

I have a dream -

**A study of Maori mothers living on social welfare,
their lives, dreams and thoughts about the future.**

Master Thesis written by Daniel Te Kira

Abstract

The purpose of this Thesis was to let a group of six Maori single mothers, depending on Social Welfare, tell the story about their lives, their dreams and thoughts about the future.

The queries at issue dealt with topics such as the interview persons (IPs) economy, living standard and family constellations. Other questions dealt with reasons for getting and staying on Social Welfare, interactions with staffmembers at Work and Income New Zealand and the lives, dreams and thoughts about the future. The Thesis was exploratory with the intention to define and describe the questions mentioned. The methods used was deep interviews and a background information survey. The population was chosen according to four different criteria: The subject had to be Maori, single, a mother and receive Social welfare Benefit on regular bases. The major findings were that the IPs got and stayed on the benefit because of having children. All of the IPs struggled economically which had a stressing effect on them all. All of the IPs wished for attributes correlated with what a normal New Zealander have such as, a house, a steady relationship and ability to give the children what they wanted and needed.

Table of content 1

| | |
|---|----|
| Abstract..... | 2 |
| Table of content 1..... | 3 |
| Table of content 2..... | 4 |
| 1. Foreword..... | 5 |
| 2. Introduction..... | 6 |
| 3. Problem area | 6 |
| 4. Definitions | 7 |
| 4.1. Maori | 7 |
| 4.2. Pakeha | 7 |
| 4.3. Single mothers | 7 |
| 5. Purpose and queries at issue | 7 |
| 5.1. The queries at issue | 7 |
| 6. Method and data collection..... | 8 |
| 6.1. Reliability | 10 |
| 6.2. Validity | 10 |
| 6.3. Choice of population | 10 |
| 6.4. Sampling methods | 11 |
| 6.5. Representativeness of the samples | 11 |
| 7. New Zealand: The history of tension between Maori and Pakeha | 12 |
| 7.1. Colonialism | 12 |
| 7.2. Discourse | 13 |
| 7.3. Marginalisation | 13 |
| 7.4. Maori sovereignty | 14 |
| 7.5. Cultural belonging | 14 |
| 7.6. Maori and Pakeha labels | 15 |
| 8. Social policy in New Zealand | 16 |
| 8.1. Maori Social Welfare | 16 |
| 8.2. New Zealand social welfare | 16 |
| 9. Work and income New Zealand (WINZ) and benefits in New Zealand | 17 |
| 9.1. Independent Youth Benefit | 17 |
| 9.2. Sickness Benefit | 18 |
| 9.3. Domestic Purpose Benefit | 18 |
| 9.4. Disability Benefit..... | 18 |

Table of content 2

| | |
|---|----|
| 10. Housing New Zealand | 18 |
| 10.1. My own views about the ‘statehouses’ | 19 |
| 11. Background information | 19 |
| 11.1. Economy and income | 19 |
| 11.2. Living standard | 19 |
| 11.3. Family constellations | 20 |
| 12. Interviews with six Maori single mothers living on social welfare | 20 |
| 12.1. How did you end up on benefit? | 20 |
| 12.1.1. Analysis | 21 |
| 12.2. How are you coping with living on social welfare? | 23 |
| 12.2.1. Analysis | 25 |
| 12.3. How is your health? | 26 |
| 12.3.1. Analysis | 26 |
| 12.4. How does the staff at WINZ treat you? | 27 |
| 12.4.1. Analysis | 29 |
| 12.5. Is there any other support you think you need that you are not getting? | 30 |
| 12.5.1. Analysis | 30 |
| 12.6. Do WINZ explain what you are entitled to, the rules and regulations? | 31 |
| 12.6.1. Analysis | 32 |
| 12.6.2. Work and income: My own experience | 32 |
| 12.7. Why can’t you get of the benefit? | 33 |
| 12.7.1. Analysis | 35 |
| 12.8. What do you wish for? | 36 |
| 12.8.1. Analysis | 37 |
| 12.9. Do you have any thoughts regarding the future? | 39 |
| 12.9.1. Analysis | 40 |
| 12.10. Where do you see yourself in five years and ten years? | 41 |
| 12.10.1. Analysis | 42 |
| 13. Summary | 43 |
| 14. Conclusion | 45 |
| 15. References | 46 |
| Appendix 1 | 48 |
| Appendix 2 | 49 |

1. Foreword

Kia Ora (Hej) Hi!

Finally I have reached the point when someone else other than myself will read my Thesis. It begun as an idea almost two years ago. It is hard for me to understand that the fruit of my labour is fresh out of the printer. I did write it alone... But couldn't have done it with out the help from Napaporn who lend me her ear and Fran Watson who helped me with the proof-reading and editing which made the Thesis look so much better. My husband Joseph helped me with some aspects of writing transcripts of the interviews and supported me through the whole process.

I also wish to thank all my interview persons: Elsa, Tanya, Jean, Rebbeca, Sandra and Mary. Their experiences and trust in me is what made this Thesis possible. I couldn't have done it without you all!

Last but not least I would like to thank my Supervisor Torbjörn Hjort for his guidance and help during the period of Thesis writing.

Daniel Te Kira

Avondale, Auckland, New Zealand the 31:st of May 2002

2. Introduction

In the year 2000 I came to Aotearoa (New Zealand) to write a Bachelor Thesis. In my Thesis I compared voluntary organisations in India, New Zealand and Sweden, working with HIV and AIDS. To be able to do an analysis of how the organisations were financed I had to take a good look at the Social Policies in the three different countries. A teacher told me that the social Policies in New Zealand had a striking resemblance with the Swedish Social Policies. When I analysed and compared the two different countries the similarities were few and the differences many. This is how I came to be interested in the Social Policies in New Zealand. One year later I settled down for good here in New Zealand and began to get more and more knowledge about how things worked in New Zealand. I got to know friends and relatives of my partner that told me how their lives on Social Welfare looked like. Time and time again I was shocked about the way people lived and how poverty surely holds the grip of many.

3. Problem area

My partner belongs to the aboriginal group of New Zealanders, Maori. This group is the largest consumers of the social welfare. This group also has the largest numbers of addicts, criminal, obese, and sick, with the lowest socio-economic strata and education. I become interested in such questions as:

Why do they live as they do and how did they get there? In the following weeks I started to wonder how their life in general looked like and what their dreams and thoughts about the future were. For me these questions are interesting because I can not see my self living as they do, year after year. I wondered if they had any strategies or plans that would take them out of poverty and the social welfare trap? From the outset the Thesis was intended to let a group of single Maori mothers tell the stories about their lives. I have added their interaction with the social welfare staff. I chose to add this subject when my first Interview Person (IP) began to talk about how badly she was treated at the Social welfare Office. I become interested in finding out whether all the IP's had the same experience.

4. Definitions

In this chapter I intend to explain and define different words that are vital to the Thesis.

4.1. Maori

Maori is the indigenous population of Aotearoa (The land of the long white cloud). This is the name Maori gave what is more known today as New Zealand. The name is having a renaissance and is more widely used today as is other Maori words. Researchers have many explanations of where the Maori originally came from. The most popular one being that they came in AD 1350 from Hawaiki (probably Ra'iatea near Tahiti) to settle because of land shortage or war. Maori roughly means 'normal' or 'usual' according to Niven, Turner and Williams, (2000).

4.2. Pakeha

Pakeha is the population in New Zealand with a European origin. Maori used to call the settlers Pakeha, which roughly means 'the abnormal' or 'the unusual ones'. This was not that strange considering the settlers were white and dressed totally different to the Maori, according to Niven et al. (2000). Today almost all white European looking people are called Pakeha.

4.3. Single mother

According to Work and Income D. (2002) you are a sole (single) mother if you are the parent of a child younger than eighteen years of age. Another criteria is that the sole mother is not living with the other parents (father of her children) or a partner.

5. Purpose and queries at issue

The purpose of this Thesis is to let a group of six Maori single mothers, depending on Social Welfare, tell the story about their lives, their dreams and thoughts about the future.

5.1. The queries at issue are:

How do the IPs' economy, family constellation and living standard look like?

How do the interaction look like between Social Welfare staff and the IPs?

How did the IPs end up and stay on benefit?

How do the IPs live?

How do the IPs' thoughts and dreams look like?

How does the future look like?

6. Method and data collection

This Thesis is exploratory with the intention to define and describe the lives, thoughts and dreams of Maori single mothers living on social welfare. The primary data that has been collected are surveys and deep interviews. According to Robson (2000) the purpose of an exploratory study is to find out what is happening, by asking questions, to find new insights and assess phenomena with fresh eyes. The studies are usually quantitative.

The survey method is quantitative but only used on a small number of subjects. The main purpose of this method is to collect background information about the subjects. The material has been processed to get an average picture of the group.

The secondary data is literature and research connected to the topics.

