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WHANAKE



Whanake: The Pacific Journal of
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Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development is a bi-annual ejournal for practitioners and academics who love community development. The journal mission is to serve as a crucible of democracy, where people come together to share their dreams and plan their common futures. It has refereed papers of 3000-6000 words, reviews, practice notes from the field, and opinion pieces. The journal provides space for posing questions, documenting emerging trends in research and practice, and sharing case studies and biographies.

Community development journals exist in the UK, USA and Australia. We see this as a journal for Aotearoa New Zealand and the wider Pacific. As such it reflects cultural diversity and is about the WE, not the I.

Editorial

The latest encyclical issued by Pope Francis, *Fratelli Tutti* (2020), confirms what social and community development workers have always known: that we are all social beings and we flourish only through our relationships with others. People cannot live, develop and find fulfillment except with others. He recognises the variety of humans within their cultures and suggests that people are like a melody: you can't break the melody down into separate notes.

Pope Francis explains the story of the Good Samaritan, who helped a stranger without knowing anything about the injured man. However, he saw him as deserving of his time and attention. He says, "All of us have in ourselves something of the wounded man, something of the robber, something of the passers-by, and something of the Good Samaritan" (para. 69).

Fratelli/fraternity (from the Italian for brotherhood in its broadest sense and including all genders) is central to community work; part social capital and part community action. Pabst says, "Fraternity is at the heart of social fabric binding together communities and countries" (2020, p. 13).

Pope Francis argues that, "Individualism does not make us more free, more equal, more fraternal" (para. 105). Fraternity builds solidarity. He goes on to explain that solidarity sometimes seems to be a dirty word. But it means, "thinking and acting in terms of community ... It also means combatting the structural causes of poverty, inequality, the lack of work, land and housing, the denial of social and labour rights" (para. 116). He points to the limitations of the market, stating, "The marketplace, by itself, cannot resolve every problem, however much we are asked to believe this dogma of neoliberal faith" (para. 168).

Fraternity is a key aspect of social capital. Putnam explains that social capital refers to connections among people – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (2000, pp. 19-22). Social capital is the glue that helps our communities face their challenges. It is also the lubricant that nurtures social connections and leads ultimately to social unity (kotahitanga) and trust. The high level of trust in Aotearoa New Zealand was evident in the way the country faced the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. Without people's self-regulation during lockdown, control of the spread of the virus would have proved impossible. Also, during the 2011 earthquake, Christchurch people mobilised themselves to provide aid, care and compassion to others in need. They did this instinctively, without seeking reward. This is social capital in action. As a country we can learn from these examples and recognise that social capital is an essential part of positive social change, in dealing with the country's contemporary challenges of climate change, poverty and housing affordability.

And to those who work for peace, Pope Francis has this to say: "never forget that inequality and lack of integral human development make peace impossible. Indeed, 'without equal opportunities, different forms of aggression and conflict will find a fertile terrain for growth and eventually explode'" (para. 235).

The suggestions by Pope Francis are built on three key principles of Catholic social theory: subsidiarity, respect for persons and social solidarity. Subsidiarity is based on the principle that if something can be done just as efficiently and effectively at a lower level, then it should be devolved to that level (Henriot et al., 1998, p. 23). This concept has particular relevance to the role of central and local governments, where trust in the wisdom and energy of people is a prerequisite. It also contributes to the principles of community development.

David Haigh, May 2021

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Report on material hardship and impacts on ākonga wellbeing
and educational outcomes: Bachelor of Applied Social
Work (BASW) and Bachelor of Nursing Studies, Tai Tokerau
Wānanga, NorthTec, 2021

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Report on material hardship and impacts on ākonga wellbeing and educational outcomes: Bachelor of Applied Social Work (BASW) and Bachelor of Nursing Studies, Tai Tokerau Wānanga, NorthTec, 2021

Research conducted by Social Services and Nursing
Departments at Tai Tokerau Wānanga, NorthTec, June 2021

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He mihi

Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nona te ngahere.
Ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nona te ao.
The bird who feeds on miro has the forest.
The bird who feeds on knowledge has the world.

I rangona tatou i nga korero mai ngā matua tūpuna e pa ana ki ngā ahuatanga o te taiao, penei i te kōrero e pa ana ki te manu e kai ana i te miro, nona te ngahere. Engari ko te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nona te ao. No reira i roto i wenei whakaaro o te whakataukī me ruku tātou i roto i ngā kōrero me ngā tuhinga e pa ana ki te pōharatanga me te rawa kore o nga ākonga e whaia nei i te mātauranga. Ko te tūmanako kia pai ta tātou nei aru i te māramatanga, i roto i ngā āhuratanga o te tika me pono. Mauri ora.

Abstract

The aim of the study was to explore the experiences of material hardship and deprivation amongst ākonga enrolled in the Bachelor of Applied Social Work and the Bachelor of Nursing degrees at Tai Tokerau Wānanga (NorthTec). NorthTec is located within the Tai Tokerau rohe (Northland Region) which is characterised by a cultural richness imbued by Māori tāngata whenua (Indigenous people of the land) status but low in socioeconomic resources. Using a mixed-method approach, ākonga (students, learners) participated in an online survey questionnaire based on the DEP-17 index, which is designed by the New Zealand government to measure a series of non-income standard-of-living items. Qualitative data was obtained from a small group of randomly selected students who were interviewed kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) using a semi-structured questionnaire. Analysis of the data shows clear patterns of material hardship and deprivation along with psychological stress. The findings are consistent with previous studies and show ākonga employ similar coping strategies. The findings of the study are intended as a basis for highlighting ākonga circumstances and to further explore ways in which hardships can be feasibly addressed within the social work and nursing programmes.

Tīmatanga

This report is based on a 2021 survey of students enrolled in the Bachelor of Applied Social Work (BASW) and the Bachelor of Nursing (BN) degree programmes at Tai Tokerau Wānanga (NorthTec). The purpose of the survey was to identify the impact of material hardship experienced by students undertaking full-time study over a four-year period and to ascertain how the hardships were managed and mitigated. Academic staff teaching on these programmes had observed the need for high levels of pastoral care from time to time, to support students experiencing difficulties engaging in learning activities and completing formative and summative assessments. Tutoring staff recognised that ākonga studying social work and nursing had additional challenges placed on their financial, whānau and family, and personal resources, often due to the unpaid field-education placements which comprised a large part of the time in the second, third and final years the BASW programme. The BN clinical components comprised a minimum of 1100 hours across the three years of the degree. The placements incurred additional demands in terms of travel, time, and personal and study input.

The geographical dispersment of the student population in the Tai Tokerau rohe (geographical region) indicated students travelled some distance to attend their classes and their field-education placements; that the availability of affordable urban and rural accommodation throughout the rohe was variable; and that employment that could fit into study and whānau responsibilities was not always easy to obtain in Tai Tokerau. In some rural locations, employment of any kind was sparse. The Social Services and

Nursing faculties wanted to understand these issues and how students navigated and mitigated the hardships.

Sixty-six percent of ākonga enrolled in the BASW degree in 2021 identified as Māori and 36% of students enrolled in the BN programme identified as Māori. Both these rates of enrolment indicate a strong level of educational engagement on the part of the Māori population in Tai Tokerau.

Tai Tokerau

This study recognises Māori as tāngata whenua (Indigenous people of the land) within Tai Tokerau. Hence the geographical context and demographic characteristics of Tai Tokerau provide an important background for understanding some of the difficulties and challenges experienced not just by ākonga but also by their whānau and families, as well as the social services and health organisations that serve the rohe.

In this study, Tai Tokerau refers to the geographic area designated as Northland. The rohe encompasses three council territorial areas, which include the Far North District, Whangārei District and Kaipara District. As an urban development, Whangārei has the greatest population. NorthTec is situated within the city of Whangārei in Tai Tokerau rohe.

According to the 2018 census, Tai Tokerau is the fastest-growing region in Aotearoa. The population has increased by 18.1% in a five-year period to 194,600 (Infometrics, 2021). Although the rohe is largely rural, around half the population live in urban areas. The overall demographic for Tai Tokerau shows about 38% of the population identify as Māori (MBIE, 2019; Stats NZ, 2020b). Although the overall Tai Tokerau population is older than the national average the figures differ for Māori, whose median age is 25.8 years compared to 42.7 years for non-Māori (Ministry of Health, 2021; Chiang & Exeter, 2019; Stats NZ, 2020b).

Tai Tokerau rohe is more socioeconomically deprived than other rohe in Aotearoa (Atkinson et al., 2014; 2019). It has the lowest median income in the whenua (land). The unemployment rate is high, with contributing factors that include high numbers of low-paid workers, low-level qualifications and a younger generation who often leave the rohe for other training and employment (Atkinson et al., 2014; 2019). The rohe has significant needs, some of which are reflected in health statistics that show Māori have an overall lower life expectancy and die on average nine years earlier than non-Māori (Orange, 2015; Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency, 2019; Stats NZ, 2020b). To date, government policy has failed to recognise and address the need for housing development and local economies. Traditional imperatives associated with land use for Māori have largely been ignored (Jackson, 2019; MBIE, 2019).

Areas of Tai Tokerau are steeped in kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori, and are culturally thriving. For example, te reo Māori is utilised daily in areas such as Matawaia (Hutchings et al., 2017). Iwi, hapū and whānau groups include Ngāi Takoto, Ngāti Kuri, Te Aupōuri, Te Rarawa, Ngāti Kahu, Hokianga, Ngāti Kahu ki Whangaroa, Ngāpuhi, Ngāti Kahu ki Whaingaroa, Ngāti Rāhiri, Ngāti

Rēhia, Ngāti Hine, Ngāti Hau, Ngāti Manu, Te Kapotai, Patuharakeke, Te Roroa, Ngāti Wai, Ngāti Whātua and Te Uri o Hau (Jakeman, 2019; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2021). (This list of whānau, hapū and iwi is not exhaustive and is intended to provide a snapshot only. It is estimated there are over a hundred hapū within Tai Tokerau.) The two founding documents of Nu Tireni Aotearoa New Zealand – He Whakaputanga o te rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni from 1835 and Te Tiriti o Waitangi from 1840 – play a significant role in the mana and authority local hapū and iwi have as sovereign rangatira in Tai Tokerau (Waitangi Tribunal, 2014, p.xxii).

The Covid-19 pandemic, including the lockdown restrictions in 2020, placed a considerable burden on communities and an already impoverished Tai Tokerau. Even so, anecdotal evidence shows that community-service groups and iwi providers were able to respond to meet basic needs for food and shelter to many whānau. Many ākonga played a part in supporting kuia and kaumatua (elders) and whānau who were struggling. At the same time, NorthTec ākonga were able to continue their studies through online resources such as Zoom and there was no evidence ākonga were unable to complete their study year. NorthTec was able to provide access to internet and data, and ensure every student had a laptop. The library ran a very efficient courier service, so ākonga could access the materials they needed. However, the consequential effects of job loss or the diminishment of other whānau resources have not been acknowledged. This was predicted to have an ongoing impact on student wellbeing and study.

Ākonga in the BASW and BN programmes come from a range of geographical locations throughout Tai Tokerau, from Kaitiāia and beyond, to Kaikohe, Kerikeri and across to the Kaipara, and from Whangārei down to Mangawhai encompassing the east coast. In particular, the BASW programmes attract a high percentage of Māori students.

Review of the literature – student social workers and hardship

The literature review is based on a Western convention of literature and the evidence is clear – tertiary students experience high levels of financial hardship (Agllias et al., 2016; Baglow & Gair, 2019; Bexley et al., 2013; Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014; Johnstone et al., 2016; Lin, 2016). However, social-policy interventions for students are limited when compared to other populations impacted by poverty. Bessant (2003) argues that this is due to outdated stereotypes of students as privileged, young school-leavers who experience short-term ‘character-building’ poverty while studying, before going on to high-income-earning futures. This is despite the fact that tertiary education has shifted from the domain of the elite to mass education. In neighbouring Australia, less than 4% of 18-22 year olds attended university in the 1950s, whereas the lifetime probability of attending university is now 50% (Gale & Tranter, 2011). Furthermore, the debt burden carried by graduates (from student loans and other formal and informal debt used to subsist during study) extends the financial impact of study long after graduation.

Lin’s 2016 review highlights the average time to repay a \$50,000 loan

as more than 13 years, that women take longer to repay student debt than men (which raises equity concerns), and one in 14 students will never repay their student loan. Student debt is a significant barrier to home ownership and impacts graduates' decision making about whether to have children (Lin, 2016). Almost 80% of students believe student-loan debt will impact their potential to save for retirement, and in 2017 student-loan debt in Aotearoa exceeded \$15 billion (Gee, 2017).

While in study, students experience significant financial hardship, and this is becoming more entrenched over time (Gee, 2017; Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014; Lin, 2016). The 2012 Graduate Longitudinal Study survey of 8700 university students in Aotearoa showed that over half of students were unable to afford necessities (Lin, 2016). A 2017 survey by the New Zealand Union of Student Associations (NZUSA) showed one third of students could not meet their basic accommodation, clothing and food costs (Gee, 2017). This increase is mirrored in the Universities Australia longitudinal study of student finances, where the 2006 survey results showed half of students experienced financial distress. This had increased to two thirds of students in 2013 (Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014).

NZUSA argues student allowances are inadequate and contribute to student poverty. Allowances are only available for one third of full-time students, while the remaining two thirds of students rely on paid work, family support and borrowing to live (Gee, 2017). While student allowances and loans for living costs have been slow to rise, the costs associated with study, particularly accommodation, have risen dramatically in recent years (Gee, 2017). Inequities in financial support for students mean that low-income New Zealanders who are not studying can access an accommodation supplement more than double that available for students (Gee, 2017). NZUSA advocates for a housing grant to be provided for all students, as one way of reducing financial hardship (Gee, 2017).

Lin's 2016 review highlights that student allowances often cover little more (or less) than basic accommodation. Most students have to work to meet their basic costs, and around 90% of students also take on further debt, in addition to their student loan, such as personal loans, credit cards, overdrafts, and debt to family and friends (Lin, 2016). The need for students to work to support themselves, while also studying full time, means they are unable to complete expected course requirements, forego the grades they are capable of, and are often exhausted (Agllias et al., 2016; Bexley et al., 2013; Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014; Johnstone et al., 2016). This impacts students' quality of life and their grades, and is also a social cost, as students graduate with lower knowledge and skill than they would if they had more time to focus on their studies. For nursing and social work graduates, this can negatively impact the most vulnerable in our communities.

Equity concerns are important to note. An Australian study showed that financial hardship was higher for Indigenous students, with four out of five Indigenous students worried about money (Bexley et al., 2013). Poverty is a barrier that precludes tertiary education – prospective students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are less likely to engage in tertiary education than peers from wealthier families (Lin, 2016). Students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to work longer hours (Agllias et al., 2016). Some

students, such as those with disabilities or who are raising children, are less able to engage in paid work, therefore facing further financial penalty (Lin, 2016). Students require flexible part-time work to fit around their study schedule. This often means casual work, which can be precarious (Lin, 2016).

A 2015 Australian study specifically looked at the financial hardship experienced by social work students. Baglow and Gair surveyed students from 29 Australian social work programmes. A total of 2320 students participated in an online survey, representing almost a quarter of social work students in accredited Australian social work programmes (Baglow & Gair, 2019). The results showed that social work students regularly go without necessities and must work long hours to support themselves. Eighty-nine percent of participants in part-time work said they worked to pay for basic needs, like food and accommodation (Baglow & Gair, 2019). Fifty percent of surveyed students said work commitments negatively impacted their studies. Many were over-tired, and a third of students in paid work missed class due to work commitments (Baglow & Gair, 2019). The demands of paid work result in lower grades, lower attendance, less time for study, exhaustion and related health concerns (Baglow & Gair, 2019; Bexley et al., 2013).

When compared to national results, social work students were more likely to go without food, less likely to have savings, and less likely to be financially supported by family (Baglow & Gair, 2019). They were also less likely to be in paid work. Seventy percent of full-time social work students were in part-time work, compared to 80.6% of students in the national study, which is of concern given that reduced income can further exacerbate financial stress (Baglow & Gair, 2019). Lower rates of paid work, when compared to the general student population, may be connected to the requirement for social work students to complete compulsory full-time fieldwork placements (Baglow & Gair, 2019). Importantly, survey results show the financial burden is more acute during fieldwork placements (Baglow & Gair, 2019). This was previously established in Johnstone et al.'s mixed-methods study of social work students and staff from six Queensland universities. The findings of their study highlight a significant correlation between unpaid fieldwork placements and financial hardship (Johnstone et al., 2016).

Fieldwork placements are a compulsory requirement in social work education – students are required to be available, often full time, for prolonged periods. In Aotearoa this is a minimum of 120 days of fieldwork education, usually in two 60-day/twelve-week blocks (SWRB, 2021). Johnstone et al. highlight the challenge of this expectation, given that most students work part time to support themselves. Many study participants reported getting in trouble with employers, having their hours reduced, losing shifts, or even losing jobs due to the conflicting demands of their studies (Johnstone et al., 2016). This tension between work and study is most extreme during fieldwork placements – 80% of students said placements negatively impacted their finances (Johnstone et al., 2016). Placement is a 'double whammy' for social work students, as costs increase due to additional travel and the need for a professional wardrobe, while their ability to generate income is reduced (Johnstone et al., 2016). Many social work students continue to work part time while also completing their full-time social work placement. In this context, it is both unsurprising and highly concerning that 43% of study participants said

their placement learning was compromised due to paid work commitments (Johnstone et al., 2016). Both students and staff who participated in the study said more flexible fieldwork education would benefit student learning and wellbeing (Johnstone et al., 2016).

Agllias et al.'s study offers qualitative insight into the impact of financial hardship on 17 social work students' lives. In particular, their study highlights the competing demands of full-time study and part-time work, and the negative impact on students' time to connect with family and friends (Agllias et al., 2016). The disappointment of not meeting commitments to loved ones is a challenging aspect of 'work-life balance,' and was especially difficult for students with strong cultural expectations of care for family (Agllias et al., 2016). This was further exacerbated for students who are parenting children. These students expressed guilt about study reducing time with their children, and reducing sleep was a key strategy for fitting in study (Johnstone et al., 2016). While this might work short term, the health impacts of regularly foregoing sleep over the course of a degree are considerable. Study participants identified that trying to juggle work, study and family commitments negatively impacts their health (Agllias et al., 2016).

The Australian experience echoes earlier research from the United Kingdom. Collins et al.'s 2008 study exploring social work students' experience of stress shows that students experienced high levels of fatigue, with one third regularly exhausted at the end of the day and one out of ten students exhausted at the end of every day (Collins et al., 2010). Their study, unsurprisingly, shows a strong positive correlation between hours in paid work and levels of exhaustion (Collins et al., 2010).

While financial hardship is a significant challenge for students, Halliday-Wynes and Nguyen (2014) comment that the correlation between financial strain and withdrawal rates for students is only 6%. The data may miss part of the picture, as students also withdrew due to work commitments (13%), and a further 17% due to health and personal reasons, which could include the emotional strain of juggling study alongside paid work (Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014). However, while these figures show that the economic burden of study has an impact on completion rates, they also highlight that many students experience financial hardship *and* succeed in their studies. This demonstrates the resilience of students.

Some of the strategies students use to manage financial stress are: living with family for longer, working part time, accepting lower grades as the cost of managing paid work, sacrificing leisure activities, reducing food costs by skipping meals, foregoing basic medical care, living in inadequate housing and taking on additional debt to pay for necessities (Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014). While these strategies may enable survival while passing courses, they are often at significant cost. Students can also become socially isolated due to lack of time and funds to engage with others. The stereotype of the student experience as a carefree, social time is a far cry from the highly pressured and often isolated reality of student life in 2021.

Collins et al. (2010) identified support from classmates and tutors as important contributors to social work students' success. Students were also asked whether they would be likely to engage in more structured group support, stress-management training, confidential counselling and support

groups tailored for specific population groups. The first two options were popular, with 59% and 50% support respectively. However, students reported they were unlikely to utilise counselling or population-specific support groups (Collins et al., 2010).

While support from other classmates, tutors and support services was encouraging, Collins et al. (2010) explored the notion that a substantial number of students still experienced low self-esteem and emotional fatigue trying to manage stress. Their findings show there were no significant differences in relation to age, sex, year in study or family commitments. Collins et al. (2010) identified the need for students to receive additional support such as individual tutorial support, mutual group support and stress-coping support. The content of a social work curriculum is often challenging and confronting, delving into areas of abuse, statutory roles, intervention, crisis, care and case management. The researchers Collins et al. (2010) also discuss the impacts of structural issues and the need to access better funding for students to lessen the need to work in part-time employment.

The Australian-based studies on tertiary student hardship show that when students worked part time there were significantly more demands on their time and energy so they could fit study in (Collins et al., 2010). Financial stress was a key factor in identifying hardship for 40% of tertiary students in a study conducted by Halliday-Wynes and Nguyen (2014). These students considered changing their mode of study based on financial necessity. Additionally, some students reported that working – just to afford basic necessities – while studying had a detrimental effect on their studies. “Employment displaced the time a student spent on learning and as a consequence led to poorer learning outcomes” (Halliday-Wynes & Nguyen, 2014, p. 27).

A study conducted by Tones et al. (2009) looked at the support required by mature students from low socioeconomic backgrounds in tertiary education. Compared to other students such as school leavers, mature students (generally students over 25 years old) were likely to live with a partner and to have dependent children. The researchers defined low socioeconomic status (LSES) factors according to education and occupational level, attendance at a high school in a socioeconomically disadvantaged area, family income, and possession of a healthcare card (2009, p. 506). Additionally, the students from low socioeconomic backgrounds were already considered an equity group according to disadvantages and equity indicators of success. These factors contributed to additional pressures economically and related to time-management issues that were predicted to lead to poor educational outcomes (Tones et al., 2009).

One of the difficulties in identifying material hardship in the tertiary-student population was raised by Beddoe and Keddell (2016), who found many students did not seek support because the experience of poverty was shameful. Some ākonga had taken on the stigma associated with poverty, which was assigned to individual inadequacy. Beddoe and Keddell (2016) raise the issue of neoliberal ideals that emphasise individual failure rather than taking on a more critical approach to encompass structural factors. Beddoe and Keddell (2016) stated there was a potential risk of reinforcing poverty stigma.

A local study conducted by Corbett et al. (2017) in an Aotearoa tertiary

institution made comparisons between social work degree ākongā and those in different degree programmes at Unitec in Tāmaki Makaurau. Their findings indicate that social work ākongā were more likely to enter the degree programme with lower qualifications and to be mature students with family commitments. An interesting aspect arising from this study shows that ākongā had often been motivated to study social work by having come from vulnerable backgrounds with a passion for social justice. This study identified economic vulnerability factors and found significant hardships and deprivation amongst ākongā (Corbett et al., 2017).

Review of literature – student nurses and hardship

According to Steiner (2018), the face of the health service is nursing – when thinking about health services, it is nurses, and their role and contribution to a nation's health and wellbeing, that are usually at the forefront of people's minds. The likely first encounter in any health facility will be with a nurse.

In an editorial by Barton (2021), she identifies that Aotearoa is heading toward a crisis in the nursing workforce that has been many years in the making and is experienced across the globe. Barton states that, as a result of this global crisis, the World Health Organization (WHO) has recommended that countries grow their own nursing workforce to best meet the needs of their people (Barton, 2021).

In analysis of workforce data questioning whether Aotearoa can be self-sufficient in its nursing workforce, the author identified significant challenges in retaining nurses in Aotearoa and a dependence on overseas-trained nurses (North, 2010). A recommendation of the report particularly around emigration and immigration of nurses suggested that better employment conditions and a strategic view of recruitment and retention of nurses were needed to meet growing healthcare needs (North, 2010).

Among key points identified from a 1995 United Kingdom-based survey of hardship among student nurses was that future career prospects needed to reflect the challenges of student life and make it an attractive choice for students when choosing a study pathway. The career of a nurse needs to factor in a secure income and fair conditions to make up for the financial hardships endured during study (MacAlister, 1995).

When exploring barriers to education of Indigenous nursing students, Foxall (2013) identified financial constraints as a significant barrier. This is an ongoing theme through her literature review. She questions whether financial hardship should be focused only on the problem of whether students can meet course-related costs, and suggests it needs to include family and cultural obligations. Wilson et al. (2011) discuss Indigenous nursing students in Aotearoa as already coming from a place of economic hardship, with study costs then added to the commitments of community and family.

The recruitment and retention of Indigenous nursing students is described by the authors of a 2010 study as a persistent challenge (Wilson et al., 2011). The place of Indigenous nurses in our workforce is critical in addressing disparities in health and providing culturally appropriate services

for health-service users. The authors undertook a non-experimental cross-sectional survey of undergraduate nursing students who identified as Māori. Of the survey responses, as to why nursing was the chosen career pathway, uppermost were secure income and the wish to make a change in the health outcomes of their own communities. Many challenges were reported to threaten student progress and achievement (Wilson et al., 2011).

Trans-Tasman studies have identified common themes regarding the recruitment and retention of Indigenous nursing students, including: the fact that students were often mature with existing family commitments; often experienced racism and bias; did not have their cultural needs met during study. Add these factors to financial stressors, and recruitment and retention become highly challenging for the nursing workforce (Foxall, 2013).

An Australian study of nursing students identified several areas of hardship, including an understanding that financial health is more challenging for students who also have roles as parents or caregivers to family members (Grant-Smith & de Zwann, 2019). Additionally, clinical placements can be a significant barrier to maintaining a personal income for many reasons, including shift-work hours not conducive to holding down normal part-time work, costs related to additional child-care, increased transport costs, and the physical and mental toll of additional working hours not allowing part-time work to be maintained. Grant-Smith and de Zwann (2019) found that most students relied on additional funds from savings or from family in addition to grants or usual student-finance channels, as well as cutting costs from the family budget. The findings of this study question the equity of unpaid clinical placement as part of an undergraduate degree and identify this factor as a significant indicator of the success, or failure, of nursing students to complete their studies. This study concluded that focus needed to be placed upon financial support, in addition to budgeting advice, for students of nursing to have the best chance of advancement through their learning (Grant-Smith & de Zwann, 2019).

Methodology

The aim of the NorthTec study was to identify and explore the experience of material hardship; the impact on students, their whānau and families, and, importantly, on their studies. The survey focused on a student population currently enrolled full time in the BASW and the BN degrees at NorthTec. Both degrees are structured as full-time programmes over four and three years respectively. Both degrees have a compulsory block field-education and intern practicum. Students are required to undertake this part of their qualification on a full-time and unpaid basis. Although the field-education components are regarded as an important part of student learning for both these programmes, based on previous research it was anticipated that the opportunity costs to students would exacerbate the conditions for stress and material hardship (Gair & Baglow, 2018).

At the time the study was carried out, the ākongā, their whānau and families were in the process of trying to normalise their lives and routines after a period of Covid-19 restriction. They had been studying online via internet-

based applications from mid-March 2020 until May 2020. The survey made enquiries about the impact of this lockdown to ascertain whether there had been an accumulated effect.

As from 17 August 2021, ākonga were again engaged in study via online services, under further Covid-19 restrictions of movement. The survey had been closed by this time and did not capture the impact of this lockdown.

This study replicated the design and methodology from a study conducted in 2018 by researchers at Unitec, a suburban polytechnic situated in the Tāmaki Makaurau rohe. Although the student demographic and ethnic profile of the Unitec research was different to that of NorthTec, it was clear that students included in the Unitec survey experienced considerable material hardship, including financial hardship. In some cases extreme hardship was found. The Unitec research identified cultural social, and other factors linked to economic vulnerability (Corbett et al., 2018).

Locating participants

Participants were drawn from the population of ākonga currently enrolled in the BASW and BN degree programmes. Posters were published on the NorthTec website's 'WHAT'S ON' NorthNet page, and on other student media. An email invitation was sent to all BASW students, and academic staff socialised the study within their classes. BASW tutors were pivotal in building interest amongst ākonga and there was an increase in response rate that coincided with the attention some tutors gave at the end of a class to voluntary completion of the online survey.

The focus on publicising and socialising the survey was effective and resulted in a 56% response rate from BASW ākonga.

A lower rate of response was drawn from nursing studies, at 10.6% participation. While the survey was published amongst nursing ākonga it did not have the broad-based attention or efforts of socialisation throughout the nursing pathway and amongst the academic staff. Many nursing studies ākonga were off campus in clinical experience at the time and therefore class sessions were minimal. Some clinical tutors worked in clinical environments and were contracted to NorthTec, and they were not made aware of the survey.

Participants for the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews were randomly selected using an online number generator. The numbers were then matched with the last two digits of student IDs in both BASW and BN. Ākonga were then approached via email with details of the study and an explanation of why they had been selected. Once the ākonga had been invited to participate there was no attempt to distinguish between those who had previously completed the online questionnaire and those who had not. The anonymity of the survey was maintained.

Mixed-method approach

The method of data collection for this study was based on a mixed-method approach. This combined a quantitative survey method, which covered a broad range of economic and wellness factors, along with qualitative interviews. The latter provided a more in-depth approach and insights into participant experiences than would otherwise have been gained from a single-method self-administered survey approach.

The subjective and qualitative experiences supported the quantitative data and vice versa. Because there was no indication of discrepancies, this mixed method provided sufficient validation of the findings (*The WritePass Journal*, 2017).

Quantitative data

Quantitative data was obtained using a self-administered online survey questionnaire. The questionnaire included a set of questions on participant profiles and demographics. The core questions were based on the Aotearoa Ministry of Social Welfare's (MSD) DEP-17 hardship indicators of wellbeing and economic capability (Perry, 2019). These indicators were listed as items relating to the 'enforced lack of essentials,' 'economising,' 'cutting back' and 'delaying purchases,' and levels of 'financial stress and vulnerability,' 'arrear and debt' (Perry, 2019; Stats NZ, 2019). A question on the impact of the Covid-19 restrictions was included to broaden the scope of understanding.

DEP-17 is a well-established deprivation index developed by the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) for New Zealand. Thresholds are set at a DEP-17 score of 6 or more for material hardship, and at a DEP-17 score of 9 or more for severe material hardship. The DEP-17 non-income framework for measuring material hardship was selected as a reliable instrument utilised by Stats NZ to identify factors alongside income that can also impact on material wellbeing. Stats NZ (2019) points out that using non-income measures gives a more direct picture of actual day-to-day household conditions such as accommodation and basics, like food, clothing and transport, as well as the ability of participants to afford items that most households would treat as essential.

The questionnaire for this study was developed in MS 365 Forms and the data was captured and collated by the online tool. A further manual collation was carried out to compile tables, to cross-reference data, and to organise the data thematically.

Qualitative data

Qualitative data was obtained via interviews using a semi-structured questionnaire to guide the process. Ten students were initially selected for interviews. Eight were from the BASW degree and two students were from the BN degree. Due to Covid restrictions, interviews were limited and, in total, five were conducted. All five interview participants were from the BASW. This sample reflected 10% of the overall number of online survey participants from the BASW (N=49). Given the interviews were designed to provide exploration of the issues and were not intended to establish the existence of the problem, the 10% sample is acceptable. Furthermore, participants were recruited from the student population relevant to this study and this provided an acceptable level of data integrity. A decision was made not to pursue further participants after two students were invited but refused to participate. There was no follow-up with nursing students for interviews because of time delays as the Covid-19 restrictions continued across the Tai Tokerau rohe.

The interviews were conducted by BASW academic staff members. Two were conducted kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) and three were conducted using Zoom video. Some students were known to the tutorial staff who conducted the interviews. There was a potential for this familiarity to have affected the quality of the information, in that students who already had a trusting relationship with the tutor might have been more confident sharing personal details. A scrutiny of the interview data did not reveal any discrepancy in the quality of the information obtained where a student was known or not known to the interviewer.

Data analysis

The data collected from the self-administered online survey questionnaire was collated by the MS Forms application. Data was then manually organised around material hardship indicators and the findings were then aligned thematically to ascertain whether hardship was experienced and, if so, what was the nature of it, what was the impact, and how was it mitigated and/or managed.

The participant experiences obtained through the kanohi ki te kanohi and Zoom interviews were organised around the same themes of experiences relating to material hardship, the impacts, and the ways in which participants mitigated and/or managed the impacts.

Participant profile

A total of 73 students participated in the self-administered online survey. Survey participants represented 10.6% of the total number of students enrolled in the BN and 56% of the total number of students enrolled in the BASW.

TABLE 1. RATE OF PARTICIPATION BY DEGREE PROGRAMME, TOTAL NUMBERS ENROLLED TAKEN FROM NORTHTEC HEADCOUNT DATA 2021.

<i>Programme</i>	<i>Total Number Enrolled</i>	<i>Total Number Participation</i>	<i>Participation Rate as a %</i>
Bachelor Nursing	225	24	10.6%
Bachelor Applied Social Work	87	49	56%

All participants were engaged in full-time study.

Forty-five percent of the participants were in the first year of study, undertaking Level 5 courses.

Thirty percent were in the second year of study, undertaking Level 6 courses, and 25% were in years three and four, undertaking Level 7 courses.

Female/male participation

Overall, 90% of the participants in the study were female and 10% were male.

