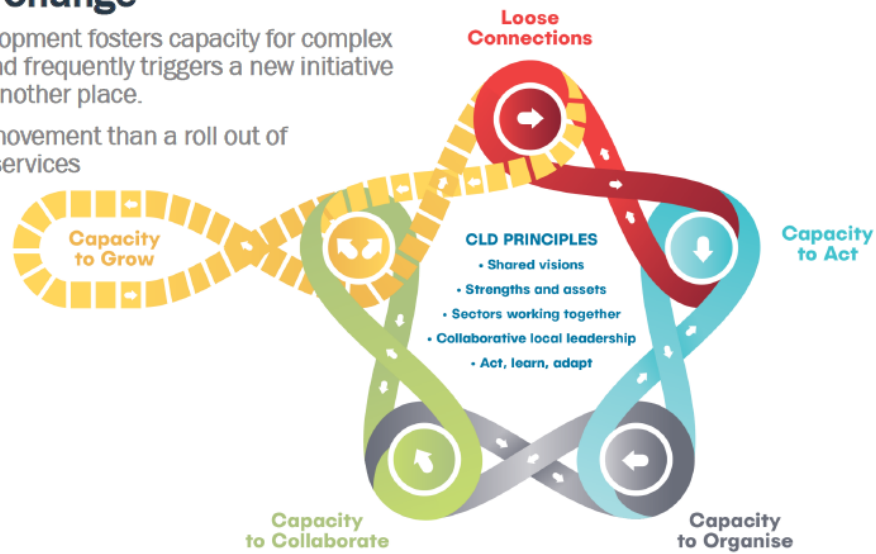
Communities if supported can develop their capacity to have an impact on a social problem, be more resilient, exploit an opportunity ...



## Theory of Change

Advanced development fosters capacity for complex collaboration and frequently triggers a new initiative / beginning in another place.

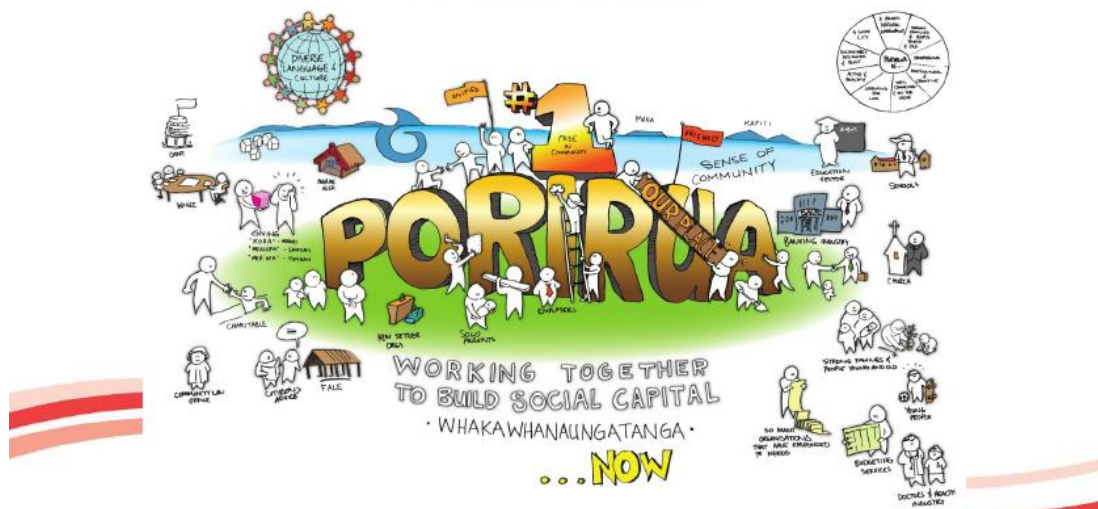
This is more a movement than a roll out of programmes / services



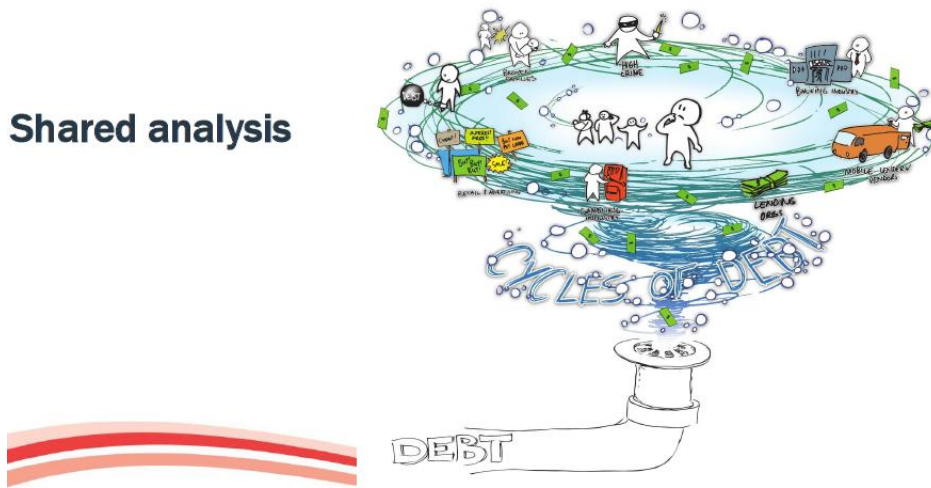
## The answer to poverty is not money .... The answer is community

- Role of non- monetary systems – time banks, koha sheds
- Community owned efforts – cooperatives, savings pools, local currencies
- Community initiated enterprises
- Impact of increase of the cash economy – relationship between income and rents

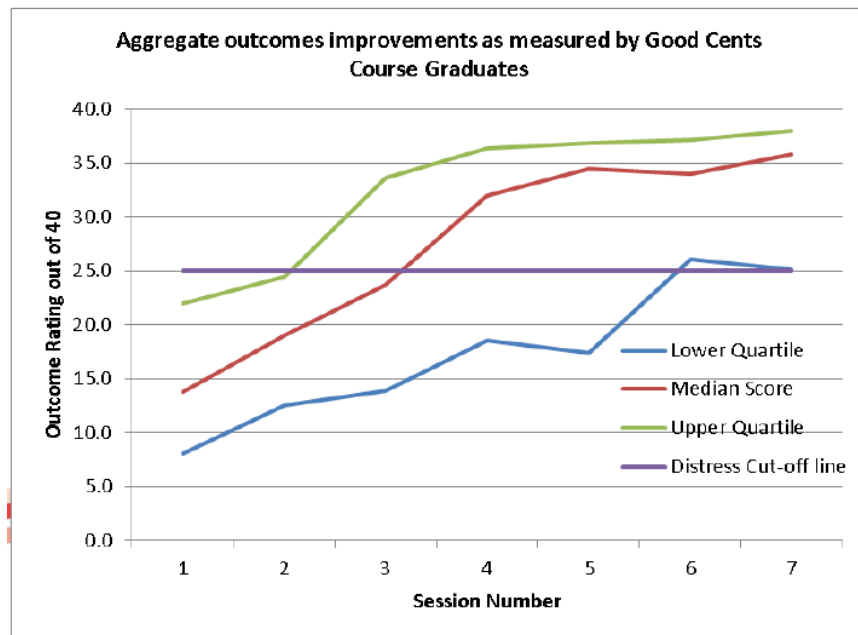
## Case study – Applying CLD to low income households – Good Cents Shared Vision



## Shared analysis



## Theory of Change to inform solutions ...



## PM hosting a conversation ...



### Valuing and intentionally supporting a community-led approach can greatly enhance poverty reduction strategies

Appreciating a community-led dynamic contributes to outcomes being:

- ✓ more effective
- ✓ more efficient
- ✓ more enduring
- ✓ generating a wider range of benefits

## We Are Beneficiaries, Sam Orchard



In mid-July 2017 Metiria Turei, the co-leader of the New Zealand Green Party, spoke at the party's AGM about her time on social welfare in the 1990's. She used her experiences to speak out about how the social welfare system was a broken safety net that needed to be mended.

I was a disillusioned voter. Politicians were talking about being proud kiwis, about property ownership, about big business and bottling farm water. But THIS, this was an issue I felt connected to, and it was one of the first times in the election campaign that I felt like someone was speaking about people like me and my friends. Talking about the traps of poverty, and how messed up the welfare system is.

And then she got silenced. Within the month she had resigned as the co-leader.

I've been an artist for a long time, and involved in art activism. Mostly from an educational viewpoint – I'm passionate about sharing stories about queer and trans people, about our differences. I think stories change people. It's harder to ignore someone if you're touched by their humanity.





So I started talking to my friends ‘what can we do?’ It couldn’t be one voice – because one voice gets picked apart and scrutinised and is not powerful enough on its own. It had to be a lot of us. I figured a **dozen** of my artists friends and I could draw self portraits and share our stories. We’d be united and we’d feel really good and our friends would comment and say ‘yehhh!’ and then we’d feel better.

That’s not what happened.

I popped my story up, and others popped their stories up, and then people started messaging us sharing their stories and saying ‘I’m not an artist, but this is my story’, and more and more and more stories flooded in.

So a bunch of artists volunteered their time and energy (as artists often do – which is why we’re often beneficiaries) to take those valuable stories, and create art around them, and we shared them, and valued them. Some were big stories of outrageous policies and treatment of beneficiaries, and some were those tiny micro-aggressions that occur every day that slowly grind people down.

We learned heaps, and we messed up, and we kept sharing, and we collected the first 200 stories and themed them and gifted them to the government.

**Themes:**

- Lack of Compassion and Care
- Unfair expectations around working
- Cruel and Judgmental staff
- Lack of access to information
- Culture of fear and sanctions
- Privacy Concerns
- Broken Procedures
- Public Stigma
- Not Enough
- Institutional Bias



**What worked:**

- We didn’t have a plan, or an idea that this would take off. It just happened. I think it was a timing thing, and a medium thing. The election is a big motivator in order for people to do things fast and big and bold.
- We didn’t speak over people, we just used art to magnify the voices of people who wanted to be heard
- We valued people – sharing vulnerable stories in a climate of beneficiary bashing is such a courageous and strong thing to do, and we valued that with art – we’d message with the people who volunteered their stories and worked with them to try and put their

stories succinctly, our artists sat with these stories and took time to create beautiful images that we could gift back to the story tellers, we sent the art back to them before posting it online to make sure it was ok. And after we posted it,

- we created an online space and a chance to come together that was focused on beneficiaries and their voices.

