SOCIAL SERVICES IN NEW ZEALAND

A STUDY GROUP REPORT

presented by

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and

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A Study Group Report presented to the Wellington Branch of the Institute of Public Administration on 11 November 1954.

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PART ONE - REVIEW AND SUMMARY OF THE YEAR'S THEME.

PART TWO - THE CO-ORDINATED APPROACH IN PRACTICE.

PART THREE - PARTICULAR STUDIES.

CONCLUSION.

APPENDICES

PART ONE

REVIEW AND SUMMARY OF THE YEAR'S THEME.

Everyone has the right to :

* Social security, to the economic, social and cultural rights indispensible to his diginity and the free devdopment of his personality;
to work, favourable conditions of work and protection against unemployment -
* remuneration from work insuring himself and family an existence worthy of human dignity, supplemented if necessary by other means -
* a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing, medical care and necessary social services -
* security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old-age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control -
* education -

Motherhood and Childhood:

* are entitled to special care and assistance.

Abstracted from the 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights'.

I. INTRODUCTION - THE CO-ORDINATED APPROACH.

Perhaps the first thing to strike the student of social services is the variety of departmental authorities and agencies which administer them, their haphazard growth, and their apparent lack of unifying philosophy. It is an experience by no means peculiar to New Zealand. In Britain, Professor Titmuss reflected, when he came to write the social history of the last war, that there was "no single or simple pattern of social policy but a variegated mosaic of service, detailed, dispersed and complex, all varying in character and importance . . . The activities of public and private institutions are continuously intermingled. Their deposit of record is immense." (1) Two American authors, pondering on social security could not repress a national instinct to find their local problems dwarfing those of other countries. They said, "This mosaic of social security programmes represents what is perhaps the most complex ... in the world ... due to the complexity of our economy and the piecemeal way in which we have allowed our programme to grow." (2)

Our claim to fame is less in the complexity of our services, (though we would not want them any more so), than in our early start to organise them on a national basis. As every good New Zealander knows, his country, small though it be, 'leads the world". (3) And, as far as our social security system of pensions and health benefits is concerned, we seem to have some support for our belief. The International Labour Organisation has gone on record, in regard to New Zealand's Social Security Act of 1938 that it, "more than any other law, determined the practical meaning of social security, and so has deeply influenced the course of legislation in other countries." (4)

New Zealand's population is small and homogeneous for a country of its size. Our equalitarian bias has resulted in a great deal of centralization of services either by bringing them under complete State control or by means of departmental supervision following naturally from State subsidies. As will be seen more clearly later the outstanding feature in New Zealand is this reliance on the State either directly for services or indirectly for subsidies. Experience shows that where the responsibility for finding the money lies, there too must lie in substantial measure responsibility for administration. (5) Yet, despite highly centralized control, we in New Zealand do not seem to have bothered much about trying to co-ordinate our services. Nor do we provide as many other countries do, a means of reviewing our services as a whole.

Because of the very multitude of agencies - voluntary, local and national, it is difficult to get a birds-eye view of social services in New Zealand. And without a comprehensive picture, it is more difficult to tell whether our services leave any gaps, whether they overlap, or whether they are as economical and as efficient as one would hope. The trend towards reliance on the State has resulted in the government providing most of the expensive services. Hence it seems that any co-ordinating or reviewing functions must also rest upon the State. Mr. K. J. Scott has suggested that some agency should specifically be charged with the duty of keeping our Government informed of current trends; for example a Government Department or an Institute of Social Science Research. In Chapter VII of this paper, when dealing with Organisation of services, we perceive some merit in amalgamation of certain social welfare functions under a single departmental agency. In this case a specific legislative duty laid on this department would meet the need for research into current practice and to keep Government informed of trends overseas.

Perhaps the need for constant or periodical review of our services may not be willingly conceded. It may be argued that New Zealand has removed the root causes of individual and family insecurity by assuring an income which will cover the necessities of life; by spreading the cost of ill health over the whole community, sufferers and their dependents are spared

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(1) Richard M. Titmuss - History of the Second World War - "Problems of Social Policy" H.M. Stationery Office and Longhams 1950 ...

(2) Haber & Cohen "Readings on Social Security", Prentice-Hall, June, 1948

(3) Governor General's speech - Hansard, 1938, p.2.

(4) Systems of Social Security - New Zealand. I.L.O. Geneva, 1949.

(5) This question was dealt with by a special study group report on Hospital Reform ; see p. 21

the direct burden of cost; our education system is of a high comparative standard; we have a wide and effective range of voluntary services; emergency benefits and a Special Assistance Fund exist to cover gaps in existing services; we have a framework of social services within which further benefits can be fitted as public demand warrants or finances allow; finally, on the political front, there is little disagreement between the parties regarding the scope or nature of services. Where, then, is the need for review?

We offer three reasons. The first is that we do not stand still. To be self-satisfied about our impressive record is to run the risk, like Aesop's hare, of being bypassed by the tortoises. But we are sure that the innate will-to-progress, so characteristic of Western society, is strongly ingrained in the New Zealand character. Change will come. Rising productivity will in time open the door to further advance. Having come so far along the road of social security the scope of further advance is rather more limited than in most countries. Yet we can still find things in overseas practice which could be applied locally with profit. This, coupled with the fruit of local research should provide more efficient means and better methods of administration. Constant cultivation of both these sources will yield worthwhile returns.

The second reason is a commonsense one. After any period of rapid progress it is a good thing to take stock. Where have we come from, where are we now, and where are we going? During the lapse of time from the first institution of a service to a later date when it has settled into operation, economic, political and social conditions often alter so much that old policies must be reviewed to see whether they are still the best in the changed circumstances. Profound changes have occurred in New Zealand's social conditions. For example, material want has been overcome; greater interest is being shown in behaviour problems (child welfare probation, etc.) and services concerning themselves with problems having a psychological or mental origin (mental health and health of handicapped individuals); full employment is now a main aim of all postwar governments whereas many of our services grew from, or were conditioned under conditions of pretty severe under-employment. The question to be answered is how do the aims of earlier years fit into the changed society?

Thirdly, there is the administration problem, already mentioned, of co-ordination. Titmuss's use of the word "mosaic" is a graphic one, picturing a great number of social services each in itself a separate and distinct entity, but the mosaic into which it fits having meaning only if the independent components bear a proper relation one to the other. Each individual social service meets a specific need. Together, they help to create the conditions of welfare in which the individual can live the best life possible. In other words, they would help to create that environment in which an individual can achieve what The Declaration of Human Rights calls the "dignity and the free development of his personality."

II THE YEAR'S THEME - SOCIAL SERVICES IN NEW ZEALAND.

Wellington Branch.

Fourteen lectures on this theme were delivered to the Wellington Branch during 1954. For a list of subjects and speakers see Appendix 2. As summaries have been or are to be reported in the "newsletter" and as several were quite fully reported in the press, we here propose only to summarize very briefly.

Most of the lectures described departmental functions, outlined their methods of administration or posed some of their current problems. With the exception of one or two services, most of the important social services were covered. However, we did not receive a lecture on problems of administering cash benefits financed from the Social Security Fund, there was only a brief reference to housing as a social service and though his lecture included a discussion on absorption of the Maori race Professor Beaglehole did not have time in his lecture to deal with the problems of providing social services for Maoris. We have prepared short papers on some aspects of these subjects, and also a paper on social welfare of the aged. These, we hope, will help to round off this year's talks. (see part three of this report).

The lectures during the year helped to reveal the complex range of agencies administering social services; the number of voluntary organisations, for example, must have been a surprise to other members of the Institute as it was to the study group. This naturally poses the question, how do they fit together? Are they comprehensive? Is there adequate coverage? Are the rates of benefit sufficient to meet the needs of recipients.

The study group has looked at these questions, and, recognising that our examination could not be more than cursory and perhaps even superficial, we set out our answers under headings of definition, coverage, adequacy, social work and research and organisation. (6) We have also a section on finance for this reason. Though we thought that agitation for an "actuarial" scheme in New Zealand had died a natural death, it refuses to lie down. We therefore, offer some weighty argument to help keep the body in its grave.

N.Z.I.P.A. Convention 1955. Several of the years lectures dealt with analytical as well as descriptive details, notably those on the social service. State and economics of social services. A critical and analytical treatment of crime also appeared in the programme.

The study group feels however, that the talks have emphasised the need for an overall analytical treatment of social services on a "horizontal" basis, that is, cutting across the usual division into departments. The type of approach contemplated would look at problems which are common to all or several of the social service agencies. It would examine the aims of social services and would ask whether the aims which gave birth to

services are still appropriate and whether they are being achieved. It would ask if the State's assumption of responsibility for the financing and administering the bulk of services is a desirable trend or whether it ought to be modified. It would examine the effects of social services on economic development, on incentives, on political institutions on the family group and on the individual. We understand a review of this nature is being considered as the theme for next year's convention and we feel that this sort of approach would be a very worthwhile help to our thinking about social services.

Many of these questions are to be critically appraised at the Institute's annual Convention to be held in Wellington in 1955. Six lectures are planned which should provide a broadening both of the issues raised during 1954 and the problems outlined in this report.

Other research during the year.

The growing interest in behaviour problems and those having a psychological origin is epitomised in the publication of two special reports. The first is the now well known "Morals Report" of which we shall have a little to say later; the second is a report reviewing our penal policy. (7)

The Royal Society's social section has also run a series of talks and discussion on the Welfare State, addressing itself particularly to the concept of security. Does the Welfare State in trying to make people more secure introduce new insecurities? It found that new anxieties were arising either from the extra demands on individuals to live up to higher standards, or because people may not know what to do with extra leisure.

During 1954 a community study was conducted at Kawerau and Murupara, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation and led by Professor Beaglehole. The purpose was to get facts on change of culture as a rural community is being rapidly transformed into an industrial one. Although the emphasis is on social psychology, surveys such as this form the basis of knowledge needed for social planning of social services.

This may also be said of a Social Survey of Hawera carried out by the School of Social Science at Victoria College, to obtain facts on which a community centre at Hawera could be planned. The survey, conducted at the request of the Hawera and District Progressive Association was published under the above title in 1954.

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(6) A study group from the Wellington Branch, N.Z.I.P.A. examined this year the problem of hospital administration. In particular they criticised the findings of the Consultative Committee appointed by the Govt. in 19..

(7) A Penal Policy for New Zealand. Published by the Department of Justice, 1954.

In Auckland this year a series of lectures on the Welfare State was arranged by the local branch of the Economic Society consisting of addresses from the Rt. Hon. W. Nash M.P., Mr. L. N. Ross and Mr. J. V. T. Baker. The lecture by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. W. Nash, covered much the same ground as his address to the Wellington Branch.

Mr. L. N. Ross, an ex-President of the Chambers of Commerce, wanted a radical re-examination of Social Security on the grounds that it discourages personal endeavour which is the basis of economic progress. He pointed out that the Fund lacked adequate reserves to survive a period of economic stress; some benefits were wasteful or unnecessary. He suggested reversion of family benefits to the original concept of helping lower income families; and that age benefits and universal superannuation should be abolished in favour of a scheme of national insurance on the United Kingdom pattern with the social security charge replaced by employee/employer subscriptions. The pensionable age should be raised to 65: there should be small charges made for prescriptions; re-introduction of means tests for public hospitals and encouragement of private hospitals wind up his proposed list of reforms. We list these proposals at some length because they summarise what has been publicly advocated for a long time by a well organised section of the community.

The paper presented at Auckland by the Deputy Government Statician, Mr. J. V. T. Baker, projected, on tight assumptions, the cost of certain welfare provisions to 1970. Based on official population trends he estimated that population would be 29% higher by that year. The labour force would grow a little faster, as would the number of children entitled to family benefit. The aged group would grow very much more slowly - only 18½%. A really much bigger rise would occur in the number of school children and university students, these groups recording estimated increases of 42% and 64% respectively. With these changes in dependency as a basis, and allowing for increasing universal superannuation which at present rises by £5 a year, his welfare provisions rise in cost from £106 millions to £140 millions, but because productivity is also rising, the burden of these costs would actually decline.

The £106 millions, which is the present cost of welfare provisions listed by Mr. Baker, is just over 14% of the national income. A rise in productivity of two percent a year would reduce this to 10.8% by 1970. A rise of one percent a year would reduce it to 12.6%. An interesting outcome of the exercise is that, on the assumptions laid down, the social security fund could be completely financed from the social security charge provided productivity rose by two percent a year.

PART TWO

THE CO-ORDINATED APPROACH IN PRACTICE.

III DEFINITION OF SOCIAL SERVICES.

The term has only recently bome into common use, and so far there is no universal agreement about its meaning. Different definitions stress different aspects. Some are very broad, others are narrow. A satisfying theoretical approach has been provided by Professor D. C. Marsh who observed three distinct features in social services. First, the service is rendered to a particular individual for his own benefit or protection; second; the motive is altruistic, being based on regard for others as a principle of action; third; the aim is to benefit the recipient and not the donor. Thus a test of scope is applied to motive and aim. If the scope be limited to a particular need or person, and not provided indiscriminately and if the motive be social then the qualifications of a social service have been met. (8)

Professor Marsh emphasized that "social" services are primarily directed to the needs of individuals. Of secondary importance is the benefit to society which is thus a sort of by-product of the social service. The definition is more narrow than some. Another one, of a broader kind, distinguishes between general and specific social services. General benefits and amenities are those available to all without objective criteria applied to individuals - recreational facilities, education, culture - specific benefits apply to individuals and groups - wage and labour conditions, pensions, health services.

Social services obviously arise from social problems. It happens this way. A difficulty arises, becomes recognised as a social problem, and a service is instituted to meet it. So it seems that what might be regarded as a social problem will change from time to time and from society to society. In a backward state, poor sanitation and prevalence of malaria may be a prime cause of lost production, misery and disease. In those conditions, malaria control and sewage disposal would undoubtedly be social services, in the broad sense.

In an advanced state such as New Zealand, at any given point of progress, ascending and descending categories of social services may be distinguished. Going down the list first we find community services customarily so provided - education, public health, regulation of factory conditions, sanitation, water supply and so forth. The 'social" aspect merges with the economic while the individual application becomes less distinct. Most of these lower categories would in current New Zealand thinking be classified along with other community services such as roads, transport and police. We probably would not think of them

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(8) Given by him in a broadcast talk.
This definition was used by the Canterbury Council of Social Services in compiling their "Directory of Social Services." Published at Christchurch.

as social services. The ascending categories apply rather more directly to the individual - health services, housing, cash benefits and pensions, probation, and child welfare services.

Seeing no simple solution to this problem of definition, we think it more satisfactory to define social services by a list. We include those things which are to-day provided free, or substantially free of charge by private organisations and governments to relieve distress or to promote individual or family well being, but excluding community services not relating directly to the individual. Thus we exclude such things as wage laws and their enforcement, public health as it affects sanitation, or regulation and enforcement of standards of service. We exclude Broadcasting, the National Orchestra, libraries and similar services.

We append a list of the more important services operating in New Zealand today which qualify for the title "social services" in present New Zealand thought and speech. Broadly, the list falls into categories of education, reformation, health, housing and income maintenance. (See Appendix 1. Readers are recommended to study this list, as it gives in briefest possible form a complete picture of principal services provided by the State, by local authorities and by private agencies.