The method of deep interviews is qualitative. The purpose with the descriptive interview is to make the targeted population give an accurate description of what they do and think, according to Coolican (1999). Both the survey and the interview guide are handed out in written form to make sure there is no misunderstandings. This method was used to get a 'double question value'. (My own expression). By seeing and hearing the questions the IP's might be able to understand the questions better. The interviews lasted about one hour.

One of the problems I have encountered in New Zealand is the deep suspicion and aversion towards the representatives of the government such as social workers, police officers and others. I don't want to be seen as a one of the social workers they can not trust. This is one of the reasons why I decided to seek more personal contact with the interview persons and when trust was gained, asked them to tell and recommend me to other people living like themselves. Because of the sensitive and stigmatising subject the interview persons have been

unidentified. This is one of the reassurances of confidentiality that the subjects have been given.

It became very clear to me early on that too much information presented from the interviews would make the IPs easy to detect. I therefore chose to collect what I call background information, which will serve as just this, background information. The information will be transformed to an average figure (mean) of income and so forth. I don't use the information individually due to confidentiality. In the 1950s some residents of Springdale Village in USA vilified researchers (Vidich and Bensman, 1958) whom, though using pseudonyms, made identification possible through analysing people's personal problems in the research report, Coolican (1999). The names in the interviews presented in the Thesis are altered due for similar reasons. All other names mentioned in the Thesis are changed to XXX.

I made contact with the subjects and we agreed about an appointment time. I visited them in person in their home. I made sure that the IP was alone and that we had sufficient time. Although I did explain how important it was that we were alone, some IPs couldn't find any time when they were alone. Some of them lived in extended families with up to eight other people. The homes were very chaotic, messy and loud. We still managed to find a quiet (more) corner to do the interview. I explained the purpose again (although had I already explained this during the initial contact) to make sure that the subject felt secure about confidentiality and not being identified with the material I collected. The subjects were handed the survey and asked to fill it in (see appendix 1). The subject was given whatever time was needed to fill in the form. Most subjects needed about ten minutes to do so. They were asked to sign the consent declaration at the end of the paper.

Before the interview the subject was handed a printed, written copy of the interview form (see appendix 2). The subjects were told to take their time to read through the interview guide. The purpose of this procedure was to make sure that the subject was able to understand the questions. The interview was taped with a special meeting recorder. After the interview the subject was asked to sign a consent form at the bottom of the interview guide. After the interview I gave them a gift voucher of 25.00NZD as thanks for their time and help.

6.1. Reliability

In this study deep interviews were used to collect the primary data. Qualitative data is almost always harder to duplicate in order to see if the results are consistent. However a test-retest could be done to see if the results remain the same. A split half test would also provide us with information about the reliability of this study. “Any measure we use in life should be reliable, otherwise it’s useless”, Coolican (1999) p.30. The interviews have been carried out on six different subjects (plus one trial), during six different occasions, which gives us a kind of consistency.

6.2. Validity

I put together the questions trying to cover the subjects I was interested in doing research about. I got worried that the validity might be in jeopardy because of the kind of questions I asked. I used the questions I already put together to make a trial interview with a friend. I found that many questions needed to be clarified in order to make the interview persons answer the questions in the direction I wanted them to. This does not mean that I wanted specific answers, just that a different question was answered. During the first interview I also continued to add and clarify questions that still needed that. “In addition to being consistent we should also be able to have confidence that our measuring device is measuring what it’s supposed to measure”, Coolican (1999) p.31.

6.3. Choice of population

When choosing the population I set up a few criteria to get a group as homogeneous as possible. The criteria are:

- The subject must belong to the Maori group by Whakapapa (genealogy).
- The subject must be single.
- The subject must be a mother.
- The subject must receive Social Welfare Benefits on a regular basis.

6.4. Sampling methods

I used the snowball method by choosing the subjects by recommendation from other IPs. I began with one Maori single mother and ended up with five more. According to Coolican (1999) snowball sampling is a way to find out what is happening in a certain issue or in a certain group. By choosing one who recommends or tell about others in the same situation or with the same interest the sample will stay within the set up criteria, Coolican (1999).

I used the Judgement method by choosing and selecting subjects by setting up criteria and using my logic. The criteria were chosen to get an as homogeneous group as possible. The samples represent the group of Maori single mothers living on social welfare.

“In judgement sampling informants may be selected for a study according to a number of criteria established by the researcher such as their status (age, sex and occupation) or previous experience that endows them with special knowledge”, Burgess (1984) p.55.

6.5. Representativeness of the sample

The results of the study can only claim to represent the six single Maori mothers that have been interviewed. This is due to the non-random choice of population and the small numbers of samples. The number of criteria set up to narrow the research group down has resulted in the answers from the interview persons seeming to correlate. This may mean that there is enough evidence to assume that the results could be accurate in a larger sample as well. However there is not enough to represent the whole group of Maori single mothers living on social welfare. Allen, Arafat, Edgley and Guy (1990) describe two important factors that contribute to make the Representativeness as good as possible. “The first factor is the degree of precision with which the population is specified”, Allen et al. p.1976. The second important factor is heterogeneity or homogeneity, which means how similar or dissimilar are the units of population.

7. New Zealand: The history of tension between Maori and Pakeha

In this chapter it is my intention to describe the history about the tension that has been evident since the outset of the British settlement. 'It is my belief that what happens today is a reflection of what happened yesterday'.

7.1. Colonialism

“Colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonizers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule”, Osterhammel (1997), p. 16-17.

In New Zealand as in many other colonies the indigenous people was in majority at the outset. About 70% died of disease brought here by the colonisers. After the British settler invasion and labour immigration, the Maori people are today in minority. The British government ruled New Zealand through a Governor General. The laws and legal system in New Zealand are based on Western (British) culture. The Maori people could no longer use their ancient Iwi customs to decide about when members broke the Tapu (taboo). The culture of Maori was considered as being uncivilised and the Maori were forced to adapt to the British custom and culture, according to Belich (1995).

“Since the British colonization of New Zealand, Pakeha have become dominant in most nationally-organised institutions. Assimilationist policies and processes, which involve denial of the legitimacy and value of the Maori lifestyles, have been evident in New Zealand for many years”, according to Walker (1990, cited in Thomas & Nikora, 1994).

Thomas et al. (1994) argued that Maori people often gets stigmatised by Pakeha, especially through the media. Many crimes and scandals are reported by the press to have been committed by Maori, but they often fail to write about Pakeha.

7.2. Discourse

When I started to study social work I learned that if you say something enough times, some will believe it is true. The theory was not discourse, but learning theories. When it comes to aboriginal people I believe that many statements have been made about them, true or untrue, they might all be mistaken for truth. Parker (1997) argued that discourse is a system of statements, which constructs an object. There are several ways of finding out how a phenomena or object has occurred according to discourse analysis. One can analyse language and the meaning of the texts and how they expose a deeper meaning and the subjectivity of the writer. One may also take a Foucauldian approach and ask how a certain phenomena have occurred. According to Parker (1997) “ Foucauldians would then look at how discourses constitute particular phenomena, elaborating them, making them natural and encouraging us to take them for granted”, (p. 287). To be able to analyse a discourse it must be viewed in a historical setting.

7.3. Marginalisation

When I read about marginalisation in ‘Bilden av en klassresa’ written by Mats Trondman, I thought that the description of ‘The marginal man’ as a theory fitted well with the Maori group of single mothers living on social welfare. The Maori group lives as a minority in a Pakeha dominated society. “The marginal man, as here conceived, is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures”, Stonequist (1937) p.xv. The social welfare group also lives in a society dominated by non-social welfare beneficiaries.

As a consequence of colonisation, which I discussed earlier on, a society was born based upon the assumption of discourse and inequality. A tension that still is highly visible allows the conflict to continue. “The marginal man is a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new people and cultures are coming into existence”, Stonequist (1937) p.xvii.

The British colonisation swept over the world and wounds left behind can be noticed in the acculturation of the indigenous population. They were the once having to assimilate into the European culture and beliefs. This left indigenous population weak and not comfortable in his/hers own culture and not comfortable in the dominating one.“ The chief influence in developing this world phase of acculturation has been the diffusion of European civilization

over the surface of the globe”, Stonequist (1937) p.55. Numerous colonised people (The Aborigines in Australia, The Native Americans and Maori in New Zealand) have been left with the scraps from the white man’s table. Great numbers of them around the world live unemployed, live on social welfare and in conditions unequal to the dominating culture.

7.4. Maori sovereignty

In 1984 Donna Awatere, cited in Reilly (1996), argued for a liberation struggle within New Zealand to achieve ‘Maori sovereignty’.

“ Maori sovereignty is the Maori ability to determine our own destiny and to do so from the basis of our land and fisheries. In essence, Maori sovereignty seeks nothing less than the acknowledgement that New Zealand is Maori land and further seeks the return of that land”, Awatere (1984, cited in Reilly, 1996, p.84).