These ratios were not consistent or representative of the female/male enrolments for both BASW and BN. For example, the 2021 headcount figures show that 17% of ākongā enrolled in the BASW and 16% of those ākongā enrolled on the BN were male.

However, the differential is not significant in the analytical context. Both social work and nursing as occupations are predominantly female and it is reported by Didham (2015) there is little sign of any change. While the number of males entering social work has apparently doubled over the past 20 years, the number of females has nearly trebled. Nursing shows a different trend, with a noticeable increase in the number of male registered nurses, and over time this seems to be consistent (Didham, 2015).

TABLE 2. RATE OF FEMALE/MALE PARTICIPATION BY DEGREE PROGRAMME.

<i>Total Number Male Participants</i>	<i>Male Participation Rate as a %</i>	<i>Total Number Female Participants</i>	<i>Female Participation Rate as a %</i>
7	10 %	66	90%

Ethnic diversity

Thirty-seven percent of participants on the study identified as Māori. Some participants identified with more than one ethnicity, such as Māori-European (16%) and Māori-Pasifika (4%). For the purposes of this study these groups

have been recognised statistically as 'Māori' and comprised 64% of all participants.

The BASW programme attracts a significant number of Māori ākonga. The current figures show that 74.7% of ākonga enrolled on the programme identify as Māori or mixed Māori ethnicity. This is a high rate of programme participation; based on the population figures for Tai Tokerau, over 38% of the population identify as Māori (MBIE, 2019; Stats NZ, 2020b).

The figures for the BN show that about 44% of enrolments identify as Māori. This compares well with the overall population statistics for Tai Tokerau.

Ethnicity breakdown shows participants who identified as European were representative of 42%, while 2.7% identified as Pasifika. Four percent identified as African, and 9.6% identified as 'other'.

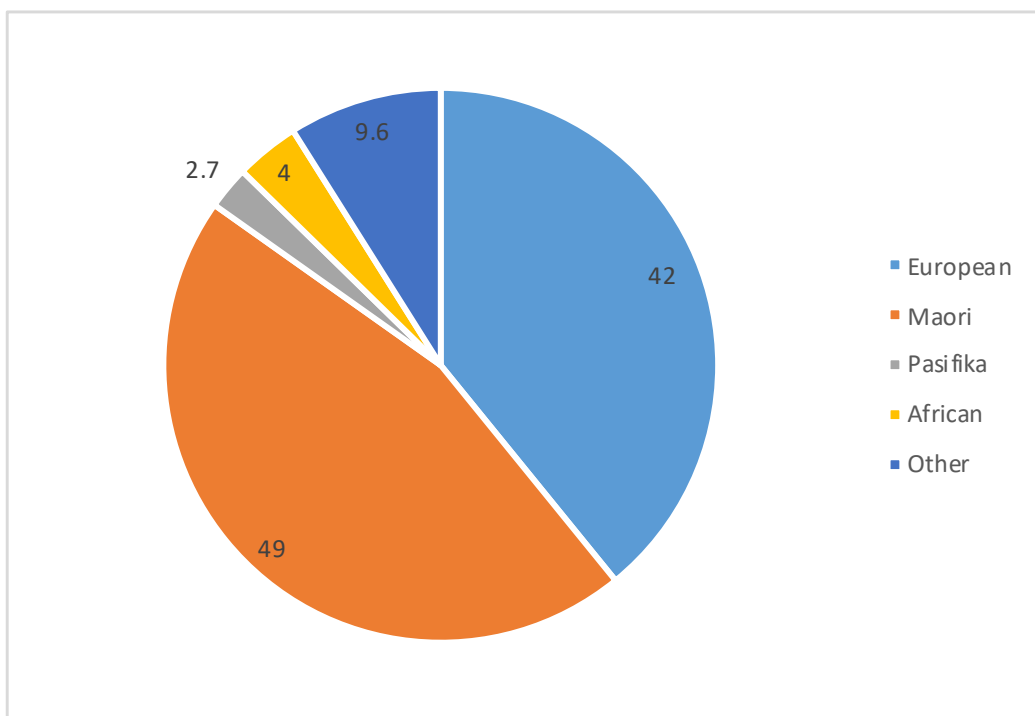


Figure 1. Ethnicity breakdown of participants in the study as a percentage.

Ethnicity was regarded as a significant social factor in respect of economic wellbeing and educational outcomes. Ākonga in Tai Tokerau come from the most deprived section of the rohe population.¹

Sexual orientation

Seventy-one percent of the survey participants identified as heterosexual, and 10% identified as bisexual. One percent of the participants identified as gay. Just over 16% of participants preferred not to state their sexual orientation.

1

As per the statistical indicators provided by the Ministry of Health (2021), Northland's population tends to be significantly older than the national average. The area has a much higher proportion of Māori and lower proportion of Pacific people living there compared to the national average. Northland has a very high proportion of people in the most deprived section of the population, while the least deprived section is under-represented by Māori.

Gender diversity

Gender diversity did not present as a hardship vulnerability factor. One percent of survey participants identified as 'gender diverse' and qualified this with 'female.' Seven percent of participants preferred not to say.

Age cohorts

Forty-four percent of participants were aged between 26 and 40 years. Thirty percent were under 26 years. The smallest group, of 20%, were in the 41-55 age range.

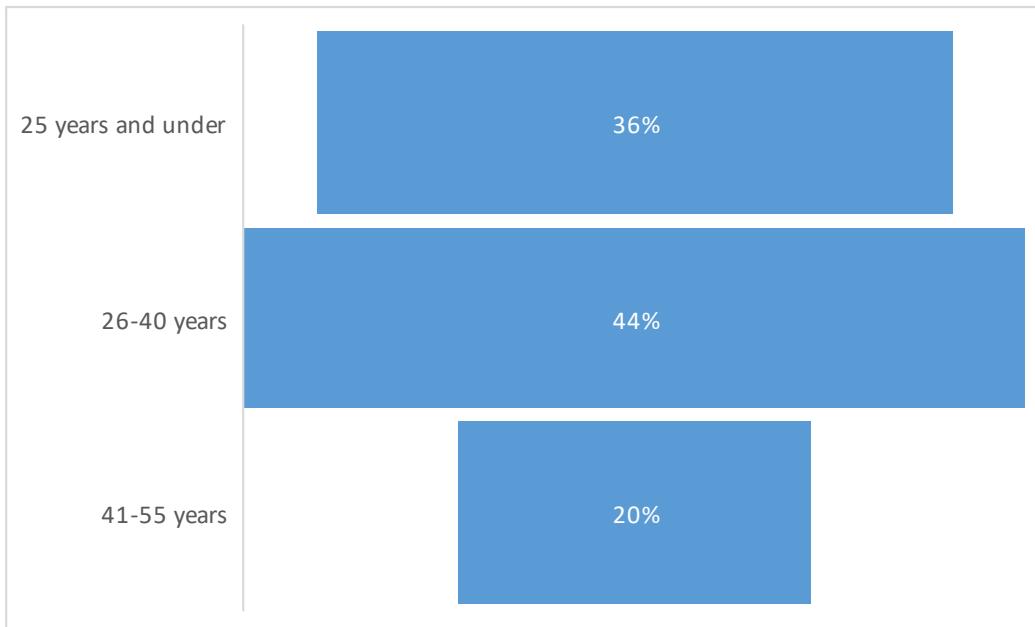


Figure 2. Age cohorts.

Household composition

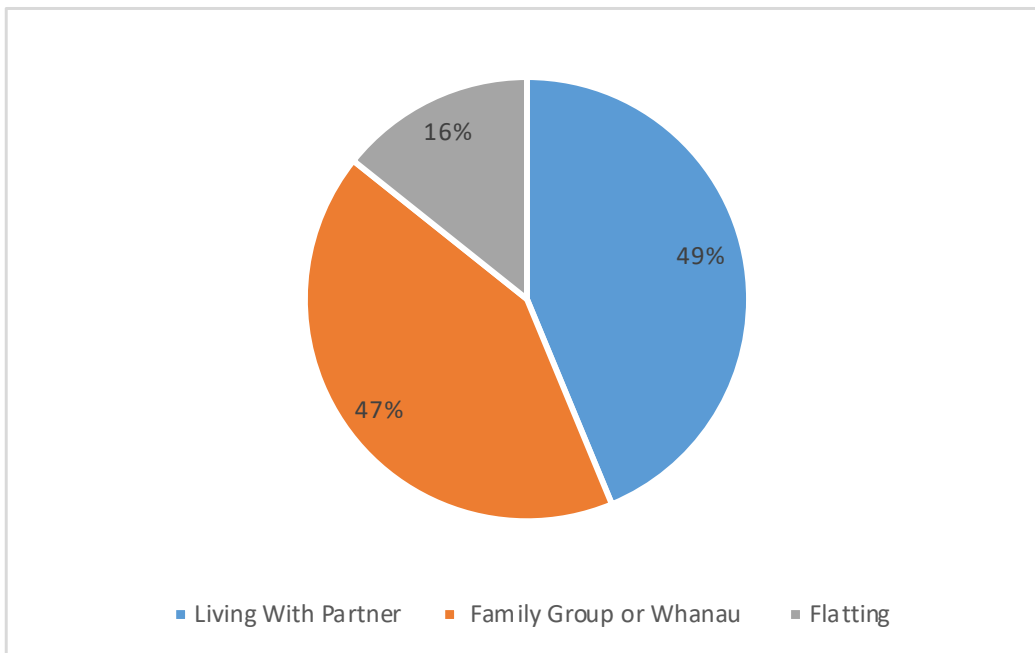


Figure 3. Living arrangements.

Forty-nine percent of participants lived in a household with a partner. Forty-seven percent lived as a whānau group or an extended family group. Sixteen percent of participants shared a flat with others.

Twenty-two percent of participants indicated they were single/unpartnered and lived in a flatting situation or boarded with whānau or a family group.

Dependents and disabilities

Over 57% of participants stated either they or their partners had dependent whānau and family members. The largest group with dependents cared for children and adolescents. These were predominantly school-age children between 6 and 17 years of age.

The second-largest group of participants (45%) with dependents cared for preschool children.

Fourteen percent of participants indicated they cared for children across all ages with some form of disability.

A third group of participants (33%) cared for a dependent adult, with almost half (14%) who had some form of disability. The disabilities included cancer, hearing impairment or hearing loss, heart disease, spinal injuries, tetraplegia, brain injury and mental disorders.

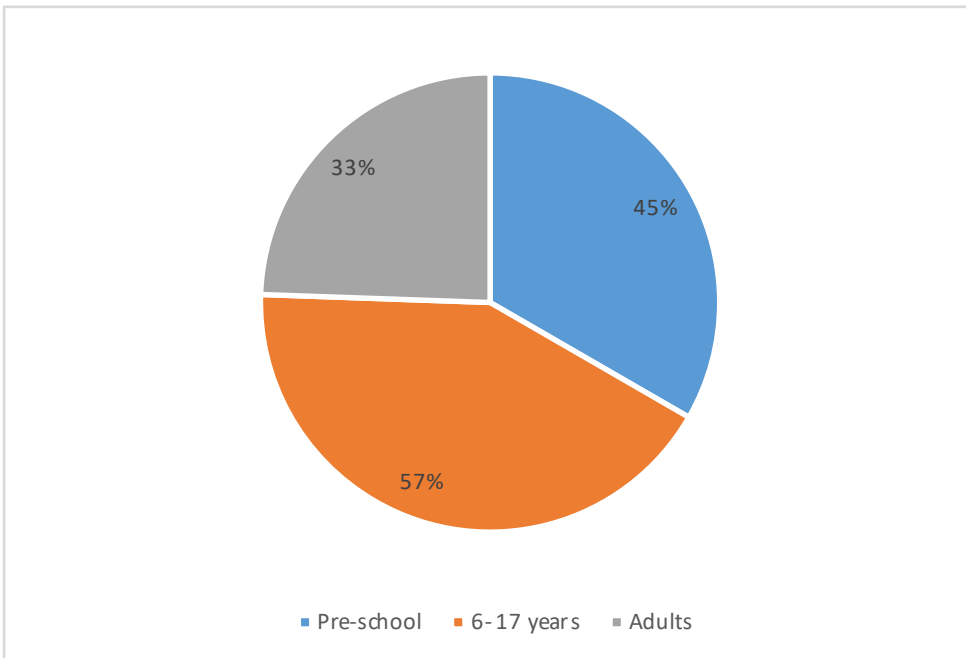


Figure 4. Dependent categories by percentage of participants.

Employment

Sixty-three percent of participants were in paid employment. This ranged from full-time employment at 40 hours per week, with the largest group (24.6%) of participants in employment working 10-5 hours per week. Over 17% of the participants worked between 18 and 12 hours per week. Fifteen percent of participants indicated they worked between 32-20 hours per week.

Many participants stated their paid work was an opportunity to learn about social services and that the nature of the work they did was relevant to their studies.

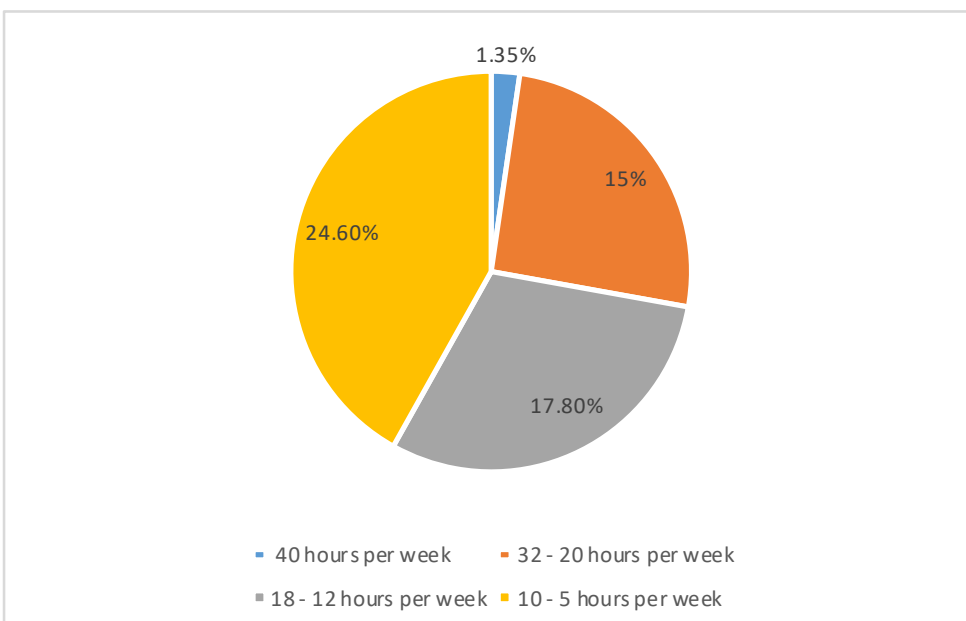


Figure 5. Participation in paid work per week.

Income sources

Eighty-three percent of participants received a StudyLink student loan, 59% received a student allowance and 40% received an accommodation allowance.

Twenty-nine percent received other benefits, which included social/state housing, job seeker benefit, disability benefit, sole parent benefit, family tax credits, temporary additional support and foster-care payments.

Fifteen percent of the participants did not receive any government-assisted payments or income support.

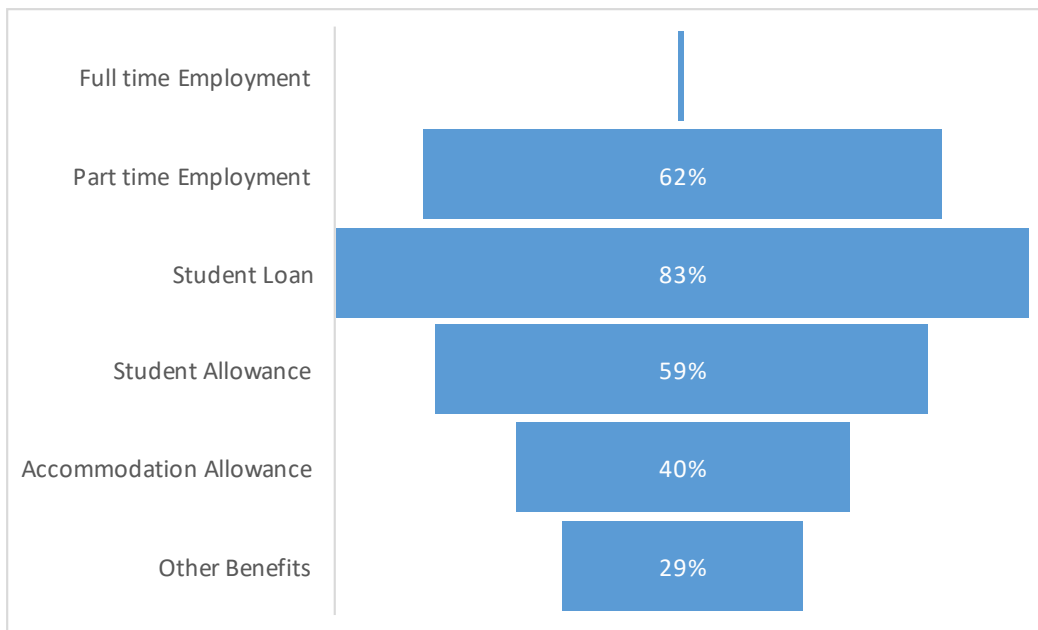


Figure 6. Income source.

Voluntary and unpaid work

Thirty-eight percent of participants were engaged in unpaid voluntary work, either weekly, fortnightly, or monthly. Most participants stated the voluntary work was highly relevant to their current study, including whānau and iwi care and support, and social and community services.

Household income

Thirty-eight percent of participants in the survey chose not to disclose their household income.

Five percent of participants showed a household yearly income less than \$500. Participants in this group were a mix of single ākongā or with a partner and living in shared accommodation. Because of the very low numbers in this

group these income levels were treated as outliers and excluded from the statistical analysis.

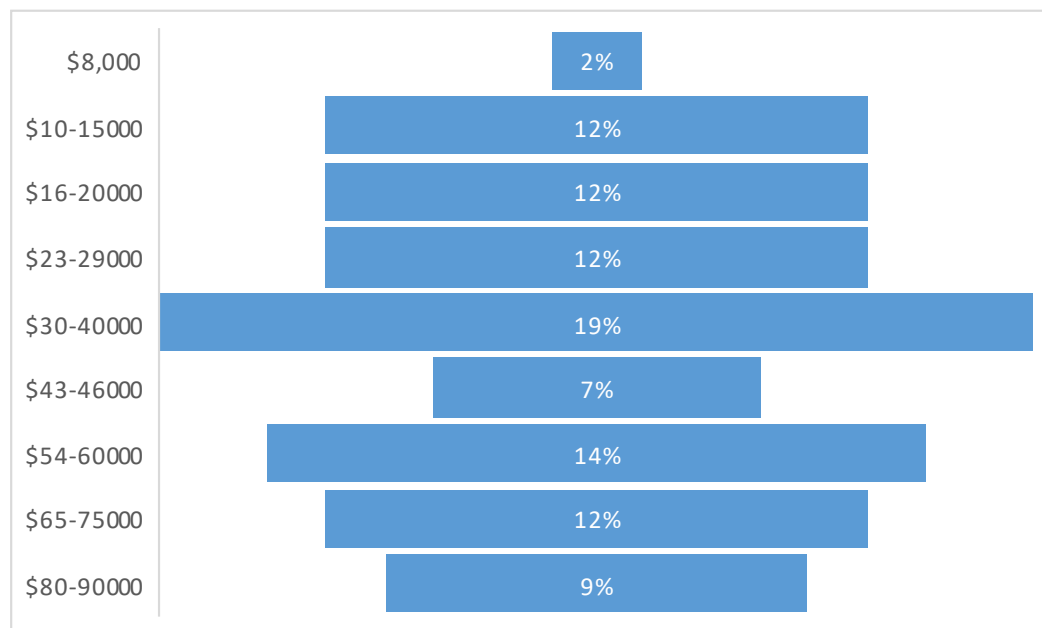


Figure 7. Income groups by percentage of participants.

For the purposes of this study, average income has been used as the unit for analysis and comparison. Income groupings have not been equivalised (Stats NZ, 2021).² Hence, the income for participants is assumed to cover all costs including accommodation and housing. No comparison of income was made across household sizes and composition.

Thirty-eight percent of participants relied upon a yearly household or personal gross income of \$29,000 or less. The household income levels for this group suggest a high level of material hardship.

Fifty-seven percent of participants relied upon a yearly household income of \$40,000 or less. The household income levels for this group suggest a concerning level of material hardship.

The average yearly household income for participants was \$44,983. This was considerably lower than the \$84,712 average annual gross (unequivalised) household income for Tai Tokerau.

The participant income levels were significantly lower than the \$107,196 which is calculated as an average annual gross (unequivalised) income across all rohe in Aotearoa (Stats NZ, 2021).

Non-income measures of hardship

The DEP-17 index measures non-income-related hardship. Although households with lower incomes are likely to experience material hardship, Stats NZ points out there is not a direct correlation between the two. For example, households can have a higher standard of living and a low DEP-17

2

By equivalising income, the effect of different household sizes and compositions on estimates is removed. This makes it possible to compare income across households of different sizes and compositions.

material deprivation score with a low income. This is because they may have access to other resources, or they may not see some items on the index as necessities. On the other hand, households with high income levels may experience material hardships and deprivations. The DEP-17 index has indicated that the threshold for serious deprivation is based on 9 or more participant reports of deprivation (Stats NZ, 2019).

Enforced lack of essentials

An area of hardship was indicated by the rate of enforced lack. This means that participants were not able to afford necessities. Although most survey participants indicated they could afford some of the listed items, there were three aspects of expenditure participants were not able to afford. These included contents insurance on possessions, gifts for family and friends, and holidays either locally or overseas.

<i>Enforced lack of essentials (for respondent or household as a whole)</i>		<i>%</i>
1	Meal with meat, fish or chicken (or vegetarian equivalent) at least every second day	4%
2	Two pairs of shoes in good repair and suitable for everyday use	20.5%
3	Suitable clothes for important or special occasions	26%
4	Presents for family and friends on special occasions	56%
5	Home contents insurance	33%
6	A good, warm comfortable bed	5%

Economising, cutting back and delaying

Economising, cutting back and delaying expenditure were common strategies used by participants when other essential items were more urgently needed. Over 90% of participants indicated they cut back on fruit and vegetables, purchased cheaper cuts of meat, and delayed repairs and replacement of appliances 'a lot.' More significantly, over half of the participants postponed visits to the doctor 'a lot' and over 80% postponed visits to the dentist 'a lot.' A substantial number put up with the cold 'a lot' and continued to wear worn-out clothes. More than 70% of participants also allocated less of their budgets to their own hobbies and special interests 'a lot.' Some had experienced periods of homelessness.

<i>Economised, cut back or delayed purchases because money was needed for other essentials (not just to be thrifty or to save for a trip or other non-essential)</i>		<i>A little</i>	<i>A lot</i>
7	Went without or cut back on fresh fruit and vegetables	46.5%	30%
8	Bought cheaper cuts of meat or bought less than wanted	30%	60%
9	Put up with feeling cold to save on heating costs	35.6%	39.7%
10	Postponed visits to the doctor	24%	56%
11	Postponed visits to the dentist	7%	83.5%
12	Did without or cut back on trips to the shops or other local places	42%	26%
13	Continued wearing worn-out clothes	39%	48%
14	Delayed replacing or repairing broken or damaged appliances	33%	55%
15	Spent less on hobbies or other special interests	9.5%	71%
16	Experienced homelessness (couch surfing, living rough, overcrowded)	16%	9.5%

Housing

It is well documented that housing is one of the biggest and most costly household items, and “the average rent in the 2020 housing market in Northland, New Zealand was [\$431] ... per week” (Granwal, 2021). The Child and Youth Epidemiology Service Report (Duncanson et al., 2020) states that low-to-middle-income households, with or without dependent children, spend more than 30% of their income on the cost of housing.

Although the study did not collect data on rents or mortgages, other related housing costs including utilities were considered as part of the DEP-17 index. When landlords fail to comply with the healthy homes policy in Aotearoa to ensure the house is dry, warm, and well ventilated, the occupants bear the cost of trying to stay warm (Tenancy Services, 2021). Dampness and mould are also health hazards, and the failure to eliminate these places children at risk.

<i>Housing problems (minor problem, major problem)</i>		<i>Minor</i>	<i>Major</i>
17	Dampness or mould	13.7%	15%
18	Heating or keeping it warm in winter	12%	9.5%

In the study 15% of participants stated dampness and mould were a major problem and over 10% experienced some problems heating the home in the winter.

Financial stress and vulnerability

A significant group, 30% of participants, stated they would not be able to pay an unbudgeted and large bill in a month's timeframe without borrowing the money.

<i>Unplanned expenditure</i>		
19	Could not pay an unexpected and unavoidable bill of \$500 within a month without borrowing	30%

A significant group of participants stated they had been in arrears with their electricity, water or rates bills more than once in the past 12 months.

<i>In arrears more than once in last 12 months (because of shortage of cash at the time, not through forgetting)</i>		<i>Once</i>	<i>More</i>
20	Rates, electricity, water	12%	38%
21	Vehicle registration, insurance or warrant of fitness	3%	56%
22	Behind on rent or mortgage	5%	5%

Likewise, a large group of 56% of participants had not been able to pay their car registration, insurance, or warrant of fitness.

<i>Financial vulnerability</i>		<i>Once</i>	<i>More</i>
23	Borrowed money from family or friends more than once in the last 12 months to cover everyday living costs	3%	20.5%
24	Received help in the form of food, clothes or money from a welfare or community organisation such as a church or food bank	5.4%	13.7%

Over 20% of participants had borrowed money from family or friends more than once in the past 12 months.

Personal budget

<i>Personal expenditure</i>		<i>Some</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Mostly</i>
25	When buying, or thinking about buying, clothes or shoes for yourself, how much do you usually feel limited by the money available?	8%	15%	22%
26	Do you rely on second-hand clothing, either donated or paid for?	12%	8%	8%

Fifteen percent of participants indicated they were 'often' limited in buying clothing or shoes for themselves and 22% indicated they were 'mostly' limited.

Restricted expenditure

<i>Purchases</i>		<i>A little</i>	<i>Mod</i>	<i>Very</i>	<i>Totally</i>
27	\$300 spot purchase for an 'extra' – how restricted?	5.5%	11%	15%	57.5%

Over 50% of participants stated they would not be able to make a spot purchase of \$300 for an extra item.

Child-specific items

Forty-nine percent of survey participants were parents and had day-to-day care of children or adolescents. This included participants who had a step-parent role or foster children.

Thirty-nine percent of the participants who identified as parents also identified as sole parents. Of the group of sole parents, a high rate were Māori (86%). Nineteen percent of all the survey participants were sole parents.

<i>Able to afford to meet children's needs</i>		<i>A little</i>	<i>No</i>
28	Friends to their birthday parties	26%	20%
29	Friends over for a meal	16%	20%
30	A waterproof coat	16%	4%
31	Warm winter clothes	14%	0%
32	Two pairs of sturdy shoes	12%	8%
33	A separate bed	6%	6%
34	Separate bedrooms for children of opposite sexes if they are 10 years older or more	0%	12%
35	A complete school uniform	12%	0%

Generally, most participants were able to meet most of the children's needs most of the time. However, there were some areas of deprivation that stood out. These related to social aspects of a child's life, such as having friends to birthday parties or to share a meal.

Some participants also found it difficult to provide some items of clothing and footwear, including school uniforms.

<i>Hardship and children's needs</i>		<i>A little</i>	<i>A lot</i>	<i>Totally</i>
36	Continued with worn-out shoes/clothes for the children	20%	14%	0%
37	Bought second-hand clothing instead of new	24%	12%	8%
38	Postponed a child's visit to a doctor	10%	0%	0%
39	Postponed a child's visit to a dentist	4%	0%	0%
40	Been unable able to pick up a prescription	6%	0%	0%
41	Been unable to provide needed glasses or contact lenses	4%	4%	0%
42	Been unable to pay for a school trip	10%	0%	0%
43	Denied your child access to kapa haka, music, dance, art, swimming etc.	8%	8%	0%
44	Limited your child's involvement in sport	12%	8%	0%
45	Made do with limited space for children to play or study	16%	4%	0%

Ten percent of participants indicated they had to postpone doctors visit 'a little' until they could afford to pay. However, participant responses indicated they were more likely to be frugal when a child's health and wellbeing was not likely to be impacted, such as making do with worn or secondhand clothing. There were times when participants were not able to budget for a school trip or school sports.

Responses indicated that generally participants were careful to not let hardship impact too much on their children. As one participant explained:

"Being a single parent, my child always comes first and I make sure his needs are always met before mine. I do not ever want him to feel like he is being neglected..."

Child health issues

Fifty-three percent of the parent group listed a range of illnesses and health issues their children suffered from. While some illnesses were seasonal and short term, others suggested ongoing health vulnerabilities. Likewise, some impediments were long-term afflictions and not easily resolved. The most reported physical health issue was asthma.

Hardship items relating to postponement of visits to doctor, dentist or eye specialist strongly indicated parents were not likely to neglect the healthcare needs of their children, regardless of available income.

<i>Learning difficulties</i>	<i>Sight and hearing impairments</i>	<i>Physical illnesses</i>	<i>Behavioural disorders</i>	<i>Mental health</i>
Traumatic brain injury Dyslexia Speech Impediments	Keratoconus – sight	Respiratory illnesses Tonsillitis Rheumatic fever Asthma Eczema Bronchitis Ear infections Failure to thrive	Conduct disorder ADHD	Anxiety Hyperventilation PTSD Childhood trauma

Income satisfaction

The largest group of survey participants (35.6%) rated their satisfaction with their income levels and their ability to meet basics such as accommodation, food, clothing as 'adequate.'

Twenty-seven percent of participants rated their income as 'poor' and 19% rated their income as 'very poor.'

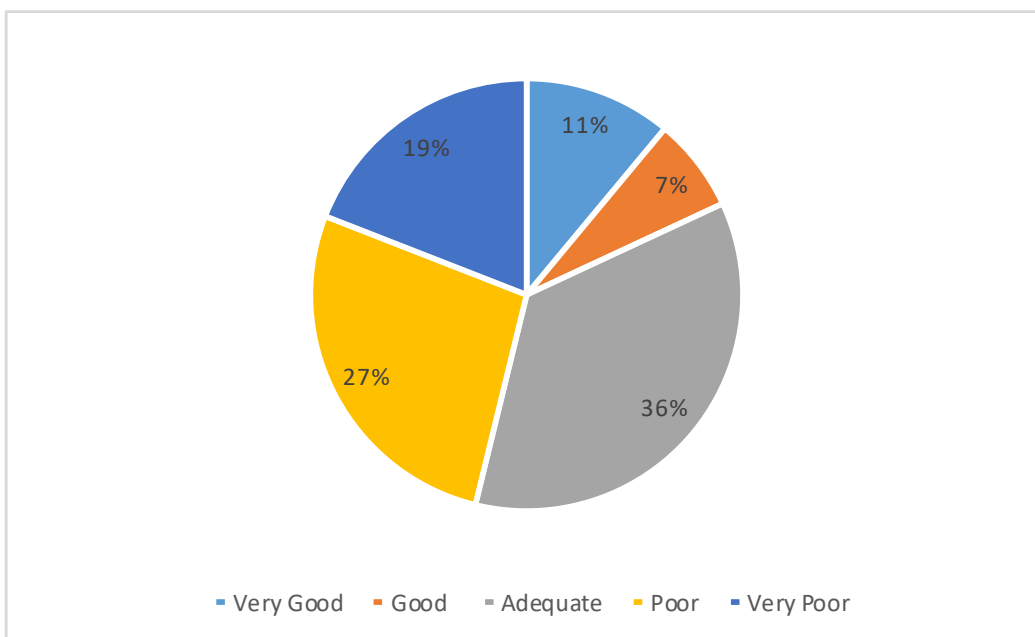


Figure 8. Income satisfaction.

Life satisfaction

A small group of participants indicated life satisfaction levels as 'good' (14%) or 'very good' (11%).

Forty-four percent rated their life satisfaction levels as 'adequate.' This level of satisfaction with life was a similar percentage to the total of 46% who rated satisfaction with their income as either 'poor' (27%) or 'very poor' (19%). This incongruence suggests income is not necessarily a measure of wellbeing (Perry, 2019).