IV. COVERAGE.

Are individual and community needs adequately covered? An answer might be given by testing our services against those operating in other countries or by applying tests of adequacy as laid down by U.N. agencies and I.L.O. The Declaration of Human Rights, quoted above, lays down very broad standards. It is a refreshing exercise, on behalf of New Zealand, to put a tick against each of the quoted items. Generally speaking, the answer to our opening question must be "Yes". Poverty and fear of want have been eliminated - the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter are provided for everyone. Without contradiction the present generation is the best fed, clothed and housed in our short history. By any international comparison we show up very well indeed.

The list of social services in Appendix I shows a very comprehensive range from cradle to grave. On the whole, New Zealand has a good coverage of services. This fact, applied to high productivity and maintenance of full employment has virtually removed those kinds of social distress which are caused by material want, or lack of adequate medical attention.

Around the fringe of the social service structure new benefits are constantly being added - radiological and specialist services, artificial aids, occupational health services - or extension to old ones - Government assumption of all hospital finance; dental treatment for adolescents as well as school children.

Psychological Services.

Until a few years ago it could be said that the New Zealand Social services concentrated on physical rather than psychological well-being. This is not so today, so far as social services for children are concerned. Two examples that come to mind are the treatment of handicapped and emotionally maladjusted children.

A great advance in dealing with various types of handicapped children was made when an officer for Special Education was appointed to the Education Department last year. He is to define the aims and functions of the varied collection of special schools set up over the last 35 years to give the fullest educational development to such handicapped classes of children as the deaf, blind, mentally handicapped children, as well as several other categories, such as cerebral palsy schools, sight-saving classes and speech clinics. Here full use is being made of specialists, a special staff training programme is being organised and policy is being formulated.

One of the most important tasks of the new organisation may well be to pursue some of the interesting recommendations made in the Report of the Consultative Committee on Handicapped children, published by the Department of Education, 1953. The most striking conclusion in this report was that the only satisfactory policy was the provision of good residential institutions, well-equipped and well-staffed for the great majority of imbecile children and the encouragement of parents to place their children therein at the age of five. There is also a need for institutions for these handicapped people once they reach adult age.

Another service is the Child Health Clinics, opened earlier this year in four urban centres. Their purpose is to help emotionally maladjusted children. A survey made in 1949 by a committee of the Educational Institute showed that there were then 12,000 school children in that category. Maladjustment proved to be far more common in urban than in rural areas. In nearly one third of the cases, maladjustment was severe enough to call for psychotherapeutic help beyond the competence of even reasonably well-informed parents and teachers (9)

The Child Health Clinic, in Wellington has psychologists, a play therapist (part time), a psychiatrist (part time), a social worker and an educational psychologist as well as all medical help that is needed. Control is by liaison between the Health and Education Departments, but the main bias is medical. Undoubtedly this service will prevent much suffering, crime and mental disease.

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(9) "Emotional Maladjustment in New Zealand School Children". Report of Committee set up by the N.Z. Educational Institute, 1949.

It appears that adults fare not nearly as well as children in psychiatric services. Outpatients in psychiatric wards are, we understand, not encouraged and after-care of mental patients released from institutions is not generally given. It may be assumed that this gap will also be gradually filled.

Family guidance is just beginning to be taken up by private organisations, but government has not yet entered the field and undoubtedly guidance and allied case-work could make a significant contribution to the mental health of the community.

The inquiry into juvenile delinquency first brought to the notice of government the need to educate parents in several phases of the relationship with their children such as sex education and maladjustment in adolescents. Experiments in this country have shown the great interest parents take when given an opportunity to learn about such matters and the success of 'schools for parents' in France, described in a recent issue of UNESCO Bulletin, is also encouraging.

With policy-makers becoming more aware of psychological factors - the basic physical needs having been satisfied - social workers have of late years been given better working and training facilities than ever before in this country. There is still much to be done, however, and the subject will be further discussed in Chapter VIII.

The Study Group also reached the following recommendations:- That a committee be set up to plan a scheme for teaching about such aspects of parenthood as sex education and maladjustment in adolescents; That subsidies to Family Guidance Councils be granted to enable employment of full-time specialists in the bigger centres.

Physical Services.

Yet there are certain obvious gaps and a number of seeming anomolies . Dental care for adults and provision of optical aids do not yet appear amongst State-provided services. It is anomalous that an abscess on any part of the body, other than a tooth, may be treated at the public expense; or that the State is prepared to spend money to treat faulty organs, provided they do not happen to be one's eyes. Numerous examples of apparent dullness in school children have been traced to remediable visual defiiencies which can be just as serious in its effect on their development as other physical ailments. We recognise that dental and optical care must eventually take their place alongside the other services, as finances permit or as electoral pressures dictate.

A potentially serious gap in our social service arrangements might arise temporarily at the occurrence of a natural disaster. If a severe earthquake struck one of our cities or towns, some department or agency should be responsible for bringing relief immediately and be able to spend money on predetermined relief measures. Evacuation. purchase of food, provision of shelter might all be needed. The matter warrants more detailed study than we have been able to give it.

Other Countries.

Other countries, though falling behind New Zealand in other respects, make lump sum grants or loans at child birth or marriage. These sometimes take the form of early payment (prior to birth) of child benefits or of a monetary grant upon birth to help meet the cost of layette and other initial expenditure. Close to fifty countries have assistance of this kind. Sweden provides holidays for school children especially aiming at larger families or those in poorer circumstances. Funeral expenses are often a hurdle and nearly all countries make suitable allowances for persons covered by social security. New Zealand offers assistance by continuing to pay certain benefits to relatives for a short period after death. Some countries make grants or loans upon marriage to help couples to purchase furniture and home equipment. Forms of housing assistance are legion.

Unlike a number of Continental countries, New Zealand does not provide day nurseries on a wide scale for mothers who work. An overseas authority states that for every hundred mothers employed, fifty workers were needed to care for the babies. The same authority claims that there are strong psychological reasons for discouraging the separation of mother and child during infant years; furthermore mothers of young children make unsatisfactory employees due to absenteeism and other causes (10)

All these overseas services are more or less desirable and are mentioned by the Study Group not with thought that they should be adopted, but rather to illustrate current trends elsewhere.

Productivity the surest answer:

The limit to which New Zealand Social services can be expanded is obviously dictated by economic considerations.

Improved coverage will depend on how fast the national income grows, what proportion we want to spend on social services, and on how we view the relative claims of competing social services e.g. education versus health or universal superannuation versus a lift in the family benefit.

We think it worthwile here to mention that several countries have realised much greater gains in productivity than anyone thought probable even a few years ago. The United States has seen in the past five years a quite remarkable rate of growth. American businessmen are being advised to base plans up to 1959 on a 2½% per annum rise in per capita real income. In some other advanced and energetic countries there have been less spectacular but still sizable rises.

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(10) "Maternal Care and Mental Health, Monograph Series No. 2, World Health Organisation, 1951.

Mr. Walter Scott told the Dunedin Branch of the Institute of Management in a lecture entitled "New Zealand in a world of Accelerated Change" that a second industrial revolution is in progress. It is based on the transformation and transmission of information. Whereas the first industrial revolution was the transformation and transmission of power, the second will mechanise the common functions of the human brain (and already sporadic technological unemployment is occurring in other countries through the introduction of electronic machines which render large accounting staffs redundant). Mr. Scott saw outstanding possibilities for further improvements in living standards.

A result of this 'accelerated change" is the acceptance of the importance of productivity by trade unions, the public and Governments, and the realisation that the most essential ingredients in any plan of improved living standards is productivity. (11)

A New Zealand student of social services asks, "May it not be that we are putting too much emphasis on sharing the national income and too little on increasing its size? (12) This is a most important question to ask. We would be foolish indeed to blunt incentives to productivity by, for example an unnecessarily high level of taxation, in order to maintain benefits for which the public has no need. The result would be to lower ultimate welfare rather than to increase it.

V. ADEQUACY OF SERVICES AND BENEFITS.

Social Investment.

Since the war there has been a backlog of most kinds of capital development, and, naturally enough, provision of certain highly desirable amenities has been deferred. Further, in a time of continued full employment, when labour is stretched to its limits and beyond, an extension of one kind of amenity, especially one creating a permanent drain on resources, can take place only at the expense of something else. With the return, after the war, of thousands of servicemen it was natural that productive ventures should have taken priority in order that ex-servicemen should have suitable jobs, and at the same time be best able to contribute to a faster rate of output.

Now that industry has very largely caught up on its deferred capital extensions, we might expect to find more emphasis given to social investment. Indeed, to have deferred some types of works any longer could well have reduced total output in the longer run. Thus we find that accelerated school building was forced on Government at a time when it was expressing anxiety about its overall works programme. After running at a rate of about £2½ million during the years 1949/50 to 1951/52, school building

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(11) Delivered by the well-known Australian accountant consultant and lecturer Mr. Walter Scott.

(12) L. V. Castle in an unpublished paper presented to the Australian and New Zealand Society for Advancement of Science at Sydney early in 1954.

has been steeply raised to a budgeted figure of £6½ million this year. Housing is in the same category. Bigger expenditure either directly on building or by provision of finance has had to be accepted.

Apart from windfalls like the wool boom, we can expect no short term exceptional rise in national income and improvements in our standard of living will have to depend on annual increases in labour productivity of up to two per cent a year. Over a long period, as Mr. J. V. T. Baker has demonstrated, this rate can very much reduce the relative cost of our services on the existing scale. But in the short period the relativity which must be maintained (consciously or otherwise) in the ratio of what we call social to "productive" expenditure will have to be based on about the present level of (real) national income.

Staffing.

Tertiary industries, including professional services and public administration, are likely to become better staffed from two causes. The first is the youthful influx into labour force. The second is the continued application of mechanisation and electrification not only to industry but also to commerce, thus releasing workers for other occupations.

For the present the large number of vacancies in industry has affected the social services. Very often salary scales are not so high and opportunities for earning overtime are fewer. The mental hospitals have reported a severe staff shortage for some years; education suffers from a shortage of teachers and generally the social services share with other enterprises some measure of unfulfilled work because of lack of staff.

There is, then, some inadequacy of service which can be overcome only by a faster rate of capital expenditure and as staff shortages are overcome.

Adequacy of Cash Benefits.

As regards the rates of cash benefits, no scientific test of adequacy is used in New Zealand. When the Act of 1938 fixed the rate for interrupted earnings at 30/- a week for a single person and 60/- for a married couple, there was no evidence that it was related to a tangible level of subsistence. Budget studies were lacking, the "basket of goods" approach which could be substituted for budget studies had not been attempted, so we must conclude that the rate was the best that the then Government could do out of available finance.

An international minimum standard has been laid down by an International Labour Office Convention which relates benefits to current wages of adult male labourers. The Convention provides that a benefit payable to a man with a wife and two children shall, together with the family benefit for two children, be not less than a certain percentage of the labourer's wage plus family benefit for two children. The percentage for employment injury is 50 per cent for sickness, unemployment and maternity benefits 45 per cent, for age, widows and invalids benefits, 40 per cent New Zealand's benefits are well above the I.L.O. standards, viz.

(figures are at five yearly rests, with a slight adjustment in 1944 to coincide with the raising of the family benefit to 10/- from 7/6) are :-

	1/4/39.	1/10/44.	1/4/49.	1/6/54.
Percentage which basic benefit, plus family benefit for two children, bears to comparable labourer's award wage plus family benefit.	67%	65%	71%	70%

The I.L.O. Convention provides that the rates for age, invalids, widows and employment injury benefits shall be reviewed following substantial changes in the cost of living. We in New Zealand have in fact no provision in our legislation for a review, or revaluation of rate; although adjustments based on the 1938 rate have been made after various wage increases, except in the case of family benefits which have remained at 10/- a week since 1944.

A comparison of the percentage of family benefit payable for two children with minimum award wage rates since 1944 is interesting.

	Percentage of F.B. to Unskilled Wages.	Percentage of F.B. to Skilled Wages.	
1/10/44	19.4	8.3	(F.B. reduced on a/c means test)
1/4/46	17.4	15.1	
1/11/54	10.3	9.0	

As our income and property qualifications are fairly liberal, there is a fairly wide variation betwwen beneficiaries' circumstances. Those owning their own homes are usually much better off than those who pay rent. Not surprisingly, different beneficiaries vary in their reactions to questions about the sufficiency of the benefits. The Department's experience in administering special assistance is that the greatest demand comes from the major cities amongst unmarried persons in the higher age groups.

As shown in the paper on Social Welfare of the Aged, a very high proportion of people over 65 live with their families or live in a family group as boarders or householders. In Auckland the proportion exceeded 80 per cent. Nevertheless most of the age beneficiaries interviewed at that time considered the benefit barely adequate, especially for extras such as fares, fees for doctors and specialists. Apart from the rate beneficiaries seemed generally satisfied with the social security scheme.

It has been accepted that those who have to pay high rents, especially single beneficiaries who do not have cooking facilities, may not be able to manage on the benefit. The minister, in discussing the special assistance fund, has said that where rent exceeding 5/- a week was paid, and there were no other resources available, a beneficiary qualified for special assistance. The attitude of both age and superannuation beneficiaries to special assistance was sought during the surveys in Christchurch and Dunedin. Of those who had heard of the scheme a majority favoured it but a substantial minority said they would not apply for it under any circumstances. Further reference to special assistance is made in the section on the Aged.

Though, in fact, beneficiaries receiving basic rate benefits have been compensated for price increases (in line with wage rates) there is no legislative provision requiring review.

We think that there should be in the legislation at least a requirement that rates of benefit be reviewed when substantial price changes occur, or, alternatively when wage changes occur. This does not imply that Government's hands should be tied in any way. Some people may prefer a more idealistic situation where a basic rate having been agreed automatic increases must be made in terms of a given (perhaps special) index with periodical adjustment for changes in the standard of living of the whole community. (13) Governments probably prefer themselves to take responsibility, and credit, for increasing rates with price rises, although if prices fell it may not be so anxious to reduce benefit rates.

We recognise that emergency benefits and special assistance have a worthwhile function to perform in meeting "fringe" needs where basic benefits do not meet the position or are inadequate, but we also realise that the strict enquiry into an applicant's finances, which is a concomitant of emergency benefits and special assistance, can reintroduce the more objectional features of means tests which we have done away with in this country. Therefore we think a close watch should be kept on the types of assistance granted, and as soon as any distinct pattern of need emerges then a suitable statutory benefit should be introduced.

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(13) In his talk to the Branch Mr. W. Nash said that the purchasing power of pensions should be maintained irrespective of money values.

Therefore constant reviewing of the social services is needed. Although of course, New Zealand governments have always been ready to consider proposals for improvements, there has been a lack of social facts on which estimates of the incidence of need can be based. Looking particularly at special categories such as the aged, the study group has come to the conclusion that an agency is needed to keep social services under review, to advise government on new ideas that may have been put forward, or to initiate research to supply the needed facts.

VI. COST AND FINANCING.

The question of whether we can afford our present Social Services constantly occurs. Critics speak of the staggering cost, particularly of cash benefits, and often suggest that our present Social Security scheme should be replaced by one based on "sound actuarial principles."

We shall first put forward our views on the rising cost of services, stressing the difficulties of the universal benefit principle; following on from this, objections to an actuarial social security scheme will be set out. The study group favours the present official view that social services should be based on the principle of social need. It believes, however, that this is inconsistent with the continuation of a separate Social Security Fund.

Cost of Social Services.

We have not take out costs of the actual services listed in our definition. But figures extracted from the National Income Tables will give much the same result These show that social services accounted for 40 percent of Government revenue Budget in 1939 and had risen very steeply to 60 per cent in 1953/54. As a percentage of national income the figures are 8.8 per cent and 16.1 per cent respectively. (14)

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(14)

Cost of Social Services.