Awatere is an example of a colonised person whom has entered the dominant discourse by mastering the words and interpreting them. Once inside the establishment and a self-representative of the Maori group Awatare demanded sovereignty due to historic claims.

The idea Awatere represents seems to frighten Pakeha even more than the social and political changes. To be able to achieve Maori sovereignty Pakeha must loose both political and economical power, which ultimately means that New Zealand must be divided into a Maori part and a Pakeha part. This would ultimately lead to a change in power, that might empower the Maori group.

7.5. Cultural belonging

Thomas et al. (1994) studied students from three secondary schools in the Waikato region. The questions were formulated to see whether students that identified themselves as Pakeha or Maori focused on the same or different attributions towards identifying their cultural belonging. The findings were that Maori students identified the race difference through cultural features. The Pakeha students identified the race difference through colour and appearance. Both groups identified the national identity through the language.

The Maori group has always linked their identities to the family. The Whanau is a part of every ritual and cultural event. Since such a large proportion of the Maori group have and have had interracial relationships it might be hard to see whether a person is Maori or not. Some white looking people identify themselves as Maori to because of cultural belonging.

Some may even identify themselves as Maori to take advantage of the benefits only available for Maori. Some may by blood belong to the Maori group but will not identify him/herself due to different cultural upbringing. The cultural context did not seem to be as important for the Pakeha students as for Maori. One explanation is that New Zealand was and is a huge melting pot of different cultures. When all cultures melt together a New Zealand culture is created. But since it is so multifaceted and blended the culture is not as easy to distinguish as the Maori culture is.

7.6. Maori and Pakeha labels

Bell (1996) described that many of his students resisted being labelled Pakeha. The New Zealand Standard Classification of Ethnicity 1993, acknowledges that there are a significant numbers of majority group New Zealanders who object to any ethnic label. Because of this fact the Department of Statistics decided to list ‘New Zealand European/ Pakeha’ in the options included in the census. Bell also argued that the split within white New Zealanders over the issue of ethnic identity labels highlights the fact that language is not innocent. What one is called by others and what one calls oneself is of great importance.

“ This is because such terms as ‘Pakeha’, ‘European’ and ‘New Zealander’ do not exist in isolation but in relation to other identity labels, and significantly in this society”, Bell (1996), p.145. Bell also suggested that those who rejected being called Pakeha also rejected a particular form of interdependent relationship to Maori.

Ashcroft (2001) found that “ many critics argue have argued that colonialism destroyed indigenous cultures, but this assumes that culture is static, and underestimates the resilience and adaptability of colonial societies”, (p2). Ashcroft (2001) also argued that colonised countries often have been so resilient that they have changed the character of the Imperial culture itself. The transcultural effect may force us to reassess the stereotyped idea of indigenous peoples’ victimage and lack of agency.

Cultures change over time due to development and interaction with other cultures. Still there are differences between voluntarily accepting and adapting to ‘new times’ and other cultures. Many researchers compare the ‘globalisation’ today with ‘colonisation’ yesterday. The difference is that Global economic powers and Multinational corporations force products and ‘western cultures’ into the homes of indigenous people due to economic reasons. Whilst the colonising Empires forced indigenous people to get rid of their language and culture due to inferiority. When examining New Zealand and its indigenous people I find that the Maori

culture and language have survived. The question is how much would have remained if untouched by the British Empire?

8. Social Policy in New Zealand

I believe that to be able to understand and explain the queries at issue, we need to describe the social welfare system the IPs are living with. It is my intention to briefly take the readers through the system in this chapter and to continue with a more detailed benefit explanation under the next headline. The indigenous people, Maori, have had their way of dealing with social welfare for hundreds of years. Since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi the major social welfare systems become westernised. I will separate the two different ways of dealing with social policy.

8.1. Maori social welfare

Maori models of social welfare have been in place through Iwi (tribe) and Whanau (family) long before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi.

“Their basis lies in cosmological beliefs and creation accounts together with practices associated with Tikanga and Kaupapa Maori (customs and Maori principles), intrinsic to which are Whakapapa (Descent lines) and Whanaungatanga (Kinship/sense of belonging),” Connolly, 2001.

Within the extended family network, people accepted a social system of rights and responsibilities. Their wellbeing was and still is expressed in four different dimensions:

The spiritual, the physical, the emotional and the extended family. It might seem strange that your wellbeing is measured in the dimension of ‘extended family’. The state and size of your extended family told something about how well off you are, Connolly (2001) p33.

8.2. New Zealand Social Welfare

“States with a colonial background were often developmentally precocious in their welfare legislation. This in part explains the rapid and early development of the welfare state in Australia and New Zealand” Pierson, (1998). P.101.

After the signing of The Treaty of Waitangi the British residual social welfare system was introduced. The welfare targeted people seen as deserving or undeserving. Voluntary and charitable organisations started to pop up, (Connolly, 2001).

After the Second World War the first labour government introduced universal access to some social welfare. The universal benefits were not very covering. It included a free health system, education and subsidies on staple food, Belgrave & Cheyne & O'Brien (1997).

In 1972 the National party created No Fault Accident Compensation (ACC) a system that was intended to provide the citizens with a cover if an accident or other things would happen. The compensation was based on previous earnings, a system that becomes increasingly used in New Zealand after the creation of ACC, Belgrave et al (1997).

9. Work and income New Zealand (WINZ) and benefits in New Zealand

WINZ is a governmental institution with the purpose to help people into work and to provide income support to people who need it. In New Zealand the social welfare is divided into different institutions. WINZ act as an unemployment agency with the purpose of getting their clients into training or a job and pay a benefit during the training or unemployment period. WINZ also deals with other benefits like pensions and other types of income-support, (Work and Income A. 2002).

I intend to briefly explain the meaning of the benefits that the IPs receive /received.

9.1. Independent Youth Benefit

Independent Youth Benefit is given to someone without employment from the age of sixteen During the time they are actively seeking employment or doing training. Many of the IPs started up on this kind of benefit, (Work and Income B. 2002).

9.2. Sickness Benefit

Sickness benefit is given to someone who is over eighteen years old or between the age of sixteen to seventeen years old if they are unable to work due to pregnancy or treatment. Some of the IPs got the benefit during their pregnancy, (Work and Income C. 2002).

9.3. Domestic purpose benefit

Domestic Purpose Benefit (DPB) is given to sole parents or caregivers. The IPs are all sole mothers living with children under eighteen years of age and with no support from the children's father, (Work and Income D. 2002)

9.4. Disability Benefit

Disability Benefit is given to someone who can not work due to disability. The benefit is given together with DPB for older women living alone with a child less than fifteen years old. One of the IP is receiving this combination of benefits, (Work and Income E. 2002)

10. Housing New Zealand

Housing New Zealand is a state owned and operating company with the sole purpose of providing New Zealand citizens with affordable homes to rent.

After the second world war the labour government favoured a system designed to make accommodation affordable for everyone by subsidising mortgages and by providing low rental properties owned by the state, the so called Housing New Zealand, Belgrave et al (1997).

According to Spoonley (1994) Maori are amongst the group of lowest income in New Zealand. Since housing and housing loans are allocated on the basis of income the Maori group also live in the 'Lowest standard houses'. This is one of the reasons why you see so many Maori living in 'state houses' owned by Housing New Zealand.

Maori single mothers on DPB are the largest group in New Zealand that lives in 'state houses'. This is due to the low income and many children per household. "Women, especially Maori women, are disproportionately represented in public-sector housing" according to McLeay (1992) p. 176.

10.1. My own views about the ‘state houses’

The standard of the ‘state houses’ interior is sub-standard. On the outside they often look well kept after. You can often identify a house as a state house since many were designed to be cheap to build and mass-produced. I have been in quite a number of houses and experienced a standard equal to good standard in the sixties. Peeling paint and wallpaper, original kitchen-cupboards from when the house was built and by the look of them, never touched up.

11. Background information

As I explained earlier on this chapter is supposed to act as a background to the interviews. The information here is gathered individually, but used as a group information.

11.1. Economy and income

The IP have an average income of 480 New Zealand Dollar (NZ\$) per fortnight (1NZ\$ is approximately exchanged for 4.50 Swedish Crowns). The rent is subsidised and an average 148NZ\$ per fortnight. The rent is on top of the benefit, but because of fortnightly deduction, it’s never seen. The estimated value could not be direct compared to another country’s strength of money. The estimated value of the currency is merely showing in what direction the exchange rate is. Do not confuse the value with actual expenditure power. The amounts mentioned here do not say anything about how much they are really worth since that would require a thorough research into the costs and the expenditure of New Zealand as a whole.