### Learning:

- We didn't know stuff beforehand – we had to adapt really fast getting systems in place to cope with 100's of messages coming through per day to make sure we didn't leave people behind, or drop them, or mix things up.
- The big picture: I hadn't been on a benefit for a number of years, I'm also not a mum or a single mum, I'm pākeha, and I've only ever had to access welfare for disability reasons for a short time.
  - o The stories of the treatment of single mums, of people of colour, and of people with disabilities just keep coming through – people on the margins being targets for the worst treatment.
- There's amazing work being done. We often get asked for advice, and to be able to pass people on to organisations like AAAP, and the support they've given this project in the background, is massive.

### Tensions:

- We did this voluntarily – mostly queer and trans people, and mostly beneficiaries devoting 1000's of hours, it took massive tolls on our mental health, our finances, and our lives.
- We gifted an amazing, powerful report to parliament and have yet to see the fruit of that labour.
- #1 rule for artists is don't ever ask them to do free work. This has been huge – and it's something I wrestle with every time I assign an artist a story.
- What next? Feel like we're in a bit of a holding pattern for the future.



### Summary:

We did a good thing, we learnt a lot, we're hoping for change – it NEEDS to happen.

Sam Orchard's 2018 ***We Are Beneficiaries*** is available online [here](#).

The facebook page is at <https://www.facebook.com/WeAreBeneficiaries/>

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## Te Pae Tawhiti - Our Future, MSD's new strategy, Nic Blakeley



### Manaaki tangata, Manaaki whānau

The Ministry of Social Development helps New Zealanders to be safe, strong and independent  
New Zealanders get the support they require.

New Zealanders are resilient and live in inclusive and supportive communities.

New Zealanders participate positively in society and reach their potential.



### Mana Manaaki

A positive experience every time

### Kotahitanga

Partnering for greater impact



### Kia Takatū Tātou

Supporting long-term social and economic development



### Life on a benefit, Debbie Leyland

My name is Debbie Leyland and I am on a benefit. I am also the co-founder, coordinator and spokesperson for UCAN – United Community Action Network Aotearoa NZ, and I am on the steering group of the Equality Network – both of which are voluntary roles.

Every week after I pay rent power and bills I am left with \$70 a week. The sad thing is, among my friends I'm considered rich. My \$70 covers my weekly food, transport, medication and doctor's fees. It's really hard. Most weeks I'm also helping out my family – putting \$10 into my daughter or son's account, or buying them a top up card or whatever they need.

My daughter has carpal tunnel syndrome which affects her hands so she can't work. She has an 8-month-old baby. She and her partner are on a benefit, and they are left with just \$102 a week after power and rent, to support two adults and my 8 month old grandchild. \$102 for food and everything else including nappies.

A while ago my daughter was over, and I found some money under the bed. I asked her what we should buy as a treat, and we both said peaches! It was like we'd won lotto. Who can afford to buy fruit? No one that I know. I haven't seen a full fruit bowl, in the house of anyone I know, for years.

We bought some cauliflower and we were in heaven, it was like Christmas. I'd love to be able to fill my cupboards with fresh vegetables and food so when my family come I could feed them a really wholesome meal. My fridge is empty. I've got a can of baked beans and a can of tomatoes. I haven't bought a block of cheese for months. It's too expensive.

I'm on the invalid's benefits because I suffer from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder due to things that happened during my childhood. I suffer from depression and anxiety. It's very difficult but I'm at a level now where I'm well and I can maintain my life. But sometimes I can't afford my medication, because I don't have enough money, and then I become really unwell.

I feel like being on a benefit has impacted on my life hugely. The saddest thing for me is the reaction when I'm working out in the community. There's a lot of people who, when you say you are a beneficiary, think you are either a bludger, or lazy, or whatever. The second part is the financial restraints – it is nearly impossible to live on that amount of money. People frame being on the benefit as a choice. I didn't wake up and think "I'm going to go on the benefit and live in complete poverty for the rest of my life." I didn't ask to be here.

Every day I have to make choices. Do I go to the doctor or do I feed the kids? It's an ongoing battle. I used to go out and about, and now I don't. The last time I actually went out with my friends was 2 and a half years ago. I can't do things that people take for granted like going out as a family for dinner, or going out to entertainment. It's really hard.

It was my granddaughter's birthday the other day, and I just didn't have enough money to buy her a present or even to go out to Porirua to see her. I just had to ring her and say "happy birthday". I'd like to be able to take my daughter or grandchildren for a walk through the town belt but they can't afford the train fare from Porirua, and I can't afford to get out there. Being on the benefit really creates distance within families.

Being on a benefit and being in a Housing Corp house creates a community of fear. If something happens in my house, nothing ever gets done. After the big earthquake, my bedroom door fell off. They haven't come to fix that. The toilet upstairs leaks, my windows have mould all over them and I have to wash them every few days. You can't lock the front door – it's been like that for about a year. I had my granddaughter over here 2 weeks ago, and she kicked a ball through the window. I rang Housing Corp and they sent someone over to board up the window. It's been three weeks and they still haven't fixed it. But you don't want to kick up too much fuss because there's a constant worry that they might throw you out.

I hate going to WINZ. There's nothing more humiliating than having to go to WINZ and ask a complete stranger for money. It's horrible. When I went to WINZ to get some help with a washing machine, my appointment was at 2 o'clock, but I didn't get to see my case manager until 3.30. People think that if you are on the benefit your time is not important and you have nothing better to do. What about the people who have to pick up their kids from school? My

local WINZ in Kilbirnie has moved to Newtown, so if you need assistance or a grant or medicine you have to walk to Newtown. That has affected so many people. We just don't go now. It's too far to walk.

Not having enough resources affects everything - it makes doing things you might take for granted more difficult. For example, I went to the Doctor with a friend who was unwell. It had been put off for ages because they couldn't afford to go, but they finally got to go. Only our bus was late so we were 10 minutes late for the appointment, and they cancelled our appointment. My friend still had to pay for the missed appointment, and couldn't really afford to make another one.

I'm asking the Government to increase benefits. By increasing the benefit and providing fairer income support it would mean that I could actually partake in society. I could spend more time with my family, I would be able to eat a healthy diet. I could go to the doctor when I need to. I could have some dignity.

Getting special or an emergency benefit, for example a food grant, as cash would make life so much easier. It would mean I could buy veggies at the Newtown market, cheap Indian grains at places like the Spice Market, and shop around for cheap heaters that I want. Plus, the cards that WINZ gives you are only valid for three days. So in the middle of winter when it's pouring with rain, you have to walk in the rain to the shops and back with your shopping – all because your card can't be used on the bus and you don't have spare money. It's a real struggle.

UCAN (United Community Action Network Aotearoa NZ) is a coalition of organisations campaigning together to improve our health system. Child Poverty Action Group was one of the first organisations to support UCAN. Campaigns like this are really important and I encourage you to get involved.



## Whānau Ora and a Mātauranga Māori Approach to Welfare, Dr Hirini Kaa

I'd like to acknowledge you for what you shared with us just before. I'd like to acknowledge you. We have a saying in Te Reo Maori, "Ko te tohu a te rangatira ko te manaaki" (the sign of greatness, of chiefness in the Maori world is generosity, is hospitality, is blessing). You blessed us today with your words which I'd like to thank you for that as a sign of greatness. So thank you, and thank you to all those who have also shared their experiences of their lives today. That's what greatness should look like in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. That's some of the challenge before us I think. I also acknowledge Child Poverty Action Group. It is a real pleasure and honour to be asked to speak here today by the life-giving mafia that is Child Poverty Action Group. It's a request you can't possibly say no to.

The presentation today is part of a research project I'm doing except instead of writing things I play with photoshop all day. If pictures are worth a thousand words, there are several thousand words up there. It's about the Young Maori Party. I've got 20 minutes and I want to get something interesting across you. The idea of Mataranga, what is that and what place might it have in a discussion about welfare in Aotearoa New Zealand? The role of Tiriti which is still a thing, let's not pretend it will never be a thing, let's not pretend settlements will make it not a thing anymore. The Young Maori Party, but I'm also going to talk about the Maori Party a little bit. Whanau Ora and Wai 262, I'm going to do all that in 20 minutes so good luck. Also Ngati Porou, hater iwi call us Ngati Blow because we like the sound of our own voices, the korero. I've got about two hours' worth of stuff here to do in another 15 minutes so we'll see how we can go.

One point I want to think about today is Mataranga Maori has been underpinning a consistent and enduring approach to welfare and will continue to do so. Whanau Ora was not a fad invented by the Maori Party to sell its policies. Whanau Ora was the latest representation of a long, consistent and enduring way of approaching these issues by Maoridom and will continue to be. That's something for us to think about today.

First I'll bore you with some quotes. Mataranga is to know; Mataranga is often described as a body of knowledge. Things Maori know, particularly our pre-contact body of knowledge. We spent 5,000 years crossing the Pacific. Mataranga is bigger than just what we know, it is how we know, it's epistemologies. I like to use the term world view which has popped up a couple of times today. Maori knowledge complete with its values and attitudes. It's not only knowledge but the Maori way of knowing, what underpins and gives point and meaning to Maori knowledge, and it also can go alongside Mataranga-a-iwi, or iwi knowledge, hapu knowledge, whanau knowledge, ways of seeing the world as well. I'm also working on a term, because I live in Auckland, of Mataranga Moana, working with our Pacifica whanaunga, to think about where our knowledge comes from and how we can work together in this. That way of seeing the world is long, consistent, enduring and not factored in enough when we're thinking about policy, particularly when the state starts thinking about policy.