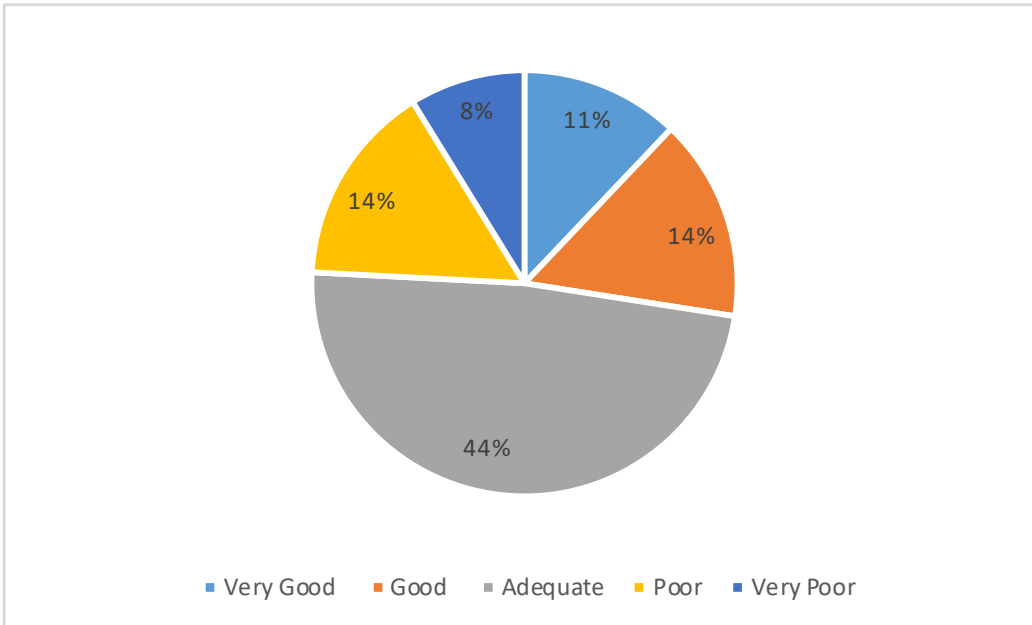


Figure 9. Life satisfaction.

Qualitative analysis

Interviews were an important part of the study. Participants were able to tell their personal stories and provide subjective experiences. This added a more in-depth understanding and exploration into hardship and its corollary, namely stress. This method of gathering information provided the qualitative and interpretive aspect to the research findings.

All five interview participants were studying full time on the BASW. Their experiences were representative of a range of ages, both male and female students, and were representative of different forms of relationships, and whānau, family and household structures. The participants were from across the four years of the degree from first, second, to third and fourth year of study.

All participants described financial pressures created by the additional costs they incurred with undertaking study and by having to either reduce hours of paid employment or leave employment entirely to study full time. Most participants were in receipt of a student loan and student allowance. One participant was eligible for 'Fees Free' for the first year of study, while another participant who was not eligible thought the criteria were too rigid and missed out. Two participants had not been able to access student allowances. In one case eligibility was based on the parents' income when the participant was under 24 years of age; this participant had deferred full-time study until

the age of 25 years. In the other case the participant was not eligible because the partner's income was above the weekly threshold of \$946 gross. Given the level of household expenditure for this whānau in relation to high rent costs, food and utilities, the income threshold was too low, and the participant found it did not cover the financial cost of study.

Participants who lived rurally had increased financial vulnerability because of travel costs and vehicle maintenance. Some talked about having older vehicles and how mechanical breakdowns were a constant threat in the back of their mind. They were dependent on their vehicles to get to their field-education placements, to campus for classes, and to access library and other onsite services. Rurally based participants explained how they compromised their choice of field-education experiences and thought they had narrowed their learning opportunities by opting for agencies closer to their homes to save on transport costs. For some it was also practical to be closer to home, so they didn't have to set up child care and arrange for school drop-off and pick-up.

Those who lived in the city were less concerned about travel, but recognised that the days they were on campus created additional trips between the polytechnic and the children's day care, kōhanga or schools. For some this additional travel was more about the extra time and effort involved, but it was also an issue when this cut into class time, and they would arrive late and have to leave early to pick up children.

Not all participants had part-time paid employment, but all participants did have multiple commitments and responsibilities. They described the psychological and physical stress involved in trying to manage studies alongside other responsibilities and commitments such as part-time jobs, voluntary community work, the household and child care. In one case a participant worked in lieu of rent. With the exception of one participant, who had a very structured and compartmentalised approach to managing various responsibilities and activities, most explained they had no clear management strategy, but they did appear to have a household routine. Even so, all participants stated that their studies conflicted with the other demands on their physical and mental energy and their time. Some participants described being overwhelmed by these competing demands and all participants described deferring time on their studies.

All participants liked the idea of being successful learners and most gave time to attend classroom sessions, but time and energy for self-directed study and preparation for assignments were treated as discretionary and were usually given low priority in their lives. Some students explained that they were aware they were compromising the quality of their learning and the academic standard of the assignments they submitted.

“[H]owever at this point in the day after doing some much-needed housework ... I am generally fairly tired and find it hard to focus on my studies. I do feel if I had more time I would be able to do a lot better in my studies and put a lot more time and effort into them.”

All participants were concerned about financial survival. Some talked about 'making do' with the basics and one spoke about utilising every resource

and income-support facility available. One participant was worried about the summer break and hoped there would be the option of increasing work hours. This participant tearfully realised they may have to give up living independently if they were to be faced with unexpected costs, expenditure or unbudgeted bills. Another participant explained they had established a business to provide additional income for the whānau. This had become so successful it threatened to overwhelm study time and to jeopardise completion of the field-education placement. The participant got in a business partner to free up time.

All participants drew on whānau and family support in some way, some to a greater extent than others. One participant, who did not have supportive whānau nearby, relied on their partner to provide two full days per week care of the children in exchange for study time. Another participant described having a clear division-of-labour agreement with their partner, who managed the household and domestic life. Another participant was grateful for the domestic role and provision of meals their partner provided. Some participants were stressed trying to co-parent with an ex-partner who was not always available or was reluctant to support study time. One participant talked about 'educational' hardship and stress because they found it difficult to learn in some classroom environments. They claimed the course timetable was not amenable to whānau needs and schedules.

Not all participants accessed NorthTec resources. However, all except one participant had made a point of knowing what those resources were and how to access them if needed. Some participants had utilised all resources and benefited from financial, academic and pastoral support in times of stress and material hardship.

Participants talked about how they mitigated the stresses in their lives. Some participants said reflection and good communication were important. One parent said 'self-care' went out the window and yet it was 'most needed.' The wishful thinking of one participant summed up a lot of the stress relating to financial survival and the desire to study:

"I always think, you know if I was rich I wouldn't have to worry about anything. I could just type away all day"

Holidays were not a priority for most of the participants because they could not afford them and had to do extra paid work in the term breaks. However, one participant saw the family holiday once a year to visit local environments as very important. *"It fills my cup a lot."*

Covid-19 restrictions and impact on study

Just under 10% of students reported Covid-19 lockdown restrictions did not have any negative impacts on their study ability. One student stated the lockdown was positive because it actually encouraged a focus on study.

However, 85% of participants considered Covid-19 lockdown restrictions had a significant, negative impact and contributed to the hardship they experienced.

- Impacts on mental wellbeing – e.g., depression, grief as result of not being able to travel to tangi.
- Social isolation from whānau or family and self-exclusion due to symptoms.
- Financial stress and income hardship as a result of loss of employment.
- Field-education placements and development of practice skills not able to be completed.

It was of note that some participants stated the quality of learning was compromised due to inadequacies and limitations with online study and Zoom-based classes. This included difficulties engaging in virtual group work. Participants struggled trying to attend 'lengthy' Zoom sessions, while trying to deal with childcare and household distractions. Some difficulties were related to technical problems such as poor internet connections and limited wifi data.

Hardship impacts on study

Fifty-nine percent of participants reported on several factors that had significantly limited their ability to study in the previous 12 months.

The most common impacts were related to financial hardship, the conflict between study time, employment and whānau or family responsibilities, and the lack of self-care.

In describing the impacts on study in the past 12 months one participant explained:

“... financial hardship. It is impossible to focus when you are hungry.”

Another participant, whose situation was typical of those trying to give time to study amidst all the other demands, stated:

“Just being able to have time to study, and still work and have time to still be able to have time with my family, also I put in some much more extra time in studying even when the class has gone home for the day. I spend time with student support most days.”

“Finding time to work and study is hard. I have had to reduce work hours to be able to get decent grades.”

Several participants reported their ability to study had been impacted by situational and environmental events in their lives. These events included the birth of a child, relationship breakup and illness of a whānau or family member. However, financial difficulties also played a part in the stress.

- Ongoing financial deficits.
- Unexpected financial costs due to unexpected whānau or family events – not able to afford cost of travel, car repairs, general household bills.

“Income, illness and not having enough resources, e.g., daily living essentials (gas, food etc.).”

- Overwhelmed by whānau and family responsibilities.
- Paid employment.
- Compromised study time – conflicted with whānau and family demands and other commitments.
- Limited study resources such as a quiet space for study.
- Limitations on social and recreational life.
- Physical health – illness.
- Mental health – depression and anxiety.
- Unstable home circumstances and relationship breakdowns.
- Responsibilities for unwell dependents and childcare, and dependent adults.
- Sporadic teaching schedule.

“... my study time is limited to in-class and when he is asleep. ... however at this point in the day after doing some much-needed housework ... I am generally fairly tired and find it hard to focus on my studies. I do feel if I had more time I would be able to do a lot better in my studies and put a lot more time and effort into them.”

Mitigating factors

Participants identified the following supports, which enabled them to study and mitigated the impact of hardship:

- Whānau, family and peer support.
- NorthTec services and resources – library space for study, marae for overnight stay, student support team, tutor support, financial hardship grants.
- Government support through StudyLink, WINZ, student hardship support.
- Financial management, stability and comfort.
- Part-time work.
- Online study.
- Self-care such as diet and exercise, therapy, medication, addiction rehab, growing a vegetable garden, being part of social services, a structured routine and communication with family.
- Personal attributes such as resilience, determination, perseverance, motivation, passion.

Summary of key findings

Participant profile:

- Sixty-four percent of participants identified as Māori.
- Ninety percent of participants identified as female.
- Forty-nine percent of participants were parents/caregivers.
- Forty-nine percent of participants lived in a household with a partner.
- Nineteen percent of participants were sole parents.
- Sixty-three percent of participants were in paid employment. Most worked between 18 and 32 hours per week.

Income measures:

Forty-eight percent of participants had a gross household income below the average income for the rohe.

- Nineteen percent of households relied on incomes of \$40-30,000 per year
- Thirty-eight percent of households relied on incomes of \$29-8,000 per year.
- Average income of participants was \$44,983 compared to Tai Tokerau average income of \$84,712.

Non-income measures – between 15% and 57% of participants indicated hardships and deprivations in respect of the following items:

- Lack of affordability – clothing, shoes, contents insurance and birthday gifts.
- Economised a lot – on diet such as fresh fruit, vegetables, meat or vegetarian equivalent.
- Delayed a lot – visits to the doctor and dentist, repairs or replacements of damaged goods.
- Minimised a lot and limited expenditure – on own hobbies or recreation, on clothing.
- Arrears: more than once in 12 months – rates, utilities, car registration and Warrant of Fitness.
- Borrowed money a lot – more than once in 12 months to pay bills.
- Restricted – couldn't make a \$300 spot expenditure and would have to borrow to pay an unexpected bill of \$500 or more.

Limits on child-specific expenditure – between 12 and 14% of participants indicated hardships and deprivations on the following items:

- Second-hand or worn clothing.
- Space for play.
- Birthday parties and friends for a meal.

Key findings show that the experiences of material hardship and deprivation of participants are consistent with the annual government reports specified under the Child Poverty Reduction Act 2018. These reports are generated from data collated on the income status of households in Aotearoa. This data is derived from the annual Household Economic Survey (HES) conducted by Stats NZ using the DEP-17 index. The 2019 report showed that 13.4% of children lived in a household experiencing material hardship. This was indicated by a DEP-17 score of six or more items (Stats NZ, 2020a). The report shows that low income and relative material hardship rates of Māori are higher across all measures compared to non-Māori.

Conclusions

All ākonga in this study reflected resilience, a positive attitude, and a desire to succeed educationally. Yet they faced difficult and challenging circumstances, especially economic ones. A significant group had household incomes well below a threshold of an accepted standard of living. Combined with this, the majority experienced some form of material hardship and many experienced ongoing hardships. A significant number experienced moderate to high levels of material deprivation. Māori ākonga were over-represented as a group in many areas of deprivation and hardship. Some hardships were exacerbated by field education and clinical placements, rural locations, dependency on transport and the financial cost of travel.

Participants had found a way to mitigate the impacts of hardship either with part-time paid employment or some form of financial quid pro quo. Most stuck to a constrained budget.

Although all ākonga had a variety of commitments and responsibilities they were trying to fit into their lives, participants with dependent children were very burdened with the stress of trying to juggle the needs of the children and their study. Almost 20% were sole parents. Both parents and non-parents mitigated the impacts of stress by neglecting self-care and by relegating study as the last call on their time and on their physical and mental energies. In turn this compromised their learning and their academic performance. Participants were in a dilemma or difficult circumstance from which there was no escape because of what were mutually conflicting or dependent conditions.

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Financial self-efficacy scale for people living in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ-FSES)

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Financial self-efficacy scale for people living in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ-FSES)

DR HOA THI NGUYEN AND HAIRUNNISA MUHAMMED SHAFI

Abstract

As indicated by the increased amount of literature that examines the role of financial self-efficacy in current or future financial behaviours, it is important to have a valid and reliable tool to measure financial self-efficacy. This study contributes to this growing area of literature by validating a financial self-efficacy scale with New Zealanders. The sample consists of 303 individuals with diverse ages, cultural backgrounds, genders and educational levels. Results show that the scale has a strong reliability with a coefficient alpha of 0.94, capable of measuring both high and low levels of financial self-efficacy, and is equally accurate for participants of different genders, age groups and cultures.

Background and introduction

As governments all over the world are trying to increase their citizens' financial capability in preparing them for retirement, the financial self-efficacy (FSE) construct has gained increased attention in the past decade as a mediator for financial behaviour change (Farrell et al., 2016; Sturr et al., 2021; Tang & Baker, 2016). Financial self-efficacy is a task-specific concept of general self-efficacy. There are two approaches to understanding self-efficacy; one is from a motivational approach, which explains self-efficacy in relation to "motivation of control," and the other is from a cognitive approach, which identifies

self-efficacy in relation to “experience of control” (Gecas, 1989, p. 292). This paper uses Bandura’s social cognitive theory to explain the concept of self-efficacy, which refers to “belief about what can one do under different sets of conditions with whatever skills one possesses” (Bandura, 1997, p. 37).

Bandura (1997) associates self-efficacy with individuals’ experience of controlling their own lives, and that their personal experience with successful performance in the past can influence their perceptions about self-efficacy. As Bandura (1997) identifies, self-efficacy is a task-specific concept; its measurement should pertain to a specific area of tasks. Therefore, in this paper, the term financial self-efficacy refers to “one’s perceived belief about their ability to manage the tasks associated with personal finance.” It is not about individuals’ current ability to manage their finance but about the extent to which they feel confident that they can successfully achieve financial tasks. Bandura’s social cognitive theory also posits that self-efficacy enhances an individual’s ability to solve their problems by motivating them to shape their thought patterns, and efficiently controlling their social environments and behaviours (Bandura & Wood, 1989).

FINANCIAL SELF-EFFICACY AND FINANCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Financial self-efficacy is a critical determinant of an individual’s personal financial behaviour. Farrell et al. (2016) surveyed 1542 Australian women to examine the influence of FSE on personal financial behaviour and found that Australian women with high FSE were more likely to save and invest finances and less likely to owe debts compared to women with lower FSE. Tang and Baker’s study (2016) conducted with adults in the United States confirmed that FSE can affect an adult’s financial behaviour either directly or indirectly. While FSE directly impacted adults’ decisions to have more savings, the indirect effect of FSE enabled adults to evaluate their subjective knowledge of finance in order to achieve positive financial-management outcomes and behaviours. Consistent with Tang and Baker’s findings, Despard et al.’s (2020) analysis of the National Financial Capability Study’s survey data indicated that FSE and subjective knowledge, as well as ownership of savings-bank accounts, were found to be the strongest predictors that enhanced US households to maintain an emergency fund in order to manage an unexpected financial crisis. These results agree with Reyers’ (2019) finding, which showed South African households, living both below and above the poverty line, displayed emergency-saving behaviour if they had high self-efficacy and access to bank accounts.

Regarding young adults, several factors affect their financial behaviours. Terri et al. (2011) investigated the factors that predict young adults’ advancement in the process of savings from adolescence to young adulthood. They used data from the Childhood Development Supplement (CDS) and the Transition into Adulthood supplement (TA) of the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) survey conducted in the United States. While the CDS data administered in 2002 assessed whether parents saved finances separately for their adolescents, the TA supplement data administered in 2005 and 2007 examined whether participants who became young adults and were no longer studying at high schools had progressed with their savings. Parental savings were found to be an important factor for young adults to hold higher

amounts as savings. Friedline (2012) recruited 744 children aged 12 to 15 from the CDS data administered in 2007 of the PSID survey to further explore the role of parents' savings on children's financial behaviour. The study explains that children from high-income families whose parents had regular savings for them were more than twice as likely to be involved in college savings compared with children from low- or moderate-income families. Friedline (2012) stated parents' income can also predict whether children are provided with the opportunity to be included in parental savings or not. In contrast, Terri et al. (2011) and Mason et al. (2010) found that household income was not a significant factor in predicting either parents' or children's financial behaviour.

Tali (2016) interviewed 103 first-grade children to explore the factors that prompt children to engage in saving money. The study found parents' attitudes and awareness toward saving money and the child's financial access are major determinants of children's financial behaviour. However, recently, Herawati et al. (2020) surveyed 561 undergraduate students who were studying accounting in seven different universities in Bali. Their findings reveal that parents' socioeconomic status had an indirect effect on undergraduate students' FSE. Financial literacy was found to be the highest for students whose parents had high socioeconomic status, and that increased their FSE more than students whose parents had lower socioeconomic status.

There is evidence that parental financial socialisation (parents' financial practice and how they communicate with their children) plays a crucial role in addressing financial behaviours (Rudi et al., 2020; Zhao & Zhang, 2020; Antoni et al., 2019). For example, Rudi et al.'s (2020) study examined the significance of parenting in predicting FSE among US students during their transition to adulthood. The sample consisted of 850 students having educational loans and 800 students who did not have any educational loans. The study used the term 'borrowers' to indicate students who were under the pressure of meeting the increased expense of higher education and student-loan debts, and the term 'nonborrower' represented students who were financially supported by their families. For nonborrowers, the explicit financial communication before college contributed to a higher FSE. For borrowers, the implicit modelling from parents predicted a higher level of FSE. These results are congruent with studies conducted in South Africa (Antoni et al., 2019; Chowa & Despard, 2014), which confirm parental financial socialisation can positively influence students' financial behaviour. Zhao & Zhang's (2020) study conducted with 6311 US respondents aged 25 to 54 indicates parents' education is a significant factor that can predict the quality of financial socialisation delivered to their children.

Mindra and Moya (2017) identified that an adult's FSE has a full mediating effect in enabling the relationship between their financial-management attitude, financial knowledge and the ability to access formal financial services. Although financial knowledge enhanced an individual's ability to plan and implement strategies for accessing formal financial services, their attitudes and decisions related to making investment decisions were positively influenced by FSE. Henager and Cude (2016) studied the relationship between FSE and long-term and short-term financial behaviour among individuals of different age groups. They found that, compared with older adults, young adults' FSE was positively related to both long-term and short-term financial

behaviours. While young adults were more likely to use FSE to explain their long-term financial behaviours, older adults' objective financial knowledge played a central role in explaining their long-term financial behaviours such as retirement savings. Shim et al.'s (2019) longitudinal survey conducted with first-year college students at Southwestern State University in Georgia, USA, investigated how FSE was linked to students' ability to repay their student loans. The study found that students with higher FSE perceived themselves capable of paying off their student loans compared to students whose FSE was lower.

A study conducted by Hunter and Sawatzki (2019) in New Zealand also found that social, cultural and mathematical knowledge are significant predictors of financial knowledge among Pasifika students aged 10 to 12 years. In the United States, Sherraden et al.'s (2011) study evaluated the effectiveness of providing elementary-school children the opportunity to participate in financial education and savings programmes. The study found that the elementary students who received financial education and were involved in the saving programme ICS (I Can Save) achieved higher financial-literacy test scores and financial capabilities compared to those who had not been exposed to financial education and saving programmes.

The National Strategy for Financial Capability in New Zealand, a government-subsidised operation group formed during the Covid-19 pandemic, set out financial wellbeing of the general population as an important goal to achieve and co-ordinated various programmes through the Commission for Financial Capability (CFFC) (Commission for Financial Capability, 2020a). 'Sorted in Schools,' 'Sorted at Work,' and 'Sorted in Community' are CFFC's financial-capability-building initiatives. CFFC offers Professional Learning Development (PLD) workshops and webinars for teachers to assist students in developing positive financial behaviours through 'Sorted in Schools' programmes nationwide (Commission for Financial Capability, 2020c). The 'Sorted at Work' programme provides the opportunity for employers to select and incorporate appropriate financial-capability-building courses for their employees, to help them progress with their financial wellbeing and organisational performance goals (Commission for Financial Capability, 2019). The 'Sorted in Community' programme works through ten-week courses delivered through community-based organisations including NGOs, churches and public libraries, to help build people's knowledge and skills on personal financial planning, financial savings schemes such as KiwiSaver, and making investments through owning houses and insurance policies (Commission for Financial Capability, 2020b).

Moreover, Building Financial Capability services, offered by the Ministry of Social Development in New Zealand, have been strengthened to help people recover from the financial shocks of Covid-19. Various strategies include providing people with the service of financial mentors to help them develop strength-based financial plans, and facilitating people to be involved in collective learning on financial management. MoneyMates group meetings, offered by a number of budget services across New Zealand such as Christian Budgeting New Zealand (CBNZ), and MoneyTalks, a free financial helpline service provided by the Ministry of Social Development, are extended to increase the financial self-efficacy of the population (Ministry of Social

Development, 2020).

In New Zealand, Massey University's Financial Education and Research (Fin-Ed) Centre is conducting a 20-year longitudinal study to address New Zealanders' attitudes and behaviours related to financial management and changes over different stages at five-year intervals. The first stage of the study was conducted with young adults aged 18 to 22 (Stangl & Matthews, 2012). Even though young New Zealanders acquired financial knowledge from their parents, the application of knowledge was not found to be significant at the age of 18 to 22. Participants' attitudes towards saving finances were shaped by emotions such as "sense of belonging," "excitement," "self-fulfilment," "fun and enjoyment," "security," "sense of accomplishment" and "being well-respected" (p. 23). In 2019, the second stage of the study was conducted when participants were aged 23 to 27. The participants noticed that their financial self-efficacy and financial literacy significantly increased over five years (Matthews et al., 2019).

EXISTING MEASUREMENTS OF FINANCIAL SELF-EFFICACY

In a previously published article, the author has discussed several existing FSE measurements and their pros and cons (Nguyen, 2019). There appears to be only one new scale that has been developed and tested since. Hoge et al. (2020) developed an economic self-efficacy scale and tested it with a sample of women who had experienced domestic violence. They developed ten items for the scale, based on Schwarzer and Jerusalem's (1995) General Self-Efficacy Scale. The items were revised to reflect financial-management tasks, such as: "I can solve most financial problems if I invest the necessary effort," "If I am in financial trouble, I can usually think of something to do," "If I have a financial problem, I can find ways to get what I need," "Thanks to my resourcefulness, I know how to handle unforeseen financial situations," "I can remain calm when facing financial difficulties because I can rely on my financial abilities," "I am confident that I could deal efficiently with unexpected financial events" (Hoge et al., 2020, p. 3021). The scale showed strong reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha coefficient value of 0.88. In terms of validity, Hoge et al. (2020) indicated that the concurrent validity of the scale is sufficient, through strong correlation results with other relevant economic concepts. However, the sample of the study is limited to volunteers from one domestic violence agency and was only tested with women who have experienced domestic violence.

Research Methods

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study adapted the Women's Financial Self-Efficacy Scale (WFSES) that the author developed and tested with women in the United States (Nguyen, 2019), and tested it with people living in Aotearoa New Zealand. Given that no standardised tool to measure financial self-efficacy has been validated with New Zealanders, this is a crucial step to enable researchers to conduct a rigorous evaluation in the future.

The study sought to examine the reliability and validity of the scale, using a quantitative approach. Specifically, it examined whether the adapted scale shows robust psychometric properties and whether the scale positively correlates with the standardised General Self-Efficacy Scale (Chen et al., 2001).

The WFSES was validated with a sample of female participants in the United States, and showed an excellent reliability of 0.93 and a very good validity (correlation with another standardised measurement at 0.43) (Nguyen, 2019). Existing items from the WFSES were revised and the irrelevant items were removed to fit with the financial system in New Zealand. Input from experienced budgeting educators in New Zealand were included in the item revision process.

In terms of reliability testing, the split-half method and internal consistency method (coefficient alpha) were used. Content-related validity, criterion-related validity and construct-related validity were examined to test the validity. To examine the content-related validity, the scale was reviewed by two financial educators who were experts in financial management and a senior researcher to see whether it covered all the important domains and contents of the financial self-efficacy construct. Response-related validity was examined through think-aloud interviews. Five intermediate-school students were asked to speak their thoughts out loud while taking the scale, to see if there was any item that was confusing, hard to understand, or could be understood in different ways. Criterion-related validity and construct-related validity were tested by comparing the results obtained through the self-efficacy scale with the results of the New General Self-Efficacy (NGSE) scale, which is a widely used standardised scale with a coefficient alpha of 0.85 (Chen et al., 2001).

DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected via both online and paper-based surveys. Students from two schools (an intermediate and a secondary school) who participated in their schools' financial capability programmes were invited to take the scale. An information sheet and consent form were distributed to students to seek permission from their parents before they undertook the survey. Other channels used to recruit participants included the student email list and the staff forum of a tertiary institute; the newsletter of a non-profit organisation; and the website of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association for Social Workers (ANZASW). Intermediate-school students were given paper surveys by teachers to fill in during class, and the rest were distributed online using Google forms. The online survey also had the informed-consent form on the first page, and included both the NZ-FSES and the NGSE scale.

SAMPLE

There were 303 participants in total, which exceeds the minimum sample size of 100 required for item analysis. Three quarters of the participants were female and the rest identified as male. Nearly half of the participants were European (43%), followed by Pasifika (18%), multi-cultures (15%), Māori (12%), Asian (8%), African (3%) and Middle Eastern (2%). The sample had a representation of almost all cultures in New Zealand. Children under 18 years

TABLE 1. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS (N=303).

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Gender	Female	210	69%
	Male	93	31%
Age	11-17	107	35%
	18-30	38	12%
	31-40	25	8%
	41-50	48	16%
	51-60	48	16%
	61+	37	13%
Culture	European	131	43%
	Māori	35	12%
	Pasifika	54	18%
	Asian	24	8%
	African	8	3%
	Muslim/Middle Eastern	7	2%
	Multi-culture(s)	44	15%
Financial-literacy training	Yes	116	38%
	No	187	62%
Education	Intermediate school	83	28%
	Secondary school	48	16%
	Undergraduate degree	79	26%
	Postgraduate degree	89	30%
Income	Less than \$25,000	52	18%
	\$25,000 – \$50,000	44	15%
	\$50,000 – \$75,000	65	22%
	\$75,000 – \$100,000	34	12%
	More than \$100,000	16	5%
	Not applicable	83	28%

old accounted for 35% of the participants. One fifth were young people under 40 years old. Among the middle-aged and elderly, 16% were between 41 and 50, 16% were between 51 and 60, 12% were between 61 and 70 and 1% were over 70 years old. The majority of the participants had lived in New Zealand for more than three years (97%). More than half of the participants either had an undergraduate or graduate degree. Twenty-eight percent had studied to intermediate-school level, and 16% had studied to secondary-school level. Nearly 40% of the participants had received some form of financial-literacy training.

DATA ANALYSIS

The authors used R (R Core Team, 2019) to analyse the data, with consultation from an R expert. Traditional item analysis was used to calculate item difficulty, item discrimination and coefficient alpha. Furthermore, the Item Response Theory (IRT) framework was used to review item characteristic curves for individual items and test information function for the instrument. All these results provided information about the difficulty of the items, how well they correlated with each other, how well the scale worked and how good the internal consistency was. Correlation analysis was used to test the criterion-related validity and construct-related validity. In addition, Differential Item Functioning (DIF) analysis was conducted to explore the difference in response in terms of gender and cultures. DIF analysis is a common method to examine the measurement invariance of instruments based on demographic subgroups (e.g., gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic status). DIF analysis involved techniques such as the Mantel-Haenszel method, logistic regression, or structural equation modelling to assess the difference in responses between two or more groups (item bias) (McGovern & Lowe, 2018).

Results

RELIABILITY

The item analysis results showed that the distribution was fairly normal. The skewness was -0.51. The scores ranged from a minimum of 16 to a maximum of 80. The mean and median were similar (57.26 and 58). All items indicated a high item total-correlation, suggesting that they can distinguish low and high levels of financial self-efficacy. The lowest item total-correlation was 0.58. The reliability analysis yielded a high coefficient alpha of 0.94. This reliability result is similar to the previous validation with women in the United States that yielded a coefficient alpha of 0.93 (Nguyen, 2019).

Item Difficulties

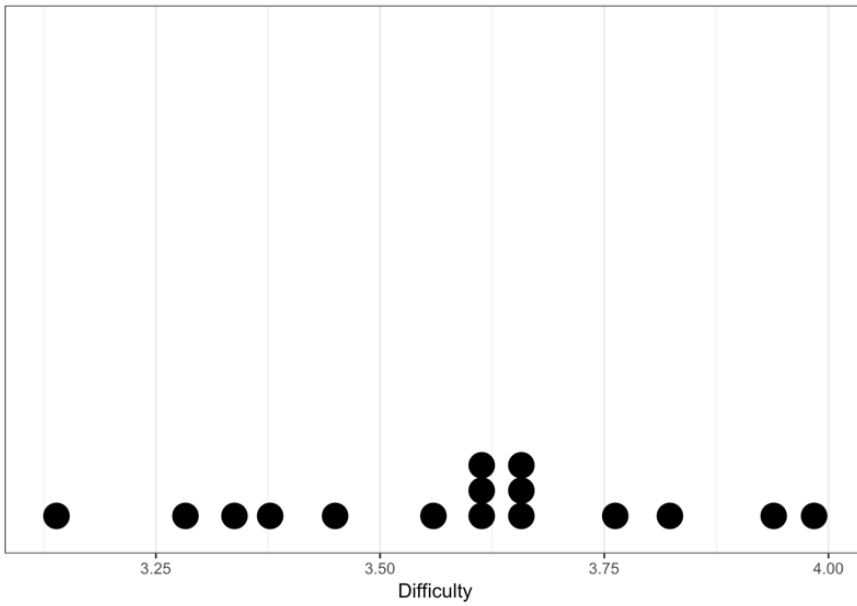


Figure 1. Item difficulties.

Figure 1 shows the level of difficulty of the items. Each dot represents the average item score from each item (i.e., the average of responses on a five-point scale used in the NZ-FSES). Figure 1 shows that most of the participants selected 3 or higher on the ranking scale, representing high levels of confidence.

Test Information

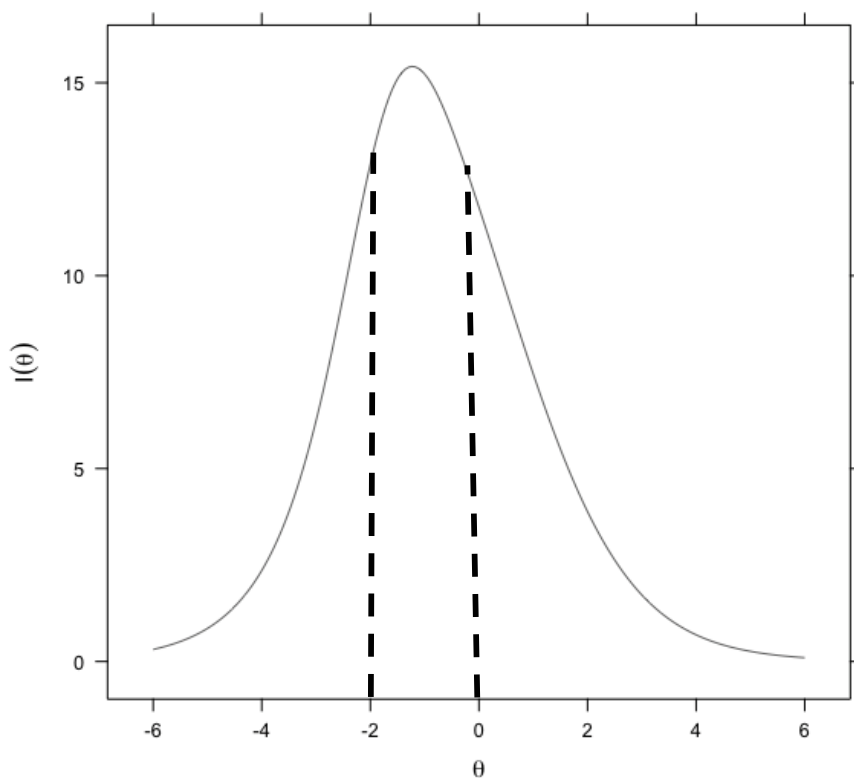


Figure 2. Test information plot.