	1938/39 £m	1953/54. £m
(Provision of goods and services	8.3	33.9
(Monetary Benefits and pensions	7.7	57.8
(Subsidies to Hospital Boards	0.9	10.3
(Subsidies on essential clothing (and foodstuffs	0.2	13.7
(Housing Suspensory Loans	-	1.3
Total Social Services	17.1	117.0
Government Revenue Expenditure	41.5	196.1
National Income	193.9	727.0

(Source. Official Estimates of National Income and Expenditure 1953/54. Published by the Census and Statistics Dept. Note:- These statistics do not include items of capital expenditure, nor, or course, do they include indirect subsidies such as those covering rental of state houses.

The bare statistics are not particularly meaningful in themselves, as they contain much 'transfer' expenditure This is simply money taken by the government with one hand, and returned to the community, though not necessarily the same persons, with the other. The transaction does not use up any of the country's resources - other than a relatively small amount for administration. However, even this has important secondary effects in that taxation must be levied and its influence on incentives and production is of importance. With social services taking such a large part of Government's revenue budget, increases in the major benefits can be decidedly embarrassing to the Treasury. Particularly is this apparent in the case of universal benefits, as witness the way family benefits have become bogged down at the 1946 rate.

Our fear in regard to universal superannuation is that once it comes up to the same level as age benefit, the cost of lifting it to keep pace with prices, wages and productivity might, in tight budgetary conditions, prove so costly as to be impracticable. Then the people who depend on it for their livelihood would be forced to seek refuge in the Special Assistance Fund. In the United Kingdom 2% of pensioners need assistance - we hope New Zealand can avoid a similar thing happening here, even on a much smaller scale.

Actuarial Principles.

We believe that people who advocate introduction of actuarial principles are misguided. They base their case on two fallacies.

The first is the supposed burden on the productive section of the community. Many social services are not created by provision of State services at all. Rather do they represent a shift of the responsibility for financing. The aged, sick and invalids are not a new problem. "The poor are always with us." If the State did not provide them with the means of living someone else would have to. The State, by providing a unified system of services, relieves private benefactors of the direct burden, and uniformity of treatment, which is quite impracticable in private schemes, becomes possible.

The second fallacy is that an actuarial scheme can provide the required protection through payment of benefits "as of right" by virtue of past contributions and without any suggestion of 'charity'. It implies that everybody has the opportunity of making sufficient provision for contingencies. In an actuarial scheme the emphasis is on funding rather than on meeting a social need. We think there is little point in paying an actuarially determined benefit which, in fact, is unrelated to a beneficiary's need, and which has to be supplemented to a substantial degree by some other form of assistance.

As to the actuarially calculated estimates of expenditure, one need only recall those given by an actuary specially brought out to New Zealand to estimate the costs of the 1938 social security scheme. He estimated that the cost for the first full year would be nearly £18 million rising to £25-30 million in thirty to forty years time. This estimate was based on a rate of population increase which has been far exceeded. This, with the price increases and changes in benefit structure has in fact brought the expenditure to over £67 million this year, sixteen years after the Act was passed. Actuaries are specially qualified to interpret population trends and related mortality or other risks statistics, changes in the age groups and so on. Even so, their estimates are subject to very wide margins of error.(15) Those who support agitation for actuarial investigation of the Fund often refer to our ageing population. Labour force estimates (non-Maori with future immigration at 10,000 per annum) indicate that in the years 1952, 1957 and 1962 the percentage of people in the labour force will be 38.0, 37.5 and 38.2 so our prospects on this aspect give no apparent cause for alarm.

Again, an actuarial scheme generally presupposes an accumulated fund, so that about half the expenditure is paid from investment income, and the other half from current contributions. Applying this idea to New Zealand would one suppose an invested fund exceeding the value of our public debt.

The Principle of Social Need.

An actuarial scheme classes and grades risks on the basis of higher premiums for the worst risks. Our scheme has discarded such practices and is quite removed from any test of ability to pay. A beneficiary in New Zealand need have paid no social security tax to share in benefits. The guiding principle is clear - it is one of social need. Need - and its goal - security. Security as of right, irrespective of individual's personal ability to pay for it.

Introduction of universal benefits has at times obscured the principle of need. Some have combined elimination of need (or provision of security) with the advantages of universal organisation. Education and health services are typical examples. Others, especially universal family benefits and universal superannuation appear to be based on completely different ideas, largely centring around the question of means test. So long as the criterion of a service is financial need the basic test must be 'means'. We examine the problems of means test in Chapter XI.

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(15) G. H. Maddex's report to the Select Committee estimated that New Zealand's population would reach this year, 1954, 1,758,000. Actually our population is 2,093,000. A more recent effort by G. N. Calvert made in 1946 gave a considered forecast for 1955 which was in fact exceeded by the end of 1952.

Our earlier examination of adequacy of benefits pointed to an absence of scientific tests of need. Overseas experience is that scientific data on diets supplemented by budget studies is the best way to assure that primary needs are being met. There is much room for research and enquiry not only to ensure that needs are met but to ensure that available funds are spent to the best advantage.

Financing-and the Fund.

The creation of a separate Social Security Fund in New Zealand was probably influenced by the schemes overseas based on insurance principles and, which were in fact subject to actuarial calculation.

A separate tax and a separate fund gives rise to wrong ideas of the social services. There is a rising demand from people who have paid social security tax for years for a share in the benefits irrespective of their means. Universal superannuation seems to fall into this category. It is justified on the grounds that these people are being rewarded for their past tax contributions or their past services to the community. It is, as it were, a prize for having reached a certain age. When universal superannuation was introduced a different reason was given being that of getting away from charity. Then it became an aim of eliminating the disincentive to work which inevitably follows from any means contest.

If cash benefits are to be paid according to need then some sort of means test is inevitable. We discuss this at greater length in section 11, but we may note that a recent innovation is taxation of certain benefits, thus providing a means test of a kind.

Many social services are charged to the Consolidated Fund, including education, war pensions, subsidies on food and clothing, subsidies to Hospital Boards, the cost of operating mental hospitals, probation, child welfare and services provided by the Labour Department. The scheme of financing in both Social Security and Consolidated "Funds" is based fairly and squarely on taxes raised each year from current income. The expenditure from the Social Security Fund, if shown simply as a subdivision amongst other revenue expenditures in the Consolidated Fund, would have the virtue of making it a little easier for those who try to understand our public accounts.

Because the Fund's coverage is by no means exhaustive, and as the social security scheme is based on current taxation, together with the social reasons outlined above, we consider there is little intrinsic merit in a separate Social Security Fund and we think it should be abolished.

VII. ORGANISATION OF SERVICES.

Growth of Private and Government Organisations.

The state has traditionally borne the responsibility for pensions and education and latterly medical practitioner services. It has shared with local authorities unemployment relief, hospital care, charitable aid and house assistance, though the tendency is for all of these to become more specifically the responsibility of the Central Government.

From the early colonial days hospitals existed in great measure for the destitute. Church and other voluntary bodies organised a certain amount of relief for orphans and indigent persons, and also established educational and reformative organisations. But the legal obligation for care of needy was on the family,, or, as the legislation described them, "near relatives" Lack of work was regarded as some personal blemish of character, and it was not until successive depressions forced reforms that relief was firmly organised. Before the turn of the century the pattern was established relief through Hospitals on the one hand, with the State introducing pensions shhemes of wide coverage on the other.

A rapid growth of voluntary organisations took place alongside, and filled in gaps in state services. During the early part of the twentieth century, women's organisations were prominent particularly after women had gained suffrage rights. One of our strongest voluntary organisations, the Plunket Society, had its origin in the first decade of this century. As we have already noted the strongest tendency exists to centralise social services, in the interest both of equality and efficiency. But even now, despite the centralising tendency care of pre-school children is almost entirely the function of voluntary bodies, albeit often with substantial State subsidies. Church organisations are still prominent amongst the voluntary organisations catering for child and youth work, for education and for care of aged people

Apart from 160 schools administered by the Maori Schools Branch, all Public schools are administered by Education Boards and Boards of Governors. These, although entirely dependent on the Education Department for finance, are very vigorous bodies whose importance and power is not showing signs of disappearing. On the contrary, the belief in the wisdom of delegating to such local bodies is still quite strong in educational circles, as the recent conference on the administration of education in Christchurch clearly showed. It is also significant that when Adult Education was established not so many years ago, it followed a 'regional council' pattern.

Mr. Parkyn, describing to the Branch the discussions at the Christchurch conference, said in effect that educationalists had agreed on the aims of education and were not inclined to attach too much importance to the machinery and organisation, 'as long as they got to where they wanted to go'. Complex as the present organisation is, it has its own historical background and is not at all unworkable.

Nevertheless the tendency is still to aggregate services in the hands of the State. Maintenance of full employment, provision of a full range of pensions for people whose income from work ceases, provision of health services and the newer Special Assistance have vastly narrowed the relief functions of both voluntary organisations and local bodies. Hospital Boards still arrange "outdoor relief" and assist people who are temporarily embarrassed to make purchases of various goods and services, e.g. spectacles and dentures. These welfare functions may tend to overlap benefits provided from the Special Assistance Fund administered by the Social Security Department.

With the full cost of hospitals being assumed by Government it may be that this work of Hospital Boards should be more closely integrated with assistance granted by the Department. At present the Boards probably adopt a more elastic policy than the Department and they perform a very useful function in helping to keep hospital beds clear by providing "meals on wheels", a service rendered to old people in their home by voluntary effort at a small charge.

In 1946 the government set an upper limit of ½d in the £ to rates collected for hospitals by local authorities. With rising costs it was inevitable that hospital financing should fall increasingly on the State. But administrative control was left in the hands of locally-elected boards. Government had to exercise increasing supervision of expenditures proposed by the boards. The trend which became more essential when government decided to accept full financial responsibility in stages from 1951 to 1957 A different concept arises of the functions of locally elected boards, once they are relieved of the necessity to raise money locally.

This raises an interesting problem of administrative control, which has been examined by a Study Group of the Wellington Branch. Some critics have deprecated centralisation of control of local matters in governments hands. They point to education where local participation in policy has been successful. Would this be possible with elected hospital boards who have no direct responsibility for raising finance? The Hospital Reform Study Group thinks not. Certain functions where local knowledge is advantageous can be left with local representatives. They can act as delegates to give advice on local interests.

The Study Group addressed itself particularly to the recommendations of the Consultative Committee on Hospital Reform which had been appointed by government. This committee had recommended the appointment of regional authorities along the lines of those adopted in Britain. The Study Group preferred a National Hospital Commission. (15A) , acting as head of the hospital service under the Minister and within the

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(15A) See report of the Study Group presented to the Wellington Branch on 28th October, 1954.

Department of Health. Briefly, the Commission would have vested in it all property, would employ all hospital staff and would have the power to recruit, control or dismiss staff other than medical superintendents and secretaries. Responsibility for provision for free and adequate hospital services would rest with the Minister of Health.

Certain types of services continue to be inaugurated by private bodies. Among them are the Family Guidance Councils started by a group of young university graduates keen to bring modern psychological knowledge to bear on the problems of many who needed professional guidance. But councils aiming at the co-ordination of social services both government and private tend to be sponsored by both the State and private bodies.

The outstanding problems of private agencies are to get finance and, equally important, to get qualified staff. As state services improve their training programmes, staffs of voluntary services are inclined to fall behind. New Zealand has not the same regard for voluntary agencies as older countries, preferring to pay taxes than to sponsor charities in a big way from private donations.

At the same time private social services still have a very important part to play, in particular to cater for needs which although very real, are not yet catered for by the State. The private services, then, often are the initiators of social aid, which, because of problems of finance and staff, are ultimately taken over by the state. From voluntary aervices comes a good part of creative thinking about social services.

They also are believed to provide more privacy and secrecy than state services. This had been advanced as a reason for Family Guidance Councils, for instance, remaining private. But as government social workers become more professionally minded and as confidential information is proved not to pass from them to other government departments, the bias against giving information to government social workers should gradually disappear. As is argued below, the bias against Social Security Department handing central indexes for casework is unjustified and might slow down progress

Co-ordination of Agencies and Departments.

Reference to the list of services on page will show clearly the range of main services operating in New Zealand. Those aided by the Government with more than token grants are marked by asterisks. It can at once be seen that there is much diversity in agencies both within and outside Government. We might ask what measures exist for co-ordination of services. And here a classification into "staff" co-ordination and "line" integration may help us (16). The former leaves individual agencies fully responsible for their own welfare functions and subject to no superiors other than their own top policy making organs.

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(16) For detailed classifications suitable for social service agencies, see U.N. Publications "Methods of Social Welfare Administration, " 1950.

In the case of voluntary organisation these would be their local authorities their boards or councils, and in the case of government departments their ministers and through their ministers, Cabinet. The separate or parallel functions under this classification, may be co-ordinated by a 'general staff' such as cabinet in the case of state services. Line integration occurs where a number of agencies - but never all of them - are grouped within the competence of one ministry or similar organ.

In New Zealand, voluntary organisations remain autonomous as to policy making and fund raising, but co-operate at the municipal level with other voluntary local authority and State bodies by means of Councils or committees. This latter is a more recent development in New Zealand. Formerly there had been little staff co-ordination. As yet there is no national council or conference to carry co-ordination by means of a 'general staff' beyond the particular town in which Councils or Committees operate.

In Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin Aged People's Welfare Councils co-ordinate activities of organisations engaged in helping aged people. A similar Council in Wellington went into recess when a Wellington district Welfare Committee was established in 1952 to co-ordinate all welfare activity in that centre.

The establishment of this committee followed a suggestion of the Minister of Social Security who was looking to a voluntary organisation to advise the government on cases who could be helped through the the newly constituted Special Assistance Fund Its activities soon broadened out into general co-ordination of government and private welfare activity.

District Advisory Welfare Committees similar to the one in Wellington have been established in six or seven other centres. Christchurch in addition to its Aged People's Welfare Council has a co-ordinated body known as the Canterbury Council of Social Services. The support given by Welfare agencies, including Government Departments, is largely a matter of the interest or indifference of the social workers in the local centre.

Professor Willbern explained to the Branch the American system of community chests and community councils whereby voluntary organisations combine to raise funds and allocate proceeds between their members. The idea is to make an appeal to the public only once a year but to make that one under a very high pressure apparently in the expectation that an all-out drive on a combined basis appealing to every section of the comminity, business men, employees, homes, church organisations and so on is more productive of revenue than individual appeals to the public.

Some United States agencies prefer not to participate in the Chests either because they want to preserve their autonomy, or because they are not happy about having their funds allocation by a body on which they have only a partner's representation.

In New Zealand the idea of Chests has been canvassed fitfully and at least one organisation the Red Cross, has said it will not join a Chest if it is started. Despite this attitude and the recognised weaknesses of Chests there is one operating in New Zealand with great success, though on a pretty small scale. This is at Devonport. The local people feel more than satisfied with their experiment. Apart from "Poppy Day" street collections have been forbidden, and one collection a year is made. Booklets and envelopes are distributed a week before collecting day and the private collections themselves are entirely completed within two or three hours on a single Saturday morning. Member organisations have had a 50% increase in receipts . Since the success of the Devenport experiment, it is understood that Auckland had decided also to try out the system.

Although we must guard against the danger of valuable social welfare organisations being denied the necessary support from the Chests - this has happened in the United States - it may well be that wider adoption of joint fund raising in New Zealand should be appreciated by organisations and the public alike. If every agency wishing to hold an annual street day was permitted to make collections in Wellington, the public would be plagued with about 52 "box rattling" days a year.