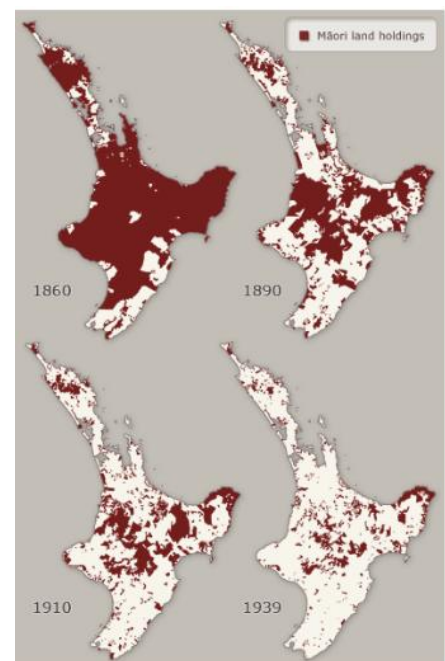


We've had these little glimpses, these possibilities, of Aotearoa and what it could be as guaranteed by Tiriti. It could have been a thing, it could be a thing. But of course at the intersection of capitalism and race, you often find violence – whether it's Black Lives Matter or the wars of the 1860s/70s in this land, there's an inevitability to it. Our korero here earlier today about fake news, Thomas Russell set up the NZ Herald in 1863 to drive a narrative about Waikato Tainui that leads to the invasion of Waikato that he cleans up from his commercial investments. Then he and his brother set up the law firms that are still the founding legal pillars of this country. Well done us, if we're talking about narratives, we're pretty bloody good at it as a country. The Waitangi Tribunal said that war in Taranaki went for 21 years and they called it a genocide and they called it a holocaust. It's not just a short, sharp couple of years in Taranaki, it goes for 21 years of campaign of terror being waged against Taranaki iwi that ends with the destruction and systematic rape of Parihaka in 1881. So that's our nation. That's the foundation of New Zealand despite a Prime Minister saying "isn't it good we were formed without war".

Then we become citizens in the worst possible way. Maturanga, the way of knowing, is quickly subsumed, quickly ignored and side-lined. It had been promised to us in certainty. Sovereignty is defined in that particularly aggressive way, comes through war and through various policies. Our Article 3 rights of citizenship are fully endowed upon us without negotiation, without discussion. We're told what that means for us. The Settler Assembly according to Claudia Orange willingly accepted the principle that Maori were British subjects and subsequently endorsed obligations when it suited. Again this has been part of New Zealand from our perspective, this is what it looked like for us and in an environment that was full of vindictive anti-Maori feeling. This is the full benefits of New Zealand citizenship. I know you know this story, but it's really important to think about as we think about how Maori fit into New Zealand, Aotearoa, and how Maturanga got extinguished in that process along the way. It should have disappeared by rights, it should have disappeared. The Native Land Court was only one expression of that policy which Judith Binney called an act of war.

This picture just paints a really quick little story for us. What were Maori supposed to do, and land was our economic base, our social base, our cultural base, our spiritual base, and look at it disappear. That's what poverty looks like in the making, that's what New Zealand looks like in the making. Frozen sheep exports to Britain, well done us and our New Zealand innovative spirit, and the cost was Maori land. You know our farming took off because it was fuelled by basically free Maori land. There's some capital to play with. Anyway, you all know.

Responses to that come in different ways. This narrative of resistance is incredibly important but is very complex at the same time. Ngati Porou's story, which is this story and other iwi have their variations on it, that's fine, we're very generous. We had, for example, an internal war in 1865 that spread down into other iwi and we ended up Rapata Wahawaha, who was our military leader. We did some terrible things in Tuhoe and as Monty Soutar said, we did it in order to maintain our tribal independence because there were no good choices before us. This was what we saw. We could have joined the





kingitanga and gone pan tribal but we decided actually we'll join our hapu together and do it as an iwi. Either way we knew extinction was on the horizon and we had to do some desperate acts. Not trying to justify it, it is what it is, that's between us and Tuhoe really. It was difficult and it was complicated and it wasn't all the narrative that's always pushed about resistance. It was complicated because Wahawaha saw the value of Pakeha education, global education.

Wahawaha by the way raised Apirana Ngata. This is going to be about Apirana Ngata shortly. Apirana Ngata goes to Te Aute College, where John Thornton is a particularly strange educationalist who believed fully in the potential of Maori students and said "I want every single one of my students to matriculate and go to university" which was a ridiculous idea now in our current education system. It was far more ridiculous at the time and he made a bloody good show of it, working alongside iwi leaders. Ngata made sure, he said to us "but that education is an external tool, he rakau mo to ringa, don't internalise it, don't take its values on, just remember it's there to be utilised in this global world, it's a tool for us". Thornton was teaching Latin, Euclid and algebra to these students and they were amazing students and they had this amazing relationship. He'd make fun of them because they couldn't speak English and they'd make fun of him because he couldn't speak Te Reo Maori. He took ice baths every day, teachers right? Hukarere Girls College went alongside it and their students went on to be part of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in huge numbers, that's the story I'm working on at the moment. Sorry, I'm just going to talk about the boys briefly.

This generation of leadership comes out of Te Aute including Apirana Ngata, Reweti Kohere, Maui Pomare became the first Maori doctor, sends himself off to the Seventh Day Adventist Medical School in Michigan. Tutere Wi Repa becomes the second doctor. Te Rangi Hiroa Peter Buck, amazing generation of leadership equipped with the skills to grapple with the future in front of them. Of course they're working together and they formed this formal/informal body called the Young Maori Party and it becomes a really powerful force within Maoridom at the time at the turn of the century. History doesn't treat them that well, often describes them as an assimilationist, collaborators, kupapa, a confused little word, but of course look at what they were trying to deal with at the time. Even their mentor James Carroll, they were trying to hold off a tsunami of greed, of capitalism, at the time. They did the best they could. If you read their writings in Te Reo Maori it's very different from what they're saying in English. They had two channels of communication, we'll put it that way. I prefer one of them. Of course our historians haven't spoken Te Reo Maori so you've only seen one side of the story so far.

They peaked with milk, their peak idea was milk. The development schemes, particularly Ngati Porou, this is Apirana Ngata became Minister of Native Affairs in the late 1920s. He's bringing all their ideas together for Maoridom. Maori succeeding as Maori, that's my words, but that was their drive. That's a really simple way of summing it up. They wanted to be successful in the world that they found but they wanted to do it as themselves, as ourselves. They'd use state money to improve, equip and finance land for settlement, for farming. Yes we destroyed a lot of our own land, created some real environmental crises later on down the track through dairying. Some things don't change. It was a good plan, it was the best plan they could think of at the time. Again it wasn't huge, it was big but not huge. Ngata used the resources of the state to develop these farms. These farms were for whanau, these farms are to be owned by Maori,



led by Maori, Maori farming, living as Maori, and the money would be used for Maori purposes, to provide arts and culture, to keep Te Reo alive. To pay for our Maori churches, to do anything we needed to do for our communities. The Ngati Porou Dairy Company in 1925 was established. We had our own brand of butter called Ngati which we exported to far off places like Auckland and Wellington. The annual accounts were both English and Maori. Maori shareholders in all these works. It was whanau based, it was all about Maori leadership, Ngata was very clear about the model. There were bureaucrats of course from Native Affairs but he tried to sideline them as much as he could because he wanted these whanau succeeding on their own terms and was willing to use state money to get them to that point but then please keep out of it state because you keep interfering and don't know what you're doing and you'll get in the way of what we need to do as a people. It funded education, my educational achievement, I can trace its direct whakapapa back to this milking scheme. My father was funded through this, I learnt from him, it's a direct result. It was a game changer in a lot of ways for Maoridom. But it didn't last.

In 1936 Ratana and Labour have a very sacred pact, a very meaningful pact, Ratana had huge support across Maoridom. Over half of Maori signed his covenant because he was an amazing gifted man and a centenary of the beginning of this movement comes up on the 8<sup>th</sup> of November this year. It's going to be huge for Maoridom. The Social Security Act of 1938 comes in with Ratana support. They didn't own all the seats then but they had a couple of them and they were strongly supportive of Labour's developments. What was not to support with Social Security Act? I did a lot of oral interviews of Kaumatua around at the time, they loved the idea. In fact they told me they were cutting scrub when they heard the Act was passed "we celebrated, we threw our cutters into the air". I was like can you imagine them all coming down again. It was a nice image. This is Ngata though in 1940s, a couple of years after it. Of course it's through a little lens of political bitterness I suppose. He can see the end coming and he loses his seat which he held from 1905, he loses it to Labour-Ratana in 1943. He was the last hold-out. So I don't know if this jumps from earlier but the Young Maori Party got wiped out by the Labour government by the 1940s. Here's this critique from Ngata: "*The Labour policy of increased social benefits, higher wages for less work and equality of Pakeha and Maori, [interesting that term equality], was striking a severe blow at the things I'd come to regard as fundamental to the maintenance of the individuality of the Maori people.*"

He's saying this new way, this new system, was degrading what they'd been trying to do. It's degrading really what it meant to be Maori in some ways. The social system dependency ... so we'd managed to hold out against their educational attacks, the economic attacks, but it was undermining the way we were supposed to be living, the way we were supposed to be living as our culture together. I know it's a strange argument against that increased funding, particularly in the depth of depression. Maori suffered in the depression far more than Pakeha, even though you get these narratives floating around that we were fine because we were self-sustaining. No, the records are terrible for Maori. Unemployment was spectacular for Maori, of course, during the depression. Ngata's not oblivious to this but he's saying: what is the impact of this on our culture, on our future as a people? Again I'm aware of the political bitterness in there, but it's a fact. Big welfare state 1950s, when John Key was a child, it was often dropped out at our CPAG meetings. 1960-65 is the massive Maori migration from the country to the cities encouraged by the state. We were offered homes, we were offered jobs, we were offered a much better lifestyle out of the grinding endless poverty of the country. We took it with both hands. We were induced into the cities. But there were challenges for us in the long

run. Here in Te Wiki o Te Reo Maori, our language is still at risk of disappearing, still at risk today in 2018. The price of this was very, very high, very, very high.

Mamari Stephens wrote an amazing report which you should all read, about Whanau Ora. It's really insightful, it's brilliant, on the Child Poverty Action Group website. Amazing what you can find if you look around. She talks though, she's got this quote "*the entire benefit structure that has been implemented since 1938 is simply anathema to the Whanau Ora collective and Tikanga Maori approach*". That's a bit conservative, luckily she said it so I didn't have to. It's great. Got to love quotes in that way. There were consistent attempts since Ngata, since the Young Maori Party, to keep trying to resurface it. Winston Peters gets sacked for trying to implement policies that the government didn't like because, well, the state might lose one iota of control over this process and we can't have that under any government so let's get rid of that quite quickly. What is Whanau Ora according to Tariana Turia in 2012, it's about working with whanau to enable them to be self-determining.