11.2. Living standard

As I started my interview I was not totally unfamiliar with the standard and the way some families on social welfare lived. However the picture of their homes will remain with me for a long time. Everyone lived in ‘state houses’, rented from Housing New Zealand (see chapter about Housing New Zealand). In Sweden houses like this would have been classed as slum dwellings. In New Zealand this is a normal and natural way to live for some groups. Many of the IPs are used to living like this and some even classify their livingstandard as good (2/6). The houses often look quite good on the outside. Housing New Zealand has a keen interest in maintaining the outer appearance of their properties. Inside it is a different situation altogether. If the wallpaper is not rolling of the walls, the paint is. In New Zealand tenants

have to own their own fridge, freezer and washing machine. Sweden is quite alone in the world in offering the tenants everything as part of the rent. The furniture and kitchen appliances are as a general rule old and worn out.

11.3. Family constellations

It is common in New Zealand amongst Maori and Pacific Island groups to have many children and to live many people together. Both groups mentioned traditionally live with the extended family. As an average every IP had 3,5 children but it is important to note that two of the participants only had one child and one participant had eight. The household on an average consists of 6.5 persons sharing a 2.75 bedroom house. According to Statistic New Zealand B(2002) the average New Zealand household consists of less than 3 members. The amount of people adds to the degeneration of the house by causing additional chaos and mess.

12. Interviews with six Maori single mothers living on social welfare

Under the interview section in the Thesis, I intend to bring up the different queries at issue.

I present the questions and write about the IPs' individual answers. In the end of every question I intend to analyse the answers and connect them with theories earlier defined.

12.1. How did you end up on benefit?

"Then when I ended up having my baby I ended up getting on the DPB", (Tanya).

This question deals with the fact that everyone being interviewed lives on social welfare. My intention was to find out how and why they ended up on the benefit.

Elsa talks about the many different benefits she had before she ended up with DPB. "I was abused as a child and I had enough and I just wanted to break free.//. my sister took me in and she put me on a (Independent)Youth Benefit". Elsa basically went from one benefit to another. When she become pregnant at 18 years of age she got Sickness Benefit. When she got her baby she also got DPB, which she have had for seven years now.

Tanya became unemployed at the age of sixteen and got unemployment benefit for a while. “I ended up getting pregnant about seventeen”. The doctor she had during her pregnancy helped her to get DPB once the baby was born. She has been on the benefit for eleven years.

Mary was living in an abusive relationship and needed to get out of it. A friend told her that she could get DPB if she left her husband. “XXX was about ten or eleven then and ah, I decided to up and leave their father”. She has been on a benefit for nineteen years without breaks. At this time, when she is getting closer to become sixty years old she now receives Disabled Benefit.

Sandra received Independent Youth Benefit when she left school to attend a course. She become pregnant at seventeen and got Sickness benefit whilst she was pregnant. When her child was born it changed to DPB. She is now eighteen years old and her baby is six months old.

Seventeen years old Jean tells the same story as Sandra. She become pregnant at the age of sixteen and now has a baby, who is eight months old. “Ahh, I started on a Sickness Benefit cause I got pregnant when I was sixteen, and yeah”. Jean is now receiving DPB.

Rebecca found her self all alone when she was giving birth to her first child. “I gave birth to XXX. I had no help. I had no money to help me”. She got DPB after her child was born. Today Rebecca has eight children and has been on DPB for eighteen years.

12.1.1. Analyse

Several of the younger IPs started on a benefit when they were teenagers. They all lived in families that already, often for long periods of time, have received benefits. It was totally natural for all of them to get on the benefits since their families were already on it. The Maori group they belong to are a group with many members living on social welfare, which made it less stigmatising as well. Being on benefit, however is not a natural way to fit into the dominant Pakeha society, since not many people from this group, do this.

Stonequist (1937) talks about three different phases when turning into a marginalised person.

- During their childhood the person is not aware of a difference between his/her group and the other dominant group. Many children believe that everyone lives the same way as they do themselves.
- When the person grows up awareness about their own environment and the environment of others become obvious. A conflict arises when the differences in for instance economic resources become evident.
- The person adjusts to fit into the society or simply can not be bothered. To be able to feel good about her/himself he/she need to find him/herself again and the place in society.

As mentioned before many of the IPs grew up in families living on social welfare. This is something a child never thinks about because their lives are confined to a private sphere with the extended family, other relatives and friends. It is first when the child grow up and become aware that others might not live the same way other families do, a question about why arises. To fit into the dominant society the young adult must break free from the family it grew up in. “They are on the margins of each society, partly in and partly out”, Stonequist (1937) p.121. The easiest way out of the dilemma is to do as all the others do, in this case get on a benefit.

In the eighties New Zealand underwent significant social and political changes which lead to a greater scrutiny of the assumptions of relationships among Pakeha and Maori. In recent years (1994) many have become more assertive in choosing a Maori lifestyle. The Maori language and culture have reached a new renaissance Greenland (1984, cited in Thomas et al., 1994), argued. The social changes led to an increase in poverty amongst the Maori group. Unemployment due to the decrease in need for unskilled labour contributed to the increase in numbers of Maori families on social welfare. The number of crimes and the prison population related to the Maori group skyrocketed. One of the reasons for the rising numbers of the Maori population was the loss of jobs suitable for unskilled workers. The Maori group is the one with the lowest levels of education.

The renaissance in Maori culture and language was due to the political changes as well as political awareness, but also important economic reality involving the New Zealand economy. Tourists have been and are a growing source of income in New Zealand. The tourists come to visit a beautiful country with a famous and culturally interesting indigenous people. By using the Maori language and exposing Maori culture New Zealand sells the image of a bicultural society to the world. Maori language and culture consumption is no longer stigmatised. When a product is highly visible and attractive many more tend to want it. Some jobs specifically

targeting Maori was created for the tourist industry, but not enough to swallow the 100 000 that was lost in the eighties.

Education is something that has been used as an explanation to why so few Maori have got positions in nationally organised departments and institutions. There simply have not been any Maori qualified enough to fill the positions. Research shows that most intelligence tests are biased against the Maori group, which ultimately mean that the educational system, on which these tests are based, simply does not fit the majority of Maori. There has been and still is an evident trend in mass media to identify criminals and crimes being committed by Maori. Spoonley (1994) argued that since the middle of the eighties many changes have occurred that have given the Maori group greater autonomy and resources. One of the most important ones was the expanded role of The Waitangi Tribunal that got additional resources and the power back to investigate complaints dating back to 1840. This gave the Treaty of Waitangi new importance and legitimised of Maori claims. Spoonley (1994) furthermore argued that the results of these changes led to Pakeha feeling threatened and because of this, opposed the rights of the Maori group. As a continuation of the political changes the Maori group could receive individual grants for studying. Other grants were community based and had as a purpose to increase the autonomy. Some Pakeha began to feel threatened when the Maori group were given opportunities to receive grants and benefits not available to them. Many Pakeha agreed with the notion of autonomy and other rights for Maori prior to these social and political changes, but only as long as this did not mean less resources for them selves.

12.2. How are you coping with living on social welfare?

I Mean I am spending a lot of time stressing out a lot about where moneys gonne come from".
(Elsa).

This question deals with the feelings and possible hardships that the IPs encounter on a daily basis. It mostly came to deal with the economical and psychological side of their life.

Elsa speaks about how she is constantly struggling with making ends meet. Her automatic payments are so huge that she has problems to feed the children. She tries to buy cheap food whenever she can and only treat the children with a 'luxury' once in a while. The treat could

be an ice cream or something cheap. When she really gets broke her mother helps her out by letting her and the children stay with her for a while.

Tanya speaks about how the money sometimes is spent before it comes in. The amount of bills often exceeds the benefit amount. "Like sometimes when, when your benefit comes in you've already like spent it". Tanya also used to have a gambling problem that did not make things better. She talks about how she would like to be able to afford giving her children the things they need and want.

Mary has a large family that all rely on her. "All my money goes on food for my family". For her it is a tradition to provide food for anyone who ever wants to join in and eat. She also claims not to do anything that costs money. "Because I don't go out and I don't drink and I don't play cards or go casino and all that jazz". As long as she has food in the house she does not care if she is out of money. Mary tries to buy bulk and stuff her freezer when the Benefit check comes in.

Sandra speaks about how tough it was growing up in a family on benefit and continues to tell us about her recent situation. "Uhhm, well, like we just make ends meet with, hmm, with what we get". She explains that part of the problem is that they are eight people living together in one 2-bedroom house. The house is too crowded and there is no privacy what so ever. Sandra gets food in her stomach but hardly ever anything extra that is not a necessity

Jean recently moved out from her mother's place and now stays next door. Although she only pays a small amount of rent and board she has problems with the economy. She has a baby that needs things that Jean can not provide her with. "Like it would be like, uhm, all the stuff you have to buy, how she grows, how she grows out of clothes and stuff, yeah". Jean also grew up in a household on benefit. She explains that she wants to give her baby what she never got.

Rebecca speaks about how she raised eight children and how their fathers were not there to help her. "At the time he wasn't really there for us". The older the children got the more food they needed. "Oh sometimes it was hard, sometimes it was rough". Rebecca's youngest child is 1.5 years old and number eight of the siblings. Rebecca recently started to work again after many years on benefit. Her oldest daughter looks after her youngest child.