Existing Welfare Councils would be suitable bodies to examine this question.

Another type of integration is co-ordination of case-work indexes. In cases where there is an area of mutual interest the keeping of indexes is a good idea. These simply record approaches for assistance by individual applicants. The Social Security Department maintains central indexes but several voluntary bodies are not prepared to co-operate as they feel it would interfere with the confidential nature of their client/service relations.

It may be said that a government department is not a suitable body to keep the indexes. But the co-ordinating councils do not have staff, and in any case indexes record only approaches to agencies and not details of assistance granted. It is both a safeguard against abuses, and gives a guide to case workers as to the previous social history. Cases have been known of people receiving relief from seven agencies more or less at the same time. As the Social Security Department has branches in all centres we think it is as good a repository of indexes as can be hoped for.

Public Relations.

In the social services it is of considerable importance that the people should know precisely what is being provided for them. Each service has been created to bring social improvement but this is not brought merely by providing money or placing a measure on the statute book. Inprovements come only when those in need know what is offering and when - sometimes the most difficult task - they are induced to use them. In the case of government services, the taxpayer is a contributor to every scheme and may legitimately demand full and easily accessible information as to what services are available and what are their qualifying conditions.

So public relations is an integral part of each service. Three chief aspects have to be considered:-
(a) contact between social worker and client.
(b) contact between client and enquiry office,
(c) contact through publicity media.

Of these, the first and most important, is relatively well coped with in the social workers' training courses. It is doubtful whether all social workers today realise its full import; as a case progresses according to the case worker's ideas he must keep the individual concerned fully informed. Other contacts should be advised of the purpose and nature of the service; this giving of information not only helps to make the true nature of the service known, but it is also an integral part of the work, as regards the case itself, removing many sources of criticism, hindrance or delayed reactions.

Over-the-counter contacts are important but represent a feature strangely neglected until recently in this country. Improvements such as those fostered by the Public Service Commission appear to be just beginning. Trained counter staff in the social work departments seem to be the exception rather than the rule, and facilities for interviewing are often highly unsuitable. Counter staff should be able to give interviews, using proper techniques and getting full information. They should know when to pass a case on for attention by a social worker or another authority. The counter organisation in some places is good; the same applies to smaller country offices too small for clients to become lost.

Of publicity media used in the New Zealand social services the most important is very properly direct conversation. Health nurses are only one of many types of public servant constantly lecturing to audiences and giving vital information on social services. Even so, when the list of social services available at Christchurch and Wellington appeared, most people were astounded at the range of services revealed; the average citizen would know of the existence of only a fraction of them. This indicates that in this field public relations are inadequate.

The solution is clearly the appointment of public relations staff to the principal social service agencies with responsibility towards both case workers and counter staff, and with easy access to policymaking levels where public reactions are not always fully known, even though they may be known to some individual case workers.

If the suggestion of a united Social Welfare Dept. is ever accepted such a department should have a lively public relations section.

Co-ordination within government services.

Within the government departments what co-ordination there is falls under the "staff" method. Each department (and the list shows that there are 13 of them) is responsible directly to its minister. There is no regular co-ordination below Cabinet level nor is there any regular Cabinet Sub-committee on Social Services. Portfolios have been distributed apparently with no conscious attempt to group related social service departments under a single minister. The co-ordinating body is Cabinet itself, or its Sub-committees on economic policy and buildings, assisted in the usual way by Treasury and the Public Service Commission.

So far as the major social service departments are concerned the lack of grouping of portfolios seems no particular disadvantage. Health Department suitably groups together public health, medical care and hospital services; education stands on its own feet and the Labour Department on the whole provides a distinct range of services. In this case staff co-ordination remains the satisfactory method.

Common use of specialists already operates, particularly psychiatric services provided in out-patient clinics in many towns which are available to hospitals, Pediatric Clinics, Child Welfare, Prisons and others as required. Staff co-operation between the Health Department and Education Department operates smoothly in the case of school children as also do child health clinics and school dental services. In many other ways co-operation is carried out between existing social service agencies - Social Security Department with Labour Department in respect of unemployment benefits, with secondary schools for family benefits to children over 16, with the Child Welfare Division for special assistance for children, with Justice Department for information of births and deaths and so on; Justice Department with Agriculture and Internal Affairs in rehabilitating offenders; Maori Affairs with many departments in settling Maoris and attending to their welfare; Health Department with those which require specialist services, with schools in supervision of children's health. Many of these lines of communication are well formalised. Improvements may be possible though we have had insufficient time to look into this matter.

A social welfare department?

A Department of Social Welfare integrating these social services falling within the category of case-work and financial assistance might fulfil some very useful purposes. To begin with, such a department might be able to work more efficiently by amalgamating and rationalising certain related services at present spread over a number of agencies.

Furthermore, New Zealand has built up its social services without the benefit of Social Science and modern case-work methods. It is only recently that such methods have been looked upon as desirable and every department where case-work or allied work is done, has the job of re-orienting itself and gathering a good deal of basic information on New Zealand social conditions, from which a scientifically based policy can be worked out. It will be a period of research, and fundamental planning for all these organisations. In some, this period has already begun and the shortage of highly trained personnel in each branch, the scantiness of research facilities and the isolation between related services has a retarding influence on the development of truly modern social services.

Let us first survey the streamlining and economies that can be obtained through the formation of a Social Welfare Department.

Many of these lie in the sphere of income maintenance welfare of the aged and provision of economic relief to needy sections of the community. In the case of the aged, the Social Security Department is responsible for income maintenance while the Health Department is responsible for their social care. In fact the Health responsibility seems to go little further than provision of subsidies for accommodation. The Health Department collects and curculates to Boards statistics of expenditure by each Board on charitable aid though no attempt appears to be made to provide a common approach - welfare officers of hospital boards are influenced more by the views of their Boards and the extent of work carried on by voluntary organisations in their districts, than by considerations of uniformity.

These aspects of charitable aid appear to be more closely related to the work of the Social Security Department than to the functions of a Hospital Board. Similarly provision of living accommodation for old people is a welfare function which might be integrated with other measures for old people within the Social Welfare Department.

Domestic assistance is another service which could be amalgamated; at present there are two schemes. One is administered by the Social Security Department which has organised a corps of domestic workers recruited from amongst social security beneficiaries; (beneficiaries who accept domestic work are entitled to an additional income exemption of 30/- a week) ; where assistance is given to those requiring help in the home the cost is met by the special assistance fund;

in most centres the number of workers available is more than sufficient and on 31st March 1954 of the 88 workers available 25 were actively employed. The other domestic aid scheme is operated by the Labour Department and is not identical in its purpose but provides a pool of assistance for those who are able themselves to meet the cost. For the sake of efficient administration it seems reasonable to suppose that these two services could be amalgamated. The very fact that a domestic assistance scheme could be established in the Social Security Department when one was already operating in the Labour Department indicates an unco-ordinated approach to social welfare administration.

The Social Security Department already employs officers doing social work on proven case-work lines. This is a natural adjunct to payment of benefits especially to the more difficult classes such as deserted wives or those qualifying for emergency benefits, or supplementary assistance from the special fund. Social work here receives less emphasis than it deserves, possibly because the legislation setting up the Commission is concerned with payment of benefits, on a fairly fixed basis rather than an all-round responsibility for seeing that beneficiaries are making the most of their lot. But there are many instances where it would be in the interests of both beneficiary and community that we look beyond straight out payment of money. As with others who visit homes such as medical practitioners or health nurses, training in social work for officers concerned in these more difficult social security cases would help beneficiaries and be money well spent. As shown in the Appendix on the School of Social Science, only two officers of the department have been through the diploma course.

The quality of case work associated with social security payments would undoubtedly be improved if it was more closely allied in the one department, to other government agencies doing social case work of a welfare kind.

It would be possible to add as part of the Social Welfare Department the present Child Welfare Division, which, though located in the Education Department, is responsible to a different minister, the Minister of Social Welfare. The Committee on Delinquency recommended that the Division should be reconstituted on an autonomous basis ... It noted that the link was closer with Justice than Education due to their mutual association with the police and the Courts. The need for greater emphasis on preventive work was brought out, and in this respect the Committee thought that better administration might be possible if Child Welfare were granted independent status under the Ministry of Social Welfare.

CHART "A". PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENTS.

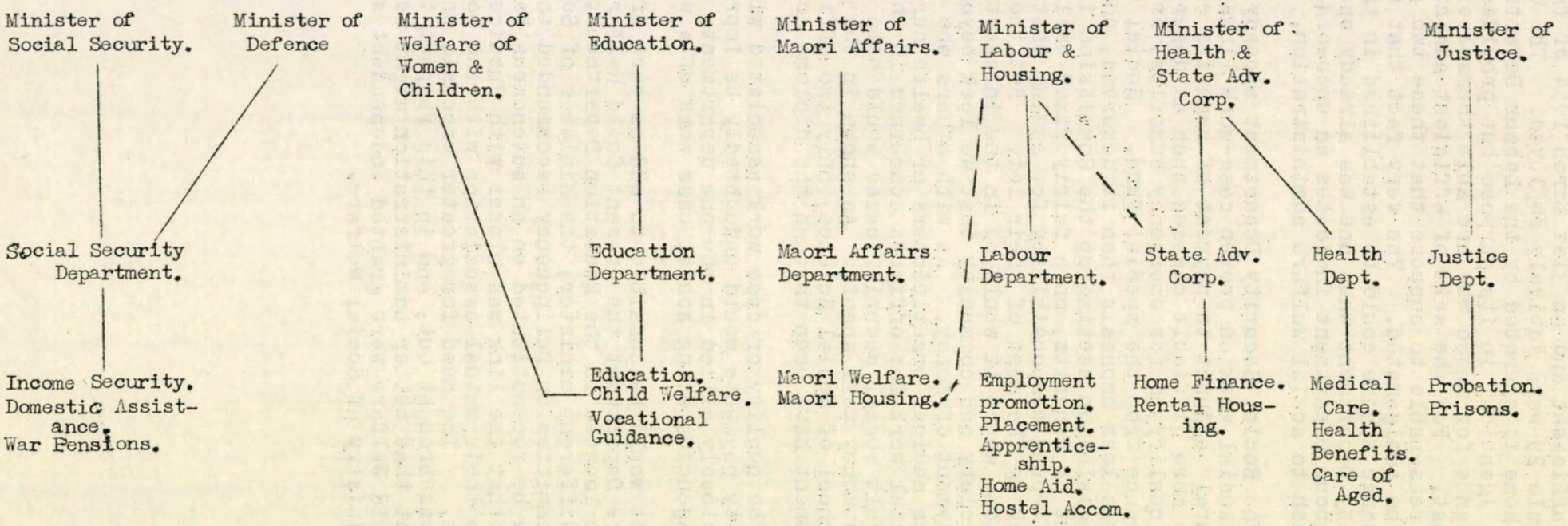
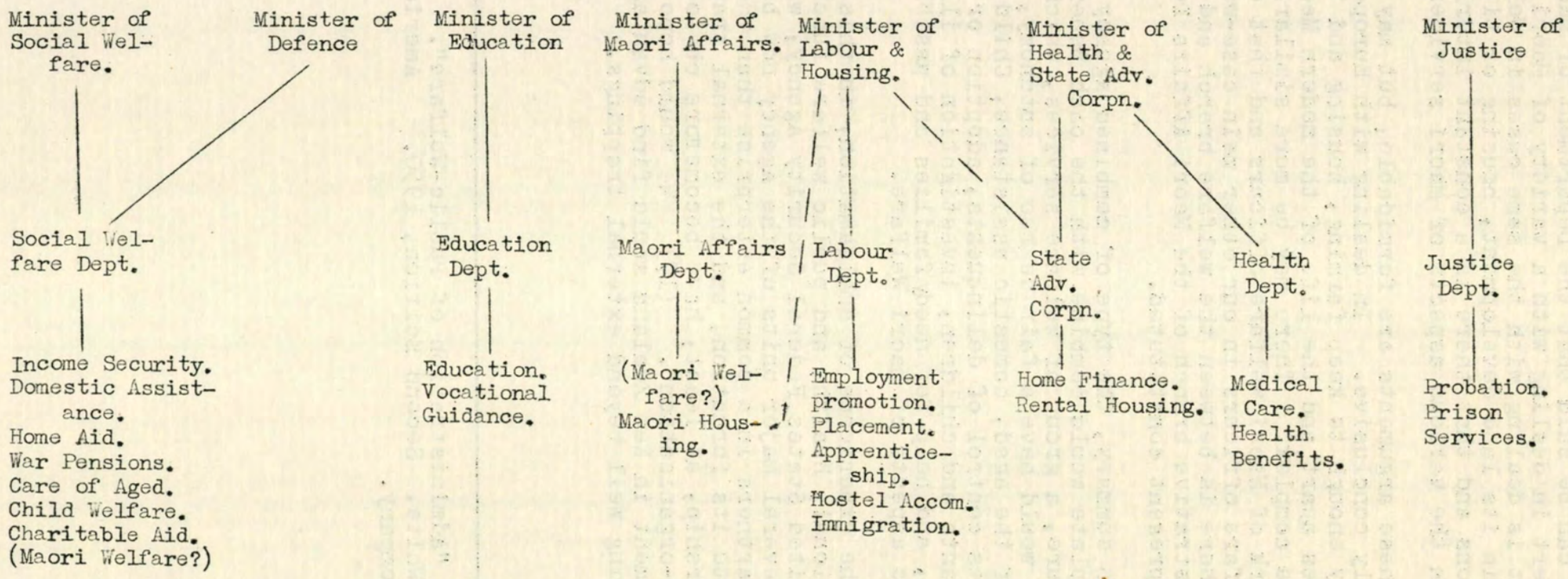


CHART "B". ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE DEPARTMENTS WITH SOCIAL WEFLARE ACTIVITIES MERGED IN A SOCIAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT.



Another possible accretion to the Social Welfare Department would be the welfare division of the Maori Affairs Department; there is a good deal to be said against as well as in favour of fusion. Against it, it can be said that the Department of Maori Affairs is expert in dealing with a variety of Maori matters that it is dealing with the same cases in Welfare as it is in its land development, housing or titles divisions and that there is a constant interlocking between the various aspects of Maori services.

These arguments are formidable, but may not be entirely conclusive. In dealing with Europeans it is easy enough to keep farming, housing and the welfare services apart and the life of the modern Maori is no more complex. There may be more similarity between the work of Maori welfare officers and that carried out by welfare officers in our other main case-work agencies, than there is between the welfare branch and the administrative branch of the Maori Affairs Department as at present constituted.

In summary, the type of combined agency we contemplate would combine with the cash benefit structure, a group of welfare services, which themselves would have a fair degree of autonomy, comprising care of the aged, domestic assistance, Child Welfare with its control of delinquents, adoption or placement of infants and children, investigation of illegitimate births, and help for needy families and possibly the various aspects of Maori Welfare.

The experience of amalgamation, in this case of educational, health, and public welfare functions, in the United States Federal Security Agency, was that "The several major units of the Agency now behave more like partners in a common enterprise than they did prior to its formation, and the external trappings of partnership, at least, have become more obvious since the re-organisation". (17) We would hope that any experiment in New Zealand would find advantages extending well beyond external trappings.

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(17) "Administration of Public-Welfare". R. C White. Second Edition, 1950. American Book Company.

VIII. SOCIAL WORKERS AND RESEARCH.

Recruiting.