Whanau Ora must place whanau at the centre, ensuring whanau can make the best informed decisions and lead their own journey in the way they best determine for themselves. It's about whanau becoming self-managing, living healthy lifestyles, participating fully to society, confidently participating in Te Ao Maori, becoming financially secure and successfully involved in wealth creation and cohesive, resilient and nurturing. It's bigger than what we might think about with welfare. Outside the scope in some ways of notions of welfare and not about alleviating poverty and it's not about a safety net, it's bigger than that. It also faces some significant challenges. It subverts the primacy of the individual and yet those that implement the approach must continue to work within legal, governmental and political system that's formed and informed by this principle of individuality. It's a pretty core idea in western philosophy as I understand, the way western philosophers think. It's up against it. It's got several challenges. They're running the Whanau Ora conference in Auckland right now, and Peeni Henare says our challenge is to embed Whanau Ora in everything our government does. Yet the Maori Party, they weren't particularly young – young at heart, the Maori Party got run out of town by a Labour government, Whanau Ora disappears and we get a much nicer, gentler overlord back in place – is one way of thinking about this process as it is happening at the moment. Just as he did, it's our instinct not to really accept this.

One thing I want you to think about is where this goes in the future. You think we're just going to stop trying for something like Whanau Ora – Whanau Ora is a bloody terrible name, they've got the words whanau and ora and stuck them together. But it says something. It's that instinct, that impulse, for us to succeed as ourselves. Sorry, here's the trippy little ending to all this. Well it was about Maori, right? Wai 262, I love this report. Don't read most of it because it's for lawyers about intellectual property and other stuff like that. The Tribunal is saying what happens to the Treaty after settlements? Because it's not going to go away so what needs to happen to it? They've thought really well about this in this report. Wai 262 Ko Aotearoa Tenei. It's about the future of the Treaty and about the future of New Zealand. What happens when it turns from a breached contract to an exchange of solemn promises? They're saying it's about Maori cultural identity being a founding pillar of our national project. Not just for Maori but for all of us here in Aotearoa New Zealand. This last bit, it's a genuine infusion of the core motivating principles of Maturanga



Maori such as whanaungatana and kaitiakitanga, so relationships and guardianship, into all aspects of our national life including I'll propose into our welfare system. Now that doesn't mean ... it's a good attempt but it's not cultural competency, right? It's not putting some Maori labels on an approach that's still fundamentally at odds with a Maori world view. It's actually embracing those principles into its heart. It's saying to all our whanau across Aotearoa let's start thinking differently about this, about the way we approach this. Let's move past the individual. What if we really incorporate Maturanga into our national life? What would a welfare system look like that didn't just use some Te Reo Maori labels and approaches but fundamentally took it on board? I don't know. But we've had some models in New Zealand in the past that had some potential. It really requires the state to let go of a little bit of its control as well along the way. For Maori, we're a long-term people. We're desperate in the short term, we're kept desperate in the short term, but, you know, if it's 2050 or 2080, we're just going to keep trying and keep trying until we get there. What Wai 262 says is you're all welcome to come with us on this now as well. It's not just going to be exclusively for Maori. In this, Te Wiki o Te Reo Maori, where Guyon Espiner becomes a good role model, what does that mean for non-Maori in this country as well, who are the majority of this room here today as well.

I'll leave you with those thoughts. Tena kotou katoa. Kia ora.

## Panel

### Supporting people through change, Dr Bill Rosenberg

#### Overview

Focus on the support given to workers who lose their jobs: "Active Labour Market Policies"

- Change is coming: "The Future of Work"
- How are we doing?
- A different approach

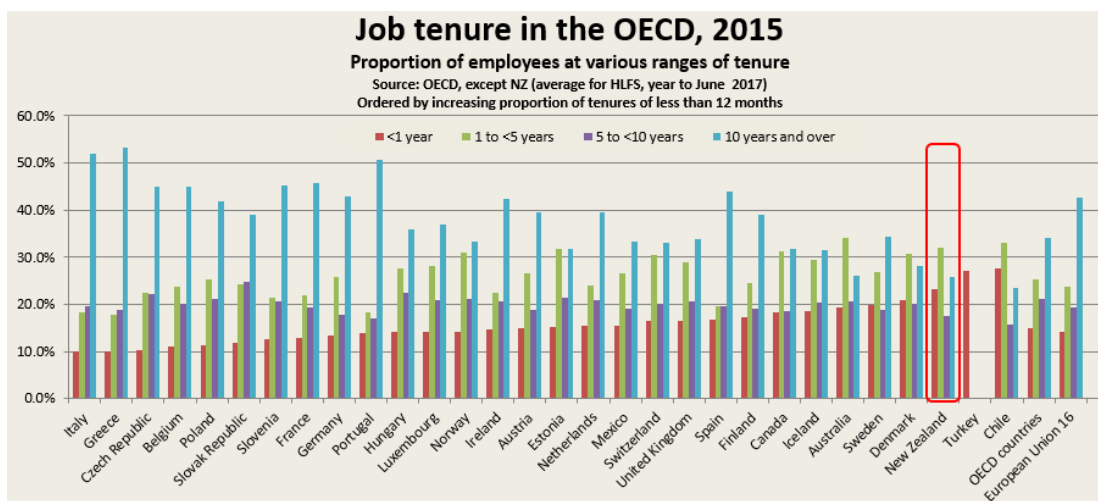
#### Change is coming: "The Future of Work"

- Globalisation, Climate change, Technology, Demographics ... all mean changes in work
  - *Redundant skills, industries changing or disappearing*
- Hard to predict what it will look like but we have choices and we can prepare for it
  - **Industry policies** to replace old jobs with better jobs, not more *baristas*
  - **Employment laws** and policies that ensure everyone shares in the *benefits*
  - **A capable state** to help people through change



#### How are we doing?

Jobs they are a-churning...



The legal protection against dismissal provided by the labour and case law in New Zealand is more flexible than in any other OECD country. (OECD (2017), 'Back to Work: New Zealand: Improving the Re-employment Prospects of Displaced Workers', OECD Publishing, Paris. At <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264264434-en>)

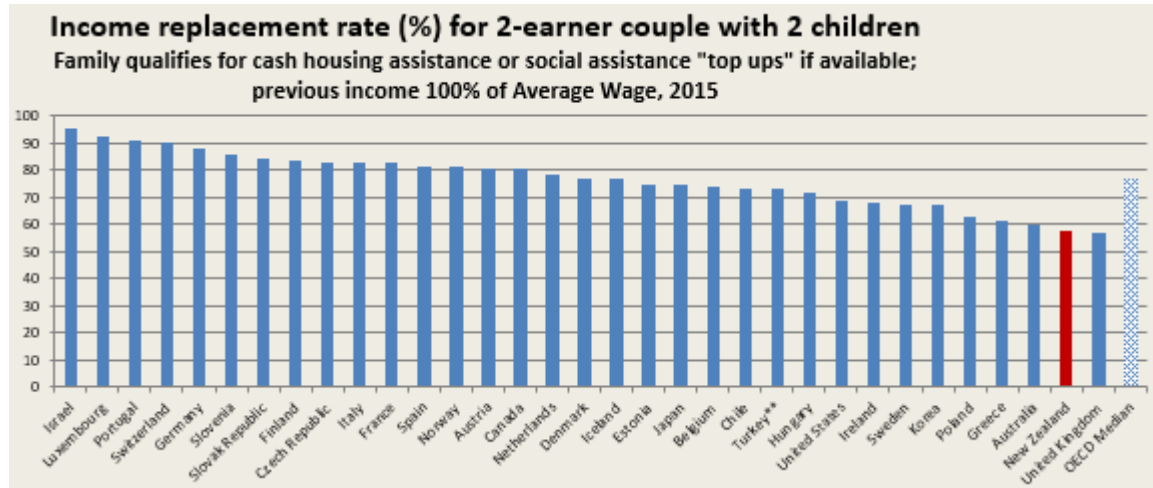


- “The downside of flexible labour market regulations is that the costs of economic restructuring largely fall onto individual workers.”
- “... wage losses for re-employed displaced workers reach 12% in the first year after displacement, compared with negligible wage effects in Germany and the United Kingdom and a loss of 6% in the United States and Portugal.” (OECD 2017)

Hyslop and Townsend (2017, Motu) estimate displaced workers’ earnings and total income were 25-30% lower in the first year and 13-22% lower five years after being displaced:

*Compared to workers who did not lose their jobs, we estimate their employment rate was 20-25% lower in the year following displacement and, although their employment gradually improved, was still 8-12% lower five years later. Similarly, we estimate displaced workers’ conditional earnings and total income were 25-30% lower in the first year and 13-22% lower five years after being displaced.* (Hyslop, D., & Townsend, W. (2017). ‘The Longer Term Impacts of Job Displacement on Labour Market Outcomes (Working Paper No. 17–12)’. Wellington, New Zealand: Motu Economic and Public Policy Research. <http://motu.nz/our-work/population-and-labour/individual-and-group-outcomes/the-longer-term-impacts-of-job-displacement-on-labour-market-outcomes/>)

## Net Income Replacement Rates in initial phase of unemployment in OECD, 2015



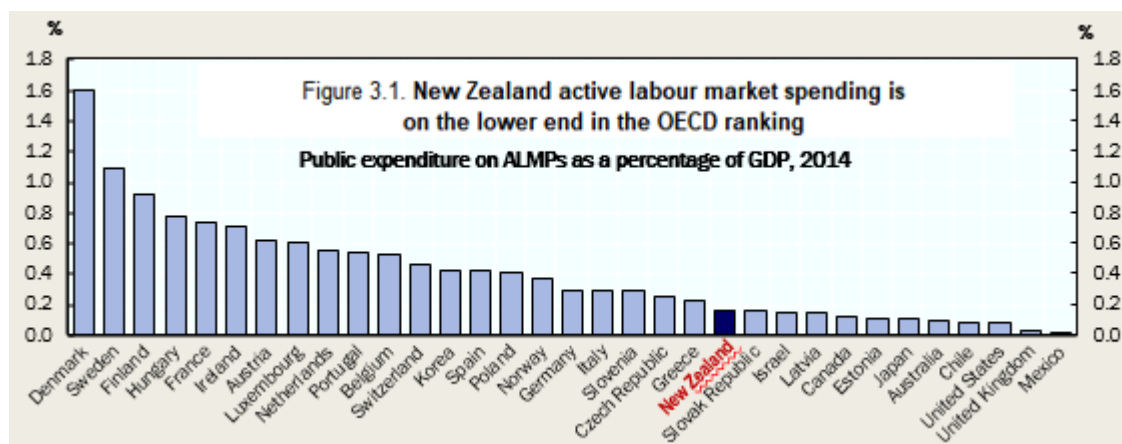
Source: OECD **Benefits and Wages: Statistics**, available at <http://www.oecd.org/els/benefits-and-wages-statistics.htm> \*\* Average Wage value is not available. Calculations are based on Average Production Worker

*Note: Similar picture at incomes of 67% and 150% of AW.*

### And not many qualify:

- “By far the largest gaps in Unemployment Benefit (UB) coverage are found in Australia and New Zealand, where the first tier UB programme is designed as a safety net of last resort that provides a flat-rate payment to families whose income and liquid assets are below the minimum adequacy standards set by the government...”
- “This results in relatively few displaced workers qualifying for public income support following displacement, at least initially, although more become eligible eventually if they remain unemployed for an extended period and their spouse has little or no earnings. For example, only about one-third of the stock of non-employed displaced workers reported welfare benefit receipt in 2015 in New Zealand.” (Source: OECD 2018, p.168)

“We are combining one of the highest turnover rates with some of the poorest support for working people when they lose their jobs, despite evidence that more adequate spending is associated with better outcomes.” (OECD 2018, p. 152)



### A different approach

Why do people need support?