12.2.1. Analysis

It seems as if the daily life for the IP:s is spinning around how to survive.

Many of the interviewed received advances and loans from WINZ to be able to buy things like clothes, fridge and freezer and other more expensive things. A smaller amount was thereafter deducted from their account and less benefit was given. In New Zealand it is possible to buy things with loans and by paying a small sum every month (hire purchase), despite the fact that you only have your income from WINZ. Some of the IPs ended up with very little money left because of this. This makes it hard for them to afford to pay for food and other necessities. One thing they do treat themselves with is cigarettes and this add to the expenses in the household. The IPs spend a lot of time worrying if the children will get enough food, clothes and other things needed. Many survive by getting assistance and help from relatives and friends. One of the positive things about having large families is the opportunity for the younger children to inherit clothes from the older ones.

The Maori welfare system was based upon sharing with the family and extended family. In return everyone did what he or she could to contribute to the survival of the Iwi (tribe). In the western society the Social Welfare is based upon providing a group of people below the poverty lines with money and service to make ends meet. “ In some cases the native develops a sense of helplessness and hopelessness.//... Stonequist (1937) p.57. The difference between the Maori welfare system and the New Zealand one is that you do not contribute to the system, you have to sit down and be provided for. Many of the IPs feels hopeless and helpless, as if they cannot do anything about their situation. This applies not only to their money-situation but also to them being dependent on Social Welfare.

In the rural areas it is easier to provide the family with food. Traditional Maori do a lot of fishing and hunting. The rivers and the sea provide with plenty of fish and seafood. The forests and the wild provide with plenty of deer and wild pigs and. This way it is easier to earn some extra money by selling whatever they get, as well as feeding the family.

12.3. How is your health?

“I have asthma and so do all the children”, (Elsa).

This question deals with how the health of the IP:s and their family are. When I look at the way they live, their standard of food and housing, I wondered if that effected them?

Elsa speaks about a stomach problem that does not seem to be diagnosable. She has asthma and eczema and so have her children. “ And in my family it’s hereditary to have asthma, eczema and high blood pressure”. She also speaks about how “Unreal” it is to visit the doctor because of their economy. Without treatments and regular check ups the problem is getting worse all the time. A doctor’s visit is too expensive for Elsa and her family.

Tanya speaks about herself and her mother. “ Aaahm, at the moment me and my mum have got diabetes and plus we are both heavy smokers”. She got her diagnosis only a few years ago. The diabetes affects Tanya. She has to eat special food and exercise more. Her children are not effected of any illnesses at all.

Mary has diabetes since many years. Her diabetes and her general health have made it impossible for her to work. Mary is also smoking as her only ‘luxury’. Half of her children have diabetes as well. Mary is getting closer to sixty and is on DPB, but will move on to a Disability Benefit. The diabetes affects Mary and has done so through many years. Apart from being more expensive since she has to eat a special diet, her general health has become much worse the last couple of years.

Sandra, Jean and Rebbeca all reported a good health for them and their children. They are all explaining the good health with good genes and nutritious food.

12.3.1. Analysis

One explanation for bad health is the life style people live. Illnesses can be caused by “To much stress, to little exercise, bad nutrition, unsafe sex, smoking and even drinking”, Fougere (1994) p.148. When asked about their health half of the IPs reported bad health. Everyone was a smoker, which is a health hazard that everyone must be familiar with by now. Elsa and all her children have asthma that will not get better because of the smoking. Tanya and Mary

both have had diabetes since they were in their twenties, which could have broken out because of their lifestyle.

A group in society with more money has a choice to eat healthier and live healthier. Fougere (1994) means that: “Being born into a Maori or working class family in New Zealand increases the risk of death, quite apart from any ‘choices a baby may have’”, (p.149). He also talks about how different food give different healthy bodies. The research Fougere conducted shows that the quality and kind of food eaten by a Maori family and a working class family is different from what classes above eat. The food is richer, with more sugar and fat. This together with to little exercise creates a body with to much bodyfat and to little muscles.

It is my understanding that the damp and cold winters with little or none existent insulation and heatingsystems are contributing to the bad health.

12.4. How does the staff at WINZ treat you?

“They look down through their nose. They don’t want to, they don’t want to help”, (Elsa).

This is a question about how the staff members at WINZ treat the IP:s when they come there for help.

Elsa talks about how she rather stays at home worrying about how to feed her children than to meet the staff. “ I am gonna get the baddest feeling whenever I go in there that I just want to cry”. She also speaks about how she is seeing the staff members as pretentious in their “ Ties and dresspants”. For Elsa it is a nightmare every time she needs to go in to WINZ for a grant or something else. She feels that their attitude and questions make her feel like a really bad person. Elsa does not always dress up in her cleanest nicest clothes since she thinks that they will wonder how she can afford to dress this way when on Benefit. The way the male case managers’ dress makes her offended because of her own clothing.

Tanya talks about the case manager she has today. “ Shes a awesome lady, uuhm, I ended up going in there for maybe a ten minute like interview with her and it takes like half an hour”. She mentions that she has been lucky getting this one, due to a friend already having her as a case manager. She also talks about the many different bad experiences she has had with

WINZ. Often she has not “connected” with the staff members. Later in the interview when I came back to the question if she wanted to add something she thought was important. Tanya told me that she was disappointed that many times she and her sister made the same lists with quotes for an advance. She would get some things taken of the list by the staff member while her sister would get everything on the list.

Mary speaks about a time when she was refused an advance for a lawn mower.” Well I was just really gutted when I was refused a mower”. She goes on telling how she instead was offered to get the expenses paid for a contractor to come and mow the grass every fortnight. The thirty dollars it costs is deducted from her social welfare check. She continued to talk about the dresscode at WINZ and a casual she meet a few times. “ When I see him with a tie you know, with a collar and tie on that just sort of frightens me”. Mary feels inferior to the staff members at WINZ because of their attitude and their dresscode. Many times she cries during and sometimes after a visit to her case manager.

Sandra speaks about what happens sometimes when she has an appointment at WINZ.

“ Uuhm, some times your waiting there like half an hour and if you are five minutes late for your appointment they will make another one for you and they put you like a week later or something”. She continues: “Some of them are easy to talk to, but some of them are like real naughty people”. Sandra says it seems as if they are tired of giving away money, as if it was their own.

Jean talks about how she has to go back and forth to get her baby on her benefit. She also mentions the long waiting time and the need to get another appointment if she herself is late. She thinks the staff members have an attitude. “Oh, they’re like posh (Giggles) like not posh, but like to be”.

Rebecca has been on the benefit for 18 years and have met a lot of staff members at WINZ. Some are really crappy, some are alright”. She also talks about some staff members’ attitude. “But some are rude some of them are you know, I don’t know, they’re just rude”. Her long experiance with WINZ have taught her that there are some good and some bad ones. Rebecca also told me that she sometimes knew the rules and regulations better than the case manager. The case manager might be new but Rebecca had visited WINZ for eighteen years.

12.4.1. Analysis

When a group of people live outside of the dominating culture and 'live' upon the society, there is an inbuilt tension. The group are not very comfortable in receiving social welfare and the other group sees it as if the benefit comes out of their own pockets. "The groups are in a relationship of inequality, whether or not this is openly asserted", p.121.

Some of the social welfare beneficiaries have a distorted view of how society (the dominant group) treat them. With the idea in their head that they are going to be ill treated they are more likely to experience, just that. "Having this conception of the world in his mind he is more likely to provoke antagonism and prejudice against himself", Stonequist (1937) p.151.

Sometimes an attitude from the social welfare beneficiary creates an attitude from the staff at governmental institutions. The opposite is also true sometimes...

Many of the IPs have told me about the attitude they receive from WINZ and other governmental institutions. Many of them seem to be very clear to pick up what others seem to think about them. "This is because he combines the knowledge and insight of the insider with the critical attitude of an outsider. His analysis is not necessarily objective-there is too much emotional tension underneath to make such an attitude easy of achievement. But he is skilful in noting the contradictions and the 'hypocrisies' in the dominant culture", Stonequist (1937) p.155.

All IPs are speaking about times when they have been met with bad attitudes and been treated unfair. The overall impression I have is that the IPs feel as if there is nothing they can do about it. The way the casemanagers dress and act are signalling that they have the power. Many of the IPs goes as far as telling me the deepest despair they sometimes feel when knowing they have to go to WINZ. Another thing mentioned is the way some of the IPs have been waiting for hours at WINZ, but if five minutes late, they were punished by having to come back another time. Not all of the staff-members at WINZ are 'bad'. The IPs mentions casemanagers they liked and respected. I myself only encountered 'good' ones since they had a nice attitude and gave the IPs what they asked for. I think it is possible that the attitudes of

the IPs trigger the attitude of the casemanagers. If you believe that you will be ill treated and act according to this belief, you might be ill treated.