Figure 2 shows the test information plot for the NZ-FSES. The test information plot indicates how informative (i.e., accurate) the scale is given the latent trait of financial self-efficacy. The x-axis represents financial literacy on a logistic scale (ranging from -6 to 6 where high values indicate higher financial self-efficacy). The y-axis represents the amount of information (accuracy) of the scale. As shown in Figure 2, the NZ-FSES is capable of measuring both high and low levels of financial self-efficacy. It should also be noted that the peak point is ranging between -2 and 0, which means the scale seems to measure low to moderate levels of financial self-efficacy more accurately.

VALIDITY

The content-related validity and the response-related validity were examined for the items of NZ-FSES. Even though the researcher had previously checked the content- and response-related validity with WFSES, the items that were adapted into the NZ-FSES went through an additional validity check. Two financial educators reviewed the items and concluded that the items covered the main domains of financial management and were appropriate to measure the concept of financial self-efficacy.

The think-aloud interviews with five intermediate-school students showed that students had no difficulty in understanding most of the items. However, one item phrased "make ends meet" was found to be harder for some students to understand and hence the item was rephrased to make it easier for young people to understand. The initial rephrasing of the item "I can make ends meet on a limited income" was further reworded into "I can manage on a limited income."

Additional validity evidence was obtained through examining how well the NZ-FSES correlated with the NGSE scale, a well-cited standardised measurement on general self-efficacy (Chen et al., 2001). The correlation between the two measurements showed a result of 0.54, which seems to be adequate for criterion-related validity, as Murphy and Davidshofer (2005) indicate most validity coefficients were not more than 0.5.

MEASUREMENT INVARIANCE

According to McGovern and Lowe (2018), measurement invariance "is when a test or scale is found to measure the same construct in the same way across different groups of people" (p. 1035). It is important to have evidence for measurement invariance as it is related to measurement bias (the extent to which a participant's score is being affected by their demographic characteristics rather than their true ability) (McGovern & Lowe, 2018).

In this study, DIF analysis was used to examine measurement invariance between different ethnic and gender groups. In terms of ethnicity, the author grouped participants into European (Pākehā/white) and non-European (non-Pākehā/non-white) groups. The European group comprises of people who identified themselves as European/Pākehā/white and non-European comprises of the rest, who identified themselves as Māori, Pasifika, Asian, African, Middle Eastern and multi-cultures. Figure 3, below, shows that the peak points of European and non-European groups are similar, and the test information curves are almost overlapped, which suggests that the NZ-FSES is equally accurate for European and non-European participants.

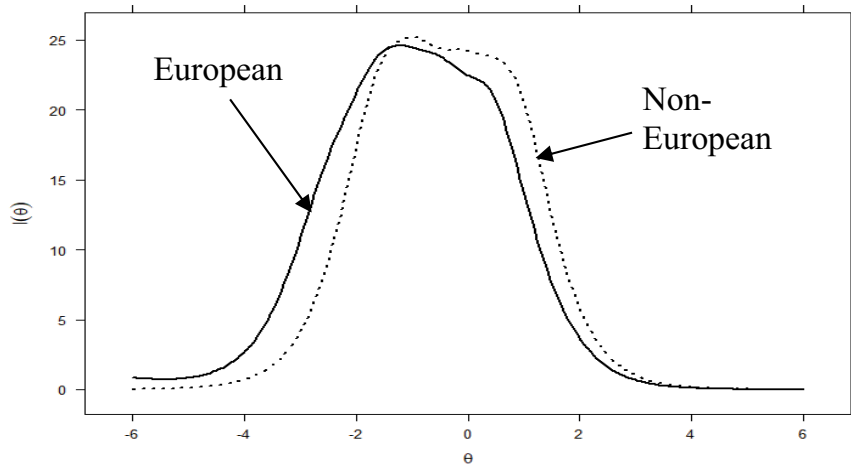


Figure 3. Measurement Invariance Analysis between European and non-European groups.

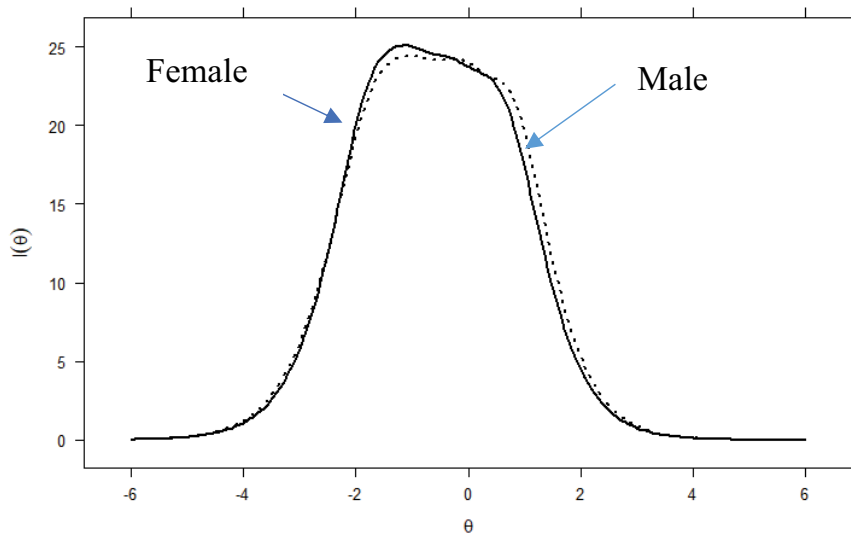


Figure 4. Measurement Invariance Analysis between male and female groups.

Figure 4 shows that, in terms of gender, the scale also functions very similarly for males and females, as the test information curves are overlapping very closely.

SHORTER SCALE

Although the NZ-FSES was adapted from the shorter version of WFSES (16 items), the scale could still be shortened further. Based on the item information function (Figure 5), the following items could be removed: X1 (I can keep track of my spending to see where I need to make changes), the test information of this item did not provide much information regarding people's ability; X2 (I can pay my bills on time), covers a narrow range of financial self-efficacy; X6 (I can set financial goals for my future well-being), this item is similar to item X7 (I can develop a plan to achieve my financial goals); X12 (I can save money regularly for future goals), the content of this item is covered in X11 and X13. Please see Table 2 for both versions of the NZ-FSES.

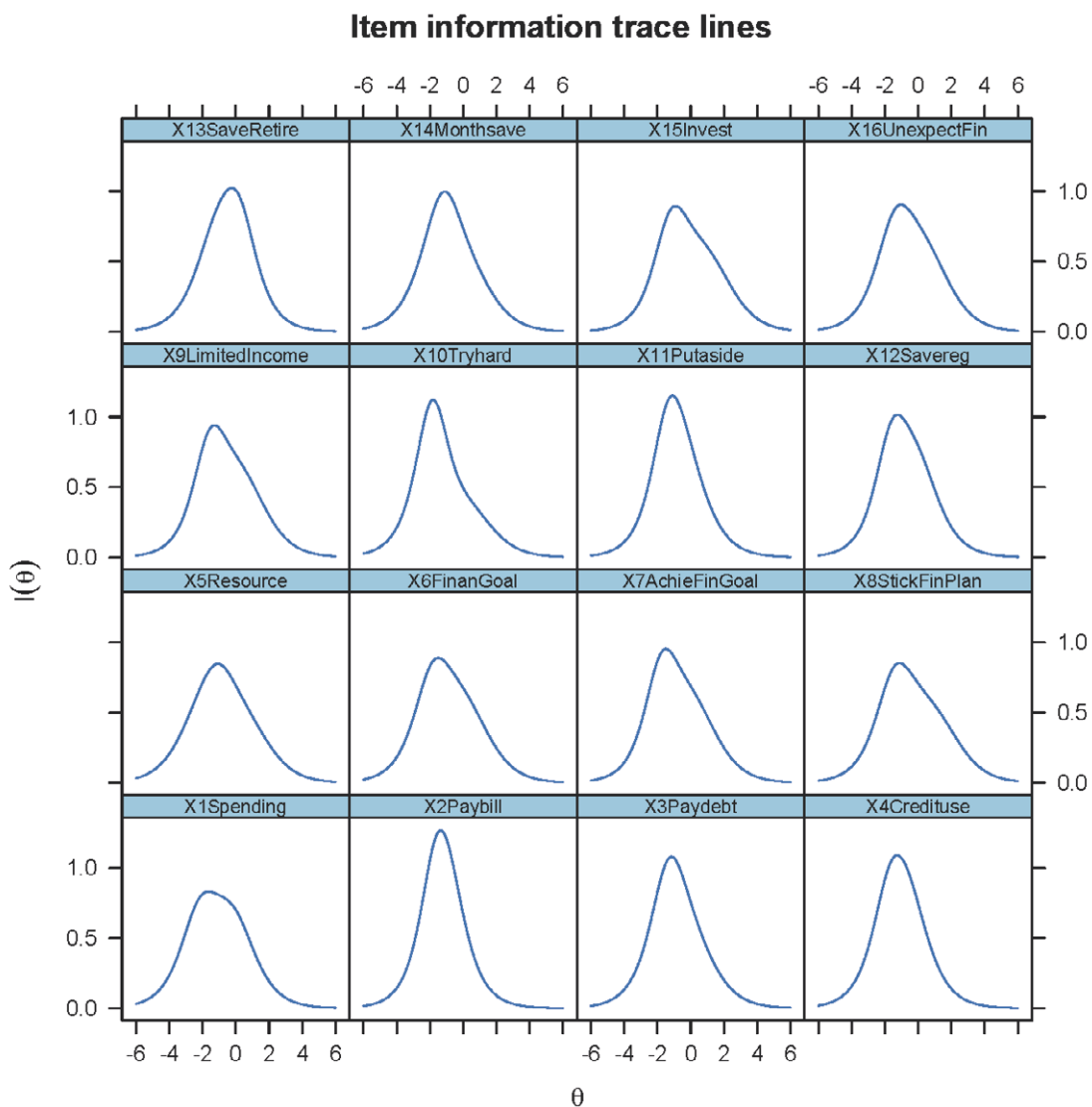


Figure 5. Test information function for each item.

TABLE 2. FULL AND SHORTENED VERSIONS OF NEW ZEALANDERS' FINANCIAL SELF-EFFICACY SCALE.

Instructions for taking the scale:

- Please circle the appropriate number in each statement to rate how confident you are in taking the financial actions listed below.
- Note: You do NOT need to be actually doing the actions now to rate yourself high. Instead, this is about the extent of your confidence in thinking that you can do the actions.
- Use the scale below to rate each item.

1	2	3	4	5
Not confident at all		Moderately confident		Highly confident

<i>Full scale</i>	<i>Shortened scale</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I can keep track of my spending to see where I need to make changes. 2. I can pay my bills on time. 3. I can figure out ways to pay off my debt as early as possible. 4. I can reduce my use of credit by making good spending decisions. 5. I can find resources to help me solve a difficult financial problem. 6. I can set financial goals for my future well-being. 7. I can develop a plan to achieve my financial goals. 8. I can stick to my financial plan. 9. I can manage on a limited income. 10. I can achieve my financial goals if I try hard enough. 11. I can put aside some money for future unexpected expenses. 12. I can save money regularly for future goals. 13. I can save for retirement. 14. I can figure out how much money I can save per month. 15. I can invest my savings appropriately. 16. I can be prepared to handle unexpected financial problems. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I can set financial goals for my future wellbeing. 2. I can achieve my financial goals if I try hard enough. 3. I can develop a plan to achieve my financial goals. 4. I can figure out how much money I can save per month. 5. I can put aside some money for future unexpected expenses. 6. I can figure out ways to pay off my debt as early as possible. 7. I can reduce my use of credit by making good spending decisions. 8. I can find resources to help me solve a difficult financial problem. 9. I can manage on a limited income. 10. I can save for retirement. 11. I can invest my savings appropriately.

Discussion

Although this scale used the items from the Women's Financial Self-Efficacy Scale (WFSES), it was tested with both men and women, and also children, in New Zealand. The results show very good reliability and validity scores for all groups. In addition, given the diversity of the sample this time, the researcher was able to run Differential Items Functioning (DIF). Thus, an additional validity

measure was undertaken for the scale, assuring users that the measurement is accurate regardless of gender, age or ethnicity of the participant.

In this study, the researcher used the 'item information' function to find the items that conveyed similar information about financial self-efficacy and the items that did not differentiate participants effectively. This resulted in the formation of a shorter scale, with 11 items instead of 16 items, which would greatly enhance the efficiency of data collection in future research by saving time and cost. Given that the scale has now been tested in both the United States and New Zealand, and has shown very good reliability and validity results both times, it can be used to measure an individual's financial self-efficacy in other developed countries with similar financial systems and contexts.

Compared to the previous testing, in which the sample was skewed toward people who have higher education and high socioeconomic status, the current sample is much more diverse in terms of education level (44% have a high-school completion or below, 26% have an undergraduate degree and 30% have a postgraduate degree) and annual personal income (18% earn less than 25K, 15% earn 25–50K; 22% earn 50–75K; 17% earn more than 75K). This would give researchers the confidence to use the scale with people from lower socioeconomic groups. The test information function plot (Figure 2) also shows that the scale differentiates better among people at the lower end of financial self-efficacy. Although the sample in this study is diverse and has representation from a wide range of age, gender and ethnic groups, it is a non-random sample. Therefore, the generalisation of the results is limited.

Given that the scale has now been validated with different genders, ages and cultural groups, researchers and practitioners could use the scale to compare the level of financial self-efficacy among different groups. It could be used in experimental or longitudinal studies to track the changes in financial self-efficacy. Given that the scale has only been tested in developed countries, it would be beneficial to test it in a developing country where the financial system and financial literacy are different.

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Values-based politics and new structural social work:
Theory for a post-neoliberal age?

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Values-based politics and new structural social work: Theory for a post-neoliberal age?

PETER MATTHEWSON

Abstract

The mission of social work includes implementing positive changes in the structures of society to enhance social justice, not simply assisting individuals and families to achieve personal growth and better adaptation to our existing society. This theoretical article explores a basis for social workers in Aotearoa to implement this mission in the current political context of our country. It aligns with the values-based politics promoted by author Max Harris in his recent book *The New Zealand Project* (2017), and draws on structural social work as a specific social work theory that can inform this mission. The election of a more progressive government may provide the social work profession with an alliance that can implement positive social change.

Introduction

Social work is a values-based profession that faces head-on the global challenges of poverty and inequality, and abuse and oppression. Its unique contribution to the broader helping professions is addressing the connection of personal troubles and public issues (Mills, 1959). Its mission includes implementing positive changes in the structures of society to enhance social justice, not simply assisting individuals and families to achieve personal growth and better adaptation to our existing society (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019). This is established in the International Federation of Social Workers' (IFSW)

and the International Association of Schools of Social Work's (IASSW) *Global Definition of Social Work* (2014), which defines the profession as promoting social change based on principles of social justice, human rights and collective responsibility. In Aotearoa this is advanced in the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers' (ANZASW) *Code of Ethics* (2019), which includes defining the focus of social work as including "to inform society at large about injustices in its midst, and to engage in action to change the structures of society that create and perpetuate injustice" (p. 7). This is further elaborated under ethical pou of:

KOTAHITANGA

Social workers work to build a sense of community, solidarity and collective action for social change. We challenge injustice and oppression in all its forms, including exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence

Ethical Principles

- We advocate fair and equitable treatment for all persons under the law and challenge injustice, especially injustice which affects the vulnerable and disadvantaged;
- We inform society at large about any social injustice we encounter

MĀTĀTOA

Social workers act with moral courage in situations that are uncomfortable, challenging and uncertain. We use critical reflection and questioning to work through contradictions and complexity. ...

Ethical Principles

- We participate in robust, critical, and informed advocacy and debate in public and social media;
- We advocate for fair and equitable access to public services, benefits and distribution of resources and wealth;
- We engage in constructive action to change the structures of society that create and perpetuate injustice. (ANZASW, 2019, pp. 12-13)

This theoretical article develops a theoretical base which could underpin this social-change vision for the profession. This position is primarily inspired by Max Harris's *The New Zealand Project* (2017), which promotes a new paradigm for social policy underpinned by values of care, community and creativity. It adopts Mullaly and Dupré's (2019) new structural social work as setting out in more detail the theory that can support the social work profession's contribution to creating the sort of society that Harris envisages.

Current political context of social work

Any vision of a socially just society has been undermined throughout the Western world, even globally, by the international dominance of neoliberal economic and social ideology throughout the last 30 years (Henrickson & Fouché, 2017; Ferguson et al., 2018). In Aotearoa this was implemented from 1984, ironically by the Fourth Labour Government, and further extended by subsequent National Governments. Harris (2017) observes this has created a society dominated by selfishness and self-interest, supported by tax cuts for the wealthy, privatisation of public services and deregulated free markets. This has further led to growing inequality (Rashbrooke, 2013), with attendant social disadvantage and problems (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Ultimately neoliberalism “value[s] wealth over persons” (Henrickson & Fouché, 2017, p. 42).

However, in Aotearoa, following the general election held on 23 September 2017, the neoliberal National-led Government that had held power since 2008 was replaced by a coalition of the Labour and New Zealand First parties, supported by the Green Party. The subsequent 2020 general election resulted in a Labour majority Government, although Labour has entered a co-operation agreement with the Green Party. This may provide hope for progressive change in this country towards the values-based politics that Harris (2017) promotes, although frustration has been expressed about the slow pace of progressive policy implementation (Darroch, 2018; Kenkel, 2020; Edwards, 2020; Child Poverty Action Group, 2021a, 2021b). Mullaly and Dupré (2019) advocate that social workers should ally with electoral politics in implementing change towards a socially just society. With the current Government there may yet be room for this alliance to develop further and become effective.

The New Zealand Project

In his book *The New Zealand Project*, Max Harris (2017) promotes a broad vision of values-based politics. Values are defined as “principles that we hold dear that contribute to a life well led” (p. 12). Foundational values identified are care, community and creativity. Care is defined as “a concern for the wellbeing of others ... support, interest and empathy directed from one person to another on an equal footing.” Care contributes to a person’s dignity and security in society (p. 15). The Māori concept usually associated with care is manaakitanga, however Harris links this even more strongly to aroha – love, kindness and goodwill. These are often identified as personal qualities; however, Harris insists that the state is capable of implementing care.

Community “recognises the connectedness and interdependence of people” (p. 16), a broad sense of belonging and citizenship. The Māori concept of whanaungatanga and process of mihimihi serve to “reveal connections between people ... the way we are all entangled and interconnected within a community” (p. 16). Harris primarily addresses a sense of community at a

national level, but it applies equally at both local neighbourhood and global levels. Creativity is identified as vital, as our current social problems call for imaginative and innovative new solutions. Yet creativity must be harnessed towards the common good rather than the benefit of individual entrepreneurs.

In operationalising these values, Harris calls for a rejuvenation of the role of the state, countering the denigration of the state that has occurred under neoliberalism. “We have lost a sense of what [the state] is good at,” which includes “active redistribution, robust regulation, and steering within the economy” (p. 17). Probably the most vital ingredient of change is decolonisation, “undoing the effects of colonisation in all its forms: economic, political, cultural, social and intellectual” (p. 18). All of this must also be driven by genuine bottom-up people power and participatory democracy.

Harris (2017) specifically addresses aspects of social and public policy that impact on various fields of social work practice. In health, education and housing there is a challenge to find the appropriate balance of central government interventions and more local community initiatives. The value of care demands that public services are freely available to people regardless of the impact of their personal choices on their situations and needs. Non-government organisations (NGOs), community initiatives and social enterprise can make a valuable contribution. However, Harris critiques the contracting out of public services, especially in social services. In comparison with state provision, contracting out reduces accountability for services. In particular, NGOs contracted and funded to provide social services have found themselves prevented from critiquing the impact of government policies on the people they serve. This has been exemplified in research by Elliott and Haigh (2012). Social workers in such organisations are therefore prevented from fulfilling significant parts of our Code of Ethics outlined above, related to informing the public about social injustice and advocating socially just policies and legislation (ANZASW, 2019; Darroch, 2017). In contrast to 30 years of devaluing the role of the state under neoliberal ideology, Harris (2017) calls for a renewed “cultural treasuring of state institutions” (p. 138).

A significant strength of Harris’s writing is that it originates from and specifically addresses the context of Aotearoa. His deep respect for Māori traditions and values is inspirational. He presents fresh and innovative thinking rather than merely regurgitating the ideologies and agendas of the last century. However, while his ideals are entirely consistent with social work values and can inspire our endeavours, Harris not a social worker, so there is a need for more profession-specific theories and models than can be applied directly within the social work professional context.

Structural social work

Structural social work, as elaborated especially by Canadian social work academic Bob Mullaly and his colleague Marilyn Dupré (2019), represents a revival and extension of the ideas of radical social work first promulgated by authors such as Bailey and Brake (1975) in the 1970s. These ideas have been further developed in critical social work, which adds addressing oppression

based on factors including gender, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation to the class analysis of a Marxist perspective (Fook, 2016; Allan, 2009). The central theme of this perspective is an assertion of the social-justice value base of social work, and an insistence that a casework-based, individually oriented social work does not adequately address the problems experienced by people who use social work services. Social problems are an inherent and integral feature of the structure of capitalist societies and do not reside in the individual, and therefore the focus of change efforts must primarily be on the structures of society rather than the personal characteristics of the individual (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019). Mullaly and Dupré explore the fundamental values of social work, at least in a progressive form. They then ground social work theory in a primary commitment to a political ideology, a vision of an ideal society consistent with those values, and strategy for creating it. Social work values are identified as humanitarianism or humanism, a respect for the dignity, worth and rights of people, and concern for their wellbeing; and egalitarianism or social equality, an acceptance that all people are of equal intrinsic worth. All people therefore have equal economic, social and civil rights that should be respected, to enable them to achieve their potential free from domination and exploitation. These values imply a social and economic system where economic decisions are based on social priorities, there is equitable distribution of resources, and government intervenes where needed to achieve this. Further, this is not created by hierarchical top-down decision making, but through participatory democracy at all levels of government and in civil society. These progressive social work values are entirely consistent with Harris's (2017) vision of a values-based politics of care, community and creativity.

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) then examine various political ideologies or paradigms that have been prevalent over the last century. Conservatism/neo-conservatism, liberalism/neoliberalism, and the Third Way are all rejected as inconsistent with progressive social work values. They identify broadly socialist paradigms as capable of underpinning a progressive vision for social work. Socialists generally believe that humans are inherently social animals, dependent on being part of a community for wellbeing, if not survival. Collective or communal good determines individual welfare. The individual selfishness and competition promoted by capitalism and neoliberalism must be replaced by fellowship, collective solidarity and altruism for the good of the community. Ideals accepted, with varying emphasis, by all the diverse streams within socialism include an economic system directed to the comprehensive fulfilment of human need rather than free-market-derived profit for a few; public ownership, or at least substantial control of productive property, to benefit all rather than a minority of capitalists; and equality, or at least drastically reduced inequality, of income, wealth, status and political power. This is all underpinned by co-operation rather than competition, with a faith that social change towards a more socialist society would create more altruistic and caring, rather than selfish, individuals.

Socialists generally support a positive role for the state in intervening in society and the economy to promote social aims. However, this does not mean an autocratic, dictatorial state as experienced in contexts such as the former Soviet Union. Rather, there is a strong emphasis on participatory

democracy: “democratic participation should extend to all areas of life, not just to the political and economic areas” (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 127). This would include democratic participation by workers in the management of workplaces, and participation by service users in the decision making and management of health and welfare services, as well as greater democratic and political involvement in communities, and local and central government.

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) continue to explore the theoretical underpinning and practice of a progressive form of social work that is allied to socialist political ideology. They observe that:

The profession is based on humanitarian and egalitarian ideals but operates within a social order based on inequality whereby a minority dominates (controls and exploits) the majority ... in the light of this awareness, social workers must do something about it. They must try to change the present social order to one that is more compatible with their own world view. (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 198)

The term ‘structural’ recognises that social problems, which impact on the people that social workers serve, are an inherent element of our current social and economic structures, rather than residing within individuals or families. It therefore prescribes changing these structures rather than trying to enable people to adapt more successfully to them. It moves beyond a previous radical social work that Mullaly and Dupré say concentrated on class, and insists that “structural social work must align itself with a [revitalised] form of socialism that is informed and reconstituted by ... feminist, anti-racist, postmodern and other anti-oppressive critiques” (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 198). Various forms of oppression, including classism, racism, patriarchy and heterosexism, are seen as intersecting and requiring equal attention. Further, oppression is grounded in privilege, which all too easily goes unrecognised. Social workers themselves are often in positions of privilege. It is essential to recognise this and seek to challenge it in the way our profession and practitioners operate, guided by the voices of the oppressed (Henrickson & Fouché, 2017; Mullaly & Dupré, 2019).

Structural social work fits within a broader context of critical social theory. Mullaly and Dupré (2019) analyse both modernism and postmodernism as philosophical paradigms that could underpin critical theory and structural social work. Modernism is critiqued, as its universal, absolute, rational assumptions of truth have too often been linked to domination, imperialism and cultural destruction for those who did not benefit. On the other hand, a critical modernism can provide a basis for emancipation through its recognition of pervasive structural oppression, the power of dominant groups, and the commonalities among different forms of oppression. It inspires solidarity among oppressed groups that can strengthen the pursuit of emancipation.

The key value of postmodernism is identified as its recognition and respect for all forms of diversity and difference. However, Mullaly and Dupré (2019) join authors including Ferguson (2008) and Ife (1997) in rejecting a form of postmodernism that assumes absolute moral relativity, and provides no philosophical basis for identifying real abuse or oppression, assessing it as morally objectionable, and siding with the oppressed against the oppressor.

This form of postmodernism can undermine understandings of human rights, and permit a multiplicity of political visions that do not promote social justice. On the positive side, postmodernism recognises that realities like oppression will be experienced differently by different people in different locations, communities and social contexts, and must be addressed differently in those contexts (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019).

Ultimately, Mullaly and Dupré highlight the commonalities between modernist and postmodernist thinking: “Both stand against domination and oppression, and both have failed to reach their emancipatory intent” (2019, p. 221). They reject a binary, dichotomous identification with either modernism or postmodernism, and insist that both contribute vital foundations for structural social work, in recognition of difference and diversity, but also in providing a basis for solidarity in the struggle against oppression. “Structural social work is committed to respecting the plurality of ways in which human beings find their own voices, while also being committed to solidarity with those who are struggling, against the imposition of others, to find those voices” (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 223).

Structural social work in practice

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) recognise that social workers must work at both micro – individual, personal and family – levels, responding to people’s immediate needs, and at macro – structural or political – levels. They also observe that no level or dimension of social work is inherently conservative or progressive. Traditional community organisation can be as conservative as traditional casework, however clinical casework can be emancipatory for service users. Structural social workers may also legitimately work either in current social service organisations, defined by Mullaly and Dupré (2019) as “working within (and against) the system” (p. 296), or locate themselves “outside (and against) the system” (p. 340) in other forms of organisation and activity.

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) describe working at an individual or personal level as providing “practical, humanitarian care to the victims and casualties of our patriarchal, liberal-capitalist society” (p. 296). This includes immediate crisis response and meeting practical needs. They also value intrapsychic work that may be implemented through interventions such as counselling. Drawing on psychologists such as Geraldine Moane (2011, as cited in Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p.299), who promote a “psychology of liberation,” they note that social oppression creates psychological effects, including low self-esteem, loss of identity, isolation and alienation, fear and guilt, and that these impacts need to be addressed. However, they caution against addressing these in a de-contextualised or de-socialised way, or in a way that is victim-blaming, attributing the causes of problems to alleged deficiencies in individual personality or behaviour, or family relationships. Practice with individuals, families, groups and communities must be “always making the connection between the personal and the political” (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 201). Nevertheless, Krumer-Nevo (2020) observes that the structural paradigm often

does not translate readily into direct practice with service users. Her poverty-aware practice emphasises attending to the relational/symbolic aspects of poverty, including humiliation, stigma and shame, and frequent experience of micro-aggressions (Krumer-Nevo, 2020).

Drawing on authors such as Freire (2000), Mullaly and Dupré (2019) assert that consciousness raising, highlighting the relationship between social injustice and human misery, is a vital component of work with service users. This includes normalisation, highlighting that service users' difficulties are common among oppressed people rather than being unique and idiosyncratic to the individual. Personal troubles can then be redefined in political terms. A vital tool in this process is empathy, communicating to the service user that the social worker understands his or her problem and experience of it. This includes empathising with the service user's perceptions and feelings about both their personal world and the social world. However, it is vital that this is grounded in the service user's real-life experience and "not on some foreign, academic critical analysis imposed on people in sophisticated quasi-Marxist jargon" (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019, p. 314).

The vital context for this work is dialogical relationships, both between workers and service users, and among service users. In these relationships power differentials are minimised, participants are equals who mutually learn from each other. Mullaly and Dupré (2019) also highlight the value of service users engaging with groups of people who experience similar problems, which reduces isolation, enhances solidarity, raises political awareness and builds a momentum for social change.

Nevertheless, the reality is that most social workers are working in social-service agencies and organisations that are stuck in a contradiction; on one hand they are working towards enhancing human wellbeing, however they are part of and conform to an overall social system that maintains oppression. Oppressive features of society can be reproduced in social-service agencies. Progressive social workers need to consider strategies for survival and effectiveness in these organisations, which may include promoting problem definitions and solutions that recognise social reality rather than blaming service users, and recording these in assessments and case notes, referring service users to alternative services and mutual aid groups, and challenging negativity and discrimination towards service users. Peer support among like-minded workers is invaluable (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019).

Critique of structural social work

Like any theory, structural social work is open to critique. Payne (2014) comments that most social work is practised with people experiencing behavioural and interpersonal difficulties, even if these are impacted on by social problems. Social-service agencies and organisations largely prioritise working with these problems, so that more critical action may not fit with their service priorities. Social workers employed in government agencies, or NGOs operating under government contracts, may be legally or organisationally restricted from a more activist role. Further, fundamental social change is a

big-picture, long-term project, while people using social-work services have immediate needs: “critical theory thus seems to lack a sense of appropriate priorities: personal help is more urgent than changing the world” (Payne, 2014, p. 323).

Payne (2014) also observes that critical or structural theory only provides a partial explanation for behaviours and situations that social workers are required to engage with; not all poor or oppressed people experience mental illness or addiction, or abuse their children. In particular, Mullaly and Dupré’s description of individual social work clients as “the victims and casualties of our patriarchal, liberal-capitalist society” (2019, p. 296) is rather simplistic. Problems that social workers must deal with, including child abuse, domestic violence, mental illness, criminal offending and disaster response are complex. Although broader social-systemic factors are involved in all these issues, this requires a more sophisticated analysis than even a postmodern, critical-theory understanding of multiple forms of oppression directly implies.

There is an association between socioeconomic class and mental illness, but this is complex (Rogers & Pilgrim, 2010). Affective and anxiety disorders are diagnosed across all social classes, however psychotic disorders such as schizophrenia are more correlated with lower socio-economic status. There is an association with poor housing and labour-market disadvantage, but causality is not clear, indeed it is likely that the onset of a psychotic disorder may negatively affect education, employment, income and housing. On the other hand, in relation to depression and anxiety, Hari (2018) identifies significant social factors that are inherent in neoliberal capitalist societies. He proposes significant social-change initiatives that may lead to a reduction in the prevalence of these disorders, including a description of a previous experiment with a Universal Basic Income in a Canadian community. There is also a need to address social discrimination against people who experience mental illness, and promote social and health policies supporting recovery (Bland et al., 2015; Gould, 2010).

A gender analysis of patriarchy is vital to understanding and working with domestic violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The relationship between socioeconomic status and domestic violence is also complex (Bent-Goodley, 2011). Domestic violence affects people regardless of socioeconomic status, income, educational level and race; the idea that it affects only poorer people is a myth (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, n.d.). It is possible that violence in poorer families may be more likely to be reported to the police or otherwise come to official notice, whereas it may be more hidden in middle and upper classes. However, social stress, unemployment, low income and poverty may increase risk. Poorer people may also be more socially isolated and be geographically located in areas with limited resources and supports. It is also noted that police callouts to domestic violence incidents, and calls for assistance to Women’s’ Refuge, have increased during Covid-19 lockdowns (Foon, 2020). Nevertheless, these factors can never be accepted as excusing violence, perpetrators must be held responsible and accountable for their behaviour (Jenkins, 1990). In addition, sociocultural tolerance of violence is a broader social factor that must be addressed (Doolan, 2004; McMaster, 2004; McLaren, 2010; Point Research Ltd, 2010).

Indeed, the tension between social–structural causes of social problems

and individual responsibility for behaviour is a challenge for structural social work. Mullaly and Dupré (2019) insist that social factors cannot be cited as an excuse for antisocial behaviour, and that individuals must be held responsible for their behaviour and any harm caused to others, but say nothing about how to do this while working from a structural framework.

Radical, structural and critical social workers largely reject any social-control form of social work as, at best, attempting to assist people to fit into current social structures, thus serving the interests of the dominant capitalist regime (Ferguson, 2008; Bailey & Brake, 1975; Mullaly & Dupré, 2019). In contrast Payne (2006) identifies three paradigms of social work, which he defines as therapeutic, social order and transformational. Structural social work clearly fits within the transformational paradigm. However, all three paradigms are legitimate forms of social work. The social-order paradigm can include an element of social control, particularly in the fields of statutory child protection, criminal justice and mental health. Social workers in this paradigm do not regard themselves as helping individuals to adapt to society, to support the dominant capitalist regime. Rather, in fields such as child protection, they are intervening to protect the most vulnerable human beings.