- Predominantly because of structural factors in the economy and employment relations:
  1. *levels of unemployment, precarious employment, restructuring of industries, recessions*
- Most people needing support are no more personally at fault than someone needing hospital care or ACC
- These are 'treated' by
  1. *Removing causes*
  2. *Giving people the help they need to return to normal life*

**Table 4.1. A taxonomy of public and private measures to reduce the labour market adjustment costs borne by displaced workers**

Types of measures	Direct	Indirect
General	<p><b>Unemployment insurance (UI) and other income-replacement benefits</b> available to all unemployed workers under common rules.</p> <p><b>Active labour market programmes (ALMPs)</b> available to all unemployed workers under common rules.</p>	<p><b>Macroeconomic and structural policies</b> conducive to strong growth and high employment.</p> <p><b>Framework conditions</b> for efficient reallocation of labour in response to structural change (e.g. adjustment-friendly EPL and housing policies conducive to geographic mobility).</p>
	<p><b>Public insurance schemes against unpaid compensation</b> when employers declare bankruptcy without making provision to fully compensate workers.</p>	<p><b>Education and training policies that anticipate and meet</b> emerging skill demands.</p>
Targeted	<p><b>Special adjustment assistance or income-replacement benefits</b> available to all displaced workers or to sub-groups of displaced workers (e.g. job losers in specific sectors or workers who lost their job due to a particular natural disaster).</p>	<p><b>Industry redevelopment</b> or rationalisation programmes.</p>
	<p><b>EPL rules regulating economic layoffs</b>, such as requirements for advance notification and severance payments, or rules about which workers are selected to be dismissed during a partial layoff.</p>	<p><b>Local economic development policies</b> (e.g. geographically targeted tax or hiring subsidies, or public-private partnerships to develop new sources of comparative advantage).</p>
	<p><b>Private outplacement services that employers and/or trade unions offer</b> to certain displaced workers.</p>	<p><b>Trade policy measures</b> to restrict imports such as tariffs and industry-specific trade safeguards or anti-dumping measures under WTO rules.</p>

Note: the OECD does not necessarily support all of these; there are also some I do not support

- Government objective of Full Employment, fiscal and monetary policies to achieve this
  - *Jobs for all those willing and able to work*
  - *Good jobs – secure, sufficient income for a dignified life*
- Industry development policies
  - *Replacement of industries with better ones as they wane*
  - *Regional data on jobs, skills, existing and potential new industry*
- Support for retraining during working life – life long learning

**But recognise greater turnover and recessions are still likely:**

- ***Need much more effective support***
- Tripartite design, governance and implementation
- Both collective and individual support

*Collective support could include:*

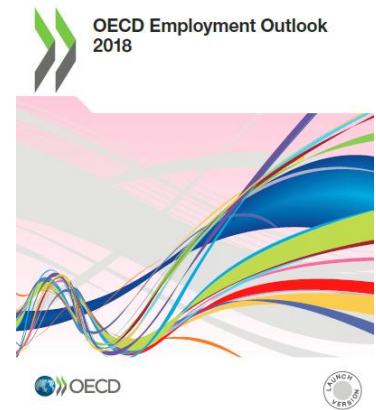
- Employers required to notify redundancy situations to authorities

- Rapid reaction teams when large scale redundancy occurs
- Involvement of local and central government services, unions
- Arrangements with employers to find similar jobs within same industry

**Some suggestions from OECD (2018). *OECD Employment Outlook 2018*.** Paris, France: OECD Publishing. [https://doi.org/10.1787/empl\\_outlook-2018-en](https://doi.org/10.1787/empl_outlook-2018-en):

“... strong confirmation of the importance of constructive employer and union engagement in assisting displaced workers, especially when these private initiatives are effectively coordinated with public assistance.”

- Group assistance after mass layoffs increases effectiveness
- Examples of
  - *Rapid Re-employment and Training Service (RRTS) in Ontario, Canada*
  - *Employer-union Job Security Councils (JSCs) in Sweden*



### **For example, FIRST union in New Zealand**

Receivership of Lane Walker Rudkin in Christchurch:

- *Organised delegate to assess skills and needs of fellow workers*
- *Brought in local politicians, other employers in the industry*
- *MSD eventually agreed to fund delegate full time*
- *He spoke to every worker to find out their wishes, skills*
- *Called local employers, arranged transport to job interviews*
- *Called on former workers to check how they were going*
- *Helped arrange mortgage holidays, counselling*
- *Work found for all but 6 or 8 of the 350 former employees*



Ref: “Why being made redundant in NZ is so tough”, Kate Newton, 3 Sept 2018, <https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/in-depth/365540/why-being-made-redundant-in-nz-is-so-tough>

### **Individual support:**

- Income replacement like ACC: 80% of previous income, perhaps levy-funded
  - *For up to 12 months, then normal unemployment benefit levels apply*
- Includes recognising *mutual responsibility* of
  - *state to support and*
  - *people who accept the support to act to prepare for and find a suitable job*
- Financial and practical support for acquiring new skills and qualifications: e.g.
  - *Careers advice*
  - *Placement in firms including job subsidies, independent mentoring, and training*
  - *Funding for substantive vocational courses to update or reskill*
  - *Support to find new jobs: “Matching plus” – good jobs, workers with right skills*



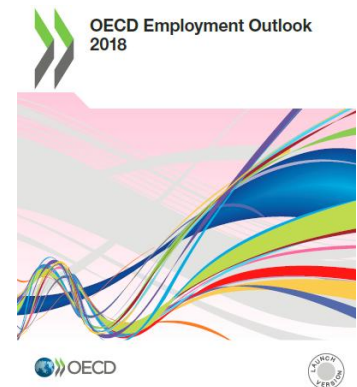
- Assistance in moving to another region if necessary

- End stand-downs

**OECD 2018 confirms:** “consistent evidence is found that job-search assistance, targeted wage subsidies and training all increased post-displacement participation, employment and earnings...”

If a region is permanently depressed, workers should be supported in moving to other regions,

“However, experience shows that many displaced workers (and their families) have strong ties to their community, implying that the focus often needs to be on promoting successful job placement where they live, possibly including measures such as hiring subsidies for local employers and broader efforts to diversify the local economy.”



- Agencies like MSD are “most effective at placing low-skilled workers with relatively little or relatively unstable work histories into low-paying jobs.”
- Suggests “a separate track of re-employment services for more skilled displaced workers”
- Participation in these should not be dependent on receiving income support

### Conclusion

- Current system combines among highest job turnover with poorest protection and support for people who lose their jobs in OECD
- Poor basis for the significant change certain in the 21<sup>st</sup> century
- We have an opportunity to learn from international good practice
- But needs funding and changes to the spirit and substance of support for laid off workers

### Thank you

Bill Rosenberg, Economist/Director of Policy, NZCTU [billr@nzctu.org.nz](mailto:billr@nzctu.org.nz)

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### Shifting the narrative around welfare, Alan Johnson



GEORGE LAKOFF on TRUMP'S VICTORY:

*'Voters don't vote their self interest, they vote their values'*



*'I want to know why people should not have decent wages, why they should not have decent pensions in the evening of their years, or when they are invalided. What is there more valuable in Christianity than to be our brother's keepers in reality?'*

*'I want to see humanity secure against poverty, secure in illness or old age'*

MICHAEL JOSEPH SAVAGE  
1938 Budget Speech at the passing of the Social Security Act – 13 September 1938

THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY



Mike Wesley-Smith's TV3 report on Auckland's Hidden Homeless in May 2016

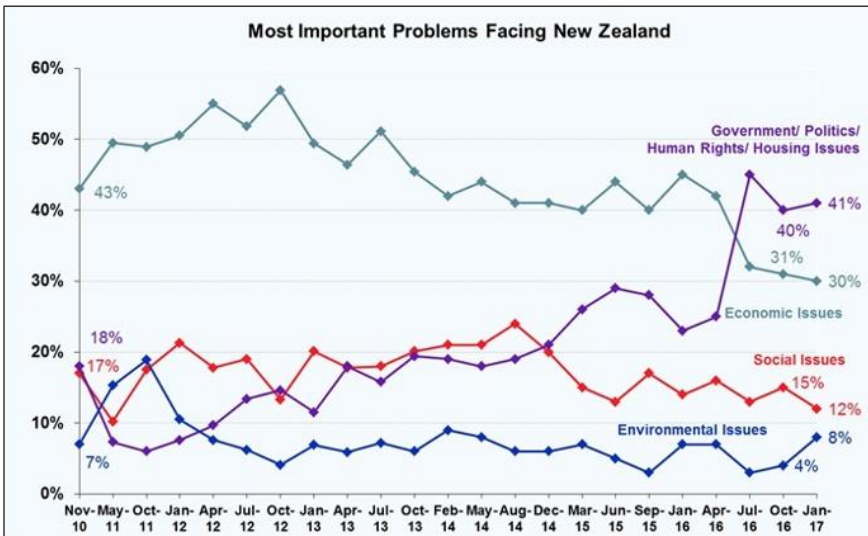


Park-Up-Homes in June to August 2016



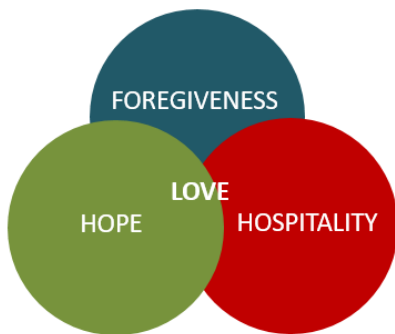
Lisa Owen's TV3 expose of predatory landlords renting out garages in South Auckland July 2016