12.5. Is there any other support you think you need that you are not getting?

“I mean I’ve gone through depression with my last son, he’s, uhm right throughout the pregnancy and afterwards I have had a depression”, (Elsa).

This question deals with wishes for additional help that they do not receive today.

Elsa talks about how she got a depression after her last son’s birth. There is no money and no help available for someone without means. What she does is that she calls the pregnancy help-line and confides her thoughts and feelings to them. They treat her with respect and lend her the ear she so obviously need. She does not want her doctor to know about her problem since she is afraid that social welfare will take her children away or proclaim her an unfit mother. Mental illness seems to be the source of stigma and shame, at least when it comes to Elsa and her feelings. Basically what Elsa need is someone to talk to. “Knowing that I’ve got someone I can talk to, because I can’t talk to the people around me because then I feel like it’s too personal”. She tells me that being on social welfare adds to her depression. The way she are being treated and the lack of respect. “They don’t respect you, you’re just another bulgier that’s coming in for money”.

Tanya would like to have extra money help because of her diabetes. Everything costs more and the medicines are quite expensive. She has not got a driverlicense and would like to get some help to achieve it. In order to get a job in the future she will need a mean of transport.

12.5.1. Analysis

During the interviews I was told about how living and dealing with the social welfare added depression to other problems encountered by the IPs. However, only Elsa said that she needed some additional assistance with this. It is a vicious circle for her since she does not want the social welfare to know about her problem due to fear of being proclaimed an unfit mother and the knowledge that she really needs the help. “At its minimum it denotes a subtle, perhaps

indefinable, sense of estrangement and ‘malaise’, an inner isolation related to his social life”, Stonequist (1937) p.159.

The depression could be a product of interacting with WINZ, but could also be a result of the tension encountered due to Marginalisation. “But his mind is not quite in harmony with his social world. He need not to be unhappy; in fact he may laugh at his position; but laughter may be compensatory and not satisfactorily disclose his real state of mind”, Stonequist (1937) p.201.

If you have an illness that is chronic you are entitled to an extra benefit covering these costs. Obviously Tanya has not been told about this benefit, by her casemanager.

12.6. Do WINZ explain what you are entitled to, the rules and regulations?

“They (WINZ) won’t explain what you are entitled to, they don’t explain why you can’t get it”, (Elsa).

This question deals with the information given to the IPs during their visit to WINZ.

Elsa talks about the frustration she feels when she does not know why she can not get an advance. She sometimes gets a refusal before she has the chance to sit down. She gets most of her information about her rights through the WINZ call centre. “But as soon as I get into the office (WINZ) they are telling me that whoever I was talking to on the phone was lying to me”. Elsa knows about her right to debate a decision from WINZ but is scared of carrying it out because of an expected confrontation with the staff members. She is already frightened about going in to the office without causing new possibilities to meet with them.

Tanya tells me that she never gets the information about her rights when at WINZ. She does not know about her right to appeal the decisions made at WINZ. When Tanya ask staff members about these things they answer that they have brochures at the office where she can learn.

Mary speaks about the letters she gets from WINZ. On every letter there is written about the right to appeal. They never speak about it though, in front of Mary. She says that even if she knows her rights she can not be bothered. The outcome would probably be the same anyway.

Sandra talks about how she was told to read the pamphlets at the office. And how she asks her mum if there is anything she wonders about. Her mother has been on social welfare for many years. However Sandra has no clues about if she can appeal. If she could appeal she would not now how.

Jean speaks about how she has been refused without any explanations. “They’re not the ones, that they’re, the moneys not coming out of their pockets you know”. She feels frustrated when she tells me about the attitude of her case manager. Jean also explains that she has the right to receive this money because she has an infant. The rights are something her mother has taught her.

Rebecca speaks about how she get to know the information she needs. She does not get any information through the office. “ I found out from other people what my rights were, what I was, what I could go in and get”. She later explained that she had no idea that she could appeal. Another of Rebecca’s sources was the call centre and the brochures she could get from the WINZ office.

12.6.1. Analysis

It seems to me that there are many discrepancies between what the WINZ callcentre tell the IPs they are entitled to and what the staffmembers at their WINZ office tell them. In order to make the IPs feel better there should not be any differences between the two. The decisions from their casemanagers are always mailed to the IPs. In this letter the procedure of appealing is written. Many of the interview persons does not seem to read this paper and just does not bother to appeal anyway because they feel it is no use trying. What is once decided by the casemanager ‘would probably not change anyway’? Because so many of friends and relatives of the IPs also live on Social Welfare, information is exchanged about what opportunities are available. However the information might just apply to the person the money was given to, creating even more distress for the one receiving the information.

12.6.2. Work and Income New Zealand, my own experience

During and after the interviews with the IPs I was asked to accompany some of them to WINZ. This was due to the kind of treatment and attitude they received during earlier visits.

I accompanied IPs for three different visits. All of them took place in April 2002. After I was told about the attitude and treatment that the IPs received I expected the visits to be unpleasant. The different offices I visited all looked about the same. They were situated a bit from the centre in the suburb that we were in. It was a large open room with desks strategically placed everywhere in the room. A casemanager at a desk in the front of the room dealt with all the incoming visitors. We talked to the person in the front desk and were asked to wait while the casemanager was told about our arrival. When our casemanager arrived we were shown to one of the desks in the middle. Everyone in the room was able to tell which casemanager we had and if close enough, to listen in to what was said. One of the strangest things was the absolute lack of confidentiality this open room policy provided us with. I myself could here the people next to us ask for food grants and trying to justify why she had no money for food...Another strange thing for me was the dress code amongst the male staff at WINZ, they all wore dresspants, long sleeved shirts and ties. Some of their clients were obviously sleeping out doors, being rugged and haggard. Some other clients arrived in clothes that were dirty and full of holes. For me it signals superiority when employees dealing with the poorest people in New Zealand, dress too properly. I do not mean that they should dress in worn out clothes just that the contrasts get to large and it shows some lack of respect for this special group of people.

Before my encounter with WINZ I was told that these clients seldom got what they asked for at WINZ. They were simply denied and forced to go home empty-handed. I was also told that they did not explain why they did not get it or told how to appeal.

When we meet the casemanager I was introduced as their (IPs') social worker, which obviously made a difference. The IPs got what they asked for and was dealt with in a respectful manor. Even things that they were not supposed to get (according to the rules of WINZ) were given to them. My conclusion must be that my presence made a significant difference...

12.7. Why can't you get off the benefit?

"And when I got a job I rang them up I says –Look I got a job I got this I got that- And they still wouldn't let me of the benefit", (Elsa)

This question deals with the reason for remaining on benefit.

Elsa talks about how she has been trying many times to get of the benefit but been told that her children was too young and needed her at home. She was told that she had to wait until the youngest was at least three years old. When the youngest was three years old she was pregnant with her third child. She also speaks about how much income she would get if she got a job. “I worked it out that by making a full shift a full weeks work I would still be making under my benefit”. She continues and tell me about how much more rent she would pay, how much she had to pay someone (her mother) to look after the children and feed them.

Tanya talks about her being a solo mother and how that also keeps her from getting of the benefit. She continues by telling me about a friend. “I know a guy that works and he gets practically just a little bit more than me you know, and then I’m wondering why should I go out to work?”. Tanya does not like to study. She says, she is a really good and fast learner and this should make her able to get a job. However she has not got a driver license, which prevents her from getting a job, which require this. Her youngest child is still to young to leave to a childcare centre.

Mary is disabled which makes it hard for her to get a job. She talks about how much trouble she has moving and the pain she has. Her general health makes it very difficult for her to work. Mary’s problem has increased in the latest years. A few years ago she could take care of the garden and mow her lawns herself. Now she has a contractor taking care of the lawns and has put the vegetable garden under grass. She can hardly walk around her house without loosing her breath.

Sandra has a baby younger than a year, which makes her unable to work and get of the benefit. She also looks after her mother’s child so that she can work. Sandra got pregnant at an early age, which is very common in New Zealand. She mentions her goal to be independent, to get out of her mothers house and get her own place. But for now she has to stay at home to look after her baby.

Jean also got pregnant at an early age. She talks about how WINZ called her in to the office to talk about the future. Her baby is still younger than a year and needs her/his mother.

Rebecca just got a job after eighteen years on benefit. Because of all the children she has been unable to get of the benefit. Her youngest is less than two years old but is being looked after

by her daughter whom has a baby on her own. During eighteen years Rebecca managed to get eight children. The children made it impossible to get of the benefit. Because her daughter looks after her baby, she can work. If not, Rebecca would still be on the benefit.

12.7.1. Analysis

Most of the IPs ended up on benefit because of pregnancies one way or another. Most IPs cannot get of the benefit because of the products of their pregnancies, the children. We have all heard about people who give up and refuse to do anything about their situation no matter how devastating or terrible it is. This is due to the idea that there is nothing the person can do to change their situation. “Or it may lead to a withdrawal which prevents the individual from having experiences which might change his attitude and give him more self-confidence”, Stonequist (1937) p.151.