Looking back it is clear that New Zealand has been tardy in adopting modern methods of social work, especially in some of the State services. Techniques of psychology and scientific case work have been rather slow to infiltrate. The reason probably lies in our remoteness. Inadequate training in case work and a somewhat confused sense of direction have also played a part, and they have persisted longer than one might have expected in a country known throughout the world for its progressive legislation. For instance, Schools of Social Science had been operating on the Continent since the turn of the century, but it was not until 1950 that our own School was opened.

Today the scene is rapidly changing. Recruitment standards for State services have been raised. In the Child Welfare Division recruits are taken mainly from university graduates or from qualified teachers and nurses. The probation service is gradually building up a team of qualified social workers. Welfare officers of the Department of Maori Affairs were originally chosen for their position as tribal leaders (and, many aver, political leaders) as much as for their qualifications as social workers. New recruiting which is slow due to the youth of these officers, will most probably come from (mainly Maori) graduates of the School of Social Science.

Other Departments, and some of the Hospital Boards are beginning to realise the worth of more highly trained social workers. The Social Security Department does not employ social workers as such though there are clerks employed full time on social work in the four main centres to look after the more involved cases requiring social case work. These occur mainly amongst recipients of special assistance of emergency benefits, or among deserted wives and prisoners' dependents.

The following table surveys the three main departments employing social workers, and hints at what has been said. The general education standard is not particularly high for the service as a whole. But increasingly university degrees and Diplomas of Social Science appear amongst the lists.

Social Workers.

Education Qualifications.	Child Welfare Officers		Probation Officers		Maori Welfare Officers.		Total.	
University Degree (with Soc.Sc.Dip)	3		2		1		6	
otherwise.	15	18	4	6	2	3	21	27
Dip.Soc.Science (without degree)		5		6		1		12
Teachers Certif. C	15							16
D	1	16	-		-			
Nursing Cert.		17						17
Matric or less		69		13		49		131
Total Officers		125		25		53		203

Salary Scales.	Child Welfare Officers.	Probation Officer.	Maori Welfare Officers.	Total.
Over £1,000	9	4	1	14
£800/1,000	31	3	6	40
£600/800	85	18	46	149
Total Officers	125	25	53	203

(Source: 1954 classification list)

Training and Research.

Along with the improvements in recruiting has come a concern for intensive staff training of social workers. Child Welfare has shown particular wisdom in its planning of residential one-week courses for child welfare officers. To these occasions academic and professional men outside the service are invited as resident guests to enable the officers to meet them at close range. Very sound too is the choice of the Division's institutions as a venue for the courses - it helps the gathering to keep its eyes on reality.

Similar courses are being planned by the Department of Maori Affairs.

In all these activities, the School of Social Science provides a focal point. We have prepared a short summary of its enrolments, staff, curriculum and a note of its more important research tasks. See Appendix 3 page 52.

There is then a clearly perceptible trend for the State to become equipped with a more highly trained staff.

Simultaneously, the status of social workers has greatly risen so as to attract a more talented group for this type of work. Much of the credit for the more professional view now taken of their services must go to the Department of Education which has established the professional status of teachers after a concerted effort over the last fifteen years. We may say that the policy decisions made, or about to be made, this year (the new salary scale and grading system) have finally effected this change. Along with the teachers, the child welfare officers were treated as professionals. The lead given by the Department of Education was then followed by other departments employing social workers. This is a development of the last few years.

Departments at the same time have realised better the purpose of social work and the methods that have to be used. They are looking beyond the immediate symptoms of social disorganisation to the causes which lay behind it. The reports issued this year on Juvenile Delinquency and Penal Reform are indicative of the trend. (18)

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(18) Available from Govt. Printer and Justice Dept. respectively.

The School is particularly important for the social services as, together with the Department of Anthropology of Auckland University College, it stands alone in the carrying on of serious sustained social research. The need for this research is most pronounced. It never ceases to surprise the social scientist how little is actually known of the New Zealander as a social animal. Well-provided with material goods though he generally is, his social needs and habits are uncharted.

To the social service departments this can be a genuine embarrass ment when long range planning is necessary and the facts to be relied on in this planning consist of what some call the voice of experience and others plainly guesswork. The Departments of Health and Education carry out extensive research in their own specialities. The only Department, however, employing a research officer carrying on a programme of genuine long-term research in the social sciences is the Department of Maori Affairs, which employs an anthropologist at present engaged on a pilot project in community development in Northland.

Both Child Welfare and Probation, although not employing full-time research officers, are becoming interested in the building up of scientifically sound case records and so establishing a body of facts upon which research can later be built.

The amount of research in need of being done to provide a chart as well as a charter for the social services is enormous. It cannot all be left to the universities. Where fundamental sociological problems are involved, the universities are clearly better qualified, but where the issues concern more directly the needs of clients of government departments, these departments have much to gain from participating more fully in research activities.

The Group is in agreement with Dr. W. B. Sutch who said in his address to the Branch that the important need for New Zealand in future is research rather than material changes and what we need are brains, sceptical inquiring minds, and high-quality workers.

Co-ordination in Training and Research.

The School of Social Science is the first strong co-ordinating agent between social workers in different government departments. It provides a number of them with a common training and a common meeting and discussion ground for two years. The graduates of these schools will do much to establish social scientists as a profession in New Zealand. Eventually this profession will here, as in other modern countries, fill all responsible social work positions, but there will be a period when there are still many semi-trained specialists employed in such positions.

It is desirable for professionals as well as the semi-trained specialists to be welded as quickly as possible into a unified profession, by such methods as co-ordinated refresher courses and conventions for social workers.

In certain overseas countries a great deal of profit is claimed from periodical conferences of social workers. The meeting of kindred minds, the opportunity to hear lectures from leaders in the field of the social sciences, the sif ting of ideas in discussion and the provision of a forum for hammering out ideas or pooling experience are all mentioned as worthwhile products of such conferences. This year Canada held its 14th biennial conference on social work; a printed volume of lectures of the 1952 Conference is impressive in its range of topic and its quality of content. Britain last year, after ninety study groups throughout the country had met over twelve months, held a conference of social workers to hear lectures and to discuss problems facing the British family, (19) Such an idea is well worth considering for New Zealand. To get the most out of it, the ground should be thoroughly prepared by study groups of social workers meeting in their local towns or within their departments. Presumably because the State is so prominent in running social services, the initiatory task would fall to Government - one of the social service departments or perhaps the Staff Training Section of the P.S.C. with assistance from the School of Social Science.

To give the social worker the fullest scope there should be constant contact and interchange of opinion. For this purpose a co-ordinated Social Welfare Department would have undoubted value. Such a department would in addition ease interchange of staff and allow a wider scope for promotion. Already there is a certain amount of movement between services, but possibly not enough. As a short-range advantage, a combined department would also mitigate the lack of systematic training among the social workers of today.

Administrative Control.

Some top administrators of social service departments are professionals, others have a purely administrative background. Clearly, the professionals, to be successful, must have a deep interest in and sympathy for administrative problems, while administrators need an equally helpful attitude to the professional services provided by the department.

When career administrators are in charge, difficulty is sometimes experienced in using to the full the insight of field workers when it comes to making top policy. Probably at the lower levels of administration, control of social workers by administrative officers is not always the most creative.

Child Welfare has an entirely professional line of control and this has been successful. Other departments with a mostly administrative line of control, find it hard to obtain a full knowledge of the field situation at top level. The improvement of standards in the field, in spite of the efforts of administrative officers has been proved difficult as it probably takes a professional officer to give the social worker the right kind of guidance.

Whatever lines of control are used, we feel that the safeguard of the professional freedom of the social worker is essential to any effective organisation.

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(19) "The Family " National Council of Social Service 1953.

PART THREE. PARTICULAR STUDIES.

IX SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE MAORI PEOPLE

Social Security Cash Benefits.

A satisfactory study of social services for the Maori people has not been done and no more is intended here than to show what points such a study would have to cover, where the main issues lie and in what directions progress might be sought.

Full equality between Maori and Pakeha exists in relation to all social security benefits. This is in line with the broad policy to create social and economic equality and it has undoubtedly served that policy.

The question whether the Maori should enjoy the same rate of benefit- particularly family benefit - continues, however, occasionally to be raised. There has not been any significant pressure put on the government to restore the lower rates though some have complained about the use made of the moneys, dishonesty in claiming moneys and the undue percentage of Maori rural incomes made up by social security. It is very unlikely that there will ever be enough pressure to bring about a change now. There is a strong feeling in the country in favour of racial equality and the objections would not make a very impressive showing if brought to the light of day.

Social Security benefits are undoubtedly abused on occasion but payment of family benefits to wives ensures that the great bulk of that benefit is usefully spent as part of the regular family budget. Clothing of Maori school children is generally of a high standard now and this is undoubtedly to a large extent due to the benefit. In problem families, the family benefit would generally be more beneficially spent than any other part of the family income. There remains the problem of families where the wife is irresponsible and here powers exist and are occasionally used to control expenditure of the benefit. Some public health nurses have been notably energetic in either arranging for use of this control or more often in threatening it.

The rumour that large scale social security frauds were taking place in Maori communities had wide currency just after the War and it became part of the Maori Welfare Officer's duties to investigate and take action in such cases, as undoubtedly all facts regarding Maori families could be easily ascertained by such officers. From work statistics of welfare officers it appears that very few social security fraud cases are handled by them and this may safely be accepted as indicating that the problem was never widespread.

The complaint that social security payments make up an unduly large percentage of rural Maori income is in part justified. No satisfactory survey has been made but payouts in small rural communities suggest that they may amount to as much as thirty to forty percent of total income. In considering this figure we must take some mitigating social factors into account. First of all, families are larger. Secondly, the age group 16-50 is usually not strongly represented in the backward areas. The more progressive and capable elements tend to live elsewhere and perhaps return in old age. These two factors would explain why a larger percentage of this population tends to receive social security. In addition the economic potential of these areas is often very limited. The problem to be overcome is one of economic development, particularly land development, or of training and education of farming families already settled.

This is closely related to the danger of urban Maori unemployment. This danger is a real one as town Maoris are particularly vulnerable in even very minor economic recessions and more liable to become unemployed than their Pakeha counterparts. Though the prospect of recessions seems remote, we are bound to consider the effect of a considerable body of Maori unemployed present in a town or city. Overseas experience of unemployed racial groups has indicated the danger of their becoming involved in petty or serious crime and forming an - at present happily non-existent - criminally inclined class. There is no doubt that in a recession the desirable solution from a welfare viewpoint would be to induce Maori unemployed to go to the country. An important stabilizing force would then be a class of rural Maoris occupying farms. Such rural Maoris would then be able to absorb people, especially relations, from the towns.

The tendency to reduce expenditure on Maori Land Development may rebound should economic difficulties arise. With a Maori rate of population increase of 3% (half as high again as the New Zealand rate) the additional population to be settled will require commensurately greater expenditures. It is sometimes said that such investment is less sound than expenditure on similar types of land occupied by Europeans, but from a long-range point of view this is hardly a justifiable argument. Educational opportunities for both races are rapidly becoming equal and Maori farm production is already showing clear signs of catching up with the European.

Health Services.

The Maoris enjoy equality in respect of all health benefits and services. Statistics show a much higher incidence in a variety of diseases among the Maori people and there is considerable difference in life expectancy (about 15 years). The isolated places in which many Maoris live and their type of employment may account for a small part of this difference, but the main explanation must be sought in inferior living conditions and health knowledge.

It is a difficult matter, and while much is and has been done through the schools, the influence of school teaching in social matters is notoriously slow if the adult population is not also involved in the education process.

Health education of adults has to take full account of the racial situation and the characteristics of the Maori public to be successful. Although some successful health education has undoubtedly been given Maori adults, special techniques are needed to get on the inside of the Maori communities and win real public support. Liaison between health department, Maori Welfare officers, and Maori voluntary organisations might be established more widely with teaching methods and aids for the purpose.

Housing.

As a result of the Maori housing scheme and other state intervention well over 25% of the Maori people have been rehoused over the last 25 years and these included many of the urgent problem cases, although by no means all.

The provision of houses for Maoris is partly in the hands of the State Advances Corporation and partly in the hands of the Department of Maori Affairs. The former body has allocated some hundreds of State houses to Maori families, the latter has built houses to sell.

An arrangement now exists to allocate in certain towns and cities a Maori State Housing pool on the basis of the Maori proportions of urgent applications, and this Maori pool is distributed by an allocation committee in which the Department of Maori Affairs has a strong representation. The number of State houses allocated to Maoris is limited by the still small size of urban population and particularly the inability of the Maori family in the city to wait for a State House allocation. There used to be a marked reluctance to apply, but this has partly disappeared through the beneficient influence of the Maori Women's Welfare League.

The great majority of government provided homes are built by the Department of Maori Affairs and sold to the applicant under mortgage. (20) The principal question to be answered is of course whether the policy of house-owning rather than renting should be carried quite as far as the scheme has carried it, especially as it is almost impossible for Maoris to rent houses at present. It may well be asked whether the lending of £2,000 to unskilled and seasonal workers is the right way to solve their housing problems, and whether the severe housing problem of shifting populations is sufficiently allowed for. The government's present answer to these questions is that all rental housing has to be provided by State Advances and that the State Advances is limited in the number of houses it may allocate. The Corporation might give somewhat more help if it decided to provide more rental housing in rural areas. The Maori Women's Welfare League has unsuccessfully appealed for rental housing to be provided by Maori Affairs. Undoubtedly this would solve some quite serious problems of welfare, but it would introduce administrative ones, which in the present view of the authorities would be even more serious.

The standard of houses built must be considered high, specifications etc. being up to State housing standard and average area last year 865 square feet. Siting of the houses has led to some sociological discussions on whether putting all Maori houses together in one area would encourage segregation, and whether distribution among Pakeha units would not encourage desirable mixing. The latter alternative is now the department's policy, but with the present great shortage of building sections it fortunately is not too rigidly observed and it seems not to have led to a refusal to build on any available sites.

The flow of applications is excellent and the £2,000 loan limit is almost sufficient for the simpler plans, if an applicant owns a section as, with rural Maoris, is often the case. No statistics on costs are available but £2,050 - £2,300 seem fairly typical for 3 bedroom houses. It may be asked whether the most urgent cases are deferred by the deposit. Where housing conditions are conspicuously bad, welfare officers encourage applicants to apply for loans and to accumulate deposits and in this way a steady flow of really bad cases is remedied. There is a sparingly used 'Special Housing Fund' for 'indigent cases', and a recent policy decision to use it more in the future. Much is also talked about the encouragement of thrift among young Maoris, but it is early marriage that seems to limit the capacity to save. Thrift education may nonetheless be worth while. To be effective it would need to start at the school savings book stage.

Education:

The two chief avenues for primary education for the Maori child are the Maori schools (12,000 pupils) and the public schools (19,000 pupils). The former category has for some time been increasing very slowly and the latter very rapidly. There are also 2,000 Maori children in denominational primary schools.

In the Maori schools the welfare aspect was stressed long before this became common in the other schools as part of the 'new education'. Health and hygiene instruction has always been prominent and the school is recognised as having the broad aim of educating for modern living. 'The teacher and his wife often find themselves expected to play many parts - postmaster, lawyer, nurse, dietitian, parson, public health expert, and general authority on the multitude of pakeha complexities that impinge on a Maori settlement(21).

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(20) Full details of the scheme are in the 1954 Parliamentary Paper G. 9

(21) Education, Today and Tomorrow. H. R. G. Mason. Govt. Printer 1945.