## The ROLE of CIVIL SOCIETY



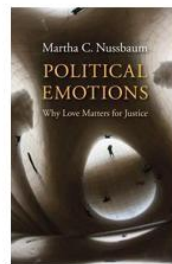
SOURCE: ROY MORGAN RESEARCH  
<http://www.roymorgan.com/findings/7128-most-important-problems-facing-new-zealand-february-2017-201702271519>

## The BASIS of a NEW NARRATIVE



### LOVE CHANGES EVERYTHING

*'If distant people and abstract principles are to get a grip of our emotions, therefore, these emotions must somehow position themselves within our circle of concern, creating a sense of 'our' life in which these people and events matter as part of 'our' us our own flourishing'*



*'all of the core emotions that sustain a decent society have their roots in, or are forms of, love – by which I mean intense attachments to things outside the control of our will'*

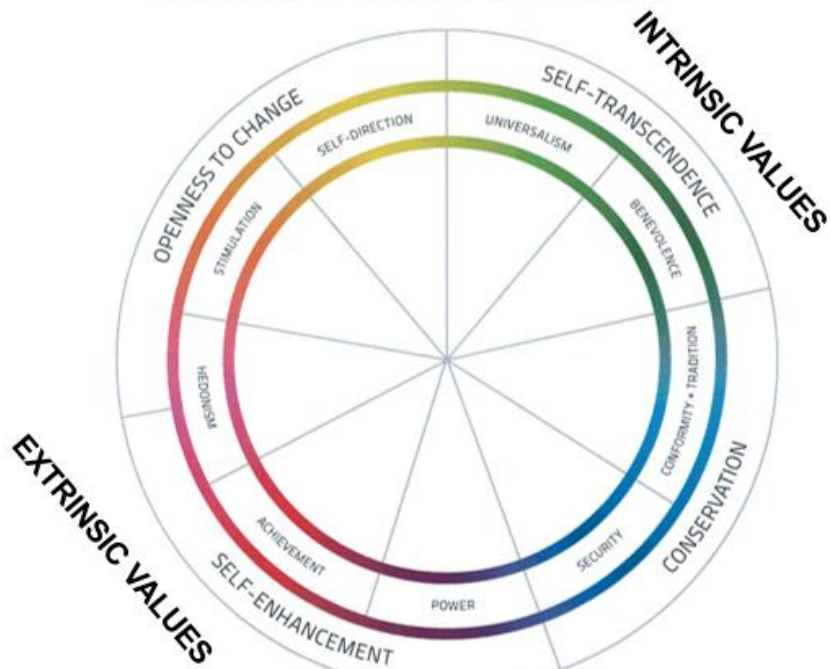
# The QUESTION of VALUES



SOURCE: Common Cause website at <http://valuesandframes.org/>

# The QUESTION of VALUES

## SCHWARTZ'S VALUES CIRCLE

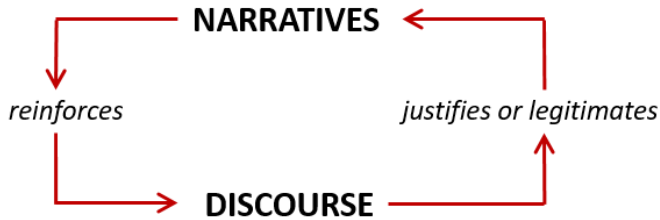


SOURCE: Common Cause website at <http://valuesandframes.org/>

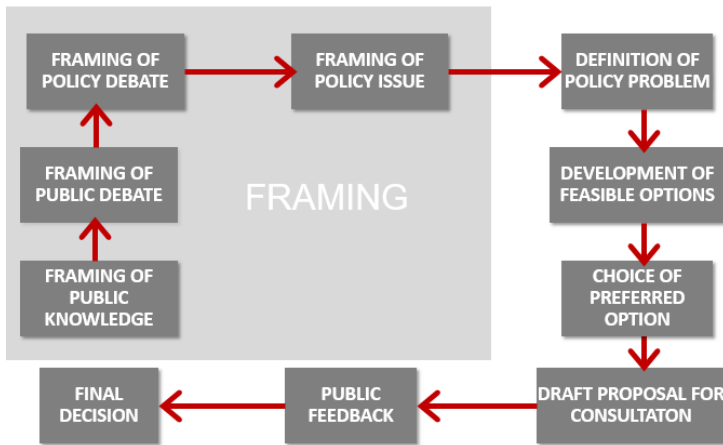
**NARRATIVE & FRAMING**

**NARRATIVES** – the language, symbols and ideas we use to express our world view

**DISCOURSE** – the debate around world views  
 - it is both ontological and epistemological  
 - it may be hegemonic.



**NARRATIVE & FRAMING**



**NARRATIVE & FRAMING**

FRAMING of PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE	<i>The nature of criminal deviance</i>
FRAMING of the PUBLIC DEBATE	<i>This is an increasing dangerous society</i>
FRAMING of the POLICY DEBATE	<i>How do we deal with violent crime?</i>
FRAMING of the POLICY ISSUE	<i>How do we control violent offenders?</i>
DEFINITION of the POLICY PROBLEM	<i>What sort of prison do we need?</i>
DEVELOPMENT of FEASIBLE OPTIONS	<i>Where should the prison be?</i>
CHOICE of PREFERRED OPTION	<u>Waikeria</u>
DRAFT PROPOSAL for CONSULTATION	<i>What are the environmental impacts?</i>
CONSIDERATION of FEEDBACK	<i>How do we deal with Iwi concerns?</i>
FINAL DECISION	<i>An Iwi liaison committee will keep them happy</i>

## SOME WAY FORWARD

### The rebirth of VIRTUE ETHICS

Virtue ethics has made a comeback since the late 1950s although it does not yet offer a complete story of the basis of our moral compass.

Scottish moral philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre has offered some seminal work in his *After Virtue*



He suggests that a way forward (and out of our liberal rationalism) involves three elements

- a focus on a **personal practice** aimed at excellence
- the use of a **shared narrative** about a worthwhile life
- the development of a shared **moral tradition**

## SOME WAY FORWARD

### REFRAMING the NARRATIVE

1. It is important not to use your opponents framing or even refer to it
2. Stories are important – especially ones with a joined up to a bigger narrative
3. Appeal to the nurturing/ empathetic values right from the start



*We know there's injustice. We know there's intolerance. We know there is discrimination and hate and suspicion and we know there is division among us.*

*But there is a larger truth. We have proved that great progress is possible. We know how much still remains to be done and if our efforts continue and if our will is strong and if our hearts are right and if courage remains our constant companion then my fellows Americans I am confident -we shall overcome.*

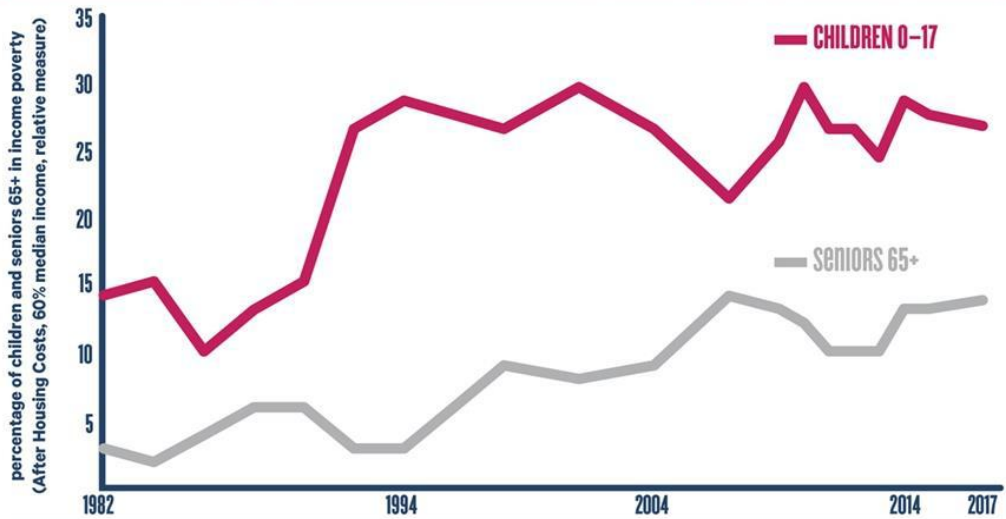
LBJ's final public speech 1968

## A new era of prioritising and respecting children, Dr Amanda D'Souza

How can politicians and policy-makers reform the welfare system so that it is fit for families in the 21st century?