Fook (2016) also raises the ethical implications of any expectation that clients must accept radical theory to be effectively helped, and questions to what extent social workers should expect people they serve to adopt their political stance. On the other hand, a significant current challenge is the growth of populist, nationalist, racist, 'alt-right' politics in much of the Western world. This movement has particularly gained support among disaffected and vulnerable, disadvantaged working-class communities. Ferguson et al. (2018) observe that ideas that people hold are shaped by their material circumstances; notably, economic disadvantage and ideas promoted by the ruling class, including blaming discontent on scapegoats such as minority ethnic groups. It is concerning that these ideas have taken hold among people that social work seeks to serve. Perhaps the prevalence of a form of individual casework that does not directly address the political dimension has to some extent enabled this to happen. Surely any hope of reversing this trend demands the assertion of a politically conscious, radical or critical practice of social work, including a practice of conscientisation, in these communities (Mullaly & Dupré, 2019).

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) do acknowledge anti-racist and Indigenous perspectives; however, as Canadians, they do not specifically address the context of Aotearoa. Application of structural social work in this country must therefore include addressing how we promote decolonisation (Harris, 2017). Māori have been in a situation of severe oppression and marginalisation, yet are moving "beyond being objects of social work and becom[ing] active participants in achieving social justice" (Mafile'o, as cited in Walsh-Tapiata, 2008, p. 111). Any implementation of structural social work in this country must recognise tino rangatiratanga.

Overall, in relation to social work's mandate of connecting personal troubles and public issues, structural social work's insistence that the problems experienced by people who use social-work services are largely created by social-structural rather than individual factors is vital. Social work must therefore seek to intervene at a structural level, to instigate social as

well as personal change. How to implement this objective into daily practice in current social-work agencies and organisations remains somewhat elusive.

Social workers' engagement in activism and political democracy

However, in the words of Mullaly's fellow Canadian Leonard Cohen, "They sentenced me to twenty years of boredom, for trying to change the system from within" (Cohen, 1988). There are limits to what can be achieved by working within current systems. Structural social workers may also find value in engaging with alternative services and organisations such as welfare rights groups, tenant associations, rape crisis centres, ex-psychiatric groups, and rainbow community organisations. Engaging with, and/or building alliances with, new social movements can be a valuable strategy for social change.

Participating in trade unions and professional associations is also valuable. As noted above, the ANZASW (2019) Code of Ethics expresses a strong commitment to advocacy for social justice and structural change. In the months preceding the 2017 general election, ANZASW collaborated with the Public Service Association (PSA) union to organise the Hīkoi Whakaara, in which a group of social workers marched from Ashburton to Christchurch to draw attention to issues of poverty in Aotearoa (NZPSA, 2017).

Overall, Mullaly and Dupré assert, "structural social work is much more than an approach to practice – it is a way of life" (2019, p. 296). Ife (1997) also observes that social workers can make some contributions to the formation and development of social policy, in their workplaces. They can also engage in political processes outside the workplace but in their professional capacity, and through political involvement as private citizens.

Mullaly and Dupré (2019) particularly highlight the importance of engaging with electoral politics:

In view of the fact that governments ultimately decide on the nature, shape, size, and quality of social programs, it hardly makes sense for social work not to involve itself in attempting to get the political party most sympathetic to a progressive welfare state elected Social work is not politically neutral; it is a political act or practice. If it does nothing politically, it has removed itself as a force for change, which in effect supports the status quo. Given the inherent political nature of social work, it must organize and declare its political hand. It must align itself with other groups and organizations that share similar goals. This includes supporting political parties committed to social, political, and economic justice for all and not just for a privileged minority. (pp. 355-356)

Current political context in Aotearoa

The international dominance of neoliberal economic and social ideology over the last 30 years has been antithetical to social work values and resistant to social work influence. However, in recent years positive change in Aotearoa may have begun. Following the general election held on 23 September 2017, the neoliberal National-led Government that had held power since 2008 was replaced by a coalition of the Labour and New Zealand First parties, supported by the Green Party. In his announcement of his decision to join in coalition with the Labour Party, New Zealand First Leader Winston Peters made a remarkable statement: "Far too many New Zealanders have come to view today's capitalism, not as their friend, but as their foe. And they are not all wrong" (Peters, 2017, paras. 29-30). Picking up on this theme, incoming Labour Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern described capitalism as "a blatant failure" at least in relation to the current housing crisis (Satherley & Owen, 2017).

Subsequently, in his speech introducing the Government's first Budget on 17 May 2018, Finance Minister Grant Robertson made the remarkable statements:

We are determined to turn the page on the ideology of individualism and a hands-off approach to our economy that has left too many people behind Ultimately we want New Zealand to be a place where everyone has a fair go, and where we show kindness and understanding to one another. (Robertson, 2018, pp.1, 3)

The subsequent 2019 Budget was promoted as a "Wellbeing Budget" (Budget 2019, 2019). Further, in 2018 the Government enacted the Child Poverty Reduction Act, with a purpose of achieving a sustainable reduction in child poverty through encouraging a focus on poverty reduction, requiring political accountability to targets and maintaining transparent reporting (Child Poverty Reduction Act, 2018). The Government also convened a Welfare Expert Advisory group to thoroughly review the welfare system in Aotearoa and make recommendations for change (Welfare Expert Advisory Group, 2019).

However, continuing questions have arisen as to whether the Government is going far enough, and fast enough, to fully meet the needs of the most vulnerable New Zealanders, and satisfy social workers and other activists. Despite initial indications of reversing the impacts of neoliberalism and returning to policies inspired by the social-democratic roots of the Labour Party (Franks & McAloon, 2016), there seems to have been some reversion to the 'Third Way' (Duncan, 2007) approach to politics, which characterised the previous Fifth Labour Government. There have been accusations of the Government failing to use its political capital, sacrificing transformational intent for electoral security (Donovan, 2020). In particular, there have been serious concerns about the Government's tardiness in addressing issues of poverty and inequality. The Welfare Expert Advisory Group's report *Whakamana Tāngata – Restoring Dignity to Social Security in New Zealand* was published in February 2019, making 42 recommendations for significant changes, including substantial increases to welfare benefits (Welfare Expert Advisory

Group, 2019). However, the Government has been very slow to adopt these recommendations; in November 2020 the Child Poverty Action Group reported that only eight recommendations had been partially implemented, 11 minimally implemented and the remaining 23 not implemented at all (Child Poverty Action Group, 2021b). The 2021 Budget did include significant benefit increases, which have been evaluated by activists as welcome but not sufficient (Child Poverty Action Group 2021a).

Following the 2018 Budget, social work activist John Darroch commented in the *Re-Imagining Social Work in Aotearoa* blog that:

The budget was a lot better than it could have been, and it's a welcome relief to have a government which actually cares about people and demonstrates this in its spending. Despite this there have been some glaring omissions in the budget. I believe that we can, and should, do better For social workers, and academics, this means challenging politicians who we may respect, and sometimes know personally. We need to be vocal online and in the media. Done carefully this will not undermine Labour, but instead function to move the public debate away from whether Labour has been conservative enough, to the responsibility of the state to provide essential support to those in need. (Darroch, 2018, paras. 1, 12)

The need for social workers to engage in this activism and challenge of the Government remains.

Further, Harris (2017) suggests that his values-based politics could be adopted by both left- and right-wing political parties. It is difficult to imagine how this could happen with the neoliberal-dominated right-wing parties of recent years. However, we can recall that from the end of World War 2, at least until the late 1970s, there existed the post-war consensus on welfare in the Western world. The welfare state was largely maintained and supported regardless of whether left- or right-wing parties were in power (Cheyne et al., 2008). In New Zealand, the 1972 Royal Commission on Social Security, which was commissioned by and reported to a National Government, asserted the goal of welfare as:

No-one is to be so poor that he [sic] 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, p. 62, emphasis in original)

This ideal of living with dignity was reinforced in the Welfare Expert Advisory Group report (Welfare Expert Advisory Group, 2019).

The Political Compass (2017a) website notes that the entire political spectrum in the Western world has moved to the right over the last 30 years, to the extent that 'left-wing' parties in recent years have been to the right of where 'right-wing' parties were on their scale in the 1970s (Political Compass, 2017b, 2017c). If the entire political spectrum can move to the

right, it can move back towards the left. This could potentially give some grounds for hope that progressive changes that may be implemented by the current Government could outlast the typical maximum three-Parliamentary-term life of most New Zealand governments. So there still may be hope that social workers can be involved with other progressive-minded New Zealanders in promoting social-justice-oriented change in collaboration with the current Government, and even that this change might outlast the life of this Government. Meanwhile Harris's (2017) values-based politics is a set of principles that could transform political and social life in Aotearoa; social workers could well use these as criteria for evaluating which parties are worthy of their support.

Conclusion

Definitions and explanations of the social work profession, and ethical statements, highlight our professional responsibility to work towards social change, challenging oppression and promoting social justice, in addition to more personal forms of helping. The social work profession is therefore inherently political. Harris (2017) elaborates a vision of values-based politics, which is entirely consistent with the values of social work as a profession, and could inspire positive change in Aotearoa. Mullaly and Dupré's (2019) structural social work offers a theoretical basis for social workers to pursue this quest. All fields of social work practice are impacted by broader social factors that need to be challenged and changed, as well as individual and family factors. Political engagement is a vital aspect of the social work vocation, although realistically many social workers who want to pursue this may need to do so outside their immediate employment context, through their professional association or trade union, or as private citizens.

Questions that would merit further exploration, research and practice innovation include: how social workers connect practice and policy; how social workers operating from a structural perspective can address issues of personal responsibility; how social workers in social order, especially statutory agencies, can incorporate the social-change dimension into their practice; and how social workers can more effectively engage with electoral politics.

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Impacts of poverty

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Impacts of poverty

DAVID HAIGH

“If the misery of the poor be caused not by the laws of nature but by our institutions, great is our sin.” Charles Darwin, 1836

Abstract

In Aotearoa New Zealand there is a strong link between poverty and certain impacts such as physical health problems, psychological wellbeing, housing, education, food insecurity and social status. These impacts are closely connected, one to the other. For example, the high cost of housing can result in less money for food. It may also result in people living in unhealthy accommodation such as garages and overcrowded houses. The impacts of policies to deal with the Covid-19 pandemic are a new phenomenon that is causing deep concern for those on low incomes.

Introduction

This paper is about the impacts on people experiencing poverty, with particular reference to Aotearoa New Zealand. It has been shown that poverty in this country is due to a number of factors, including:

- An inadequate level of income for many beneficiaries and people on low wages to meet their normal living requirements (Welfare Expert Advisory Group, 2019).
- The high cost of rents that sometimes reach 50% of household income (Ministry of Social Development, 2016).
- The resulting lack of discretionary income for emergencies such as

medical and dental treatment, family obligations such as tangi (Māori funeral) and the birth of babies (advocates of Auckland Action Against Poverty, personal communication with the author, 2019).

Stats NZ (2020a) provides data on child poverty, reporting on levels of child poverty as part of government monitoring under the Child Poverty Reduction Act (2018). Two important data sets are made public:

HOUSEHOLD INCOME: CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH LESS THAN 50% OF MEDIAN INCOME.

2018	253,800
2019	235,400
Decrease	18,400

MATERIAL HARDSHIP:* PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS THAT EXPERIENCE MATERIAL HARDSHIP.

2018	147,600 (13.3%)
2019	151,700 (13.4%)
Increase	4,100 (0.1%)

* Material hardship is defined as not being able to pay power bills or eat fresh fruit/vegetables, putting off visiting a doctor.

The 2021 Budget has provided for increases in core benefits, and this, Treasury claims, will result in a reduction of 33,000 children living in poverty (New Zealand Government, 2021).

Two points of explanation are required. First, this paper is concerned with relative poverty, rather than absolute poverty experienced in low-income countries. Absolute poverty relates to households where the income is below a given level, making it impossible to provide adequate food, shelter, clean water and sanitation. Relative poverty might be defined where household incomes are 50 or 60% below the country's median and where families experience chronic hardships.

The second point relates to whether poverty causes the negative impacts or whether there is a correlation between the two. Correlation represents a relationship between social situations. For example, if poverty levels rise it is suggested there will a similar rise over time of negative impacts on, for example, housing, health and education. In considering such correlations, other factors must also be considered, such as access to affordable housing and supportive welfare services, as well as any extended family support.

Babones (2008) asserts, after detailed statistical analysis, that:

It can be concluded that there is a strong, consistent, statistically significant, non-artifactual correlation between national income inequality

and population health, but though there is some evidence that this relationship is causal, the relative stability of income inequality over time in most countries makes causality difficult to test. (p. 1)

Many studies cited in this paper show that poverty is an important factor in serious health issues facing many people. Poverty is also linked to the growing gap between rich and poor. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010), in *The Spirit Level*, show a number of negative impacts arising from inequality in rich countries including Aotearoa New Zealand. These impacts include:

- Life expectancy is longer in more equal countries (p. 6)
- Child wellbeing is better in more equal countries (p. 23)
- Health and social problems are worse in more unequal countries (p. 19)
- The prevalence of mental illness is higher in more unequal countries (p. 19)

Impacts on health

The health of New Zealanders has been steadily improving: for example, average life expectancy has risen over the years to 82.5 years in 2021 (Stats NZ, 2021). However, Skegg points out that compared to the health of many countries, New Zealand has slipped backwards. He compares the health of New Zealanders with that of Singaporeans, stating: “According to World Health Organization figures for 2012, a New Zealand girl is twice as likely to die before the age of fifteen as a girl in Singapore, while a New Zealand boy is three times more likely than his Singaporean counterpart to die before that age” (2019, p. 26).

Some serious problems are present for key minority populations such as Māori and Pacific Island people. Skegg goes on to say, “In New Zealand ... there has been a widening gulf between the living conditions of rich and poor people. Unless that inequity can be dealt with, our overall level of health will continue to suffer” (2019, p. 28). This gulf is shown in the 2013 census of median incomes:

Year	National	Māori	%age	Pacific	%age
2006	24,400	20,900	85.7	20,500	84.0
2013	28,500	22,500	78.9	19,700	69.1

Source: Stats NZ, 2014, p. 24

Compared to the national median income, in seven years, Māori income has fallen 6.8% and Pacific Island income has fallen 14.9%. The gulf is even wider when Māori and Pacific Island incomes are compared to European, with an annual median income of \$30,900.

A New Zealand parliamentary report on child health (New Zealand

Parliament, 2014) notes the Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health Development study found “that children who grew up in socioeconomically deprived areas had poorer cardiovascular health, dental health, and were at a higher risk of alcohol and drug addictions in later life compared to those from least deprived socioeconomic areas” (p. 1).

The parliamentary report has three areas of concern:

1. Nutrition. Children aged from 2-14 years from deprived areas are less likely to have breakfast at home, and are more likely to eat fast foods and be obese than children from the least deprived areas.
2. There is a link between rheumatic fever and poverty, poor nutrition, overcrowding, inadequate housing and poor access to health services. It notes that the number of cases of rheumatic fever has risen since 1997.
3. Sudden unexpected death in infancy (SUDI) is a leading cause of death in babies aged from 28 days to one year. Babies from deprived areas are five times more likely to die from SUDI than babies in the least deprived areas.

A study by the Ministry of Social Development in the period 2012-2014 of life expectancies in years shows the impact of low incomes.

	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Living in the most deprived areas	79.4	74.8
Living in the least deprived areas	85.5	82.3

This represents a difference of 7.5 years for men and 6.1 for women.

Ethnic life expectancies in the period 2012-2014 also show similar differences.

	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Māori	77.1	73.0
Pacific Island	78.7	74.5
Non-Māori	83.9	80.3

Source: Ministry of Social Development, *The Social Report 2016. Te Pūrongo Oranga Tangata*.

The impact on health of people on low incomes was explained in a cultural sense by a general practitioner in South Auckland, Dr Matire Harwood, during a Radio New Zealand interview on October 19, 2019. She said, “When we refer a client to Middlemore Hospital, we think that Papakura is close to Middlemore Hospital, yet in their minds it is a huge distance, like having to travel to Australia. They have no car and have to organise child care, transport, spend hours at the emergency department and give up work and income” (RNZ, 2019).

Asher and St John (2016) also show the links between poverty and poor health in New Zealand, and note the high levels of bronchiolitis:

Childhood hospital admissions for bronchiolitis, which is a serious chest infection, is one of the commonest reasons for babies to be admitted. The rates of admission for bronchiolitis are higher than 'similar' countries, and are going up – the opposite of what you might expect in an affluent country. This disease is more likely where poverty and substandard housing are present. (p. 4)

Asher and St John note the danger of poverty to people's health. They state that "there is a triple jeopardy for poor health: poverty, unhealthy housing and inadequate basic health care." When combined, they argue, "poor mental or physical health is almost inevitable" (p. 3).

Chronic stress is an important factor in relation to poverty. Aber et al. (2012) look closely at the impact of stress caused by prolonged poverty:

Under repeated stressor exposure, which is more likely to occur in cash-strapped households and communities, the body "anticipates" the stressor by setting new set points in physiological systems (Sterling & Eyer, 1988). While preparing the body for the stressor in a number of ways (which is highly adaptive), these new set points also have long-term physiological costs (allostatic load; McEwen & Stellar, 1993) to physical and mental health outcomes. They do so through adverse changes to the cardiovascular system (with health implications), the immune system (with greater vulnerability to disease), and/or the neuroendocrine and cortical systems (with implications for learning and decision-making), in ways that are "toxic" (Blair & Raver, 2012; Shonkoff & Gardner, 2012). (p. 9)

Wilkinson and Pickett make the impact of prolonged stress on health clear, stating:

Sustained over long periods, stress is damaging to health. It interferes with many different physiological processes, including the immune and cardiovascular systems. When prolonged, its effects are similar to more rapid ageing: people become vulnerable to the effects of old age – including the risk of degenerative diseases and death – earlier than they otherwise would. (2018, p. 15)

New Zealand has a serious suicide problem. In a 2017 discussion document, the Chief Science Advisor to the Prime Minister explains that there were 238 youth suicides (12-24 years) between July 2014 and June 2016 and a Māori rate of 48 per 100,000, three times higher than the non-Māori rate of 17 per 100,000 (p. 2). The Chief Science Advisor explains that whilst there are many factors explaining the different prevalence of youth suicide, two key factors are:

- Living environments where low self-esteem within the peer group is common.
- Poverty, with inequality and social fragmentation. (p. 4)

It is useful to note these conclusions are similar to those of Durkheim in his study of suicide in France in the 19th century. Explaining Durkheim's position, Zeitlin (1968) states that, "Modern man kills himself primarily as a result of two conditions: the loss of cohesion in modern society and the absence of the appropriate moral norms by which to orientate himself" (p. 272). Durkheim (1968, quoted in Zeitlin, 1968) says, "economic crises have an aggravating effect on suicidal tendency" (p. 258).

While the position of Durkheim is a useful start in exploring the causes of suicide, Barbagli (2015) argues that Durkheim's classification of the causes of suicide is limited. In proposing that suicide was a result of the breakdown of society, he failed to consider other reasons such as culture and mental illness. Barbagli points out that "4.9% of schizophrenics commit suicide" (p. 10). He also suggests that one's culture affects one's emotions and how one deals with "sadness, anger, fear, shame, disgust and joy" (p. 8). For example, in a culture with a strong collective spirit, shame can so stress emotions that suicide may be considered.

Barnett and Bagshaw (2020) argue that the main culprit in damaging people's health (especially those experiencing poverty) has been governments' adopting a neoliberal agenda that includes "reducing expenditure on social service and infrastructure; and deregulation to enhance economic activity" (p. 76). This agenda, introduced by US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, also took sway in New Zealand in the 1980s. Neoliberalism mimics classical liberalism of the 19th century to the extent that both are based on a premise of "reliance on the market with minimum interference from the state, either by regulation or taxation. Government's role was to keep order, protect property and create a secure environment for the pursuit of commerce" (Barnett & Bagshaw, 2020, p. 76).

Barnett and Bagshaw go on to explain the impacts of neoliberalism on people's health. Three key factors are mentioned:

1. Creating social and economic inequities. Wilkinson and Pickett (2010) have shown the relationship between inequality and the rise of social and health problems in the population. Barnett and Bagshaw state: "Poor social conditions are not accidental, but result from neoliberal policies that affect not only mortality but also morbidities such as obesity, mental health and health risk behaviours" (p. 78).
2. Austerity policies have led to under-investment in health services. Barnett and Bagshaw point out: "Measures of [New Zealand] health expenditure for 2009-2018, adjusted for inflation and population change, based on Treasury models, indicated a cumulative decline" (p. 79).
3. Privatisation and corporatisation have resulted in unequal access to health services. As a result, private-sector services (e.g., private health insurance) became available only to those that could afford the high fees.

Barnett and Bagshaw are particularly concerned that the neoliberal agenda has pressed for personal responsibility for one's health. This has led to "stigmatisation of the most vulnerable, blaming individuals for their poverty, precarious employment and poor health" (2020, p. 81).

The 2021 report by the University of Otago, *The Economic and Social Costs of Type 2 Diabetes*, shows the growth of diabetes in Aotearoa New Zealand. Currently there are 228,000 people (4.7% of the population) with Type 2 diabetes. If no action is taken, these figures will rise by the year 2040 to 400,000 (7.4%). Costs of treatment will rise to \$3.5 billion per year (pp. 2-3). The report suggests the keys to prevention are diet and exercise. Without intervention, inequalities will rise, particularly for Māori and Pacific people. For example, the researchers estimate that 25% of all Pacific people will have the disease by 2040 (pp. 5-6). This is a disease that affects the poor, hence dealing with poverty is a key intervention for government.

Impacts on housing

It is argued that the shortage of housing for low-income households in Aotearoa New Zealand is a result of a failure to build new state houses and the sale of 1500 state houses by the previous National Government in their nine years of office (2008-2017). The present Labour-led Government is building around 1600 state houses each year. Journalist Kirsty Johnston refers to a statement by Housing Minister Megan Woods that says, "if National had built at the pace she was aiming for, there would be an additional 14,400 homes already – the entire waiting list gone" (Johnston, 2019, para. 26).

Poor-quality and unaffordable housing can be both a cause and consequence of poverty. For example, damp accommodation can result in ill health and high housing costs can result in poverty. Put in a more positive way, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (2015) maintains that "access to decent, low-cost housing can increase disposable incomes, prevent material deprivation and improve work incentives" (p. 1). The recent *Household Income Report* (2019) published by the New Zealand Ministry of Social Development shows the impact of housing costs on poverty. The bottom income quintile (20%) had housing outgoings of more than 30% of income. Of this group, approximately 32% spent more than 40% of their income on housing costs and 25% spent more than 50% of their income on housing.

New Zealand's Child Poverty Action Group states quite clearly that:

Most New Zealand children in poverty live in unhealthy housing, partially because they are poor. Families with insufficient income for all essential needs may have to crowd in with other families to afford accommodation. State or private rental accommodation may be substandard (cold, damp, mouldy), and as a rule of thumb, the cheaper (or more affordable) the accommodation, the more likely this is. Families in poverty are unable to influence the landlord to improve it. (2015, para. 1)

That position is supported by recent information from the 2018 New Zealand census. Stats NZ (2020b) reveals that one in three Māori and Pacific people live in a damp house. It states that, "cold, damp and mouldy homes adversely impact whānau [family] health and wellbeing ... asthma, respiratory infections and rheumatic fever" (para. 6).

The Salvation Army press release on its report *The Housing Crisis Facing Pasifika People in Aotearoa* (2019) demonstrates the severe situation for Pacific people. Despite Pacific people making up only 8% of the total population, they made up 29% of those counted as homeless or living in severe housing deprivation.

The 2004 report (*The Health of People and Communities: A Way Forward*) to the Minister of Health by the Public Health Advisory Committee explains the importance of housing costs to the wellbeing of the population:

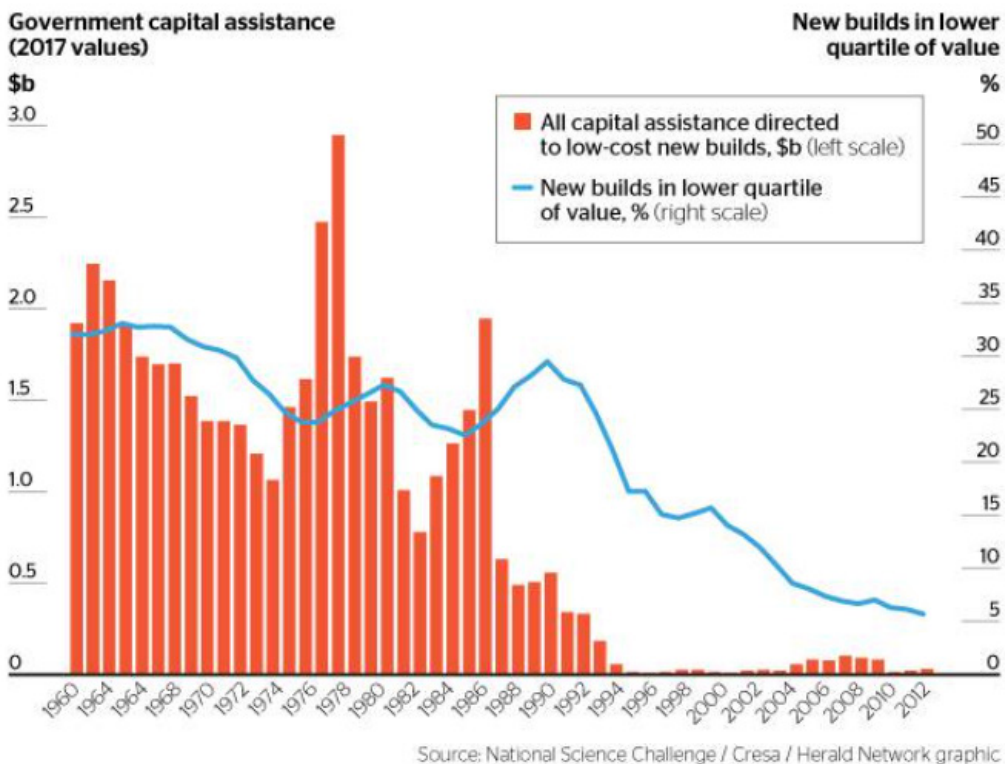
Housing costs are a key determinant of poverty, a factor that is strongly associated with poor health. Housing costs are people's budgeting priority so if the proportion of their income spent on housing is high, they have less to spend on other basic necessities of life. High rents affect the affordability of good food, fuel for the winter, and access to leisure pursuits. All of these have a flow-on effect on health. (p. 31)

Donna Biddle (2020), in the *Sunday News*, states the dangers of fire in overcrowded areas of South Auckland. She writes: "In her 14 months as a fire risk officer, Emma Goldsworthy has never seen a garage that's been used to store a car." Garages are being used to house others who would otherwise be homeless or suffer severe housing deprivation. Biddle states that between 2015 and 2019 there were 2366 house fires in South Auckland, mostly in Manurewa, a high-deprivation district. Goldsworthy goes on to explain what occurs. She says, "The more people living in a home, the more the risk of a fire. There's lots of people cooking, lots of people to get out of the house if there was a fire" (p. 15).

The New Zealand housing situation has become so severe that United Nations special rapporteur Leilani Farha reported in a press conference that the housing crisis is human-rights crisis. She was shocked at the number of people living without dignity in New Zealand and blamed successive governments for the "gutting of social housing and a speculative housing market" (RNZ, 2020, para. 4). She went on to say, "What the government has done over successive years and successive governments is they have entrusted this fundamental human right in large part to private property owners and real estate investors. That's pretty dangerous" (para. 5).

Support for Farha's position comes from the analysis conducted by housing researcher Kay Saville-Smith, who demonstrates that government capital assistance directed to low-cost builds fell dramatically in the 1990s. Her graph, below, shows the level of capital investment in low-cost housing build (Wilson, 2020).

Estimated Government capital assistance to low-cost new builds and proportion of all new builds delivered as affordable housing 1960-2012



Reporting on the work by Saville-Smith, journalist Simon Wilson, in the *New Zealand Herald*, states: "Instead of state investment that would give people a leg up into society, helping them to gain an asset and the security that goes with it, people were to be given 'choice'. Instead of programmes that grew the home construction sector and ensured it would build houses society needed, the 'market' would be allowed to rule" (2020, para. 4).

Food poverty and insecurity

The Ministry of Health (2019) explains that in 2015-2016 there were 917,000 children aged 0-14 years in New Zealand. One in five (19%) of those children lived in households experiencing moderate to severe food insecurity.

"Compared to children in food-secure households they fare worse in terms of health, development and access to health services. Their parents are more likely to report psychological distress and, more specifically, stress related to parenting" (p. iii).

The Ministry report goes on to explain the concept of food insecurity: "food insecurity occurs when adults or children do not have reliable access to adequate food, when caregivers feel stressed and anxious about providing food or are forced to rely on charity or emergency assistance programmes" (p. x).

It goes on to explain in more detail:

Based on data from 2014/15 and 2015/16 combined, compared to children in food-secure households, children in food-insecure households were significantly more likely to:

- experience barriers to accessing health care
- not meet fruit and vegetable consumption guidelines
- eat breakfast at home for fewer than five days per week
- eat fast food and drink fizzy drinks three or more times a week
- be obese or overweight, and less likely to be a healthy weight
- have a fair or poor parent-rated health status
- have a primary caregiver who rated their own health as fair or poor
- have medicated asthma or eczema
- have a caregiver indicating concerns with development on the Parents' Evaluation of Developmental Status questionnaire
- have a caregiver indicating social, emotional and behavioural concerns on the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire
- have a primary caregiver indicating stresses related to raising their child, not having someone to turn to for support or more general psychological distress
- have a primary caregiver who is a current smoker as well as live in a house where someone smoked inside (p. x)

Further indicators of food insecurity come from food banks and the number of hardship grants from the Ministry of Social Development. The Ministry of Social Development (March 2019 quarter) granted 212,871 food grants. This more than doubled the number provided in March 2014 (91,301). The Auckland City Mission (ACM), in a 2019 report on food insecurity, stated that in 2008-2009, 7.3% of the population was food insecure. Ten years later the ACM estimated that this had risen to 10% (500,000) (Lawrence, 2019).

The Office of the Minister of Social Development 2019 report to Cabinet dismisses the need for budgeting advice. It states: "Anecdotal frontline experience since 2010 was that few people who were required to undertake budgeting activities derived any value from them" (para. 8). Although not stated, the implication is that people in need of food grants do not need budgeting advice, rather they do not have enough income to meet basic needs of their families. This situation has been exacerbated by the impact of Covid-19. As the first 2020 lockdown went into its fourth week, there was a rapid increase in people asking for food parcels. A Salvation Army spokesperson (TV1, April 24, 2020) said that many of those seeking help were ashamed to ask for food assistance.

Poverty and education

An international study of inequality and education found that New Zealand is in the bottom third of 38 countries for each of the three indicators. The table below shows results for the key indicators.

<i>School</i>	<i>Position</i>	<i>Indicator</i>
Pre-school	30	% Students enrolled
Primary	28	Reading scores
Secondary	33	Reading scores
Bullying	38	% Reporting bullying on a weekly and monthly basis (Grade 4)

(Source: Unicef, 2018)

It is recognised that poverty affects educational achievements. A New Zealand Ministry of Education report says, "Poverty during the early years of childhood can be particularly detrimental, with negative educational effects persisting at least into middle years of schooling, even when family incomes improve" (n.d., para. 4). It also says, "Parental income has a direct impact on whether a family can afford fees, transport costs, and other significant costs that may be associated with education services" (para. 3).

Thrupp has taken a broader look at inequality in the education system. He looks at the school zoning system and quotes researchers Gordon and Pearce, who have shown, "many schools in Christchurch have been drawing up their zones in convoluted ways to 'bypass more deprived but closer areas in favour of further but wealthier suburbs'" (2007, p. 7). He also notes: "Teachers tend to move to higher socio-economic schools in the first few years of their teaching lives" (p. 12).

Poverty and status

Some of the key impacts are related to low status, stigma and poverty. Marmot (2004) explains that status is related to two fundamental human needs: to have control over your own life, and to be a full social participant. He shows that the higher the social status the better one's health, with the reverse being true. He states: "The way to stress an animal, of the human or non-human variety, is to remove control" (2004, p. 153). For example, people having to queue in order to apply for a hardship grant suffer both stress and shame (Auckland Action Against Poverty, personal communication with the author, March 2019). The level of stress is compounded amongst those with little or no social support.

In their acclaimed book *The Spirit Level*, Wilkinson and Pickett show that

income inequality leads to chronic stress and, from that, poor health. They explain: “when we go on worrying for weeks and months and stress becomes chronic, then our bodies are in a constant state of anticipation of some challenge or threat, and all those fight-or-flight responses become damaging” (2010, p. 85). This point is picked up by Anthony (2018):

[I]nequality creates greater social competition and division, which in turn foster increased social anxiety and higher stress, and thus greater incidence of mental illness, dissatisfaction and resentment. (2018, para. 9)

Wilkinson and Pickett point out the long-term physical dangers of chronic stress. “Children stressed in early life, or whose mothers were stressed during pregnancy, are more likely to suffer in middle and old age from a number of stress-related diseases – including heart disease, diabetes and stroke” (2010, p. 212).