Of Maori children in 1952, 82% graduated from primary schools after the second form, compared with a N.Z. figure of 93%. Unfortunately only 66.2% of the total number of Maori boys and girls who completed their primary courses in 1951 went on to post-primary education. This compares with a pakeha percentage of 90.6. These figures when taken together, though statistical errors are thereby introduced, reveal a rather disturbing position. With the qualification that other methods of compiling these figures might make a difference of several percent, it shows that 46% of Maori children are educated to a maximum of form two, or even lower. The comparable Pakeha figure is only 10%, the N.Z. figure 16%. The percentage dropping out after form 3 is also disturbing - 40% as against Pakeha 18% and N.Z. 20%. The size of the Maori education problem is thus significantly indicated.

Many Maori children live in isolated areas where, to attend high schools, they need to board. This difficulty is being offset by the development of the Maori District High Schools in some country areas for day pupils, and a further help are the post-primary boarding scholarships enabling children to study in town, of which 285 were held in 1953. Almost all these scholarships are held at the Maori secondary schools. The position has been put in these words: 'The size of the family unit amongst Maoris is larger than that amongst non-Maori people in the Dominion, so that parents are faced with a more difficult economic problem in the education of their children, particularly as a large percentage of Maori families live in areas remote from existing post-primary schools.' (22) The Education Department prefers the solution of providing more Maori District High Schools to an extension of the scholarship system. The latter expedient, it is said leads Maori parents to believe there is no point in giving a secondary education to a non-scholarship child. To these considerations might be added that the employment possibilities for Maori school-leavers in isolated areas are not such as to make secondary education very attractive. Considering the marked pride Maori parents take in their children, improvement of the position should not be impossible. The help given by welfare officers in vocational guidance and placement and in stressing the importance of education will act as a stimulus. But, in addition, a wider system of bursaries is a necessity. Here the Maori Trust Boards have given a lead by paying small educational allowances to their beneficiaries. The bursaries have to be applied for and approved by the Boards, but in bona fide cases a certain standard grant is almost automatic. There has been pressure from Maori Women's Welfare Leagues and Tribal Committees for the government to subsidise money raised locally for helping needy parents to keep their children at school, under the Maori Social and Economic Advancement Act.

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(22) Parliamentary Paper E. 3. 1953.

The Department of Maori Affairs has made a small experiment in this direction, with a complex set of controls and an experimental sum of £2,000 to be spread over the whole of Maoridom. So far few tribal committees or welfare leagues have shown interest in the scheme. Publicity will be needed to induce people to take a practical interest in much needed educational improvement schemes.

Maori Welfare officers supplement the work of Child Welfare officers. The position is thus described by one District Welfare Officer:

"Generally speaking nearly every case, in the first instance, is reviewed by the Tribal Committee or Maori Women's Welfare League, in co-operation with the welfare officer who offers advice and guidance. Following the deliberations, the welfare officer places the child in a respectable home. Where the case is considered serious, the child is placed in the hands of the child welfare officer. Actual committals are thus reduced to a negligible number." Statistics are not available. In other districts the Child Welfare Branch appears to take a more active part in the work, although quite rightly every use is made of the continued existence of the Maori 'extended family' system and children are frequently placed with relatives if that is possible. This is a traditional child welfare system with the Maori people and it still works. On occasions it is also possible to effect rehabilitation of very serious trouble cases through the elders of a clan. One interesting case in the Waikato area occurred recently, where Child Welfare agreed to supervision on a 'communal basis', that is, by the Tribal Committee, and with conspicuous success.

Vocational guidance for Maoris is a crucial topic. Three government agencies deal with it, namely Maori Welfare, Vocational Guidance, and Labour and Employment. The effectiveness of each varies from district to district and in Auckland City the liaison between the three has got into a real tangle. The Maori Welfare officers are probably the most successful because they can deal with most of the factors involved far more easily than the other agencies. These factors are: home background, successful rapport with the young Maori, concern with the all-important question of accommodation. They have placed and accommodated hundreds of apprentices with quite notable success as evidenced by employers' reports. The only factor where welfare officers are at a disadvantage is in contact with the schools. A satisfactory arrangement has yet to be made to keep Maori welfare officers informed about school leavers.

Vocational Guidance has made a useful appointment of a Maori vocational guidance officer, but his relation to the dozens of welfare officers in his huge area is ill-defined. Labour and Employment is said to be of limited use in many centres and Maori welfare officers claim they carry out the bulk of placements. This whole position is an example of incomplete liaison and overlapping functions.

Considering that rising population and lack of essential information makes vocational guidance one of the most crucial needs of isolated Maori communities, the problem is likely to remain. General educational work on vocational guidance through tribal committees and leagues is thus an obvious pre-requisite.

Youth clubs and youth centres are strongly encouraged by the welfare officers of the Department of Maori Affairs. They are partly sports and partly Maori culture clubs, with the emphasis usually on the former, but not infrequently on the latter. The more energetic groups have managed to get their own centres or are getting them. One advantage of the centres is in developing 'leadership and self-reliance without fear of conflict with the older generation'. Apart from this emphasis on leadership and responsibility the clubs are 'in the main directed towards the social and amusement avenues with the basic idea of occupying their leisure periods. (23). As such their function in setting high social standards in the community should not be under-estimated Their remedial value in social work in any case is highly rated. One district reported excellent collaboration with the Physical Welfare Branch of the Internal Affairs Department in this work and more might have been achieved if Physical Welfare had been directed at the problem areas from the beginning. If Physical Welfare had continued in operation it would have been of the greatest service in such areas. Needless to say, the Youth Clubs, although independent from the tribal committees, are not designed to work in competition or conflict with them, but rather as youthful subsidiaries gladly tolerated and even encouraged by the elders as long as they do not interfere with the 'deep' subjects.

Social Problems.

The chief symptoms of social disorganisation among the Maoris are the incidence of crime and drunkenness. These social phenomena are more frequent among the Maoris than present-day europeans, although not so many years ago European figures equalled the present Maori ones. The tendency to drunkenness and crime is just as evident in the Maori rural population as in the urban, but far more publicity has been given to urban irregularities Thefts by people recently arrived in the towns and cities have resulted in court cases, when in the country such matters could be solved by arrangement.

The welfare division of the Department of Maori Affairs has to a large extent been created to deal with this social threat. Individual and family case work is done by the division whatever the nature of the social problem. In dealing with crime cases, the welfare officer is a useful help to the probation officer. Liquor cases are often handled at present by the taking of prohibition orders, often "voluntarily" at the suggestion of welfare officers. Staffed mainly by Maoris, the welfare division has always been keenly aware that drink and delinquency were only symptoms of a deeper disease and has shown commendable insight in its insistence on treating the disease rather

(23) Annual Report of the Maori Welfare Division 1954, (cyclostyled, available at Department of Maori Affairs.)

than hiding the symptoms.

If the Maori officers of the division are criticized for various administrative sins, it should be kept in view that by their capacity to look beyond superficial phenomena and seek remedies of a fundamental kind, they have given better service than could have been given by pakeha officers other than (non-available) highly trainedd specialists. They felt they had to deal with a disorganised society and their work has concentrated on the provision of integrating factors. Being in the main entirely ignorant of sociology, they would not arrive at their methods by conscious reasoning, but a look at their welfare methods show that many of the tools of integration have been carefully utilised.

Some of these tools lie within the traditional Maori kinship and tribal structure, and the preservation of Maori language, arts and crafts; other tools lie within the Pakeha structure - mostly youth work, vocational guidance, housing assistance etc. Most of the integrating work is based on group-forming a remedy for social problems in whatever race. The principle is, briefly, to foster leadership and high standards within the group and then let it control the individuals within it. Tribal committees have sporadically been used to control delinquents or near-delinquents. More frequent is use of these committees and their disciplinary aids, the 'wardens', in fighting abuse of drink. The committees have power to fine and to recommend the taking out of prohibition orders. A measure of control is undoubtedly exercised where an offender's status within the group is threatened by such prosecution. There are committees powerful enough to wield such influence. Without community backing or well managed personal rehabilitation, prohibition orders are of little use.

It is very hard to measure results of a widespread integrating movement such as Welfare has assisted. Undoubtedly tribal organisations, women's leagues, youth clubs, and a vast variety of bodies have been set up and are functioning, some - but not a great deal of - educational work has been carried on through these organisations, but the crime and drunkenness phenomena have not materially decreased. This is not to say that the work has been ineffective - one would not expect the abating of symptoms in the initial stages perhaps - but it may well be asked whether the follow up of basic treatment given by welfare officers is as good as their diagnosis and initial remedies. In the absence of a scientific evaluation of the achievements of Maori social and economic advancement, we have to rely on reports which have claimed definite successes in certain communities. One can only say that the diagnosis of widespread social disorganisation through collapse of groups is in all probability correct and that there is almost a consensus of opinion among those

actually doing the work that the remedy must in great part lie in vigorous group work. One gains the impression however, that occasionally welfare officers having formed their groups do not really know what to do with them and that the lack of sensible objectives has perhaps been a cause of the decline of many groups in recent years.

Although fundamentally the problem is the same in urban and rural work there are some superficial differences, in that in urban work a new group has to be created out of persons not necessarily historically associated with one another; whereas in rural communities a tightly woven group that has become disorganised has to be revitalised.

The Department of Maori Affairs has seen the need to use research to develop techniques of dealing with the situation and a pilot project in community development is in progress in Panguru, Northland, under a trained anthropologist stationed there full-time for the duration of the project. The project will be broadly educational in nature and will attempt to inculcate new conceptions of living. It will also arrange the purchase and running of a bus as a practical co-operative development enterprise.

In the matter of race relations, the policy followed has been to encourage mixing, through housing, vocational guidance, and other practical policies but at the same time to encourage aspirations in Maori communities to form Maori groups with in some cases traditional Maori activities. These are not actually found to be inimical to race relations; on the contrary groups have on occasions been used to improve racial relations, as mixing between Pakeha and Maori <u>in groups</u> is usually extremely successful. Generally speaking, the problem of race and segregations has been very much less in the minds of welfare officers than the integration of the Maori amongst his own people.

X. SOCIAL WELFARE OF THE AGED. (24)

As an American compendium puts it, the community should provide the environment and services to make it possible for older persons to be satisfied, useful, self-managing and self-sufficient members of society without the bewilderment, fear, frustration and feeling of guilt characteristic of the old in the recent past. (25)

New Zealand has thoroughly done away with the patriarchal structure of traditional European society and the aged have been left in a particularly deflated state of mind. At the same time, the aged are well looked after physically; age benefits are relatively generous. This, however, does not give them that sense of usefulness and belonging, of adequacy and accomplishment, of acceptance and understanding, that tend to preserve the personality.

In reviewing action that should be taken for the aged, it is first of all necessary to realise that their feeling of useless ness does not correspond to any objective reality; they are not in fact useless, but only appear so because the younger generation easily assumes that they are useless. The solution of the social problem of the aged must be based on principles such as these:

* There are positive roles through which the aged can make a valuable contribution to society.

* These roles offer opportunity for continuous and, in some cases, increased individual satisfaction in the later years.

* Assignment of active roles to the aged and acceptance by them of such roles will resolve many of the individual, family and community problems due to an ageing population.

The problem of an ageing population is not that old people are living for a significantly longer period, but rather that more people are living to join the ranks of the old. The expectation of life at age 60 in New Zealand has increased by just over one year for men and just under two years for women in the last sixty years.

In a paper to the A.N.Z. Association for Advancement of Science, presented last January, Mr. R. Mendelsohn said that "The increasing burden of the aged is regarded as a phenomenon of the same order as, say, the approaching exhaustion of coal reserves - something to be borne as uncomplainingly as possible. There will be an increasing burden on the community by the aged if we allow it. Two influences will ensure this: something like blackmail through

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(24) This subject has been generally covered in an article by J. F. Tasker "Old People in New Zealand" in the March 1953 issue of the New Zealand Journal of Public Administration. All that is attempted here is to crystallise the problems of social services for the aged.

(25) "The Annals - Social Contribution by the Aging" - American Academy of Political & Social Science, January, 1952.

the votes of the aged, and a cruel edict on the part of the young which places people on the shelf long before their time. ..... The New Zealand old age pension begins at 60. But who wants to sit with folded arms and prepare for death at 60. In an era of increasing health and long life, we cannot afford the cruelty either to young or old of enforcing or encouraging premature retirement. ..... A new approach to the problem of old age is overdue."

The Christchurch Survey 1953.

Over the last four years the New Zealand School of Social Science has been carrying out social surveys of people aged 65 and over in the four metropolitan centres. The results of the four surveys have revealed a fairly well established pattern and tell us many significant facts about the aged. The Christchurch survey, for example, revealed that :-

* 95% of those who had ceased work did not wish to work again.

* Ill health was the main reason for ceasing work.

* Only 4% wanted part-time or full-time work.

* About 3% were unable or unwilling to keep their living quarters and persons clean and needed special accommodation in homes or flats.

* Less than 10% thought that old people should live with relatives, but 39% in fact did live with relatives.

* About 75% lived with some person who stood in a fixed relationship and therefore had some responsibility for their welfare.

* 17% lived alone.

* Out of about 15,000 old people in Christchurch it is estimated that 770 favoured old people's homes and 1,230 favoured clubs such as Darby and Joan Clubs.

* 15 - 19% needed some care.

* 4 - 9% needed considerable care.

* 8 - 10% were confined to home or bed.

* The lonely amounting to 1,000, were mainly couples of whom one was incurably ill; single or widowed persons.

Reference to the 1954 Annual Report of the Social Security Department and other records, shows that:

* 56% of the population aged 65 and over were receiving age benefit or war veteran's allowance.

* 82% of unmarried age beneficiaries and 70% of married beneficiaries had income of £1 a week or less.

* Over 90% of unmarried age beneficiaries and 70% of married couples had property (excluding any interest in land, annuities, life insurance, furniture and personal effects) of £500 or less.

The figures emphasise, first of all, the limited income of most age beneficiaries. They also emphasis that there are special needs peculiar to the aged, over and above what are generally considered basic human needs. These needs lie mainly in the medical care needed, transport costs, medicine not under social security and extra fuel. These needs may either be provided for out of accumulated savings or, if there is hardship, the welfare services of hospital boards or the Special Assistance Fund. The number of beneficiaries bedridden or confined to their homes - and therefore by implication in bad health - is so great that we must assume, in view of the limited extra income factor, that a certain amount of hardship created by items of expense prevalent among the aged, is by no means exceptional and probably much higher than the number of cases handled by Boards or the Fund would indicate. (26)

These intermediate cases will need a flexible system of aid with a minimum of investigation into their circumstances. Some further research (studies of expenditure patterns might be instanced) based on the findings of the School of Social Science surveys is to be recommended.

The figures also emphasise the need for home care for the sick. Up to 19% appear to need care and although most of these probably live with people who look after them, a system should exist that does not threaten old people with loss of basic care should they leave whoever is looking after them. The figure of 17% for people living alone - although probably higher than it used to be - may still be low if one considers the large number of aged who are really quite lost without their independence. There is a considerable number of old people needing care and not living with relations or friends; these are helped by various schemes that are not integrated or organised in the way a social service of major size should be.

In addition there is the problem of special accommodation for the particularly difficult 3% referred to earlier.

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(26) "Problems of Social Policy" page 516. Professor Titmus refers to a "remarkable discovery of secret need" in the United Kingdom. He quotes a memorandum from the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the War Cabinet in January 1940 that it was "difficult to believe that many old age pensioners prefer destitution to applying for assistance. The great majority of individual workers did not appear to feel strongly on that point". At that time supplementary allowances from the Poor Law cost £5 million per annum. Yet after legislative provision was made for supplementing pensions where resources were inadequate expenditure rose to £26 million in 1941 and £60 million by 1945.