Collectively we share a vision: that children's wellbeing should be at the heart of all policies. Ono (6) key reflections for Aotearoa

### KIWI CHILDREN EXPERIENCING INCOME POVERTY OVER THE LAST THREE DECADES COMPARED TO SENIORS



CHILDREN'S LEVEL OF INCOME POVERTY **In 1982 = 14%** → CHILDREN'S LEVEL OF INCOME POVERTY **Today = 27%**

#### New Zealand

New Zealand's most shameful secret: 'We have normalised child poverty'

One-third of the country's children, or 300,000, now live below the poverty line - 45,000 more than a year ago



Emily Sabu and her family inside their rental room in South Auckland. Photograph: Eleanor Ainge Roy

Overall rank	Country	Average rank
1	Sweden	4.5
2	Iceland	6.2
3	Norway	6.7
4	Korea	6.8
5	Denmark	8.0
6	Netherlands	8.3
7	Finland	10.3
8	Australia	11.0
9	Switzerland	11.2
10	Luxembourg	12.0
11	Japan	12.8
12	Canada	13.0
13	Ireland	13.5
14	Germany	14.2
15	Spain	15.3
16=	France	16.0
16=	Hungary	16.0
18	Austria	16.2
19	Belgium	16.7
20	United Kingdom	16.8
21	Czech Republic	17.7
22	Poland	17.8
23	United States	18.8
24	Portugal	19.3
25	Italy	19.7
26	New Zealand	20.2
27	Slovak Republic	20.7
28	Greece	21.0
29	Turkey	26.2
30	Mexico	28.4

## Overall rank in child wellbeing

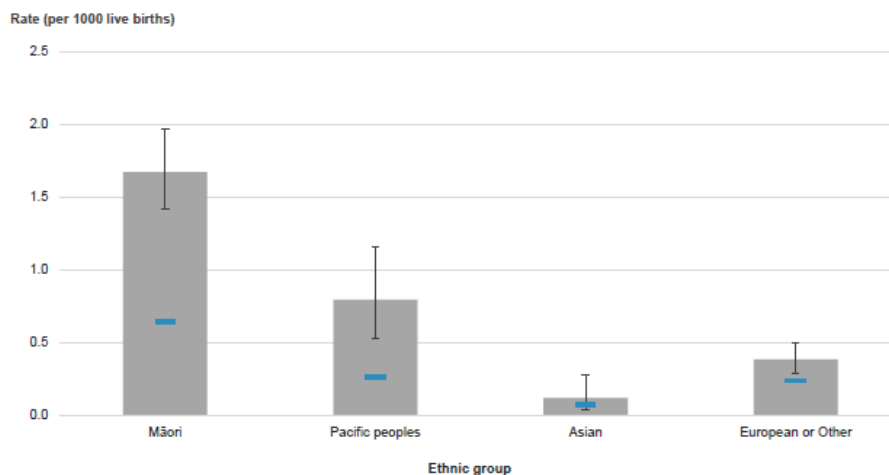
Country
Norway
Germany
Denmark
Sweden
Finland
Iceland
Switzerland
Republic of Korea
Slovenia
Netherlands
Ireland
Japan
United Kingdom
Luxembourg
Austria
Spain
Estonia
Portugal
France
Czech Republic
Australia
Croatia
Poland
Italy
Canada
Belgium
Cyprus
Lithuania
Malta
Slovakia
Czechia
Finland
Lithuania
New Zealand
Ireland
Turkey
United States
Malta
Romania
Hungary
China

**2017**  
Children & the SDGs  
in rich countries,  
(Innocenti UNICEF)

**2009**  
Doing better for  
children (OECD)



## Sudden unexpected death in infancy 2010–14

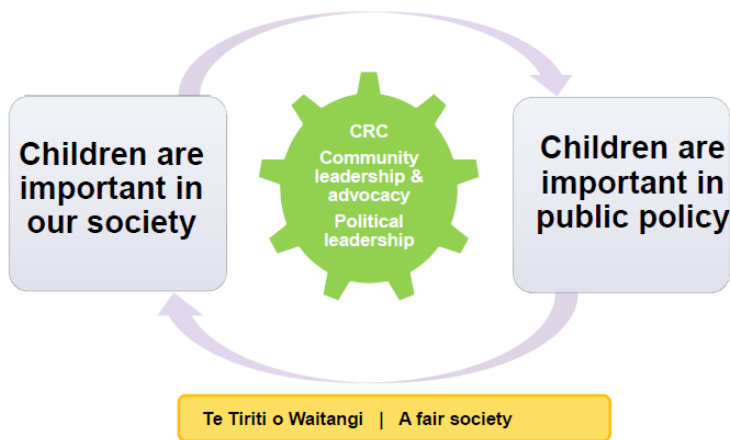


Note: Gray bars represent SUDI rate (ICD-10 codes: R05, R06, R08, R09, W75, W78, and W79), with error bars as the 95% confidence interval. Blue dashes represent SIDS rate (ICD-10 code: R05). Only infants aged <1 year are included in this information.

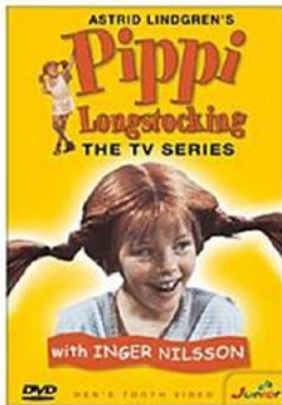
Fetal and Infant Deaths 2014, Ministry of Health 2017



## Ingraining a culture of respecting & prioritising children A virtuous cycle



### 1. Build a simple consensus everywhere: Children are important



*“Children are prioritised in the debate, and when we make decisions in Sweden”*  
(IV44 former senior politician)

*“Children are valued very highly, and that’s independent of political mind or conflicts”*  
(IV40 senior political advisor)

### Aotearoa

*“There’s an emotional, personal, parent response [to children]; and then there’s kind of what we do. And somehow it gets lost between the two things. We don’t sit round over [in the Beehive] talking about children. It gets lost in translation somehow ... We tend to value things like economic performance and productivity and economic growth more than we value the wellbeing of children. We have a view that if you get those other things right it will flow through to the wellbeing of children.... And [it’s] both sides of the House”* (IV9 senior bureaucrat)

*“The whole system of government is not designed around the interests of children”* (IV15 senior politician)

*“Other than in those mainstream departments that are concerned with public policy and service delivery that’s targeted at children, I don’t think there’s much attention paid”* (IV4 advocate, fmr senior bureaucrat)

### 2. Comprehensive policies for child wellbeing & equity

- Generous child/family benefits with a strong universal base
- Provisions for additional child or parent support needs
- Access to preventive & primary health care

- Access to quality ECE
- Protection from harm
- Paid parental leave

### 3. Political leadership: Our growing political consensus that children are important?



#### Labour commits to matching National's poverty reduction target

LAURA WALTERS  
Last updated: 12:51, September 5 2017



Labour leader Jacinda Ardern has now committed to a child poverty reduction target but Bill English got the jump on her.

Bill English says his child poverty reduction target wasn't made up on the fly, it's been in the works for a while. In the top-of-the-poll in a more referendum night a leaders debate, National leader Bill English said he would cut a target of lifting 175,000 kids out of poverty.

Jacinda Ardern



#### Jacinda Ardern takes child poverty role in New Zealand ministry

One third of New Zealand children now live below the poverty line, a statistic that the country's new leader has promised to reduce



From left to right: Jacinda Ardern speaks to media as she is named as a child poverty minister in a media announcement at her home. Photograph: Roger Cook/Getty Images

Jacinda Ardern, the prime minister elect of New Zealand, has announced she will take on the newly created role of minister for child poverty reduction.

Combating child poverty has been a lifelong cause for Ardern and in the weeks she entered politics aged 17.

## Paid parental leave

**Newshub.**  
13 November 2017

WINNER - BEST NEWS WEBSITE OR APP  
Canon Media Awards 2017

WISHLIST LISTEN NOW

HOME NZ WORLD POLITICS SPORT HEALTH ENTERTAINMENT MONEY SHOWS OPINION

### Baby sits on Speaker's lap as Paid Parental Leave discussed in NZ Parliament

By Anna Brocwell-Worrall



Rt Hon Trevor Mallard  
Speaker

Govt: Trevor Mallard with three-month-old Hana. Photo credit: Parliament TV.

A baby sat on the lap of the Speaker as an extension to Paid Parental Leave was agreed upon with unity rarely seen in New Zealand's Parliament.



## 4. Advocacy – keep it up!

**CHILD POVERTY ACTION GROUP**

THE LATEST GET INVOLVED RESOURCES CONTACT US **EMAIL US NOW**

NEWS

JAN 2018

DEC 2017

NOV 2017

Children's advocacy community united in calling for a strong and enduring response to reducing poverty

Children's Income Crisis of 2017 Intensifies

2017 November Newsletter 2017

A budget 'health check' for NZ will be a pillar for child wellbeing

It is essential we set it better to support the rights of children in NZ

A New Zealand national children and youth coalition for reducing poverty

23 November 2017



Reducing child poverty was on top of the agenda for New Zealand's main political

## 5. Progressively embed a system of good governance for children

- Take the Convention seriously
- Helps to correct the power imbalance
- Guidance for us all on complex issues
- Holistic & comprehensive
- Non-discrimination
- Evolving capacity
- Supports whānau/family & collective action

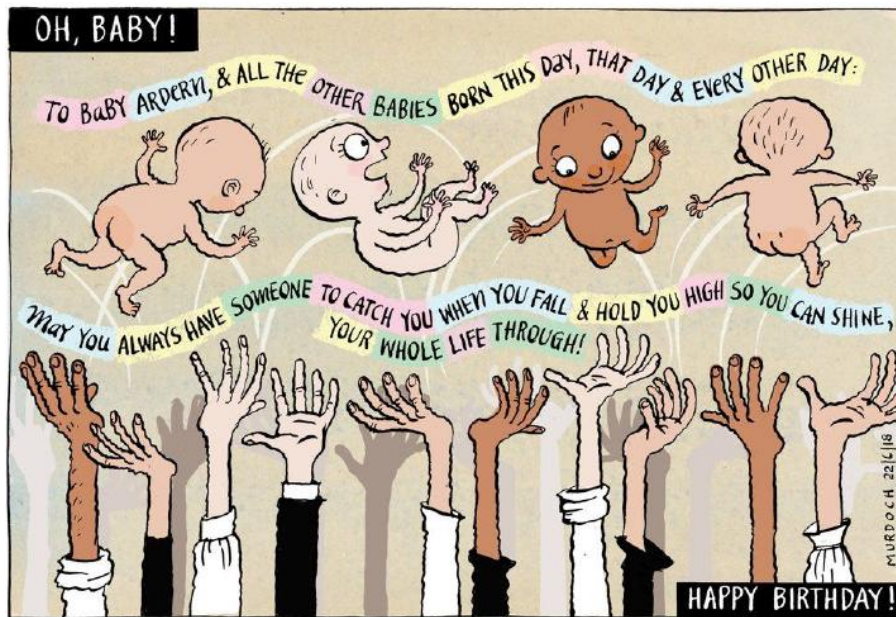


## 6. A fair society & honour to Tiriti



**Correlation between income inequality and the Unicef index of child wellbeing in 23 rich countries**

Pickett, K.E. and R.G. Wilkinson, *Child wellbeing and income inequality in rich societies: ecological cross sectional study*. BMJ, 2007. 335(7629): p. 1080.