Inequality can arise as a result of a number of social conditions, such as low income, disability and gender differences. Hence, inequality does not always include poverty, but poverty is always associated with aspects of inequality. This may be due to poor opportunity, prejudice and the lack of physical or human resources.

The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in a 2020 report on equality, stresses the importance of reducing income inequality. It notes the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development with its motto of ‘Leave no one behind.’ The UN report states:

Highly unequal societies are less effective at reducing poverty than those with low levels of inequality Disparities in health and education make it challenging for people to break out of the cycle of poverty, leading to the transmission of disadvantage from one generation to the next. (p. 4)

A key proposal from the UN is that policymaking should incorporate an equality lens.

Haigh (2019) shows how the language of poverty stigmatises poor people:

One can also recognise other expressions that stigmatise people such as dole bludgers and beneficiaries, rather than people in receipt of a benefit. The former tends to define the character of the person in one word. The modern language of poverty is full of metaphors and inuendos such as ‘the work-shy’, ‘a culture of worklessness.’ (p. 72)

Galbraith (1977) provides this description of social stigma, an important aspect of poverty:

People are poverty-stricken when their income, even if adequate for survival, falls radically behind that of the community. Then they cannot have what the larger community regards as the minimum necessary for decency; and they cannot wholly escape, therefore, the judgment of the larger community that they are indecent. They are degraded for, in the literal sense, they live outside the grades or categories which the community regards as acceptable. (p. 245)

Psychological impacts

There is evidence of a link between poverty and negative psychological impacts. The American Psychology Association (2009) notes the following risks:

- Children living in poverty are at greater risk of behavioral and emotional problems.
- Some behavioral problems may include impulsiveness, difficulty getting along with peers, aggression, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) and conduct disorder.
- Some emotional problems may include feelings of anxiety, depression and low self-esteem.

Young (2019), in the *British Psychological Society Research Digest*, goes further, and indicates changes to the brain's prefrontal cortex in children growing up in poverty. She states:

The psychological effects on children of growing up poor do make for grim reading. A 2009 study published in the *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, of 9- and 10-year-olds who differed only in their socioeconomic status, found striking differences in activity in the prefrontal cortex, which is critical for complex cognition. The PFC response of many of the poor children in response to various tests resembled that of some stroke victims. (para. 3)

This is supported by Dobrin in the journal *Psychology Today*:

But the mounting evidence is that the relationship between atrophied brains and stress is more than a correlation – it is causal. As a study at Boston Children's Hospital concludes, severe psychological and physical neglect produces measurable changes in children's brains. (2012, para. 6)

Chronic stress, which is experienced by many poor children, can be devastating since the hippocampus regulates emotional responses, is critical in the formation of memory and spatial awareness. (2012, para. 8)

McGarvey (2018), a man who lived his childhood and much of his adult life in poverty, has this to say:

Poverty is not only about a lack of employment, but about having no margin for error while living with constant stress and unpredictability. And for children growing up in this chaos, the experience can leave them emotionally disfigured, at odds with everything around them. (p. 96)

He goes on to conclude: "It all begins with a child living in social deprivation. When it comes to child abuse, poverty is the factory floor" (p. 97).

Impacts of Covid-19

There are stories and anecdotes about the stress on poor families as a result of unemployment caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, but little research.

Murray Edridge of Wellington City Mission says, "In a week where we would on average distribute 80 food bags, since lockdown the last 7 days has seen us distribute 329 food bags to people and families, with 80% being delivered by staff straight to people's doorsteps" (2020, para. 2).

Prior to the pandemic striking New Zealand, the unemployment rate was 4% of the workforce. By April 2020, 100,000 people were not working and were receiving a wage subsidy from the government, paid through their employer. The government's hope was that after 12 weeks businesses would be operating again and the subsidy would no longer be necessary. The wage subsidy amounts to \$585.80 per week for a full-time worker.

At the beginning of the 2020 lockdown, media reports were of people stockpiling food, hand sanitiser and toilet paper. People on benefits do not have spare cash to stockpile and were left facing empty supermarket shelves. Covid-19 has had a major impact on people who lost their jobs and households unable to pay their rent. Like other charities, the Salvation Army has seen an escalation in demand for food parcels. The Salvation Army delivered 5895 food parcels in two weeks of lockdown, a 346% rise from two weeks earlier (The Salvation Army New Zealand, 2020). The Auckland City Mission raised a new social issue: when lockdown ends, what to do with the homeless who have been provided with accommodation during the lockdown. The City Missioner suggests that many will want to stay in their new accommodation permanently (Farrelly, 2020).

RNZ journalist Rowan Quinn (2020, May 25) highlighted an alert to doctors and hospitals from the Wellington Public Health Service concerning an increase in the number of children with rheumatic fever, which is a disease that can seriously damage the heart. Rheumatic fever is largely unknown in other developed countries. Tests for strep throat are urgently needed.

Discussion

This paper has focused on the key impacts of poverty on the population: health, housing, food insecurity, education, status, psychological impacts and the effects of Covid-19 on vulnerable people during lockdown. Relative poverty has, over time, a detrimental effect on people experiencing it. Health and housing impacts are well documented by health professionals who are trained in seeking out relevant evidence of impacts. It is important to note the interconnections between impacts and causes of poverty. The impacts of poverty can eventually lead to causes. For example, poverty may affect health, which in turn exacerbates poverty due to a fall in income. Similarly, the special link between low income and high housing costs is particularly relevant. Housing costs must be met somehow, in order to provide stability for the family. But these costs result in shortages in other areas such as

food, participation in social life and meeting unexpected bills. Low income affects all other activities, whether expected or not, e.g., health costs, family emergencies and school activities such as camps, sport and cultural events.

These impacts may affect every poor person or family at particular stages and one impact may result in another. The links might be as follows:

Low-income → high housing costs → inadequate family income for basic essentials.

Low-income → unhealthy housing → health problems → costs associated with sickness.

Low-income → material hardship → chronic stress → health and family problems.

Poverty and unemployment are also linked. While the level of unemployment is presently low, at around 4.5% of the workforce, this figure hides Māori youth unemployment, along with levels of under-employment. Stats NZ (2020b) shows that Māori youth unemployment is 20% of the workforce. In addition, the underutilisation rate is 12.2% of the workforce. This figure represents people wanting work and those working fewer than 30 hours per week and wishing to increase their hours at work. Gaining employment may lead to improved levels of wellbeing. However, this is not guaranteed, especially where wages are so low that poverty ensues.

Poverty is exacerbated by the economic system of neoliberalism, which requires a particular mindset. Neoliberalism comes with a belief in the capitalist market above all other values. Renowned economist John Kenneth Galbraith (1992) explains this as follows: “you must have faith in God, you must have faith in the system; to some extent the two are identical” (p. 82). Such a belief sets off a number of automatic triggers such as small government and reduced regulation, as well as privatisation and commodification of labour, public property, public services and infrastructure. Reduced taxation for those on higher income levels is argued on the basis of the trickle-down theory, whereby resources will be used to create economic activity at a lower level. Galbraith dismissed the trickle-down theory in his saying, “if one feeds the horse enough oats, some will pass through to the road for the sparrows.”

These neoliberal beliefs result in what Galbraith explains is a culture of contentment for the well off. This is where Galbraith closes the gap between the economic system and religious belief. The contentment is based on three premises:

- The contented majority receives their just deserts and nothing should be done to impair this.
- Short-term action or inaction is preferred to long-term protective strategies. He refers to this preference for “short run serenity as opposed to longer run concern” (p. 145).
- The comfortable believe it is essential “to get the government off the backs of the people” (p. 18).

The end result is what he coined as private affluence and public squalor.

Picking up this same point, the celebrated French economist Thomas Piketty, in *Capital and Ideology* (2020), explores *the* ideology behind the neoliberal agenda. This book follows his classic, *Capital in the Twenty-first Century*, in which he argues that inequality is baked into capitalism, particularly the extreme form associated with neoliberalism. Low taxes on wealth and high income have resulted in inequality, the friend of poverty. This 'natural' state of affairs, he argues, is based on a prevailing belief, in the same way that slavery was considered normal in the 18th century. Apart from increased taxation on wealth (e.g., property, shares and high art) and high income, Piketty offers little new. But what he has done is shown how the world has reached this dismal social situation.

Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the impacts of poverty on the wellbeing of individuals and families. It has shown that the impacts include health, housing, food security, education and social status. Pre-Covid-19, the visible symbols of poverty in Auckland were the rough sleepers and people begging. While these are issues requiring political action, they hide a huge number of people experiencing poverty and the consequential impacts stated in this paper. Two key factors seem to be paramount in perpetual poverty: low incomes from benefits and wages, and the high costs of rents in Auckland. To some extent the first can be reduced by a major injection of cash into benefits to reach pre-1990s levels. In addition, greater effort by government to build even more state houses is required. To some extent, the 2021 Budget has seen a rise in core benefits in line with recommendations from the Welfare Expert Advisory Group. Government should build on these benefit increases in subsequent budgets. Without these and other shifts in policy, we can foresee ongoing poverty among a substantial number of individuals and families.

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'Reframing' the big issues for a transformational government

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'Reframing' the big issues for a transformational government

MICHAEL HANNE

Prerequisites for transformation

It is widely agreed that, while Jacinda Ardern's first term as Prime Minister achieved many positive social and economic changes, her Labour Government has not yet proved to be the transformational administration that was promised. (In the Speech from the Throne, delivered to Parliament on 26 November 2020, the government reiterated its commitment to deal with child poverty, homelessness and the climate crisis [New Zealand Government, 2020].) A number of commentators, including lawyer Cat McLennan (2020) and economist Colin James (2020), have suggested that Ardern may not have the courage to carry through on her promise to make the radical moves that a serious focus on wellbeing for everyone would require. On the other hand, Anne Salmond, in a wonderful article for the online newspaper *Newsroom* immediately after the election, argued that Jacinda Ardern is not the cautious leader that McLennan, James and others see – rather she is “bold and visionary,” while understanding “the need to take New Zealanders with her on the wild ride ahead” (2020, para. 6).

I suggest that activists seeking to persuade our politicians about the major challenges we want them to address and the policies we want them to adopt have an obligation to build into their proposals formulations of those challenges and policies that ministers can present to the New Zealand public that will recruit a majority of the population for that “wild ride.” Whether the issue is child poverty or climate change, trade training or mental health, cleaning up rivers or housing, Māori health or immigration, every proposal needs to be ‘framed’ in a way that makes it easy for ordinary people (and

the ministers themselves) to see its merits. (See the work of an outstanding New Zealand think-tank called The Workshop, which has set itself the task of “improving lives by changing how we talk about complex issues” [<https://www.theworkshop.org.nz/>], such as climate change, poverty, and crime.¹ A Washington NGO, FrameWorks, has for many years assisted activists and social and political institutions around the world to ‘reframe’ the messages they want to put out to politicians and the wider public on such issues as immigration, housing, schools, crime, education, etc., using metaphors and narratives, which both reflect current research and will be acceptable to most people. Whatever subject area you are focusing on, I warmly recommend you explore their website, <https://www.frameworksinstitute.org/>.)

This paper represents a very preliminary attempt to illustrate how such framing and reframing may be done in the New Zealand context.

Working with people’s ‘social imaginary’

Researchers in many fields have concluded that simply providing the information that we think people are lacking on a topic – what is called “the Information Deficit Model” (McDivitt, 2016) – is not usually enough to persuade them of what needs to be done. Each of us holds in our head a bundle of information, ideas, attitudes and assumptions about how the world works that some sociologists call the ‘social imaginary,’ and when we come across new concepts or data, we mostly tend to fit them into our existing social imaginary (Taylor, 2003). For some of us, our social imaginary will contain considerable resources of theory, information and experience. But for most people, it is a rough-and-ready, by no means entirely conscious, template against which we measure ideas and information that are presented to us. It is made up very largely of simplifying metaphors and stories, some on a grand scale, others on a more limited, even personal, scale (Bougher, 2015). Different elements of this template are linked to, and reinforce, each other – for example, assumptions about why people commit crimes and the extent to which we have free choice. Nevertheless, there will also be contradictions that the individual is usually not aware of. A key example of such a contradiction is the desire so many people express for better provision of public healthcare, education, roading, etc., which sits alongside an insistence that there should be no increase in taxation to pay for them. However thoughtful and well informed anyone is, their understanding of areas in which they are not specifically expert will take this sort of simple schematic form.

Reframing issues to educate the public

Obviously, the social imaginary of an outright neoliberal differs markedly from the social imaginary of a progressive. Importantly, the social imaginary of most people who have not thought through social and political issues much

1

Co-director of The Workshop, Jess Berentson-Shaw has published a fine article “The power of words to tap into the best of us,” <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/the-power-of-words-to-tap-into-the-best-of-us>

for themselves tends to be built of second-hand items (mostly metaphors and stories) gleaned from sources (media, public institutions, anecdotes from friends and their own experience) that have a generally neoliberal slant.² For instance, ask many people how they imagine the incidence of crime being reduced and you are likely to hear simplistic suggestions about increasing police numbers, imposing harsher penalties, etc. By and large, progressive thinking involves greater complexity than neoliberal thinking. Whereas neoliberals talk constantly of their 'rights,' progressives see that 'rights' need to be balanced against 'obligations.' And while neoliberals focus primarily on the 'individual,' progressives insist on the relationship between the 'individual' and the 'collective.' This relative complexity makes it harder for many people to view the world through a progressive frame.

When we come to look at the challenge of convincing the bulk of the population to understand the more intractable issues in ways that make progressive solutions acceptable, there's generally no point in taking on the whole bundle of ideas and attitudes any person holds to. We are most likely to get someone to 'change their mind' on a given issue by dislodging some of the individual metaphors and stories that comprise the structure of their 'social imaginary' and substituting new ones. At the same time, we need to be aware of the adjacent 'bricks' in the structure that support, and are supported by, the ones we are aiming to shift.

Talking about poverty

Let's take the example of poverty, a topic that is widely acknowledged in New Zealand to be a serious problem, but which progressives and neoliberals understand and make recommendations on in fundamentally different ways.

A neoliberal frame presents poverty as a distinct issue and the poor as a distinct group. It separates out a section of the population as having (or *being*) the problem, rather than viewing that group in relation to the population as a whole. More broadly, it views society in terms of individuals, competing for resources, achieving prosperity and success in most spheres primarily by individual effort, with the implication that "people are (economically) where they deserve to be" (Project Twist-It, n.d., para. 5). The FrameWorks Institute refers to a dominant and mistaken belief in "self-makingness" (Volmert et al., 2016, para. 13). There is widespread use of the metaphor of a social 'ladder,' which it is assumed individuals may climb to better their situation. Associated with this narrative model is the assumption that we are all exercising 'rational choice' and that we all have the same opportunities. It is as if opportunities are laid out in front of us all on a tray and we have more or less equal agency in taking or not taking them. In this metaphor, poor people are as free as everyone else to make rational choices – and consistently make bad ones (Rashbrooke, 2018).

These frames and models clearly favour the interests of those with wealth and privilege, and are consistent with a 'free-market' conception of social as well as purely economic life. Indeed, within a free-market frame, the existence of poverty in a society is essential as a stimulus to enterprise. Jesus' words

2

American linguist and cognitive scientist George Lakoff spent many years working with progressives to shift the dominant language of political discourse in the US from its 'status quo bias.' He argues, for instance, that progressives should replace the term 'tax burden' in general usage with 'tax justice' (Lakoff, 2004).

“the poor you will always have with you” (John 12: 8, The New Testament) may be read as validating the assumption that poverty is ‘natural.’ Generosity towards the poor, in some form of charity, is ethically commendable, but benefits paid to the poor should be significantly less than a living wage to encourage them to seek paid work. “Welfare payments should be a net not a hammock” is a phrase often used by people on the right. They are likely to pick up the very few cases where individuals have been found guilty of defrauding the welfare system by double-dipping (working while receiving a benefit, claiming an accident or sickness benefit they are not entitled to, etc.) and inflating such anecdotal narratives into a belief that ‘lots of beneficiaries are scroungers.’³ (They also tend to ignore the fact that there are many more – and more serious – cases of the rich defrauding the system.) To the extent that poverty can be alleviated, neoliberal policy-makers claim that the poor will benefit from increasing GDP – increasing the size of the economic ‘cake’ or ‘pie’ – as they will get a bigger ‘slice’ of it.

Unfortunately, at least some of these ways of thinking about poverty and the poor are to be found lodged in the structure of most people’s social imaginary, even those who would regard themselves as quite progressive. Crucial to any attempt to achieve radical social and economic reform must be the dislodging of some of these bricks and their replacement with images and stories that are more valid. A first move involves shifting the frame from a focus on ‘poverty’ to a focus on ‘inequality.’ This is much more helpful in that it locates the poor in relation to the rest of the population (Rashbrooke, 2018) and makes clear that poverty is a whole-of-society problem. It also suggests that, far from being a natural phenomenon, poverty results from identifiable social and political policies⁴ and that there is, therefore, no reason why we should always have the poor with us. A publication of the NZ Child Poverty Action Group is appropriately titled *Our Children, Our Choice* (Dale et al., 2014).

3

A revealing piece of research in the UK showed that, on average, people thought that 27% of the British welfare budget was claimed fraudulently, whereas official UK Government figures stated that the proportion of fraud stood at 0.7% of the total welfare budget (Welfare fraud, 2021).

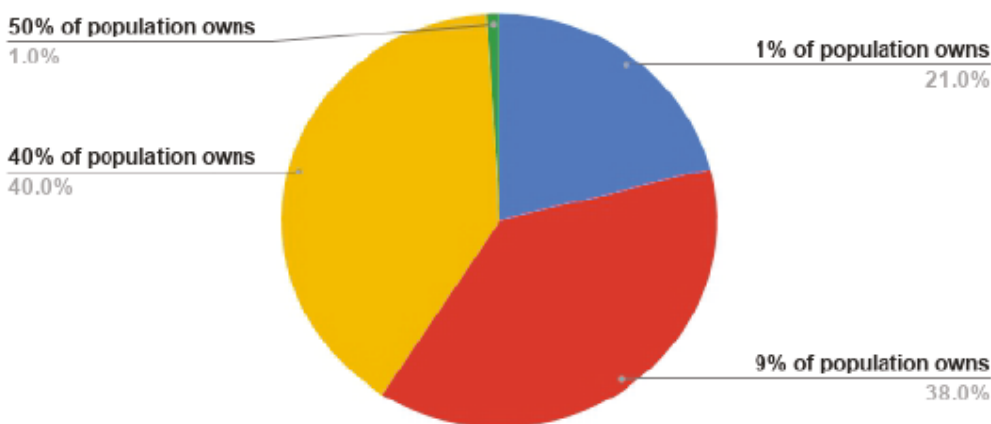
4

See, for instance: <https://www.oxfam.org/en>

Metaphors and visual images for inequality

The image used by neoliberals of the wealth of a country as a 'pie' can be readily subverted when it is used to show how unequally the total wealth is divided up amongst different groups or classes at any moment. See this image for the division of wealth in New Zealand in 2018 (statistics from Rashbrooke, 2018, p. 23):

Division of Wealth in NZ

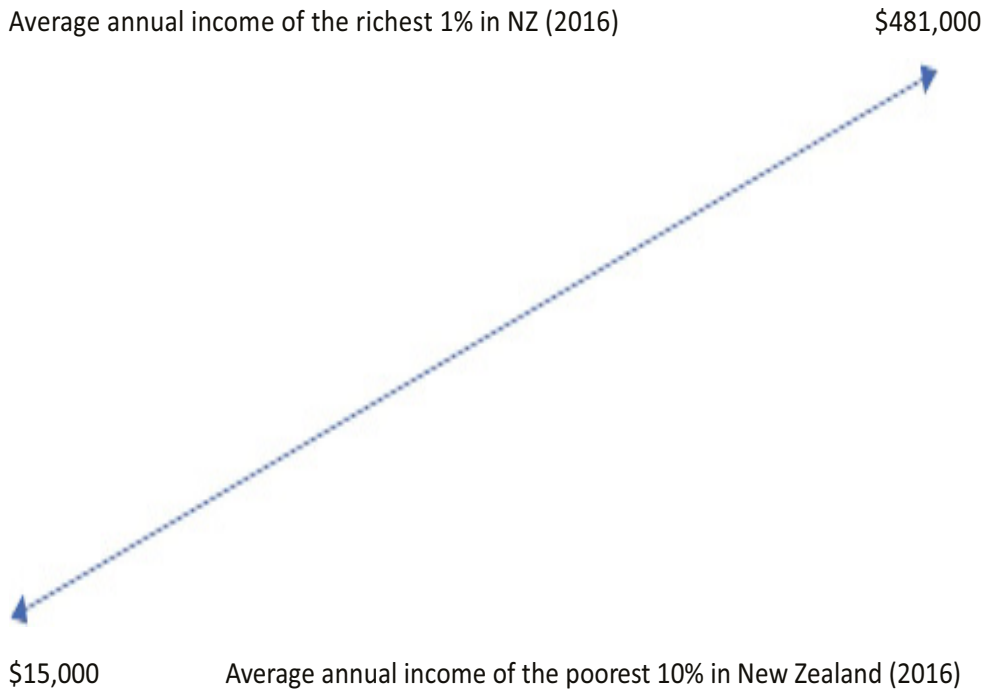


Metaphors and visual images for inequality

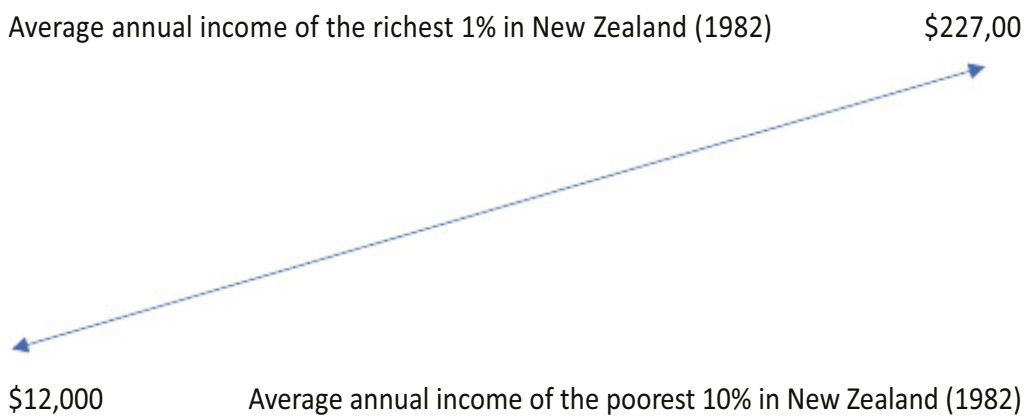
There have been many visual images to convey the notion of social and economic inequality. In the early 20th century socialists drew a 'pyramid' to illustrate the oppressive dynamics of inequality, showing the mass of working people ("We work for all" and "We feed all") crushed by the weight of the bourgeoisie ("We eat for you"), above whom the police and military serve to maintain the status quo by force ("We shoot at you"), above whom are the clergy ("We fool you"), above them monarchs and aristocrats ("We rule you"), and, at the top, Capital itself.

While we may feel there is still much that is valid in this image, especially its pyramid structure, it is unlikely to capture the imagination of modern workers. Among many contemporary images for inequality is the 'ladder/shelf' image (which has many apples on the top rung, fewer on each of the lower rungs, and none on the lowest rung) used by health economists to illustrate the unequal distribution of resources (nutritional, educational, medical, etc.) among people living on the different rungs.

This image (The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Socioeconomic Status and Health, n.d.) is effective in that it highlights the wealth of resources available to the tiny number of people on the top rung and the limited resources of all kinds (not just economic, but educational, cultural, nutritional, etc.) available to those who were born, or find themselves, on the lowest rungs. We can use this image to subvert neoliberal usage, which implies that it is easy to 'climb' the socioeconomic ladder. Activists on poverty in Quebec have proposed a revealing variation on the 'ladder' metaphor for social mobility. In most societies, they say, there is a 'dual escalator' system, which to a certain extent allows those on the lower floors of society to move up and down between the floors they occupy, but does not allow them to transition to the upper floors, where there is another mechanism by which those who live there move up and down within their privileged environment (National Collaborating Centre for Health Public Policy, 2011). People in the middle class struggle to keep their place and may show little empathy for the poor because they are afraid of stepping on the 'down' escalator and always hopeful that they can get on the 'up' escalator. This perhaps explains why people in the middle generally show little sympathy for policies that will tax higher incomes more heavily (e.g., resistance to the New Zealand Labour Party's 2020 policy of raising tax rates for those earning more than NZ\$180,000 and the US Democratic Party's policy of taxing incomes over US\$400,000 more highly). A related image from banking is of the compounding advantages for the wealthy and the compounding disadvantages everyone else experiences. Chuck Collins writes of the "wealth-building train" by which rich families accumulate and pass on wealth (Project Twist-It, n.d., para. 24). There is a strong tendency for people holding a neoliberal view of poverty to suffer from almost complete amnesia about how certain groups have come to be rich and others poor. In suggesting that people get to be rich simply by individual enterprise and hard work, they firstly neglect the part played in the history of New Zealand and many other settler societies by colonisation and decades of discrimination in building privilege for some and deprivation for the Indigenous people. Secondly, they ignore the role of inheritance in wealth accumulation. Thirdly, they fail to recognise that those (like myself) who have prospered over the last 50 years owe so much to the educational and other subsidies they received in the 1960s and 70s, which are no longer available to young people today. When the neoliberal metaphor of human social and economic existence as a 'race' is examined critically, it becomes clear that it, too, may be reworked to a progressive purpose. It is, after all, a race in which runners start from different points, with some runners starting way ahead of, and others way behind, the 'official' start line.⁵ American progressives often say that the child born to a rich family "starts the [baseball] game on third base" (Project Twist-It, n.d., para. 2). Most useful in the current New Zealand context, I suggest, is the simple image of the 'steep slope' of income difference on which the poor and the rich exist.



This image is particularly helpful when compared with an image of the slope of inequality as it existed in 1982 in this country, to demonstrate just how much the steepness of the slope has increased over 34 years.



The source for these images is a graph in Rashbrooke (2018, p. 28), which shows not only the spectacular rise in the incomes of the richest 1% over 34 years, but that the top 10% have also doubled their real incomes, whereas the incomes of the remaining 90% have risen only slightly.

Helpful connotations of these images for inequality

The steep slope image has many helpful connotations. The increased steepness suggests that New Zealand society as a whole is becoming more unstable and raises the question of what will happen if this trend is permitted to continue. Moreover, as a nation devoted to sport, in which 'fairness' is valued highly, we may be reminded of the unfairness of competing on a playing field that is not level. This image also links to the body of recent research that shows that countries such as the US (and, sadly, New Zealand), where economic inequality is greater, are much more vulnerable to poor health, high infant mortality, low average educational attainment and high crime rates than countries such as Japan and the Scandinavian countries, or even Cuba (Wilkinson & Pickett, 2010). (The ladder/shelving image with apples on each step referred to above illustrates vividly why that is the case.) If we are born low down on a steep slope, our capacity for free rational choice is, contrary to the view of many neoliberals, extremely limited. The frame through which we view the world and, especially, our own options is very narrow. We need resources of all kinds – economic, educational, cultural, and of information and health – to be free to make well-informed rational choices. The amount of control poor people see themselves as having over almost every aspect of their lives is minimal. People living in poverty need to use most of their energy and attention just to hold on. In the words of Helen Clark, when she was the United Nations Development Programme administrator, many people live precariously on "a precipice of steep decline" (Clark, 2013, p. xi).

Whereas the frames employed by those who hold to a free-market conception of society emphasise individual rights and capacity for independent action, we need to search for metaphors and frames that highlight *both* our individual identity *and* our collective identity. The image of society as a 'body' has a very long history and has been used for a host of different ideological purposes, some of them pretty appalling (Hanne, 2015). Even so, I insist that it has real value when we consider it in this way: if one part of your body (society) is sick, injured, or undernourished, it must be treated urgently or the health of your whole body will be threatened. Assertions about a clearly unequal society being 'unhealthy' may be quite persuasive. To use another metaphor, if the population is referred to as 'a family,' the implication is that, when a member of the family is in difficulty, they should be given unstinting help. Both metaphors serve as prompts for us to take collective responsibility for the welfare of all individuals within our society. A key argument from progressives should be that gross inequality is dangerous for all members of a society. Phrases that capture this point well include: "inequality is a corrosive force, like rust"; big wealth and income imbalances "eat away" at trust and empathy (Inequality, n.d., para 1); "economic inequality is like blood pressure: too high could mean disaster, too low and the economy or the patient is sluggish" (Dobbins, 2016, para. 1, summarising the views of James K. Galbraith). We could also consider other metaphors: like air pollution, poverty affects everyone; poverty is an infectious disease; if anyone lives in a leaky house, the whole structure of our society is leaking. Underlying all these images is the ethical assumption that we all have a right to good food,

housing, education, medical care, etc., alongside the argument that reducing inequality is in the (enlightened) self-interest of all of us.

Metaphors and narratives for complexity

The 'society as a body' metaphor, where we are attending to both the part and the whole, is a good example of the importance in progressive thinking of paying attention to two or more social factors at the same time. The social imaginary of most people (you only have to listen to talk-back radio or follow many threads on Twitter to see this) treats many issues in terms of a single cause and a single solution (e.g., 'bad parenting' as the main cause of crime and 'longer prison terms' as a prime solution). This oversimplification leads to binary thinking: people insisting we understand causes and solutions in an 'either/or' format. One of the challenges for progressives is to coin metaphors that embody a degree of complexity, such as 'tributaries feeding into a river,' or 'webs,' as metaphors for multiple causation of problems such as poverty, or crime, or poor health, and 'wraparound care' as a metaphor for multiple and comprehensive interventions. So, if we are to address poverty in New Zealand, concerted action is needed in terms not only of increasing minimum wages and benefit levels ('raising the economic floor'), but of healthcare, education, housing and community facilities in deprived areas, etc. In the words of the Auckland City Mission's 2014 report: "there are eight key drivers that keep people trapped in a state of constant financial hardship. These relate to the following areas: Debt; Justice; Housing; Employment; Health; Food insecurity; Services; Education" (quoted in Dale et al., 2014, p. 6).

Countering the dominant metaphor of the market

It is widely, if mistakenly, assumed that the term 'free market' refers to a concrete reality, a mechanism existing in its own right, and that it is the only, or at least unquestionably the best, way for the economy and, indeed, most social interactions, to be organised. The implication of that assumption in relation to wealth and income inequality is that those who get rich have met the demands of the market most successfully, whereas the poor consistently fail to engage successfully with market mechanisms. By contrast, progressives recognise that the 'free market' is just one ideological device amongst many others, used by the privileged to shape economic and social interactions in their favour. There are two major challenges here for progressives: the first is to show that the 'free market' is *only* a metaphor, not an objective reality (Dean, n.d.), and that its selection as a guide to public policy is a political choice, not an inevitability. The second is to propose alternative metaphors for the kind of mixed economies that most of us favour, which have built into them features embodying: collaborative (as well as competitive) enterprise; sustainability and concern for the environment; contributions to the wellbeing of all, rather than a select few (Lane, 2013).

Reframing imagery around poverty and the distribution of wealth

There are many specific phrases commonly used around poverty and distribution of wealth, which need to be questioned and countered. The terms 'intergenerational poverty,' 'intergenerational unemployment,' and 'intergenerational welfare dependency' are widely used, and correspond to real and intractable social phenomena. However, the shift from a focus on poverty to a focus on inequality generates some other revealing terms, such as 'intergenerational wealth' and 'intergenerational privilege' (Collins, 2013). These two sets of terms are, in a sense, mirror images of each other and progressives do well to link them in their discussions, to show that they are causally linked, that the one makes the other possible. The processes by which segments of a society become richer and richer are well captured in the metaphors used below about the tools they have available to them.

While few neoliberal economists explicitly prescribe the 'trickle-down theory' for the distribution of wealth, whereby tax relief and other measures to favour the wealthy would eventually flow down through the whole society, there can be little doubt that many governments essentially employ it in their policy-making and that many citizens intuitively hold to it. Economist John K. Galbraith (father of James K. Galbraith quoted above) helpfully illuminated its absurdity by reframing it as the 'horse and sparrow theory' – feed oats to the horses and sparrows will gain some nourishment from picking over their droppings (Galbraith, 1982). Other phrases used by progressives to illuminate the unfair distribution of wealth include: "the poor have to subsist on the crumbs left over from the tables of the rich."

Individual accounts of poverty and disadvantage

Most of the metaphors and mini-narratives, whether neoliberal or progressive, that I have cited above are used to refer to poverty and inequality on a large scale and from the outside. They are not, for the most part, the way people experiencing poverty talk about their own lives, and if the population as a whole is to understand what it is like to be poor and the urgency of the need to eliminate poverty, it is crucial that they hear the voices of individuals clearly. It is only then that many people will see answers to the question they have in the back of their minds: Why don't poor people do something to get out of poverty?