He/she finds him/herself between his/her world and the ‘others’. On one hand the IPs might be able to get a job, which gives them an income. On the other hand if the money received for a full time job pays badly and does not equal the benefit, why work at all?

“ So the marginal man as conceived in this study is one who is poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds”, Stonequist (1937) p.8.

Tanya talks about her friend that worked and got less money than she did. As mentioned before an average benefit equals 480 in pure benefit plus the rent that equals an average 148NZ\$. All together the average benefit is 628NZ\$. According to Statistic New Zealand C (2002) an average fortnightly income for females in New Zealand before taxation is 1145NZ\$. After taxation which is 19.5% there is 922NZ\$ left. The rent that is subsidised to day would increase with about 200NZ\$ and the transport to work and back would cost on an average 120NZ\$ per fortnight, according to Statistic New Zealand A (2002). We still have not counted the costs for looking after the children when the single mother is at work. Without deducting money for childcare and other cost that could be applicable when working, there is a shortfall of 20NZ\$. When some people hear about the fact that you might earn more money on the Benefit compared to if you were working. It does not mean that the Benefit is to high it means that the unskilled jobs most Maori work with, is to badly paid, Statistic New Zealand A. (2002).

12.8. What do you wish for?

“Uhm, to have a steady job, to have a steady partner”, (Elsa).

This question deals with what kind of wishes the IPs has. They were told to wish for anything they liked.

Elsa speaks about her relationship with her children’s father. She tells me that he is abusive and drinks and smokes heavily (marihuana). Basically the children’s father does not support her either financially or emotionally. According to Elsa the children miss and need a father figure that will be there for them. She lives in a statehouse like the other IP:s and have wishes connected with this. “ I wish to be able to stay in a house and know the house is mine”.

Stability is another thing Elsa wishes for at the moment. She feels as if nothing is certain and that everything could change the next moment. She hopes that her kids turn out fine both psychological and physically.

Tanya speaks about how she wish she was home more and that she likes to give her children a better life. “Uhhm, a better home, lifestyle for my kids. Uhhm, yeah, actually just, just that everything they want you know, I wish I could give it to them”. Her main concern is the kids and how to make them happy. She wishes for some other things to. “Just yeah, to have a house, car”. When she hears that she can wish for whatever she wants she wants a pool and a boat as well. Tanya also wishes for things that do not cost anything. She wishes she could stay and spend more time with her children. She spends a lot of times away from her children with her youngest child’s father.

Mary thinks mostly about her family. “You can’t wish for a lovely big house for me and my families, that’s what I would wish for”. She continues by telling me that this is all she ever dreamt of. She does add money to the list of things she wishes for when I ask her. She is more interested in wishing things for her children than for her self. Mary wish her son would be able to travel as much as he wants to. She also wants her daughter to have a nice home for herself and her family.

Sandra talks about the crowded house she is living in and how she would like to move.

“Now, ooh, I want my own house (laughs) cause living here you start to go mad because it’s so crowded, but yeah, I’d like my own house and to be financially stable”. She continues by

telling me that she only has a hundred dollars left when the steady expenses are paid. When asked where the money would come from Sandra tells me about her dream to join the army. “Yeah, oh, I wanted to work for the army but I got caught. I got put in jail”. The rules and regulations of the army clearly states that you have to be free from convictions, which spoiled her dreams. Today it is her infant that makes it impossible to join the army even if the rules would change. The government is proposing a law change that would strip minor offences of the public records after five years. Sandra tells me she is more of a tomboy and likes the army because of the tough times there?

Jean talks about her dream to be rich. She thinks that being rich would solve all her problems. “You got no problems, rich (giggles) rich where you get no bills and”. When I ask her how rich she wishes to be she answers: “Mmmm, I’m thinking of millions but that’s heaps aye (giggles), for a year”. She really does not know how she would get them though. She hopes that she has a steady job and a good source of income in the future and that her child gets everything she needs.

Rebecca talks about how she struggles to stay positive and content. “I want to be happy and to be living with my family, my children”. When told that she could not wish for three more wishes she has problems telling me what she wish for. Finally she manage to come up with a wish. “I wish for a bigger house”. Remember that Rebecca was the one living with eight other people in a two-bedroom house! She however does not mention if it is her own or if she has to rent it. She also wishes for her family to have a better future than before and than she has had. Rebecca wants her children to stay of benefit since that only causes ‘trouble and worries’. Two of her children are already on the benefit due to pregnancies and Rebecca seems to be worried that they will stay on the benefit like she did herself for eighteen years, without a chance to develop and live ‘normal’ life. She wants her children to be happy and think they will be if they get a good man and a good home.

12.8.1. Analysis

It seems as if most IPs wishes to own their own house. In New Zealand it is considered normal to own your own house, (statistic New Zealand A, 2002).

I searched for the best way of defining normal. The most literal definition of abnormal behaviour I found was: “Normal equals what is in agreement with what is representative, usual, or regular”, Hornby (1997).

Many of the IPs also wishes they could give their children 'everything they need' and a better life. They also want to see their children fulfil their dreams. Most New Zealander whom do not live on Social welfare manage to give their children most of what they need. On the limited budget the IPs are on, it is impossible. Only one IP wished to be rich.

In New Zealand a majority of the population older than 20 years live in a steady de facto relationship (this means two people live together without being married) or are married, (Statistic New Zealand B, 2002). Since many IPs seems to have been living in an abusive relationship a wish for a 'normal' steady relationship without violence is understandable.

All the IPs lives in statehouses with sub-standard and not enough room for the families. This creates a want and need for their own houses with enough space to fit heir large families.

"Most New Zealanders house themselves; there is a comparatively high level of owner occupation. The 1986 census showed that nearly 73% of all dwellings were in that category", McLeay (1992) p.171.

At a certain age the individual becomes conscious of what is happening around her. When he/she sees his/her whanau (family), relatives and friends living their lives he/she compare this with what he/she sees on television in the papers and other places in society. "With the acquisition of language his mental, social, and physical development expand into new dimensions and he gradually learns consciously to adjust himself to the expectations of his social group", Stonequist (1937) p.1. It may be that in this age the IPs saw the social group they belong to and did not want to be too visible. You take on the same attitudes to life and everything else and in this example, the habit of living on social welfare. When trying to get out of the dependency the group pressure might have been too much. This does not mean that the IPs have been forced to take on routines and lifestyles. There is always a choice whether it is visible or not. A second thing that can emerge is a longing for what others seem to have. A house, a job or other things that goes with the 'membership' of another group. You may still wish to belong to your own group, but wish for the other groups attributes.

12.9. Do you have any thoughts regarding the future?

“Uhm, the only thing I’m scared of is that, you know, I’m gonna bring more kids into this world and I can’t support them”, (Elsa).

This question deals with thoughts that they wanted to share with me regarding the future.

Elsa speaks about her fears for the children to grow up damaged because of what they have seen going on during their childhood. She has prevented her self from getting more children by using long-lasting contraceptives. Another fear of hers is what would happen to the children if she died. Since she can not trust the father to take care of them properly she fear that. Most of her friends are friends of her boyfriend and according to her either addicts, on social welfare or both, which is no good.

Tanya talks about her mother’s health and the fear that she will not be with them very long. Tanya has diabetes as well and has created a super bond (life insurance) that will ease the future for her children if anything will happen to herself. She hopes that her children will stay together as she has done with her siblings. “We are a close family and I hope that all my kids and my sisters kids are close like how me and my sister are”. She continues by hoping that when she gets older her kids will look after her.

Mary tells me that she is afraid that one of the children would die before she did. “I wouldn’t want any of them to go before me, that would really kill me”. She also talks about her family where everyone has their mind about things. She is however concerned that they will do well in the future. Mary does everything for her children. They are the meaning of her life and if anything would happen to them she would get devastated.

Sandra talks about how little they get from social welfare and how she wants to get of the benefit. “Hmm, hope we’re better of than this, yeah. I hope I’m not still on the benefit cause I would rather be off it cause really I think we need a lot more than what we’re getting anyway”. She does not think she is going to get more children until she gets much older. Sandra comes back to the issue about the house she wants and adds a car and a stable job to the wishing list. Sandra also speaks about her fear to stay at home for the rest of her life. “But I hope I’m not a housewife for the rest of my life, or something like a mother. I got, nah, I’m

not gonna have any more kids yet". To make sure she does not get any unplanned children again she gets contraceptive injections every three months.

Jean tells me that she wants to get a job in order to be independent. She thinks that she will attend courses or some kind of education in order to get there. She would like to go for a course in retail or customer service. She has put a dream on hold because of her small baby. "It's just, ahm, probably, just the job that I will do cause I can't. I wanted to be an airhostess". Jean always dreamt of travelling but has never been further than Wellington. To be able to be an airhostess she has to attend a travel and tourism course. She can or does not want to leave her baby with someone else to look after it.