Social Needs.

Not many of the people covered in the Christchurch survey were enthusiastic about Darby and Joan Clubs, although an important minority were. The great bulk of old people rather considered themselves an integral part of the population and wished the sort of life usual in their community.

Again the 'lonely' were a small minority - that is the group who were interested in describing themselves in that way. They were not as healthy physically or mentally as the rest. Most of them had long been resident in the district. They were mainly couples, one of who was incurably ill, or single or widowed persons. Women presented a particular problem.

So the bulk were neither lonely, nor looking for clubs, nor anxious or even willing to work. They wanted to be independent, which most of them were not.

We have not seen figures of organisations to which these people belong or of hobbies in which they are absorbed for a good part of their time. Such figures would be highly significant. It would be surprising if they were high. This applies more particularly to aged women.

This is characteristic of the pattern of modern life, but it may be possible through such organisations as Welfare Councils, to effect a change in attitude. Another fruitful approach might be through certain Adult Education activities which, although not overtly directed at the aged, yet are calculated to attract them.

Employment.

Anyone advocating that the aged should find an outlet for their energy and knowledge through gainful employment is faced with the extremely low percentage of retired people who, according to the survey, want to work. This is a clear fact and yet it is hard to believe that it is in the best interests of society if people spend too large a part of their lives in retirement. In a period when unemployment is a serious problem it may be that early retirement is a sound way of rationing work, but at the present time our problem is lack of labour.

What would happen if the retiring age was raised to 65 years? We learn from the U.K. Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men & Women (October 1953 cmd. 8963) that the majority of men and women who are capable of efficient work at 60 could continue to work efficiently up to age 70. While the same would apply to New Zealand, there would still remain a minority especially in the heavier types of manual work and

among women, for whom it would be a hardship to expect them to work to an older age than 60. It may also not be fair to expect these people to have to prove through a medical examination that they are unable to work, before they are allowed to retire.

The proper policy is possibly the one already adopted to a very limited extent, namely to provide financial incentive to those who work on after 60 without on the other hand making those who feel they have to retire, suffer unduly.

The employment of part-time workers is inhibited at present by the way the age benefit is calculated. In addition to other income of £1. 10. 0. a week, a married couple of age benefit can have a weekly benefit of £7. 0. 0. tax free (worth say, £8 or more in comparison with an earned income when allowance is made for travelling expenses and other "costs" of employment and the fact that such a wage is subject to tax). If part-time workers were allowed a portion of their earnings above the income exemption as an additional exemption this might be an added incentive, but naturally no encouragement should be given to those in full employment to drop their present jobs. The problem is a complex one and warrants more investigation

More could be done also along the lines of arranging light and part-time work especially suited to older people. Employers, if they are as short of labour as they claim, could arrange for diminution in working hours, rearrangement of duties or elimination of unnecessary physical effort as their employees move into the usual retiring age. Re-employment of retired workers on this basis might be considered. The Public Service might have something useful for people in this class. (27) Light part-time work would be more popular with the older people than heavy full-time work which has become too much of a strain.

It would be an advantage if this work could be so organised as to give a social outlet to the workers, who are not usually vitally concerned with earning high pay. Work for old people could be a combined productive and welfare activity - an opportunity for old people to meet socially with their own group and still contribute something to the national output. It is a case of matching declining powers with reduced responsibility.

Such a policy would have the support of the medical profession which is now sometimes concerned at the sudden deterioration in health which sometimes results when elderly people are suddenly withdrawn from work. A gradual tapering off of work would be medically more desirable although socially and economically it may be difficult to arrange.

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(27) Some ways in which employment can be adjusted to aging workers are discussed inter alia, in "Growing with the Years", New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Problems of the Aged - 1954 Report.

XI MEANS TEST.

We mentioned on page 4 that the year's talks did not specially deal with administration of cash benefits. one of the most interesting matters which could have arisen in such a talk would be the "means test".

In bygone days not only have pensions of the 'income maintenance' type been subject to tests, but also education and health provisions. The test on education was the first to go. As early as 1877 primary education was made free. Secondary education followed much later under Hogben's beneficient influence.

As for health, treatment is now available to everyone irrespective of the lack of or size of income. Though there are still a few gaps, and though a small charge is made for doctor's attendance, generally speaking health and hospital care is free of any test of means.

Our test on cash benefits has a long history. The first proposals of the early 1880's for old age pensions were based on insurance principles. These never got much of a hearing, and the scheme adopted in 1898 established a means test. The pension of £18 a year was reducible for every pound of income over £34 and by £1 for each £15 of property over £50. This set the pattern, and in subsequent developments, the means test has been a cardinal feature of our cash benefit structure. So it remained to 1938 when the tradition was strongly breached by the Act providing for universal superannuation. The second major break was when family benefits were made universal in 1946.

Because our social security scheme is tax-based and not contributory, there is no possibility of relating payouts to individual in-payments. The idea has been to tax the community so as to be able to maintain the income of those people who could not help themselves. Those whose incomes have been interrupted because of old age, permanent or temporary incapacity, the death of the breadwinner, or involuntary unemployment, have at the community's expense been assured of a living income. As we have tried to show in the section on Financing, insurance principles do not apply, so that anyone suffering one of these contingencies becomes eligible for a State pension, not automatically but only if his own means are insufficient to maintain him and his dependents in reasonable comfort. The qualification has been 'need' and the test is of 'means'. So long as our scheme <u>is</u> based on taxation, there is little likelihood that the means test will be done away with for unemployment, widowhood, sickness, occupational disease, or for orphans. So we see that the test is really a test of need. This then is the foundation on which our cash benefits have been built.

What about the family benefit? This too was originally brought in for those in need, and was paid to help those with big families. But there has long been a strong underlying feeling that a wage system which does not remunerate a man according to his social responsibilities warranted some sort of adjustment by some other method. It was understandable that an employer could not pay married men more than single men - otherwise the former would find it hard to get jobs. So exemptions from income tax for dependent wives and children were introduced and these to some extent met the position. However, tax exemptions proved insufficient to assure the man with several children a wage in line with his family's living costs. So the family benefit introduced in New Zealand in 1926 for the third and subsequent children was non-contributory, and suject to a means test. Conditions were liberalised after 1938 until all children were covered. The rate had been lifted to 10/- in 1944, the really momentous step, taken in 1946, removed the means test and intoduced the benefit universal.

Perusal of debates in the House of representatives in 1938 and 1946 tells us that there has been a remarkable degree of unanimity between the parties. But it fails to reveal any satisfying clear statement of philosophy. Undoubtedly there was a strong desire to carry redistribution of income further on the part of the Labour Government. But the most justifiable reason for eliminating the means test seems to be the one we have noted earlier - the inability to design a wage which pays according to a man's dependents. A universal family benefit is a tacit admission that mere tax exemptions are not enough. One of the peculiar things about the 1946 measure is that it did not abolish the exemptions. The various suggestions since made to tax the benefit (in the hands of the mother or father) really amount to much the same thing.

Our view of the universal family benefit is that it is sound in principle. Whatever the income of the recipient family, it allows the community to adjust earnings to family responsibilities, a thing that seems impossible through the wage structure in a capitalist society. (28) We therefore consider that a means-test-free family benefit is appropriate in these circumstances.

There is a case to be made for eliminating the tax exemptions in respect of children, using the revenue to increase the flat rate benefit.

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(28) The New Zealand Court of Arbitration has ruled against proposals to link wage rates to a notional family. In Sept. 1953 the Austrlian Court abandoned the principle, held since 1921, of a 'living wage' baded on 'needs'. They adopted instead, the concept of 'capacity to pay' interpreted as the highest that industry and the community could afford.

This leaves us to deal with the age benefit and universal superannuation. Once again a conflicting set of principles is thrown up. It had been argued before the Select Committee, whose recommendations introduced the Social Security Act, that if superannuation was treated separately only those who benefited should contribute. (29) The Committee, however, conceded only the desirability of paying benefits without a means test. Even this, they said, would take so much money as to leave not enough for the needy. Hence the Government's solution of starting universal superannuation at a small rate and gradually raising it until it runs level with the age benefit, when true universal superannuation would be realised. This decision of the Government in adopting universality was later described in these words: "One of the primary objects was to do away with the stigma of charity which had formerly been associated with old age pensions and other types of pensions." (30)

It is worth noting the reasons for universality carefully - first, people "contributing" want a share in the payouts. Second, the idea of charity was obnoxious and was to be expunged. A third reason also had favour, (especially for those with longer memories harking back to the days when beneficiaries had to declare their means in open court) namely that means test are inquisitorial and offensive to personal dignity.

It is well known that there was extrmely strong reaction against any means test in the United Kingdom. This was due to their long Poor Law history with its disagreeable pauper taint. In fact in his major review of social insurance in 1942, Beveridge did not even raise the question of a means test. But in trying to get the best of both worlds in doing away with the means test and placing social security on a contributory 'payments as of right' basis, the British seem unfortunately to have lost out in both directions. Ronald Mendelsohn sums it up in picturesque language when he warns that "we must look for something that avoids both detailed contribution conditions and the means test. Australia and New Zealand," he continues "have escaped the unfortunate fate which has befallen Great Britain which finds itself entrapped in an enormous administrative machine designed to give each individual contributor his rights and no more. It is the most outstanding and misguided example of the Red Tape State I know, only slightly mitigated by the invention of the punch card." (31).

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(29) "New Zealand" W. Nash. J. M. Dent & Sons 1944.
(30) "The Growth and Development of Social Security in New Zealand". Soc. Sec. Dept. 1950,
(31) Op. Cit.

Dr. Herbert Evatt promised to abolish the means test in Australia if returned at the polls, but this was clearly an insufficient issue to swing the voter. Apparently the means test is not worrying the Australians unduly. The "Economist", reflecting on this, wondered if there is not after all some real merit in retaining the principle of need as a justification for old age pensions. The day of transferring income from rich to poor has pretty well passed. Is the supposed humiliation and misery associated with means teat genuine? "After all everyone who fills in his annual income tax return submits to very searching enquiry into his private resources. There is no objection in principle to this means test - which is not confined to the individual but brings in his family." (32)

If these are the present reasons for removing means testsfrom age benefits we feel they no longer apply, and that the mounting cost of universal superannuation might be looked at anew. In fact, there is little opposition to the type of means test we have today for age benefits. The surveys of the aged have revealed no marked antipathy, though many disliked the enquiries which are necessary for special assistance. Nor is payment of tax a ground for participation any more than is payment of, say, income tax which is also used to help pay benefits.

The really sticky problem is that of incentives. If, as we postulate, in the preceding section on the Aged, active employment of one kind or another is of important therapeutic value to the old folk, if it is in the interests of production to keep people at work for as long as possible, and if the means test causes them to retire, then should the test be removed? The principle of improved age benefits and univeral superannuation were framed in the context of unemployment, whereas today our problem is just the reverse. Would extension of the idea of universality to an age lower than sixty-five keep people at work longer? It might and it might not. On the other hand, those who rely on the benefit for the major part of their income may take more work. In this case the elimination of the means test would act as an incentive. In two ways there would be a tendency towards disencentives. Any major extension of benefits, poses a budgetary problem of no mean proportions. Many people in the sixty to sixty-five group have earnings sufficient to keep them in a reasonable standard of comfort. To tax the community for the purpose of redistributing income toward a class already in confortable circumstances is regarded by many as a new and indefensible function of public finance. These people in the main would allow that taxation may legitimately be taken to pay for community needs such as internal and external defence, public health, education and (some of them only)medical treatment. But, they would contend, to take money from one person to give it to another is justified only to relieve need. And if money is taken by taxation

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(32) "Economist" 5th June 1954. On a similar topic, on Nov. 20th 1954, the same paper found reason to describe an increase in all pensions (i.e. without test of means) as irresponsible and inflationary. "The Labour Party" said the paper, "in the censure debate on Tuesday, accused the Government of moving with caution and responsibility in the matter of pensions; and the accusation was rebutted with indignation."

and paid to those in comfortable circumstances, this is an unnecessary curtailment of the liberty of the individual to spend as he wishes his earnings - after the Government has taken sufficient to meet its legitimate requirements. Perhaps even more important than the immediate budgetary problem is the secondary effects of high taxation. If taxation is already high, Governments may have difficulty in persuading public opinion that further taxes should be raised to finance worthwhile extensions to existing benefits in, say, the health and education field, which may have a potential benefit to the community far exceeding that obtained from universal age benefits.

Perhaps the disincentive of high taxation removes from the national output more than would be added by extra work from those in the sixty to seventy age group who, given a universal benefit, would work longer than they are now prepared to do.

It should not be thought that only disincentive to work flows from the means test. In certain circumstances the test may encourage them to continue work. For example, some people in the age group prefer to continue at an occupation, especially if they have means such as private superannuation which more or less disqualify them from age benefit, but which is insufficient to provide the standard of living they are used to. For example, a couple with superannuation of three of four pounds a week may be used to an income for comfort of, say, ten pounds a week. The male of the couple might be happy to work to maintain this standard. But if he and his wife are to receive a universal additional pension, then the requisite standard of life can be had without the necessity of further work.

With older women, in any case, especially where they have spent the greater part of their lives as housekeepers, outside work in all likelihood holds little attraction.

In all frankness we find ourselves in somewhat of a cleft stick on this matter of universal superannuation. We think it well for old people in their own interests to have some useful occupation be it paid work or otherwise. We also are cognizant of the need for higher production and therefore for removing disincentives to work. Of course, as with many other parts of our social life, we don't know what the people themselves desire or think. There is much work still to be done here. (note - the School of Social Science Surveys were in respect only of people sixty-five and over).

Possible alternatives that need looking at are:

*allow universal superannuation to take in all people over sixty-five as now contemplated at the same rate as age benefit;

*to put the peg in on universal superannuation at much its present level on the ground that it is unrelated to the basic idea of payment according to needs;

*apply a sliding scale to means tests so that the income exemption does not cut out so abruptly - the objection to this is that it also liberalises pensions for those whose income is not from earned sources and so does not reach the heart of the "production" problem;

*a distinction in calculating means tests might be made by allowing additional income exemption for "earned" income rather than "unearned" income, in which case the universal superannuation might still be pegged as suggested above.

None of these courses are specifically favoured but are mentioned for what they are worth.

The "Economist" in the article already quoted rightly said that, with certain qualifications, "proof of need is as morally sound as it is financially imperative. The politicians will answer that it is easy for those who do not have to face elections to be bold. But to say that is to miss the point, which lies in the question whether it really takes courage to advocate the simple principle that no one should live on the taxpayer unless he needs to."

XII - CONCLUSION.

We have now reviewed a few selected topics concerning New Zealand's social services. No comprehensive structure has been set out; this could not be done in so fragmentary a review as we have attempted. We have written, all the same, with a few dominant ideas in mind and by abstracting these we can show what contribution, if any, we have made to the knowledge and criticism of New Zealand's social services to-day.

Throughout our work we have kept in mind that the social services here are of two kinds; first, we may be concerned with the needs of particular groups, such as the sick, the unemployed, aged persons in poor circumstances, the mentally handicapped, the emotionally unbalanced, the inefficient family units living in squalor and neglecting their children. For all these the country has financial benefits, institutions, case workers. The other type of social service is the type available to everybody: free education, free medicine, universal family benefits and superannuation.