When people living in poverty describe their lives, they mostly do so in narrative form and in very specific terms. They refer to the experience of hunger, living in a cold and leaky house, children feeling despised, having the power cut off, parents not eating to ensure their children are fed, making choices between paying the power bill and buying food, of family and community solidarity, and family and community breakdown. These accounts will differ in detail from one location and time to another, even if overall there are many similarities. It is often only in retrospect that people who have suffered poverty are able to take an overview. They may refer to the 'cage of

poverty.’ Rita Templeton writes of her experience: “Poor is a state of being, but it’s also a feeling; an invisible but oppressive mantle you carry around your neck at all times. It’s feeling beaten down, every damn day, even on ‘good’ days when you don’t notice it as much”(2017/2021, para. 6).

Progressive frames around inequality

One of the short-term goals that activists seeking to develop policies to end poverty in New Zealand should be aiming for is to establish progressive metaphors, narratives and frames as the standard discourse for public discussion. Among the main shifts required are:

- There is a tendency to view *the poor* as a distinct group and *poverty* as a distinct problem. This tendency needs to be replaced by a recognition that *inequality* is the larger problem, in that it is not only unfair but corrosive of social cohesion, indicative of a society that is unstable, unhealthy and wasteful.
- The traditional view of the GDP of the country as a ‘cake’ or ‘pie,’ whose growth is for the distress of ‘the poor’ to be alleviated, may be usefully modified to represent rather the distribution of wealth in society. The image on p. 101, which shows that the richest 10% of the New Zealand population owns almost 60% of the wealth and that 50% of the population owns only 1% of the wealth, illustrates very clearly that the current division of wealth is grossly unfair, that ‘the poor’ are not a small unfortunate group, and that ‘growing the cake’ is unlikely to benefit them.
- The economy is widely understood to be a market-machine to which the rich have accommodated better than the poor. A progressive vision views the economy as a social project that we design and constantly adapt, to ensure that it contributes to the wellbeing of the whole population and of the natural environment.
- Other misleading images are of society as a collection of individuals in a fair race or on a ladder to individual success. These may be helpfully replaced by the metaphor of society as a body, all parts of which should be kept healthy, or as a team in which all should be enabled to play their part.
- It is particularly helpful to introduce images of inequality as a steep and dangerous slope or as a ladder or set of shelves, where the tiny number of people on ‘the top rung’ have enormous resources and the people lower down have minimal resources to improve their wellbeing.
- The neoliberal view that poverty is natural and even that gross inequality is a necessary spur to enterprise needs to be replaced by a recognition that these are systemic failures, unhealthy, and socially destructive.
- The widespread ‘amnesia’ about the historical factors which have brought about such an extreme economic division (including not only colonisation and racial discrimination, but fiscal policies since 1980) needs to be

remedied, along with reflection on measures that might be introduced to ensure a fairer division.

- When we talk about the problems of ‘intergenerational poverty,’ ‘intergenerational unemployment,’ and ‘intergenerational welfare dependency,’ it is important to acknowledge that ‘intergenerational wealth’ and ‘intergenerational privilege’ are problems, too, and that remedies for the former require corresponding attention to the latter.
- Rather than looking for single causes or single remedies for poverty, it is vital to highlight the many causal tributaries which feed into it and develop a suite of policies relating to the ‘living wage,’ adequate benefits, housing, education, nutrition, community development, etc., which will contribute to resolving it.
- In designing policies for the redistribution of wealth, it is vital that they be understood and accepted by a majority of the population. They will necessarily involve such devices as wealth tax, inheritance tax, capital gains tax, etc., which will begin to reduce the steepness of the income slope. It is vital that the population at large be recruited to use their imagination to conceive of ways of achieving that end.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have taken the specific example of talking about poverty, and the ways in which it can be framed, to illustrate the broad argument that, as we present policy recommendations to the government on **all** the major challenges we face as a country, it is vital that we include formulations that government ministers and others may use to convince the wider public of both the seriousness of the issues and the potential for change.

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Interview with Neil Smith

DAVID HAIGH

FRIDAY JUNE 21, 2002
MT EDEN, AUCKLAND

Introduction

This interview with Neil Smith, carried out in 2002, is the second in a series of interviews with practitioners who have made significant contributions to the field of community development in Aotearoa New Zealand. Neil was very ill but, in spite of the pain, he insisted on completing the interview; it is the story of a man who lived by his values. For example, during World War Two he was a conscientious objector and forced to work as a scrub cutter in various isolated camps. At one camp, he met various lecturers from Victoria University, Wellington, who were also incarcerated for the duration of the war. During this period, he participated in adult education classes, which inspired him. He later studied social work at Victoria University under the same lecturers. Through his involvement in the social workers' association in the 1970s, he helped persuade Auckland City Council to establish the community development office. Sadly, Neil died shortly after this interview.

David Haigh: Neil, could you please give me your full name, for the record?

Neil Smith: Neil Gibson Smith, and I was born in Manaia in Taranaki, just a little town near Hawera, and had the first five years of my life there. My father was

the Presbyterian Minister and he had the parish there. When I was five he was called to a parish in Dunedin so we moved to Kaikorai, in Dunedin, the suburb of the Roslyn Woollen Mills and the Burnside Freezing Works. That was 1927 that we moved there – I was born in 1921, so I was part of the baby boom after World War One.

My father had also been a chaplain with the New Zealand forces in Egypt and France, and the occupation army in Germany at the end of WWI.

What about your mother?

My mother was a remarkable woman. She was born in Napier in 1888 and her mother was widowed while she was pregnant with my mother. She already had two little boys from a previous marriage and a daughter from the current marriage. She was married to Frederick Windsor, so I carried the British royal family's name well before they took it up themselves. My mother was born just after my grandfather had died, so my grandmother had two sons and two daughters to bring up in Napier – it was a pretty hard life for her. My grandfather had been a paid clerk for New Zealand Railways in Napier after having emigrated to New Zealand much earlier, in 1855, to New Plymouth, where he became the licensee of the Windsor Castle Hotel. My mother, a staunch temperance woman, said the records say he held the licence, but I don't think he would have actually looked after the hotel. But from the history I have picked up from the New Plymouth Museum, there is no doubt he was the pub keeper there. That went through the period of the Land Wars in Taranaki and he was part of the militia for two or three years there, and then he shifted to Auckland by 1870. His first wife died in Auckland Hospital in 1870 and then there is a sort of a blank until he appears on the electoral roll in Napier in about 1880.

My mother was one of the first wave of girls who were able to get a high-school education through scholarships. She was a brilliant scholar so she got a scholarship to Napier Girls' High School and went through there and qualified for the public service examination, which was the criterion of graduation from high school in those days. She got top marks for New Zealand out of all the girl pupils that year, about 96 I think it was.

How did she meet your father?

My paternal grandfather emigrated from Scotland as a Presbyterian minister, must have been the late 1870s or early 1880s, and first took a parish in North Dunedin and then Invercargill, and then came to Wellington to St Andrew's on The Terrace. My mother was going to the Bible class and church there and so that is where they met.

What was it like at primary school?

I remember primary school as being hell, really. They were very strict. I remember my childhood as unhappy, but I am sure there was a lot of happiness in it as well. My father, for instance, was very keen on camping and practically every summer we went on camping holidays, exploring from Stewart Island up to Pūrākaunui and Waikouaiti, north of Dunedin. So, really, we probably had great times.

Do those memories still stick with you? The landscape of Otago?

Oh yes, they do. One of the influences on me for my future career was the fact that when my father came back from WWI he was dedicated against war and for peace, and he helped to set up the League of Nations Union in

New Zealand, which supported the work of the League of Nations in Geneva. Also, when the depression came in the 1930s he was a very strong Labour supporter and he worked hard for the unemployed; a lot of workers in Kaikorai, in the Roslyn Woollen Mills and in the Burnside Freezing Works, were put out of work for periods. I did not realise it at the time but, from my mother's memoirs, apparently my father had a nervous breakdown, really, through the stress of the work he was doing for the unemployed.

That would have been mainly charitable work and trying to find jobs?

Yes, trying to find jobs. He would have unemployed members of the congregation gardening for us and things like that as well, and setting up soup kitchens in the city and joining in various bodies, too, both church and associated people who were doing something to relieve suffering during the depression.

The League of Nations Association, I take it that still continues with the United Nations Association?

Yes, that's right, and after WW2 he was enthusiastically promoting the work of the United Nations Association in New Zealand.

And he saw that as a means to world peace?

Yes.

And I guess that had a big influence on you, because that is a position that you have taken.

Yes, that's right. Another influence I became conscious of was my grandfather, the Presbyterian minister, who was the Lloyd Geering of 1908. He wrote a terrible book called *The Christ of the Cross*, in which he said it was time that the Church began to see God as a person, as a being of compassion and love and understanding rather than a punishing Jehovah of hellfire for each petty little sin. This was too much for the fathers of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand in 1908 so he was tried for heresy in the First Church, Dunedin, but fortunately there were enough of his brethren with common sense, so, like Lloyd Geering 60 years later, he was acquitted of this charge.

He must have been a brave man, because he knew the consequences.

I remember him as a very kindly figure and he sometimes came to visit us in his old age.

What happened then, after high school in Mt Eden?

I graduated from high school in 1938 and began university in 1939, taking a general arts degree. War broke out in September 1939, and as it progressed and conscription came in I knew I was going to be called up for military service, but I had been influenced by my father's attitudes and so on. I was a pacifist and there was a very active Christian Pacifist Society developing then, mostly Methodist with some Anglican and some Presbyterian as well, and I was a member of that. I suppose I had become of age at 18 to be called up, and was called up in 1941 and refused. I appealed against military service but the Appeal Board in Auckland was a very conservative group of three men, and unless you belonged to a Christian sect that was specifically anti-war and you could prove you had a long association with them you were very unlikely to have your appeal allowed. Since the Presbyterian Church did not take any stand against participation in war, my appeal was turned down.

Did you have to appear before them or did you just write in?

You had the right to appear before them and I did that. I made a statement.

Reading it over 40 years later, it was very self-righteous and, in many ways, I can't blame them for turning me down. I was only 18, full of ideals. The consequences of that were that when I was called up I reiterated my refusal to take the uniform. I went for the medical examination – I could not see anything wrong with being medically examined. I was passed as fit and told to take the oath of allegiance and pick up a uniform, and I refused at that point. As a result of that I was summoned to the Magistrates Court and charged with refusing military service and sentenced to detention for the duration of the war.

What was that like? What happened?

It was quite a brief proceeding, really. I think my father spoke for me and I did have a lawyer as well, who defended me, but seeing that the Appeal Board had pronounced me insincere the magistrate had little option but to sentence me to detention.

Were there any other options? Like doing community work?

Yes, you could opt for joining the Medical Corps, but the attitude that most of us took in the Christian Pacifist Society was that by doing that you were only freeing another person to take part in the war. Many pacifists did agree to join the Medical Corps and served in that way.

Where were you sent for this detention?

The government had set up a camp at Strathmore, which was on the Napier–Taupo Road on the Galatea Plains. That was the first camp set up but, in the end, there were over 800 of us who were sentenced to detention, and a chain of camps was set up, mostly in the North Island and one or two in the South Island as well. I spent four years, from April 1942 until 1946, in these camps. I started in the Strathmore camp, clearing land that was going to be broken up into farms that would be available for returned servicemen when the war was over. It was a time when they had discovered the secret of farming that volcanic plateau there by putting cobalt or some trace elements on. We would cut mānuka scrub one season and then nothing much would be done with it, and you would go out and cut it the next year as well, but gradually they developed the farms. But that camp became full and after a while they set up another camp down at Shannon, in the middle of the flax swamps on the Manawatū River, where flax plantations were growing to make wool bales and so on. I was transferred to that camp and we were weeding flax plantations that had been privately set up, but we were providing the labour force to weed these flax plants so they would flourish.

I seem to recall those flax plantations – at Foxton? – were low lying and quite swampy, so it must have been quite difficult work.

It was, it was wet and muddy. I went from there to a second camp in the district that was set up a few miles away at Whitanui, and while I was there I got appendicitis and was rushed to Palmerston North Hospital, where I had my appendix taken out. It was decided that when I was ready to be discharged and convalesced I should go back to another camp, which they had set up at Hautu, just near Tūrangi at the southern end of Lake Taupō, and this is where I first got into serious trouble with the camps. When it was known I was going to be shifted from the Whitanui camp, go to Strathmore and then on to Hautu, a lot of my mates gave me letters to take to our mates in other camps and this was quite forbidden. I wrapped these letters in my towel, thinking that was probably as good a place as any. When I was taken to Strathmore to spend the

night there it was decided I should have a shower and the warder who was escorting me went to my kit bag and pulled out my towel, and these letters came out; from then on I was labelled as a troublemaker and an infringer of regulations and so on.

And all you were was a post office worker.

So, I went to Hautu, and this camp became known as the bad boys' camp because, gradually, those who infringed discipline in one way or another were sent there. In many ways, for that very reason, they were the elites of us, and the two years or so that I spent there at Hautu were really one of the most educational periods of my life. After the sheltered Presbyterian manse upbringing that I had had and the range of people I met there ...

[End of tape 1, side 1]

This is side two of the tape and, Neil, you were saying about the university students at Hautu.

Yes, whereas, for instance, at Auckland University the most modern novel we had had in English courses was an Edwardian novel by an author who is long forgotten now – that was as far as they dared to come up into modern times – it was a revelation to me to have the whole world of contemporary American literature, for instance, opened up to me: Steinbeck, Hemingway ... people I had barely heard of before, but these students from Victoria had these. We were allowed to bring in a few books and also, after a while, the Country Library Service was allowed to set up a small library in each of these detention camps with a supply of books that was changed every six months or so, and we even had a request service, so that was very good. With the variety of talent that there was in that camp in particular, different people started classes in literature, writing, music, drawing – there were quite talented artists there and I joined a class for some time. Most of the camps had one or two little wind-up portable gramophones, too, so we were able to get records in and there I started to listen to classical music for the first time in my life. There was no symphony orchestra in New Zealand until after the war and so I was introduced to Bach, Beethoven and Mozart with just having no great distractions. Being able to spend the evenings just in somebody's hut with a group, listening to these records, was an opportunity that might never have occurred to me out in life outside – that was one of the great openings of my mind, really.

What did you have to do during the day? What was your work?

Well, our work in most of the camps was some sort of farming or outdoor work and at Hautu there was a special camp that had been built just for us, but nearby there was the Justice Department prison camp, which was already well established, and we would be out on the hillsides cutting scrub or doing different work. Bringing in farm land, planting pine trees sometimes, and often we were working with gangs from the Justice Department prison. I got more and more interested in why people were sent to prison, and gradually the picture began to develop of the number of chaps in prison that we met on these gangs whose history was of being brought up in church orphanages, very often Roman Catholic and Salvation Army. The ones with the very strict, brutal discipline – quite a revelation to me – then being turned out into life

unprepared, really, to tackle life and going to perhaps a strange city, having no family background or network of support and so on, getting into petty crime and trouble and then finishing up in prison. So I became very interested in the whole idea of prison and prison reform, and the social change that was required.

The facilities in the camp, what were they like? Where did you eat and sleep?

In Hautu we had individual huts that we slept in and the food was just basic prison diet, reasonably satisfactory. The routine was breakfast and then out to work Monday to Friday, and lunch would be out on the farm. Each gang would have two that were responsible for carrying the lunch and boiling the billy, and things like that. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire so you were confined there when you came back into camp, but we were pretty free, once work for the day was over, to take part in the different activities that developed at the camp, the educational classes and sometimes physical exercises and things like that. So that was how life was spent, really. We were able to have visitors from time to time, we were able to write and receive letters; I don't know if there was any limit on letters you could receive, but I think you could send two letters out per week. So you were able to keep in touch with family, and my parents visited me once or twice. During the time that I was in camp I became engaged to Jean, my wife; she was teaching part of the time at Whangārei and part of the time at the Anglican Church School, Nga Tawa, near Marton, and she visited me two or three times.

How did you first meet her?

We met because her father had been a Presbyterian missionary too, so we were both Presbyterian families and her father had retired to Mt Eden when I went to Mt Eden, and we were the same year at university.

So it was a long engagement! Gosh, it must have been difficult when you left, when you were released after four years.

Yes, it took a bit of reorientation, coming out. Before I was released, towards the end of the war, quite a few of us were in contact with the Society of Friends with a view to volunteering to go to China with the Friends Service Ambulance unit that was working from New Zealand, behind the lines in China, trying to do what they could for people there.

These were the Quakers?

The Quakers, yes, and I was one of those who were in negotiation about this. When the war ended in August/September 1945 there was no word as to when we were going to be released, and after a little while I and a friend both wrote to the Minister of Justice – this was one privilege we had, we could write to the Minister of Justice about any complaints we had – saying that the war was over now and there was all sorts of work of reconstruction needing to be done, and unless he could tell me when I was going to be released I would refuse to work any longer in the camp. It was a deliberate ploy to be sentenced to prison, and I knew that if I took this action and stopped working in the camp I would be sentenced to prison in Mt Eden. Through the interest I had gained in what life was like in prison I wanted to get the experience of what it was like to be in a Justice Department prison before I was released. The Minister wrote back and said that Cabinet had not made a decision, so he could not give me any assurance as to when we would be released, so I ...

two weeks I and my friend refused to work and we were taken before JPs in Rotorua and we were sentenced to three months in Mt Eden Prison. So that really completed my education, in a way, my wartime education.

What did you learn about Mt Eden Prison?

Well, one of the things I learnt is what solitary confinement is like. While I was there one or two of our people – there were about 30 of us in Mt Eden Prison at that time for various reasons, quite a few of our mates had refused to co-operate any longer in the camps and had been sent to Mt Eden – saw two warders beating up a prisoner, so we downed tools and asked to see the superintendent. We demanded that the JP be brought in to investigate this incident and for our trouble we were sentenced to a week's solitary confinement, with three days of bread and water included in that. That was the ultimate for me, it meant that you were taken to an underground dungeon and just left alone with an enamel plate with a loaf of very good wholemeal bread (the bread they baked in Mt Eden Prison was the best in New Zealand at the time), a jug of water and the Bible. That is the last time I have ever read the Bible in my life except for looking up any quotes I wanted for anything. At night they took your clothes from you, and you were just left with a singlet and underpants. We had hammocks to sleep in, so your hammock was taken down with you but instead of being hung it was just laid out on the stone floor, so you had that and I guess a couple of blankets. Then in the morning the cell door would open and the warder would just throw your clothes on the floor in front of you, and leave you with your loaf of bread and jug of water. It was the nearest I have ever felt to being treated like an animal. Now I had done this voluntarily and I could take it, but what got me was the fact that this was routine punishment for quite a number, for any infringements in the prison. It was during my time in Mt Eden that I became aware of what was happening with Māori migration to the city. With the shortage of workers, with the troops being overseas, a lot of young Māori were coming from rural areas to jobs in Auckland and here they were without any family network of support, and a lot of them went off the rails and got into petty crime and went to prison. One of the horrific sensations in Mt Eden was after you were locked in your cell at night after work, and after lights out in particular, you would start hearing screaming. It was a lot of these young Māori, and I realised that it was the first time that they had ever slept in a room by themselves in the dark and for some of them it was just too much. Once one or two started screaming it would just go right round the wing. The warders would come up and start bashing on the doors. Meeting these prisoners first hand reinforced the impressions I had been getting of the social causes that resulted in people ending up in prison, so it was a great education for me. At the end of those three months in Mt Eden I may have gone back to camp for a short time and then been released – yes, I must have, because it was October 1945 to January 1946 that I did my three months in Mt Eden and it was not until April I was released, so I was sent back to detention. By that time, we knew that we were being released. It was a conditional release, which meant that you had to report to the Manpower Authority and take a job that was assigned to you that was considered useful work, and you were under that obligation until the last troops came home from overseas.

By this time, I had ideas of being a school teacher as a career, but I

knew I would not be accepted into school teaching with the atmosphere there was after the war, and a lot of us had built up idealistic ideas of joining communities, farming communities and islands of sanity – co-operatives. A lot of us got the impression after the war that, though the Allies had won and beaten the Nazis, there was a great risk of the whole world becoming very fascist, so that was one way of having some islands of sanity in this. There was a job going on a poultry farm out in Mt Roskill so I grabbed it, and that would start me on my education and going farming. I worked there for 12 months, and after that I was free to choose what I wanted to do. Jean and I were married by then, and Jean's brother had a mixed sheep and dairy farm in the backblocks of Ōtorohanga, down in the King Country. He and his wife had just built their first farm house, after living in a raupō whare for the first few years they had been on this farm. They knew we were interested in farming, so they offered us this old cottage that they had lived in if we would like to come and run a poultry unit on the farm there. We established a flock of about 400–500 birds there and I helped George with the farm work. Jean helped their two children with correspondence lessons, too, and we spent three very educational years there learning and getting our basic knowledge in farming. At the end of the three years our son had been born and he was about 18 months old by then. I was very keen to travel overseas and persuaded Jean that we should go to Britain and discover what this country really was that we had been brought up to believe our ancestors had come from, while Alistair was still an infant and virtually half fare. I worked my passage on a British coal-burning merchant ship that was on its last trip from Auckland to Glasgow before going to Hong Kong to be broken up – the *Waimana* it was. It took two and a half months to get to Britain, via Australia and round the Cape of Good Hope, Durban, Cape Town and up to Glasgow. Jean and Alistair went on the *Rangitikei* passenger ship in a six-berth cabin, their companions in the cabin being disgruntled British immigrants who had come out straight after the war and found out by 1950 that they could not get jellied eels every Sunday on the nearest corner, and wanted to go back to Britain.

Because a lot of them returned and then wanted to come straight back.

I left about six weeks before Jean did and we arrived within the same 24 hours. Jean had a sister who had been living in Wales since the beginning of the war and had married the manager of a big steel works in Port Talbot in South Wales. When I got off the ship in Glasgow I rang Meg and Jean answered the phone. I went down and we stayed in Port Talbot for a little while, and then moved to London and a bedsit in Earl's Court, like most New Zealanders who were doing their big OE. Then we found that Jean, as a qualified teacher, could earn twice as much as I could as a builder's labourer cleaning up bomb damage in Kensington, so I became one of London's first house husbands, looking after Alistair while Jean went relieving teaching in South London, Lambeth and around. We had been in touch with relatives – my mother had been a great one for keeping in touch with family, her husband's relatives in Scotland and England – and one of our cousins invited us to come and have tea with them, and the outcome of that was that they said we must come and live with them. They had a spare room and they would set it up as a bedsit and we could board with them, so we spent something over 12 months living with them in London.

Did you travel around?

Yes, we were biking and the train services were good. We explored around Britain in our spare time and then a most wonderful coincidence occurred. We had the chance of going up to the Lake District, and I was going to go along to the Edinburgh Festival and Jean was going to explore the family roots in Cumberland while our London cousin looked after Alistair. Jean and I parted company in the Lake District and she went to Cumberland and I went on to Edinburgh. I was hitchhiking and I got picked up by a middle-aged couple who turned out to be the Mayor and Mayoress of Invercargill – Mr and Mrs Adamson. Mrs Adamson was one of three sisters who had been a Presbyterian family that my family knew, and they dropped me at a youth hostel that night. I got a phone call a bit later and I wondered who could be ringing me – it was Mr Adamson asking if my wife and I would be kind enough to come with them for a month on the Continent. They had no foreign language and they were very unsure of themselves, but if we would come with them they thought they would be brave enough to do this. I said, “Oh well, I will have to see what Jean says.” We had thought we might have a weekend in Paris or something like that, but that was the limit, so we left Alistair with Jean’s sister in Wales and off we went for a month. We found a hotel for the Adamsons each night, and we found the nearest youth hostel or cheap hotel for ourselves and met up the next morning. We went through France, Belgium, Holland, up to Denmark and then down through West Germany to Austria and Venice, Milan, across and back up to Geneva, then we parted company with the Adamsons. They were now confident enough to get back to Britain on their own, and we hitchhiked from Geneva to Paris and had a little time there and then back to Britain. After a year or so we came back to New Zealand.

[Tape 2, side 1]

Neil, you came back to Auckland from your trip to the United Kingdom, and what did you do then?

Well, at that stage my father was due to retire and he made us a very generous offer, that if we could find a property somewhere suitable for a poultry farm, which is what we wanted to do, he would help us to buy it and they would retire onto that property with us. So we found three acres out in Swanson in the Waitākere Ranges. My youngest brother had just graduated as an architect, and he and my father built a new house on the property out there while Jean and Alistair and I lived in the old farmhouse that was already there. It was set up as a small poultry farm already, so we could start earning a living right away; we gradually built up a flock of about 4000 birds and we were there from 1953 until the mid-1960s. We did quite well out of it, but during this time we had our second child, Roslyn, and Alistair was going to the local primary school at Swanson, and I was interested in the school. I joined the School Committee and the Parent Teacher Association, became Secretary of the School Committee and Chairman of the PTA, and I started to get very interested in why children fail or succeed at school. Through visiting different houses in the district, I came to realise just how many families there were who had no books in the house – a ‘book’ was *The Women’s Weekly* or

The Truth. The next development from that was that we managed to build up the farm so that we were employing somebody to help us, and it was 1964 and the Continuing Education University had started a two-year certificate course in social studies. This was a part-time course, two evenings a week, I think, for two years, so I enrolled in this thinking it would give me some understanding of this problem, why children succeed and fail. It was during this course that I discovered, one, sociology, and, two, that there was a thing called social work that you could actually get paid for doing.

I got my certificate for this course and looked around for a job to do. I had already started doing voluntary work in marriage guidance counselling work and by then it was becoming obvious that neither of our children were wanting to have careers as farmers, so I looked around for a social work job and the first opportunity was in the psychiatric unit at Auckland Hospital, Ward 10. I applied for that job and was invited to come and spend a day in the ward; I got a phone call from Dr Lindsay that night to say that the staff thought they could put up with me and if I wanted the job it was mine. So that was my change in career from farming to social work. The two years I spent in Ward 10 were in the most challenging work environment. I don't know if you are familiar with how it was run there in the late 1960s, but John Lindsay was a disciple of Maxwell Jones, a Scottish psychiatrist who had developed a method based on a therapeutic community; the psychiatric unit became a community, of which all members of staff were considered members, and that was how Lindsay was running this ward. The day started with a ward meeting at 9am, and for an hour every patient and every staff member had to sit in a circle like a Quaker meeting. We had 25 in-patients and about another 25 coming as day patients, and a staff of about 20-25 as well. The routine of this meeting was that anybody could say what they wanted but they had to realise that having said that they had to listen to what anybody else cared to say. You can imagine the demanding environment that it was, and really elite staff got filtered out because some of the traditional nurses and doctors just could not stand this idea of free discussion with the patients, which meant that every action of yours as a staff member was open for discussion the next day at the ward meeting. It was certainly challenging.

It would have an effect on your behaviour during the day, wouldn't it?

Yes, you knew that you were answerable to everybody for what you did and the way you acted. That was the first hour, then at morning tea you broke up into small groups and there would be two or three staff members with about ten patients, and I suppose there were about four of these groups. That went on until 11.30am and then I think we had a staff get-together and monitoring of the day till lunchtime. Then in the afternoon there was a programme of various activities, sort of occupational therapy in the ward. People coming in to take classes in various activities – for instance, Peggy Dunstan, the poet, came in and started a poetry circle. She had a wonderful gift of communicating with the patients and encouraging them to write. It was amazing, some of the work that came out of those groups, and also the rapport she had and how she could pick up the most hopeful thing that someone had said. They would come out with a dog of a rhyme and I would think, "Gosh, what can she say about this?" But she would pick some key words that obviously meant something to the patient. A lot of these patients became good amateur poets

and I saw their work appearing in newspapers and things like that afterwards. So that was typical, and other activities included going in groups to some activity in the city, some workplace or something like that. The whole idea was rehabilitation and getting people out.

Were there drugs available in the 60s?

Yes, some of the teenagers and patients in their early 20s were on drugs as part of their symptoms. There was a little bit of shock treatment still being used in the ward but Lindsay was not very keen on it and there was very little of it used. It was all positive discussion, and the thesis was that if somebody in a family presents as psychiatrically disturbed there are probably disturbed relationships in the family, so it was family psychiatry. A condition of a person being treated there was that the family would be prepared to come in for a family conference with staff. There were four of us as social workers and our job was to visit the family, take a family history and present that to the staff gathering when treatment was being discussed. Then we took an active part in these therapy groups as well and in the ward meetings. Shortly after I started there, Lindsay got the idea of having somebody taking minutes of this daily ward meeting. A patient was chosen each week to write notes for the day and a house surgeon, one staff member, was with this patient if he or she needed any help in writing and so on. Once that practice was set up, the meeting opened each day with the person who had written the notes for the previous day's meeting reading out what they had written, then the meeting went on from there. It was amazing what a lot of them showed, the things they picked up on. Although the method did not work for everybody it was very proactive and a lot of people benefited from this line of treatment.

After I had been there two years, the Hospital Board decided it would award bursaries to two social workers to do the Diploma of Social Science at Victoria University in Wellington. I put my name forward with one or two others, and two of us were picked. Ten days before we were due to go down to Victoria the government sliced 5% off the health budget, and the Hospital Board decided that the last thing they needed was educated social workers, so they cancelled our bursaries after we had been accepted. Both of us decided we would go under our own steam anyway. Dorothy Nathan was the other person, and both of us did quite well the first year. I think she stayed on as a psychiatric social worker afterwards. At the end of our first year our supervising social worker at Auckland Hospital went to the Board and said, "Here are these two who went under their own steam. They have paid their way and both done very well. I think you should restore their bursary for the second year." Which the Board agreed to do, so after living on nothing, for the second year down in Wellington I was on full salary.

Did Jean follow you down to Wellington?

No, I was able to do it because she had got her first full-time job, at the university library, so she supported the family during that first year with what little savings we had. The second year, with all this money, that is where our art collection started.

You also met an artist in Wellington?

Yes, that was Robin White. That was in the second year, when we had to go out two days a week and do some practical social work. My assignment was to work with the school counsellor at Mana College in Porirua, and Robin

White was doing a shared-time art teaching position with a friend at Mana College and that is where I first met her. I had become interested in her work beforehand. She had had an exhibition in the university library a year before and I had bought one or two of her prints, exorbitant prices like \$6 and \$12, to decorate the flat that I was sharing with a couple of other blokes in Wellington. On my days at Mana College, her art department – her and her friend Susan somebody – was the one oasis of sanity in that school. The principal was a Miss McKenzie, who was the first woman principal of a co-ed school in New Zealand, and she was out to prove that she could be as strict a martinet as any school headmaster. For the sort of kids that were coming to the school counsellor, life in that school was just hell, really. But this art room with Robin and her friends was just a revelation to me, and in one corner of the art room they had a partitioned off cubbyhole, which every morning was lined with fresh sheets of blank newsprint, and anybody in the school who felt life was too much for them could take time out in this cubbyhole and do what they wanted. It was the Japanese principal of having a punch ball – they can go and punch a ball instead of murdering the boss. So that was a great experience.

What about the Social Science Diploma, was that as big a revelation as the previous course?

Well, it was great building on that, a full-time course. We studied sociology in detail, social psychology, social work practice, and Jim Robb was there, and John McCreary – he had been a fellow prisoner of mine during the war in detention in Hautu, so I had already known him and he had been quite an influence on me, he had been one of the Victoria University students who introduced me to Steinbeck, etc. Harry Scott, I knew him. He became a sociologist and he was a good writer, a great fan of New Zealand culture, and he had been quite an influence on me in detention. He was tragically killed on Mt Cook, he and a friend were out to rescue somebody who had got lost, and Harry fell and was tragically killed in the early 1960s. I think he had gone to Auckland University by then.

I came back to the hospital at the end of 1971, and we had to do 18 months' or two years' bonding to the hospital because of the finance we had been given. More and more, I was coming to think that here in Ward 10 we were taking people out of the maelstrom that had caused their disturbance of one sort or another, and after two or three months, partly as an in-patient and then coming as an out-patient, they were being thrown back into the maelstrom again. In 1970 the City Council had set up their Community Development Section with Peter Harwood and already by then I was active in the Social Workers' Association, and I had had quite a lot to do with the proposal to have this set up so I was quite familiar with it. Peter had decided on the idea of making the pivot of the community development work the setting up of CABs as windows into the community. He set up the Ponsonby Bureau in 1970 and then the Queen Street Bureau shortly after, and Glen Innes was the third one. Then in 1973 they decided they wanted to open one in Avondale, so I was quite interested and thought that this was taking the step – instead of throwing people back into the community without any great support, we were building up resources in the community that would help people with psychiatric and other trouble. I applied for this job at Avondale and

Peter was good enough to agree to appoint me, so I left the hospital and that is when I got into community work.

Who was there in Auckland City at the time, besides Peter Harwood?

Ian Shirley had come in to set up the Glen Innes Bureau. There was Eddie McLeod, who was running the Ponsonby Bureau.

Was there anybody else? Wasn't there a housing social worker?