Take care of our children. Take care of what they hear, take care of what they see, take care of what they feel. For how the children grow, so will be the shape of Aotearoa.

*Dame Whina Cooper  
Photographer: Michael Tubberty*



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## **NZCCSS's Vision for an Effective Welfare System for Aotearoa NZ, Trevor McGlinchey**



New Zealand Council Of  
Christian Social Services

### **Vision**

For an Effective Welfare System for  
Aotearoa NZ

#### **MISSION:**

The New Zealand Council of Christian Social Services works for a just and compassionate society in Aotearoa/New Zealand. We see this as a continuation of the mission of Jesus Christ.

#### **VALUES:**

In seeking to fulfil this mission, we are committed to: Giving priority to the poor and vulnerable members of our society; Te Tiriti o Waitangi

#### **Improved Wellbeing for the Vulnerable**

- A system that “empowers”, rather than “impoverishes”
- Sufficient income and supports to promote wellbeing
- Not enforced poverty which results in “ill-being”

## **Equity of Outcomes**

- Achievement by Māori of wellbeing outcomes is equal to or better than those of non-Maori
- Achievement of wellbeing outcomes for Pacific Peoples is equal to or better than those of non-Pacific Peoples
- Achievement of wellbeing outcomes for those with health conditions and/or disabilities is equal to or better than those without these conditions
- Supports low income workers to achieve wellbeing

## **An Intergenerational Focus**

- Focussed on whānau
- Understands the developmental needs of children and provides for these
- Supports parents to be parents
- Recognises and supports whānau as carers

## **A Systemic Response**

- Access to affordable, healthy housing
- Government services available to support
  - Health
  - Education, training and skills development
  - Mental health
  - Justice
  - Employment
- Responsive to the future of work
- Empowered iwi, hapū and whānau
- Strong communities
- Capable and available community-based social services

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## **Closing remarks**

### **Comments and Reflections, Honorary Associate Professor Mike O'Brien**

In this, the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the passage of the Social Security Act 1938, the annual CPAG summit in Wellington was a very good opportunity to review directions and future possibilities. Bringing together the wide range of presentations and diverse material proved to be a rather interesting task. Much has been made in recent months about business confidence. However, little has been said about what might be described as 'social confidence', that is, the sense that there is a range of very critical social issues on which progress is needed if we are to make any meaningful progress as a community. Poverty, especially child poverty, and social security reform are one of the most critical of these issues and this summit has been a very good opportunity to reflect on many of those issues, both through the speakers' input and the questions and reflections from the floor.

This year's summit drew together a range of inputs, challenges and significant issues as we attempt to rework the social security system, 80 years on from the passage of the 1938 Act. Summarising the inputs from each of these speakers is neither necessary nor appropriate here. Rather, six themes and three surrounding issues have emerged from the contributions and these are drawn together in the summary below; I will comment on each briefly as reflected in the work of the summit. I begin with the three surrounding issues – the tax system, technology and the labour market - because of the ways in which these impact in various ways on our social security system.

### **Surrounding Issues**

The *tax system* is critical on a number of levels. It is critical because of its potential role in redistributing income, its impact on levels and experiences of inequality. It also shapes critical questions of who pays for social security and how the lives of beneficiaries are affected both in relation to what happens to their earnings and what levels of resources are available for improving benefit levels and coverage.

The significance of the *labour market* in shaping what happens for beneficiaries and those in low paid work is self-evident, but particularly significant given the large numbers of children in poverty who live in households where paid work is the major source of income. The constantly changing nature of contemporary labour markets and the inadequacy and insecurity of paid work represents a major challenge for contemporary social security provision and its development.

While labour markets are changing significantly and continuously, *technology* is both a critical component in those changes and critical in how social security support is provided and in how it impacts on the lives of beneficiaries through the myriad ways in which it is used both to deliver social security and manage and oversee the lives of beneficiaries.

### **Central themes**

The range of presentations and the tenor and focus of the discussion generated six themes, taken up in various ways by different speakers during the course of the day – values, , tangata whenua, Pasifika, policy, lived experiences and communities. These are, of course, inter-related as is reflected in the diagram below; they are drawn out separately here simply as a way of highlighting the significance of all of them as central parts of efforts to reshape social security and reduce poverty.

Any effective and comprehensive social security system needs a set of *values* which ensure that all recipients have an adequate income, the needs of children are well provided for, the rights of recipients are protected and recipients are treated without stigma. All of this needs to be informed by values which highlight such dimensions as compassion and fairness.

Second, the system needs to be built on sound, well informed, well researched and well developed *policy*, is clear and continuously reviewed and is subject to a process of robust and rigorous evaluation both for the policy itself and in its implementation. Values inform that policy and those policy settings are critical on a daily basis.

The rights of *Māori* as tangata whenua need to be advanced and protected throughout the social security system. This is critical in recognising and acknowledging the position of Maori

and because the system needs to actively work to reduce the unacceptably high levels of poverty among Māori.

The needs and aspirations of *Pacific* peoples are central to legislation, implementation and delivery and, as with Māori, the system must actively contribute to reducing the high levels of poverty among Pacific peoples.

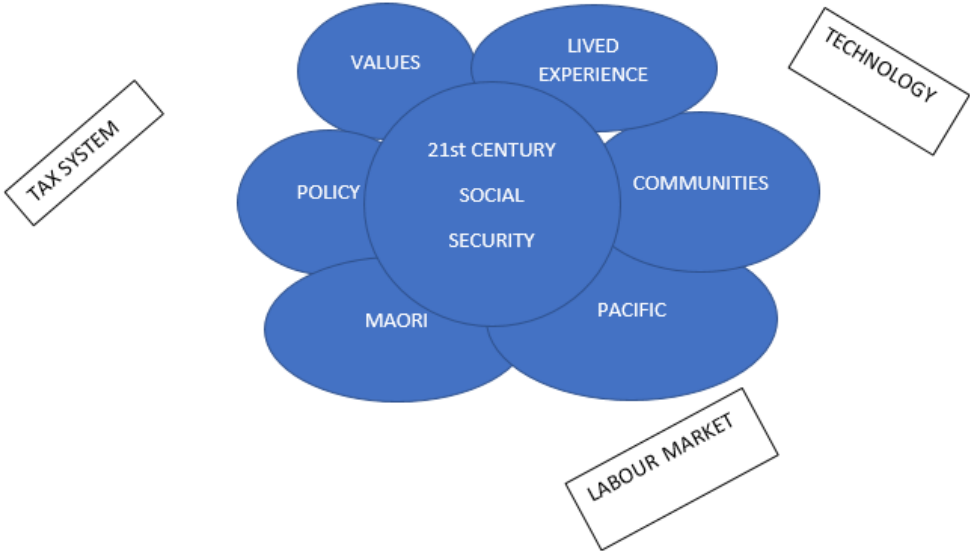
The *lived experiences* of those who use the social security system must proactively inform policy, implementation and delivery and there need to be robust processes to review and change the system in the light of those experiences, experiences which have too often been ignored.

*Community groups* must have a central and proactive role in both contributing to the operation of the system and in providing input into its review and development. Those groups are often at the front line of system failings and inadequacies and hence bring those vital front line experiences to administration and policy.

**Summary**

These components are not simply distinct from one another – they are strongly interconnected, as is reflected in the diagram below. As steps are taken to review social security and rewrite the legislation (part of the role of the Welfare Expert Advisory Group), these themes and surrounding issues will be critical in ensuring that we have a social security system that works for families and is fit for purpose in the second decade of 21<sup>st</sup> century and beyond.

Through the inputs and contributions, a series of interlinked issues and themes emerged. The diagram below attempts to summarise these.



In brief an effective and comprehensive social security system that works for all, especially children and families in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, needs to incorporate the following elements:

- a) A set of values which ensure that all recipients have an adequate income, the needs of children are well provided for, the rights of recipients are protected and recipients are treated without stigma



- b) The system is built on sound, well informed and well developed policy, is clear and continuously reviewed and is subject to a process of robust and rigorous evaluation both for the policy itself and in its implementation
- c) The rights of Māori as tangata whenua are advanced and protected and the system actively works to reduce the levels of poverty among Māori
- d) The needs and aspirations of Pacific peoples are central to legislation, implementation and delivery and, as with Māori, the system actively contributes to reducing the levels of poverty among Pacific peoples
- e) The lived experiences of those who use the social security system proactively inform policy, implementation and delivery and there are robust processes to review and change the system in the light of those experiences
- f) Community groups have a central and proactive role in both contributing to the operation of the system and in providing input into its review and development.

While these six elements are central to an effective and comprehensive social security system, that system does not sit in splendid isolation from the wider economy and society. Three considerations – the tax system, the labour market and technology – are all critical in shaping the ways that social security operates, the needs that it has to deal with and the effectiveness of social security in ensuring that poverty, especially child poverty, is significantly reduced.

## Resources

### CPAG resources

#### Summit Proceedings

CPAG Summit 2015, [Welfare fit for families](#), Proceedings.

CPAG Summit 2016, [Investing in children](#), Proceedings.

CPAG Summit 2017, [Beyond Social Investment](#), Proceedings.

#### Working for families

[Will children get the help they need? An analysis of effectiveness of policies for children in the worst poverty in 2018 \(May 2018\)](#)

[Progressive universalisation of Working for Families \(March 2018\)](#)

[Priorities for family income support](#) (June 2017)

#### Welfare system reform & inadequacy of welfare benefits

[The further fraying of the welfare safety net \(Dec 17\)](#)

[Barriers to Support: Uptake of the Child Disability Allowance in Otago](#) (Nov 2016)

[Proceedings Summit 2017: Beyond Social Investment \(Oct 2017\)](#)

[Proceedings: Social Security Summit – Investing in children](#) (Sept 2016)

#### Benefit sanctions

[Benefit sanctions and children: an urgent need for greater clarity](#) (Sept 2014)

[Benefit Sanctions: Children not seen - not heard](#) ( June 2014)

[Benefit Sanctions: creating an invisible underclass of children?](#) ( Oct 2013)

#### Relationship status in the welfare system

[Kathryn's Story: How the Government spent well over \\$100,000 and 15 years pursuing a chronically-ill beneficiary mother for a debt she should not have](#) (June 2016)

[The complexities of relationship in the welfare system and the consequences for children](#) (Dec 2014)

## **Budget**

[2018 CPAG budget analysis](#)

## **Other background resources**

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