Some part of our study has been concerned with the economics of the welfare state; we have shown how the expenditure on the social services has always to be limited by the level of national production. Free education, free medicine and universal superannuation are unthinkable, just at present, in, say, Afghanistan; the Afghans are limited by their level of national production. Our limits are higher, but exist nonetheless. We must therefore ask ourselves how much we can expend on the universal benefits and how much on the relief of the needy.

In fact we have to choose between two principles: first the insurance principle, according to which availability of benefits is tied to citizens' direct contributions. At base, its principle is one of ability to pay. The other is, simply, the relief of distress. According to this principle, our first aim in apportioning money to social services is the relief of need. We think that the New Zealand decision to follow the latter of these principles is the right one.

From this we draw two main conclusions: first, if it is found that the country cannot afford the full social services bill the best economy would be to keep universal superannuation at a fairly low level and to increase benefits and special assistance to needy persons, thus devoting as much as possible of the available finance to the relief of need. Family benefit, on the other hand, fulfils a most useful function in adjusting earnings to family responsibilities and should always be kept universal.

The most important way in which we can build up our social services is by increasing production; incentives to those above sixty to continue doing some kind of productive work would therefore help the social problem of the aged in more than one way: it would add to their personal income, and also to the national income from which social services are derived.

Our second conclusion is that on this view of social security financed in real fact by allocation out of the whole national income, and not just from a specially designated social security tax there is no real purpose in a Social Security Fund, a conception harking back to the repudiated insurance principle. No Government to-day would let its social security policy be determined by how much there is in the Fund nor would it pay specific benefits on the grounds of persons having paid social security tax. There is therefore no intrinsic reason for retaining the separate fund.

Reviewing critically what New Zealand had done with respect to social security benefits we were constantly struck by the lack of family budget studies on which to base the benefit rates. The original rates were not based on any scientific estimate of need; nor are the present ones, though we have seen that their general level is high by international standards. There is no suitable body to advise the government on necessary reviews. It seemed to us that in a country where so much stress is laid on the relief of need, there should be the fullest knowledge of where, if anywhere, real distress exists. The operations of the Special Assistance Fund on the one hand, and the Schools of Social Science on the other, are beginning to shed rays of knowledge, but we still consider that a suitable body, with research facilities, be given the task of keeping the social services under review and advising the government.

The administration of the social services being such an immense field, we did not feel we could do more than pinpoint a few interesting questions. One question we asked was how adequate was their coverage? We found them, as far as physical needs were concerned, fairly complete, but, as in most countries, use of a modern psychological approach came much later; in fact most services of a 'mental' nature, other than mental hospitals, developed rapidly after the last war. This approach is by no means fully developed now and it is still worth stressing that often people with psychological problems are more in need of advice than of money and that, for New Zealanders in difficulties, the latter is still often far easier to get than the former. Two channels of advice we thought merit special encouragement are: family guidance councils, which are doing valuable work and could do more if they were subsidised and staffed with full time specialists in the bigger centres. In addition, a committee ought to be set up to plan a scheme to teach parents how to handle maladjustment in adolescents and how to impart sex education.

We also investigated how much the general public knows about our social services and came to the conclusion that knowledge of these should be far more widely spread. There is a strong case for establishing public relations officers in the bigger centres to give people in difficulties an idea where to turn. There is also need for a book giving an uptodate analytical description of the social services in the country. It may be appropriate for the State to commission the writing of such a work; or it might be made a joint product of the Schools of Social Science and Public Administration at Victoria College.

Another question in which the study-group was interested was the organisational structure of the social services. We found the main emphasis was on statutory rather than voluntary services; although powerful non-government organisations exist, they are not nearly so numerous or powerful as in most countries. The private organisations still depend considerably on private funds. We found there are signs just recently of coordinated efforts of various private organisations to raise funds together; a community chest at Devonport was a success and one in Auckland initiated. In some localities there also are district welfare agencies which are working together; they have not, so far, organised community chests but the success of the ventures referred to may induce them to examine the matter.

We looked fairly closely at instances of overlapping and indifferent coordination among the government departments administering social services. On the whole, each department gives a distinct range of necessary services, but when it came to the aged and the various types of problem family, it looked as if there were too many distinct and loosely coordinated services in the field. To get a more efficient structure, it may be worth examining ways and means of

creating a social welfare department, in which would be coordinated the functions of Social Security, services for the aged, domestic assistance, Child Welfare and, possibly, also Maori Welfare.

Another question of some interest is the position of the social worker. If we accept the United Nations definition of the professional social worker, we have hardly any in the country. However, the School of Social Science has now been established and in a comparatively short time, as graduates become available, New Zealand will be able to compete with other countries in the standard of training of its personnel. Increased effectiveness will no doubt result, but to get the full benefit of the trained personnel various adjustments will be needed: adequate provision for social workers to influence top level decisions on social welfare questions; a professional type of personnel control; regular conferences at which social welfare questions can be discussed; and above all, research facilities to provide the social worker with the facts without which he can no more do his work than a general practitioner could function without the backing of medical research laboratories. All social service departments should have research officers with proper qualifications.

A portion of our report was given to studies of special subjects; the means tests, the care ofthe aged and social services for the Maori people. In our discussion on the aged we made the contention that aged persons have a useful role to play in modern society and that they could be helped by a policy offering them independence and activity. The main conclusions emerging from our study of the Maori problem was that its core lies in the lower educational standard of the Maori people. We also expressed a fear that the public is too easily led to believe that Maoris who come to town to live are securely settled there. In any economic recession, a considerable Maori unemployment problem in towns and cities may be expected and the rural areas willhave to be able to reabsorb them. For this reason,the study group recommends vigorous continuation of Maori land development.

Is it possible to draw together these strands to some general conclusion about New Zealand's social services? The structure of social security rests on foundations of warm feeling for one's fellow men. Let us hope this willforever remain the basis of the New Zealand social security system. To this is gradualy being added the modern science of - let us say - social engineering. Although this is done by various types of scientists, they are scientists who, far from being cold-hearted, have devoted themseves to helping others to make a greater success of their lives. The future of New Zealand's social services will ultimately depend on the quality of its 'social engineering'.

APPENDIX I

MAIN SOCIAL SERVICES OPERATING IN NEW ZEALAND

Social Group	Voluntary Service	Local and Similar Statutory Authorities Services	Central Government	
			Service	Dept. or Vote
Marriage and family guidance	Marriage Guidance Councils. Family Planning Association. Family Guidance Councils	-	-	-
Maternity	*Plunket Society - prenatal care and instruction Karitane Hospitals	*Hospital accommodation and treatment	State Maternity Hospitals Grants to Plunket Society and certain private maternity hospitals	Health
	Private maternity services - various free or subsidised services		Maternity benefits Medical benefits Hospital benefits	Social Security Fund
Pre School Children	*Plunket Society Services Day Nurseries *Nursery Play Centres *Kindergartens		Grants or subsidies - Plunket Society Play Centres and Kindergartens	Health Education
School Children and Youths	Private Schools - various free or subsidised xHealth Camps Orphanages xSocieties catering for Intellectually Handicapped, Crippled Children, War Orphans (Heritage) Youth Movements; *Scouts;	*Education Boards School Committees	Primary & Secondary Schools and Colleges Correspondence Schools Special Schools for deaf, blind & backward children	Education
			Subsidies to Island Territories	Island Territories
	YMCA &c. Sundry social activities conducted by churches &c.		School Medical and Dental Services and Child Health Clinics Milk in Schools	Health
			Child Welfare	Education
			Probation and reformatories	Justice
			Vocational Guidance	Education
			Grants to various voluntary organisations	various

Social Group	Voluntary Service	Local and Similar Statutory Authorities Services	Central Government	
			Service	Dept. or Vote
Higher Education	*W.E.A. xAdult Education Councils	*Universities *Agriculture Colleges	Technical education for adults Grants: Universities Agricultural Colleges Adult Education Bodies	
Interrupted Earnings Income Maintenance Relief of Poverty	Lodges Employers' Sick Pay Smith Family	Mayors' Relief Funds *Hospital Board Charitable Aid Outdoor Relief	Benefits & Pensions Unemployment Sickness Widows Orphans War Family Allowances Old Age Blind Emergency Special Assistance Fund Subsidy to National Provident Fund	Soc. Sec. Fund Treasury
Social Adjustment	Prisoners Aid and After Care Assocns., Borstal Assocns. A.A. Temperance Unions Church Organisations, e.g. Salvation Army and Presbyterian Social Services Assn. Blind Institutes *Hard of Hearing League National Council of Women & member organisations *Islanders Welfare Societies.		Grants and Subsidies to Voluntary organisations - e.g. Blind Institute Grant to Cook & Samoan Administrations Maori Welfare Services	Various External Affairs Maori Affairs
Housing	*Orphanages and Old Peoples Homes, Youth Hostels	*Old Peoples hostels & Cottages *Hospital Boards accommodation for nurses	Subsidies towards capital cost of old peoples and youth hostels Nurses hostels - indirectly borns by Cons. Fund Accommodation for home aids, cadets, miners, etc.	Health Subsidies to Hosp. Bds. Labour

Social Group	Voluntary Service	Local and Similar Statutory Authorities Service	Central Government	
			Service	Dept. or Vote
Housing (cont'd)			Indirect subsidies on rentals or purchase price of State houses Suspensory loans	Housing A/c.
			Low interest rates for various housing projects, e.g. local body pensioners cottages, rural houses, slum clearance; rehabilitation, Maori housing	Various
Health	Lodges St. Johns Ambulance Red Cross Society *Church organisations, e.g. Homes of Compassion After Care Associations (mental) Hospital visitors	*Hospitals	General Medical (Practitioner) Services Pharmaceutical, hospital & Supplementary (artificial aids, dental, laboratory, nursing physiotherapy, radiological &c.)	Social Security Funds
			Grants to Samoan & Cook Is. administration	Island Territ.
			Nursing Services Dental Hygiene Departmental Hospitals Mental Hospitals	
Old Age	Old Folks Associations Church & Others supplying clubs and sundry services	*Hospital old age care	Universal Superannuation Home Aid	Social Security Fund
Overseas Organisations	CORSO		Grants and subscriptions to UNO agencies, e.g. WHO, UNESCO, FAO, Korean Reconstruction, I.R.O. UNICEF, Technical Assistance; Colombo Plan	External Affairs
Employment	*Ex-Servicemen's Organisations, e.g. Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League		(Vocational Guidance as above) Apprenticeship and Placement Home Aid Services. Occupational Health Rehabilitation Services	Labour Health Rehab.

*Subsidised by more than token grants from Govt.

APPENDIX 2.

APPENDIX - ADDRESS ON THE THEME "SOCIAL SERVICES IN NEW ZEALAND."

Delivered to the Wellington Branch During 1954.

Title of Address.	Date.	Speaker.
The Social Service State	11 March	K. J. Scott
Voluntary Social Services	25 March	J. R. McCreary
The Welfare of Women & Children	15 April	Hon Mrs. Hilda Ross M.P.
Social Services in the United States.	22 April	Prof; York Willbern
Administration Problems of the Department of Health	5 May	J. E. Engel
Administration of Education in New Zealand.	27 May	G. W. Parkyn
Broadcasting as a Social Force	10 June	Wm; Yates
Social Services for the Maori, Cook Island & Samoan Peoples	1 July	Prof. Ernest Beaglehole
Economics of the Social Service State	8 July	Dr. W. B. Sutch
New Zealand in a Social Service World	22 July	Rt. Hon. W. Nash.
The Concepts of Crime	12 August	Prof. W. G. Minn
Administration in the Fields of Delinquency and Crime	26 August	L. G. Andersnn P. K. Mayhew
The Place of a Labour Department in a Social Service State	9 Sept.	H. L. Bockett
Social Security from the Receiving End	23 Sept.	Commissioner Robert A. Hoggard (Salvation Army)
Report of the Consultative Commission on Hospital Reform	28 Oct.	I.P.A. Study Group

APPENDIX 3.

NEW ZEALAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

Established 1949 Opened 1950

Staff	Professor W. G. Minn (ex U.K.)	Background voluntary social work; probation officer, Official duties with Home Office in charge of Probation Officer Training. (M.A.Camb.)
Lecturers:	J. R. McCreary	Formerly lectured in psychology, Victoria College. Joined School in 1952. M.A. (Psychology)
	J. H. Robb	Formerly lectured in psychology, Victoria University College. Studied London School of Economics. Worked in Tavistock Institute and Family Discussion Bureau. PH.D (ond.) M.A. (Psychology)

Enrolment	Year	Public Service	Private	Total
	1950	8	6	14
	1951	16	9	25
	1952	16	4	20
	1953	19	6	25
	1954	19	4	23

Students:

Education -	Child Welfare	19	PSC	1
	Ed. Dept.	3	Int. Aff.	1
	Voc.Guidance	6	Air Dept.	1
		28	Broadcast	1
Justice		6	Cadet	1
Maori Affairs		4	Lands & Survey	1
Health		2		
Social Security		2		
	Total Departmental	48		
	Total Private	16		
	Students enrolled to date	64		

Government bursars are required to take out a bond of five years service following completion of diploma. The majority of private students are not financed by private organisations.

Course: Two years full time course. Diploma is granted on passing written examination and the attainment of a satisfactory standard in practical work.
Broad basic training social sciences and practical social work designed for public and private agencies in New Zealand.

Curriculum - Theory:

First Year:

Theory and practice of social work,
Psychology I,
Principles and organisation of the Social Services,
Social biology,
Social history,
Economics,
Contemporary social problems I.

Second Year:

Elements of law,
Statistics and methods of social research,
Central and local government,
Comparative social administration,
Casework,
Psychology II.
Contemporary social problems II
Short courses will be provided in:

Office routine,
Medical problems.

Practical Training:

Extensive practical work in co-op. with public industrial and voluntary agencies. Intensive period of practical training scheduled for long vacation.

Thesis:
Students are expected to write a short thesis before obtaining diploma

Research. School undertakes or assists in research projects or other undertakings.

Major Projects:

Social	Survey	of	Aged,	Wellington, 1951
"	"	"	"	Auckland 1952
#	"	"	"	Christchurch 1953
"	"	"	"	Dunedin 1954

Other Projects:

Survey of Foster Home Placements.	For Child Welfare Branch 1952.
Follow up of alcoholics.	Who have undergone treatment; for Health Dept. 1951
Survey of Hostel Accommodation	For Borstal After Care Association 1953

Projects in liaison with others:

Hawera Social Survey	In association with a Committee of Victoria University College; students of the School undertook the interviewing work 1953.

BOOKS ON THE NEW ZEALAND SOCIAL SERVICES.

We have gathered below references to some of the works written about the New Zealand Social Services. No attempt could be made, in the limited time available, to prepare anything comprehensive of complete, but the main references used in the preparation of this survey, in as far as they are of New Zealand origin, are given below. References to more general works published outside New Zealand have been made in the text and acknowledged in footnotes.

We have included in our list references to works we did not ourselves have time to consult, but to which we yet wish to draw the reader's attention. Most of these are university theses where a wealth of fact on the social services lies - for the most part - untapped. While the thesis work is naturally unequal in quality, it is far wider in its coverage than anything attempted by maturer adults. Proper records of theses have only been kept by the University since 1948 and even now only titles are published. If a short abstract (say 200 words) was prepared for each thesis and the abstracts filed in the libraries of each of the four constituent colleges and (say) the Turnbull Library, research workers would benefit and the students would be gratified at the use made of their labours. While our list of theses is not complete, it may be regarded as fairly comprehensive.

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