I don't know if one had been set up by then ... very likely there was, because I think that was something Peter was pretty keen to get up.

I seem to recall a young woman and I can't remember her name.

Now, the architect that helped to design Te Papa ... Helena Mercep – yes, her husband was the architect – but I think she was already there when I came.

Between Peter, you, Ian, Eddie and Helena – those people have got quite strong personalities, haven't they? Really interesting characters. Were they able to form a team? Was it a good bond between them?

Yes, well Peter was a great administrator and he knew how to exploit the talents of people and champion them and defend them, as long as they were working soundly.

Did he have to defend them within the Council?

Well, on the whole, the people who were on the Community Development Committee – we had people like Selwyn Dawson, for instance, I am not sure whether Robbie was the Mayor, I think he probably was, then Colin Kay was later. So Robbie was the Mayor and he was very supportive of what we were doing. Selwyn Dawson, the Methodist minister, and two or three others ... sorry the names escape me.

That is ok, it is easy for me to get those names, but it was a supportive committee?

Lindo Ferguson, he was Deputy Mayor, I think, for quite a lot of the period and he was a real tower of strength. I think he probably chaired that Community Development Committee quite a bit of the time. Setting up that CAB in Ponsonby, especially with Eddie McLeod as the Community Worker there, Eddie had been the Secretary of the Māori Council of New Zealand. I think he left that role to take up the position in Ponsonby and he was, of course, right into the network of Māori community in Ponsonby. Among the initial workers that Eddie helped to recruit when they advertised for 20 volunteers to run the Bureau were Betty Wark and Anne Tia and Coral Lavulavu.

[Tape 2, side 2]

Neil, you were talking about some of these interesting characters in the Ponsonby CAB.

Yes, another one was Fred Ellis, a key figure, now Peter got in behind their work and listened to what they had to say about what they felt were the needs of the local community there, and very soon the housing situation became one of the key issues – housing, unemployment and the lack of acceptable organised activity for a lot of the young Māori and Pacific people in Ponsonby. Betty Wark and Anne Tia would give Peter all sorts of ideas of what could be done and, in return, with their status as workers of the CAB recognised officially by the City Council, their mana grew in the community.

It was a symbiotic relationship.

Yes, and it gave other Māori members of the community more confidence to come out and take part in community life than they had had before. So various activities were set up in conjunction with the Bureau. The Bureau was set up in the Community Centre in Ponsonby Terrace and various activities started to blossom there, including one that had quite a big effect, though it was not an immediate one, but I might as well mention it while I think of it. A Tongan Methodist minister's wife – Luseane Koloï – was working in the centre of the city there and she set up the first language nest for Pacific Island preschool children. She had been trained by the Methodist Church in Fiji as a kindergarten teacher and her husband as a pastor. When they settled in Auckland they were not very popular with the established Sāmoan and Tongan church congregations there because with their social orientation they saw the chief need of their community was to become accustomed to the necessities of life in Auckland – instead of tithing their people to build huge churches back in Tonga and Sāmoa, they were insisting on the need for their people to consider their wages as their seed crop of taro which they were going to need to buy school books for their children, and pay school fees and so on. They held classes in how to use your washing machine, how to use your electric stove, how to not throw fat down the kitchen sink and block up the drains – in other words, to orientate to what was going to be healthy living in this new community and maybe you could prosper in this.

Is that an example then of how the CAB and the Community Centre provided an opportunity for this to happen?

Yes, especially with Luseane and her little preschool. Luseane's husband unfortunately died of a heart attack while he was back visiting Tonga, leaving her with five dependent children, and also at least one or two other Tongans who were boarding with her as students at university or tech or something like that. Because she had not had long-term residency in New Zealand she was not entitled to a widow's benefit and the best that Social Welfare could do was give her an unemployment benefit, so she existed on that with help from here and there. But when she set up the language nest, unfortunately a reporter at the *Inner City News* reported the opening of it – she had a princess out from Tonga to help launch it and there was a great festival, feasts and so on, to launch this enterprise and so the *Inner City News* wrote this up enthusiastically – and when this report appeared in the *Inner City News* the Social Welfare Department in Grey Lynn stopped Luseane's unemployment benefit, because she obviously wasn't going to be able to report for possible jobs. She was not getting a penny out of the voluntary work she was doing there. Fortunately, Helena Mercep, Betty Wark and myself heard about this and went to the Social Welfare Department and pointed out the lunacy of this. If anybody was contributing to the social wellbeing of the Pacific Island community it was this woman, so they quickly restored her benefit.

You also had an advocacy role where you could see injustice, you felt free to step in and do that sort of thing?

Yes, and that was something that Peter supported and upheld.

Could you run through what your responsibilities were as a Community Advisor?

As a Community Advisor I was primarily responsible for establishing a new Citizen's Advice Bureau at Avondale and managing that, selecting the first 20

volunteers and helping Peter run the six-week training course that they would be given before they got to work in the Bureau. Then, through the statistics that came through the CAB of the important issues that people were bringing in their enquiries to the CAB, to build up a picture of how we could best help in providing resources that would make life, social life, more profitable in Avondale.

You saw the things that were happening in the CAB as a sort of assessment of what the needs were?

Yes, a window into the community. In the three years that Peter had been going he had already found certain things that were useful and that a community centre was essential, so in Ponsonby and Glen Innes and Avondale we had those set up. Also, the emergency housing appeared to be important, particularly in the inner city. And school holiday programmes and after-school activities became something that could be sponsored. So those things were already there, and some experience had been gained in how to do these things by the time I took up my appointment at Avondale.

Did you have a management committee or were you just on your own?

Yes, there was a management committee for the Community Centre. I don't know if there were already community committees.

There probably were, in different areas, it was a bit uneven.

I think it was already established there.

Any particular names of people who were helpful on that management committee, that you recall?

I think Ken Dobson was the Chair of committee when I was first appointed out there and he was very active and helpful.

What sort of issues came out, then, looking at this window into the community?

One of the first things that came out was the need for facilities for recreation of an informal nature for young teenagers, particularly Māori and Pacific Island young people in the district. There was a building next to the Community Centre, an old ramshackle building called The Barn, and we set up an informal youth club there which did good work, but it was certainly one of the things that first raised the level of tension about our work. The Community Centre was next door to the Hollywood Cinema, which was run by Jan Grefstad, who had taken a great dislike to the local street kids, Māori and Pacific Island in particular – with some reason, because they were an obstreperous group – and he did his best to undermine the work that was being done at The Barn. So quite a lot of work had to be done in smoothing out relationships with Jan and trying to make him see that at least some activity that would interest the youth would perhaps side-track them from annoying him in some ways. But it was very much a touch-and-go thing.

I seem to recall that you actually set up, I don't know that it was through you or not, but you seemed to be involved, I think, in relation to the childcare system? Am I right? Children being looked after in the homes rather than in childcare centres?

With the co-operation of the public health nurse in covering the area we set up a family clinic, a children's clinic to be held one day a week. Just let the word go around that on this one day a week from 10am to 12pm, or whatever the hour would be, that Dr Beecroft and her public health nurses would be

available there to talk to anybody who wanted them and there would be a programme of supervised play for the children, and the community minibus would be available to bring young mothers with their children to attend if it was difficult for them to come. It flourished for quite a while – the spark of it was Dr Beecroft coming to us and saying that there were quite a lot of families who obviously needed their help but it was very hard to get a response from them. She thought if we started this project it might bring in those who were not being very co-operative, and it certainly had this effect. It proved a great educational thing because the public health nurses would have informal talks with the mothers and their children, and help them with management problems, and then they would bring in some people who would give a talk for half an hour on nutrition and family budgeting, desirable food and things like this. Also, some of the classes at the local intermediate school became interested in what was going on there, and boys and girls came along and observed these morning meetings and volunteered to make toys and play equipment for the group, so it was being a bit of an education to them as well. A little later we found that students were being sent from teacher's college to observe what was going on and give them some idea of ways in which families could be helped to be more part of the community.

Were the mothers and babies from mixed ethnic groups?

They would tend to be mostly low income, in the state-housing area, but some would be Pākehā, some Pacific Island and some Māori, some would be solo parents, but not all. It was very constructive.

Can you tell me about the school holiday programmes you ran?

The school holiday programmes which we got going pretty quickly – we already had the model from Ponsonby and Glen Innes – one of the schools that was very helpful was the local Roman Catholic convent school and the early programmes were held there. The parish priest was keen to be involved in that and gradually they came to be centred around the intermediate school, where there were more resources and so on. Part of those school holiday programmes, an idea that Peter developed, was to go to visit a marae somewhere in the rural area, a well-established marae, and using links there would be with the local Māori community, find out what their traditional marae would have been and they would help negotiate such a visit. They were very good, and we found in particular the marae at Tokomaru Bay ...

That is a long way to go!

There were local links with the Māori community in Avondale, and also it was the family marae for Venus Tamapo, who was our secretary at the department there. So those trips gave me a great entrée into the Māori world that I had never had before. Though my first entrée into the Māori world had really been in the second year of my diploma course in Wellington, when the Māori Welfare Officers were having their national conference at Ruatāhuna Marae in Rotorua and they invited any of the students who were doing the diploma course to attend for the weekend there, and that was the first time I had ever been onto a marae. That was before I had been appointed to Avondale and that was a real revelation to me, being welcomed onto the marae and then sitting in the meeting house during the evening and listening to Māori all evening, with each of us having the courtesy of one of the Māori Welfare Officers sitting next to us and whispering to us from time to time what was

being said in translation. That was really a great revelation to me, spending that weekend there, and I wrote it up for the *Social Work Journal*. To see the confidence with which Māori could act when they were on their home ground there as compared with their diffidence in the outer world, and what a strength being able to go back to that was to them. That was reflected also in the school parties that I went with to Tokomaru Bay and other places afterwards.

Another brilliant idea of Peter's was that part of the finishing requirements of the Bureau workers was that they had to come and spend a weekend on a rural marae at the end of their course, and I have never forgotten the first one for the Avondale Bureau workers. I guess probably it was not just for each individual Bureau, I suppose the new recruits came to the Bureau from each of the four Bureaus but, again, there would be liaison with this. Eddie McLeod and Fred Ellis had close family ties with the marae at Ahipara, at the foot of Ninety Mile Beach. That was the first Bureau workers' weekend at the marae that I went to, and the bus broke down on the way there so it was not until about midnight that we arrived, tired and hungry, at Ahipara, and we were breaking tapu in that to come to a marae you must be there before dusk. However, they were flexible and welcomed us on, and after the formal welcome people were told just to take their gear into the meeting house and find a mattress and settle down. The first people there were taking up a lot of room, and towards the end there were people making themselves comfortable using far too much space and about 20 or 30 hapless Bureau workers standing and wondering where they were going to sleep. Eddie McLeod walked into the meeting house and just burst out laughing, and he said, "Now you know how the homeless feel! Come on, squash up," so there was room for everybody. Things like that gave you insights.

Did you have any interesting people as Bureau workers?

Oh yes, people like Betty Tongalia, who was a Nuie Islander who became a great community worker, she died not so long ago. Ada Loese, who was sort of a rogue worker in a way, she had her own special ways of working, and she was married to a Sāmoan and she has done great work. Since the setting up of the Waipareira Trust she has been given further scope to work there, too. I have not been in touch with her recently but I gather that she is still doing good work out there in the west.

[END]

David Haigh has a long career in community development. He is the former head of CD for the Auckland Regional Authority and has recently retired from Unitec New Zealand, where he taught in social practice, sociology and not-for-profit management. David is active in Auckland Action Against Poverty.

Newmarket Arts Trust: A brief history (2004–2021)

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Newmarket Arts Trust: A brief history (2004-2021)

DAVID HAIGH

“Imagine a world with no artists, no honest expression, no light, no beauty, no truth.”

Christiane Amanpour (Unesco, 2015)

Background

The Newmarket Arts Trust (NAT) was formed in 2004. The original trustees were a mixture of people involved in the art world together with community people. The trustees were:

- myself
- Sue Haigh (no relation to the author, local resident and active member of the Newmarket Park Beautification Group)
- Deborah White (owner of Newmarket gallery Whitespace)
- Joy Tongue (owner of Newmarket gallery Studio of Contemporary Art)

I was appointed the first chair and have been in that position through to the present (2021). Sue Haigh has also been involved since 2004 to the present. The following people have been trustees at various stages:

- Dr Robin Woodward (The University of Auckland, Elam School of Fine Arts)
- Ana Ivanovic-Tongue (gallery owner, Studio of Contemporary Art)

- Emma Fox (owner, Fox Jensen Gallery)
- Emma Pritchard (owner, Seed Gallery)
- Lindy Leuschke (architect, Leuschke Architects)
- Megan Sadgrove (store manager, Smith & Caughey)
- Mark Knoff-Thomas (CEO, Newmarket Business Association)
- Di Goldsworthy (Arts and Heritage Manager, Newmarket Business Association)

The trust was established by the Newmarket Business Association (NBA) and was tasked with promoting arts, especially public art in the Newmarket area – roughly the area within the boundary of the old Newmarket Borough Council and now the boundary of the NBA. I had been closely involved in establishing the NBA and ensuring that the Newmarket area had a special Mainstreet rate that was devolved by Auckland City Council (ACC) to the NBA. These special rates were essential in funding a regular and substantial part of the costs of future artworks.

NAT is a community organisation registered with the Charities Commission. Its constitution includes the following purposes:

- Promote art and culture in Newmarket
- Establish and support a Newmarket art and culture fund to commission works and promote the arts
- Purchase artworks for public display in Newmarket
- Encourage public art in all new developments and redevelopments in Newmarket
- Encourage artists to set up in the Newmarket community

Public artworks in Newmarket

The NAT has focused its attention on the purchase and display of public art in Newmarket. It has installed five quality artworks by five Auckland artists. It has also engaged in community activities that will be discussed later in this report.



Figure 1. Terry Stringer, *The World Grasped*. Photo: Newmarket Business Association

The first project was a large bronze sculpture by well-known sculptor Terry Stringer (Figure 1). It was originally located on Broadway, near the intersection with Remuera Road. In 2020 it was moved to overlook the roundabout at the intersection of Broadway and Parnell Road. This outstanding sculpture is entitled *The World Grasped* and is best appreciated by walking around it to see its three changing features. Like most of Terry Stringer's sculptures, this one has an irresistible quality that pulls the viewer to touch, feel and stroke it. The title *The World Grasped* comes from Jacob Bronowski's BBC series *The Ascent of Man*:

We have to understand the world that can be only grasped by action, not by contemplation. The hand is more important than the eye The hand is the cutting edge of the mind. (1973, 41:05)

Terry Stringer has made the following statement:

My sculpture has a series of images that are revealed to the viewer as they circle the work. From one direction is seen the head of a boy resting on his hand in thought. From another this hand is seen to be plucking an apple. And from a third direction, this apple is the world supported on the shoulders of Atlas.

The idea of the work is to engage the passer-by with its changing appearance. The two images of a monumental scale face the traffic in each direction, while a life-sized figure stands on the pedestrian side of the footpath. This makes the work something of a puzzle to encounter in a busy street.

The message of the quoted text, written on the side of the piece, encourages the viewer to continue with the experience of the world around them. And with its emphasis on touch, this makes a case for more sculpture to be part of that world, endorsing the work of the Newmarket Arts Trust. (T. Stringer, personal communication, 2004)

In a media release, I, as Chair of the Newmarket Arts Trust, said, "This Terry Stringer bronze will be a major part of Newmarket's cultural landscape for years to come. I am sure that this artwork will stimulate people's imagination and creativity."

Cameron Brewer, of the Newmarket Business Association, praised the sculpture:

As principal sponsor, the Newmarket Business Association is very happy with this latest work of Terry Stringer's. The sculpture is a welcomed addition to Broadway.

With Newmarket intensifying and with our footpaths and Lumsden Green about to be upgraded, we're increasingly focused on public art acquisitions. Newmarket may be a bustling commercial centre, but we also want our streetscapes to be interesting and interactive. (C. Brewer, personal communication, April 2, 2004)

The NAT was fortunate to gain this artwork. To a large extent this occurred through the personal links between Deborah White and the artist. We were also fortunate to have the support of Shyrel Burt, a streetscape planner for Auckland City Council (ACC), who organised the original location following advice from the artist and provided the plinth upon which the artwork sits. The artist created the artwork specially for the site. The total cost of the artwork including installation was \$50,000. This was funded by NBA, ASB Trusts and Arrabo Property.

Only one problem occurred for the trust. Just before the signing of the contract with Stringer, it was learned that his work in Aotea Square had been removed by ACC without consulting him. He decided to do no further work

for ACC, and the Newmarket piece was included in that decision. However, following discussions between myself and Stringer, the matter was settled and the contract signed. The unveiling was held on April 21, 2005, with former Mayor of Auckland Dame Catherine Tizard officiating at the ceremony.

Following completion of the project, a bailment agreement was signed between the NAT and ACC that left ownership with the NAT, with security and maintenance of the artwork the responsibility of ACC.



Figure 2. Virginia King, *Sliver*. Photo: Newmarket Business Association

The trust sought proposals for the second artwork at a site developed by ACC, on the corner of Broadway and Khyber Pass Road. The upgrade consisted of new plantings, seating and a space for an artwork.

Eventually the trust settled on a work by Virginia King (Figure 2) that was on sale via Brick Bay Sculpture Trust. The cost was \$79,000.

The trust was fortunate that the upgrade was being carried out by the Isthmus Group, a landscape company that was co-operative and helpful. The company designed a special curved wall to act as a plinth for the chosen artwork. Virginia King made the following statement:

The circular artwork can be viewed as an archetypal symbol of time.

The stainless-steel sculpture is perforated with a series of radiating elliptical spheres. The disc, nominally three metres in diameter, stands on its edge, silhouetted – a delicate yet powerful presence in the environment. The central aperture plays with the concept of a lens,

focusing outlook and perception. The work makes reference to hubs, the wheel, cyclical time, genetic pools and micro-organism structures. The circular wheel form of *Sliver* becomes a symbol of the constant traffic that flows through this busy corner, the reflective, shiny stainless steel reflecting the movement, light and energy of the metropolitan surrounds.

The turning wheel also references the hub of energy, and the coin and the wheel of commerce. Rotating on its axis, it also alludes to the rotation of the seasons and night and day.

The pivoting base allows the work to be moved, while providing fragmented glimpses of the urban environment, and changing and varying points of view of the surrounding city. Currently the pivoting spindle is set 800mm into a 450mm-diameter concrete footing 1500mm deep. The work is extremely robust. (V. King, personal communication, May 10, 2006)

Funding for the project came from the NBA, NAT, ASB Trusts and the Lion Foundation.

One problem occurred. We were advised that a building consent would be required, with appropriate engineer's calculations and certificate. When I visited the ACC building inspectors' department to apply for a consent, I was advised that because the public site did not have Lot and DP numbers the computer could not process the application. The counter officer suggested we insert the Lot and DP numbers for the nearest building (at the time, the BNZ building). When I was transferred to a building inspector, I was told that the application could not proceed because of the wrong Lot and DP numbers and because the actual location might be too close to a sewer. I was told to go to Watercare Services and get the measurement between the artwork plinth and the sewer. I argued that the measurement was available on the screen in front of us, but the officer would not co-operate and provide the measurement. I asked to see a senior officer, who came within a short time. This manager was also unco-operative and supported his staff member. I asked to see the overall senior building inspector. Fortunately, this person knew about the project, was more helpful and approved the consent forthwith. This took me many hours to negotiate. We later found out that building consents for artworks in public places were not required. The \$2500 for the permit was returned to the trust.



Figure 3. Seung Yul Oh, *KnockKnock*. Photo: Newmarket Business Association

The nine colourful eggs (originally titled *Globgob*, now *KnockKnock*) were created in 2010 by a young South Korean artist, Seung Yul Oh (Figure 3). Oh was chosen from a number of artists who submitted concepts of artworks to NAT for the area in Teed and Osborne Streets, which was being upgraded by ACC. Oh proposed a concept that was a single piece set on a plinth. The new public art adviser to ACC had earlier suggested that instead of a piece on a plinth we should try for something on the horizontal. We discussed this with Oh, who came back with the idea for nine eggs, at a cost of \$70,000.

Funds for the project came from NBA, ACC, the Lion Foundation, Peter Bolot and Tramlease. The foundations to hold the heavy eggs were extensive, and were provided by ACC as part of the street upgrade. Each egg was filled with an epoxy resin. The Isthmus Group carried out the landscape design, and once again they liaised with the artist and the trust to ensure the success of the project. The artist called the artwork *Globgob*, but subsequently withdrew that name and it is now more commonly referred to as *The Eggs*. They are a symbol of life and the colours add vibrancy to the area. The artwork is particularly popular with young children, who seem to enjoy the colour, texture and child-level size. Children can be observed stroking, climbing on and sliding

down the artwork. One child aged around three years was observed kissing each egg in turn.

Within one year of installation, the trust had to deal with a major event in which the eggs were damaged. The then manager of NBA gave unauthorised permission for the eggs to be used by an advertising agency. During the process of photographing them, they were all badly damaged and had to be removed for repairs. The individual had no authority to give permission; in fact the contract with the artist prohibited the artwork being used for commercial purposes. This event created a serious relationship problem between the NBA and the NAT. The artist was also shocked that his art was used in such a destructive way. Fortunately, a board member of the NBA took responsibility for repairing the eggs, and the NAT received an apology for the unauthorised approval and damage to the eggs. The relationship improved with the resignation of the manager and his replacement by Mark Knoff-Thomas, a person who now appreciates the artworks and their contribution to the Newmarket district.



Figure 4. Reuben Paterson, *Ándale Ándale*. Photo: Newmarket Business Association

Ándale Ándale, by Reuben Paterson, was created and installed in 2013 (Figure 4). It involved the making of a painting on the wall adjacent to Newmarket Station in Remuera Road. The painting was on 15 large sheets of aluminium that were attached to an aluminium frame and the frame then attached to the wall. The wall is owned by Auckland Transport (AT). After many delays, AT finally agreed to NAT's use of the wall. Lighting was installed to highlight the

artwork at night. The painting process was complex. The aluminium had to be cleaned to remove any oxidation so that it could take the paint. Following painting, glitter was added (in the particular style of Reuben Paterson). Finally, each sheet was coated with a clear acrylic to protect the paint and then baked in an auto-paint oven.

Reuben made the following artist's statement:

Ándale Ándale is very much about the Latin American translation of 'Let's go' and 'Hurry up.' From the outset I've seen the motion of the fabric as a bullfighter's cape.

This expression of movement talks to the motion of people entering and exiting the station, through the stage-like curtain of this cape – or entering and exiting worlds in thoroughfare.

As a transport hub and place of motion, the retro floral design moves from its own historic place of the 60s into the contemporary world, or specifically the fashion hub of Newmarket – this movement can also be read as a short journey through time. Just as the earlier *kōwhaiwhai* works of mine allowed for the eye to move toward *koru* ends, which signify a person in a tribal lineage, the journeys of the florals' warp become organic and fluid in nature and adept as memory cues. (R. Paterson, personal communication, 2003)

The cost of the artwork completed and installed was \$64,000. Donations were from the NBA, Auckland Council, Waitemata Local Board, Peter Bolot and NZ Cladding Systems. The latter company supplied the aluminium and was helpful throughout the project.



Figure 5. Ray Haydon, *Heliograph*. Photo: Newmarket Business Association

The sculpture *Heliograph* (Figure 5) is made of steel and aluminium and was created by Ray Haydon, an artist who has strong links with Newmarket. An opportunity arose due to the streetscape upgrade of Teed Street and a site was provided by the Waitematā Local Board. In the presentation to Auckland Council, the NBA representative stated the following:

Nestled under Maungawhau, ‘mountain of the whau,’ Newmarket held a position of strategic importance to the various iwi that occupied the land here, including Ngāti Awa, Waiohua, Ngāti Whātua, Ngā Puhī, Ngāti Pāoa. Many land ownership challenges ensued but by the time European settlers arrived in the vicinity the tribes were sparsely dispersed across the isthmus, making it easier for Ngāti Whātua to engage with the British Crown and then ultimately negotiate the sale of land.

Māori knew Newmarket as Te Tī Tutahi, ‘Sacred Cabbage Tree Standing Alone.’ The original cabbage tree stood at the corner of Mortimer Pass and Broadway. The tree was sacred to Māori and was a well-known landmark. Everyone knew where the cabbage tree was when travelling en route to the city or to Onehunga and beyond. Newmarket developed into a major trading post and transport hub, long before the advent of bus, rail and car.

Sadly, Te Tī Tutahi was cut down in 1908 as it was considered ‘a danger to children’ attending the local school. Contentiously, this act may have been more of a snub aimed at local Māori. The Buckland family, headed by Alfred Buckland, a local businessman, farmer and auctioneer, lived nearby in Highwic House, and rescued some of the shoots from the tree. These shoots were used to populate the trees on Lumsden Green many years later, and will also be used for the trees for the Teed Street upgrade. Cabbage trees have strongly featured in Newmarket’s history and identity.

Several years ago, the Waitematā Local Board devised the Newmarket Laneways Master Plan – this document set out to develop a blueprint for a ‘laneways’ programme for Newmarket’s side streets and alleyways. Over the next decade we will see the programme rolled out and will include Teed, Kent, York, Nuffield, Melrose, McColl and Roxburgh Streets.

[Teed Street was originally called Market Street after the Buckland’s cattle market located there, [and] when the markets were relocated to Great South Road it was renamed Station Street, due to the proximity to the new train station. The authorities finally settled on Teed Street after David Teed, who was Mayor of Newmarket from 1911-1915.

Teed Street has been at the heart of Newmarket’s economy for generations, and has ably managed to reinvent itself to find contemporary relevance. It has housed cattle yards, ironmongers, Chinese markets, nearby saw mills and bakeries amongst other things. In short it has been a work horse, housing multitudes of businesses over the generations and has provided thousands of jobs to workers. Its industrial past segued with a burgeoning Chinese economy that has latterly re-identified itself as a high-end city-fringe strip, where you will find an abundance of commercial buildings, local and international retailers and hospitality

outlets. It is one of very few streets in Auckland that still has an original concrete carriageway, a direct connection to its light-industrial roots. It has maintained an authenticity to its past, while embracing change for the present and future. Teed Street is a caption of the Newmarket personality – a fast-tumbling evolution of change, morphing and twisting, but always maintaining its vitality. (M. Knoff-Thomas, personal communication, February 23, 2017)

Picking up the theme of Te Tī Tutahi, the following is a statement by the artist:

Heliograph is a symbol of Te Tī Tutahi – our modern-day cabbage tree standing alone. Our tree has come home. The Buckland family rescued the shoots, it is fitting that the significance of their future-thinking gesture is recognised near where they had their business. It is a story we will be proud to tell. *Heliograph* is our beacon, our way-finding symbol on Teed Street. It will be a meeting place. The scale is such that it will draw eyes down Teed Street, from both the Broadway and Crowhurst Street ends. It will entice people to wander down and investigate. It will enable the upgraded Teed Street to fulfill its role of reclaiming some public realm. It will be loved, and it will also probably be loathed by some, but it will most certainly be a conversation piece.

Heliograph draws from nature, the top form moving slowly and gently with the changes in the wind. The fluidity of the ribbon articulates the constant evolution and change the precinct has seen – the ebb and flow of people, the expansion and contraction of the local economy, and the constant movement. The bright red colour of the ribbon is a poignant homage to the many generations of Chinese families who have helped develop Newmarket, from the beginnings of market gardens lining nearby roads, to the markets established on what was once named Market Street, and these days the restaurants and cafés – all playing an equally key role and adding substantially to Newmarket’s eclectic and diverse tapestry.

Finally, the brushed stainless steel of the tower base references the industry of the area and, in particular, the contribution made to the local community by Hayes Metals Limited.

The scale of the sculpture juxtaposed with the backdrop of the Vocus building is perhaps the most ‘Newmarket’ of all features. We are a heavily urbanised precinct and have a constant and symbiotic battle of new and old, beauty and brutality, complexity and simplicity – this is Newmarket’s identity. And we are proud of it, proud of our history and so very proud of what we have the privilege of representing. (M. Knoff-Thomas, personal communication, February 23, 2017)

The cost of the artwork was \$52,500. Funds raised were from the NBA, Waitematā Local Board and Stride Properties. The Waitematā Local Board met the costs of foundations for the artwork and the ground-level lighting. At the time of writing this paper, the artwork is being repaired by the artist. A car backed into it, causing damage to the steel tower and the red artwork.

Art in a day

A few years ago, my wife and I visited Italy. At one stage, we stayed with friends who ran a B&B in Sansepolcro, Southern Tuscany. We were taken to an ancient hilltop village called Anghiari, where every year the local council ran an 'art in a day' competition. Artists had to paint a scene of the village in one day and lodge the painting at the village hall for judging. In the evening there was a party where artists, friends and villagers were invited and prizes handed out. This community event was a great success. I thought this project could be replicated in Newmarket, Parnell and Grafton, and sought support for the idea. The first Art in a Day was held in 2010 and was a huge success. The Parnell Community Centre was the location for administering the project and the final evening party saw many people come together. Prize money was by way of a grant from the TSB Bank. Since then, the project has been taken over by other organisations and the successful events have continued.

Reflections

I have been asked a few times why and how I became involved in public art. There are a few reasons, but probably the first was a visit I made in the 1970s to the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. I was astonished by the beauty of the Botticelli and other Renaissance paintings. I later visited the cave paintings of Lascaux in the Dordogne region in France. The fact that such amazing animal paintings were created 17,000 or so years ago made me realise that artistic creativity has always been part of human nature. As my interest in art grew, I recognised the importance of public art. I recall a Mexican artist speaking to the Hobson Community Board. He explained that in Mexico City, art is everywhere. And I thought, "Now there's an idea for Newmarket!"

When I was younger, I was a community worker; hence organising people and events is second nature. Community development within the public sphere can take many forms: recreation, social services, education, health and art. An active civil society is an essential aspect of a democratic system. Civil society has come to mean that part of society that is not government and not part of the corporate sector. It includes charities, community organisations, places of worship, families and unstructured groups. However, a strong civil society will create links and bonds with government agencies and the business world. It is civil society that builds social capital, the glue that holds people together. It is based on the principles of trust, support and reciprocity. It was this that I saw in Anghiari.

I have also come to recognise the importance of artistic expression in society. In 1965, Jennie Lee, Britain's first arts minister, said:

In any civilised community the arts and associated amenities, serious or comic, light or demanding, must occupy a central place. Their enjoyment should not be regarded as something remote from everyday life. (Quoted in Henley, 2016, p. 10)

The NAT has tried to support artists to create public artworks that people may use, enjoy and perhaps puzzle over. They make a statement that Newmarket is more than just a shopping destination. Along with the popular art galleries, art supply shops and murals, these artworks bring a lasting pleasure to a visit to Newmarket.

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DAVID HAIGH

This is a valuable introduction to an important contemporary issue that will surely not go away or be swept under the carpet. The book starts by explaining the impacts of colonisation on Māori, stating that colonisation “transforms a land and a society in profound ways ... it takes a toll on colonised people” (p. 40). Colonisation “is a process of dispossession and control” (p. 134), which has certainly been true in Aotearoa New Zealand. Through the process of colonisation, Māori lost control of their land, te reo and institutions of governance. The new settlers did not come empty handed; they came with a strong desire to own property (often for the first time) coupled with a cash economic system to make it happen. The onward march of classical liberal economic policy in the 19th century and neoliberalism in the 20th and 21st centuries has seen the individual ownership of property and the privatisation of natural resources; processes detrimental to the wellbeing of Māori.

So what does decolonisation involve? Moana Jackson suggests that, in its simplest sense, it is “the reclaiming of the right of indigenous people to once again govern themselves” (p. 135). Ocean Mercier says that “decolonisation does not mean the removal or withdrawal of colonial occupiers so much as a fundamental shift in the ideas, knowledges and value sets that underpin the systems which shape our country” (p. 51). This involves a return to pre-colonial ways in terms of te reo, education and tikanga.

Jackson suggests that decolonisation may not be the right word, and proposes an ethic of restoration. As with colonisation, there would be a process of change. He says:

[I]t will require a change of mind and heart as much as a change of structure. This will require adoption of certain values:

- The value of place (for good relations and protection of Papatūānuku).
- The value of tikanga (core ideals of living in Aotearoa).
- The value of community (good relations between all people).
- The value of belonging (the need for everyone to have a sense of belonging).
- The value of balance (maintenance of harmony in all relationships).
- The value of conciliation (a guarantee of conciliatory and consensual authority). (p. 152)

These values are essential for a peaceful process of decolonisation or an ethic of restoration.

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Whanake accepts submissions in the form of papers for peer review, opinion pieces, practice notes from the field, case studies, biographies, articles on emerging trends and research as well as reviews of books, plays, films, poems, songs and contemporary culture with a community development theme.

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Send tables or figures in Word or Excel format

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3000 to 6000 words

Opinion pieces:

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Practice reflections:

2000 to 4000 words

Practice notes:

500 to 600 words

Case studies and biographies:

1000 to 1500 words

Articles on emerging trends and research:

Up to two pages

Reviews (books, plays, films, poems, songs or contemporary culture):

One page or less

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