Rebecca talks about how she wants a better job and her own home. She obviously had the time to decide that the home she wanted have to be her own. Because she does not like the part of Auckland she lives in now, she wants to move. She does not know where she wants to move, but know where she does not want to move. She hopes that she can get a new job as a truck driver or delivering courier mail. Rebecca's fear is to get seriously ill or dying despite her good health. To many of her children are in a dependably age and the youngest only being less than 2 years old. She wonders who would look after her children if something would happen. Rebecca also talks about how some of her children get treated badly at the school because it is racist. There is no alternative school to send her children to. She worry that the children will get emotionally scars because of this. Rebecca desperately wants to move to another area because of this and because she generally does not like the suburb.

12.9.1. Analysis

Most of the thoughts about the future are negative ones. They deal with things like: What if I die, who will look after my children? Four out of six is thinking about this problem. All of the IPs lives in close contact with their extended family and their relatives. Many IPs children are already looked after and sometimes stay for periods with grownups other than their birthmother. Still they worry about what would happen if they died. The two youngest ones do not think about death at all. Instead they focus on the future. They speak about courses and training leading away from dependency on Social welfare. The route that leads away from dependency is to get a job. Rebecca also talks about getting another job better than the one

she just got. She also raises the issue about her children's' school being racist and how that might effect them later on in life.

12.10. Where do you see yourself in five and ten years?

“ In five years I see myself working, I see myself working”, (Elsa).

“In ten years I see, I don't know what I see”, (Elsa).

This question deals with future plans and future visions five and ten years ahead.

Elsa speaks about her plan to get a job, as soon as WINZ let her. She thinks it is a necessity to do a couple of courses. Her qualifications and training is as old as her oldest child and need to be updated. She is however not shore about where to go and what do to with her life. “A sense of direction, because I can get all the education in the world and still don't know where I'm going with it”. Elsa thinks that during and after a general education her mind will lead her in the way she is suppose to go. She seems to be able to see five years ahead only. Ten years is to abstract and too many things could have changed (or stayed the same).

Tanya sees herself living in her own house with her kids and the last boyfriend. She does not like studying so she sees herself going straight into the labour market. “I'm working, I would love to work”. She mentions an old job of hers in a factory setting she would not mind doing again. She does not think she will get more children that will make her stay home. Instead she is just waiting for the time to be right for her to start working. The time will come when her youngest is three years old. After ten years Tanya sees her children having children and not much more.

Mary sees herself in the big house with her family. She sees herself taking care of the grandchildren trying to keep them out of trouble. “ I mean that's what my future would be like is with my grandchildren disciplining them and making sure they're on the right track”. As said before Mary can not live without her family. The only reason to live is to be with her near and dear. Today she is taking care of her own son and some of the grandchildren. In five years she will only look after her grandchildren. In ten years Mary sees her daughter get into

the workforce. She also sees her son getting good grades. “And my grandson well he’s got big dreams in which I hope he fulfils”.

Sandra sees her self working and climbing the career ladder. She also sees herself eventually getting her own house by saving. Alternatively she sees herself training or doing a course. She is willing to do whatever it takes to get out of the benefit. Another possibility could be that Sandra joins the army if the rules mentioned in the previous chapter change. In ten years Sandra sees herself as old and maybe with more children. She thinks that ten years is to far away, for her to speculate about what will happen in her life.

Jean sees her self working in five years as an airhostess or in an office. Her baby would be five years old and attending school. The school would preferable be a school focusing on music and art. Jean sees herself living in a flash house in a nice suburb with a nice guy. Jean sees herself in a flash new house in ten years.

Rebecca talks about her future and when asked about where she see herself in five years answer: “Well in Hollywood (laughs) I don’t really know, probably laid back with all my grandchildren (giggles)”. She continues to say that she might be a bus-driver. According to Rebecca she might be to old by then (43 years old). In ten years time Rebecca sees herself taking care of all her grandchildren and having retired from the workforce (48 years old).

12.10.1. Analysis

These two questions were put into one because of the difficulties the IPs had to answer them.

All the IPs except Mary talks about working. Mary is disabled, which explain why she did not even mention going back to work. Some of the IPs sees themselves studying in order to reach their goal of working. Many of the IPs sees themselves living in their own nice houses. The

two older women (38 and 57 years old) see them selves looking after the grandchildren, possible retired. They also see them selves living with their children in this big house.

The IPs had great difficulties in answering these questions. The reason for this could be that they lived for such a long time in a society that does not believe they have a future, other than on Social Welfare. The IPs are living in a society that constantly dominates them. When they hear the language spoken (English), see the European looking role models on television and in media, understand the discourse about the group they belong to, an inferiority complex can be created. “ Out of the inferiority complex emerge various compensatory reactions”, Stonequist (1937) p.152. One compensatory reaction could be to let things stay the way they are, live one day at a time and not plan for a future that might not be positive anyway.

13. Summary

When considering why so many IPs are depending on benefit one must try to see the whole picture. Apart from being pregnant and not having access to affordable childcare there are a number of other reasons for being on the benefit. Most IPs have not studied enough to get sufficient training or a higher education, which means they can only do unskilled work. The numbers of job-opportunities for unskilled workers have decreased in New Zealand since the eighties.

When the IPs were asked about how they coped with living on Social Welfare the response was that a lot of time was spent struggling to make ends meet. This creates a sense of hopelessness and helplessness and adds to the stress they are all living under. The IPs have many automatic payments and they all smoke, which makes their costs of living much higher and in turn created some of the money-problems.

Half of the IPs reported bad health for them and their children. Some of the illnesses like diabetes and asthma might be hereditary but is also likely to be a result of their lifestyle. The kind of food they eat, how much exercise they get and the amount of cigarettes they smoke must have a contributing if not causing effect. Some of the illnesses might also be a reaction to all the stress that many IPs are living with.

When asked how the IPs were treated by staffmembers at WINZ most seems to have been treated badly. This adds to the stress the IPs feel when they have to go in for a grant or benefit. The question is if the IPs attitude triggers the casemanagers or the opposite. The environment in itself may cause stress due to lack of confidentiality and privacy.

The IPs were asked about if they needed any additional help from WINZ that they do not receive at the moment. Elsa needed some money to be able to get counselling for her depression. Tanya needed some extra money to pay for her extra costs because she has diabetes. Other than that the others did not seem to need any additional help, which for me is strange considering how they live.

When the IPs were asked if they were told the rules and regulations at WINZ they all answered no to the question. However, when I accompanied some IPs the casemanager did explain the rules and regulations. The right to appeal is always in the written decision that arrives in the IPs homes after a visit. It seems as if not many of the IPs read this letter or cannot be bothered to appeal anyway.

The IPs were asked about what made them stay on the benefit. Most of them answered that it was due to their children being to young. The oldest IPs have had so many children that they have been able to stay on the benefit for many years. One of the IP was disabled and unable to work. Another reason was the lack of difference between paid unskilled work and the level of benefit.

When the IPs were asked what they wished for all of them answered a house. They also wanted needs and wants from their children to be fulfilled. Many wanted steady relationships and economies. I interpreted all wishes, except to be rich, a reasonable request. The IPs wishes seemed to become more like most New Zealanders. It is normal for most Kiwis (New Zealanders) to own their own house and be able to provide themselves and their families with what is needed. However this is not the case for most people living on Social Welfare.

When asked about the IPs thoughts about the future most of them answered fear of dying. Other things like courses and jobs were on their minds. My overall impression is that the thoughts were mostly negative.

The questions about where the IPs saw themselves in five and ten years were answered with topics that had been brought up during other questions. Many answers were related to work, income, houses and possessions. I believe that a lack of goals and plans for the future, is what explain this. Most of the IPs could not see ten years ahead.

14. Conclusions

The stories that were told by the IPs touched me in many different ways. I was told about the economical problems that made it hard to make ends meet and still be able to provide themselves and their children with necessities. I was also told about abusive relationships and depression as well as other stressful influences in their lives. The environment in which they live and the money they receive from Social Welfare affects their lives in a most negative way. Many of the IPs do not believe they have any choices but to stay and live the way they already do. I wondered if there was something that could be done in order to make them feel better? I do not think more money would solve the problem. I think the problem is more complicated than that.

For governments all over the world, groups and individuals that depend on Social Welfare for longer periods is a huge economical and social problem. A lack of childcare and education is some of the many reasons why the IPs stayed on the benefit. I have been discussing theories as colonialism, discourse and marginalisation as some other possible reasons for getting on the benefit and staying on it. Declaring these theories as the sole answer is not any solution either. If the Maori group were assimilated and had adapted to the norms of the dominant Pakeha group, the Maori group would not exist. I believe that the ‘problem’ will solve it self after a few generations due to the ‘normal’ adaptation. Another group will probably the ones living on Social Welfare.

Most of the IPs wished for things that are considered normal in New Zealand. Normal in this case means owning attributes already ‘owned’ by a majority of the Pakeha group and living like they do. I believe that the IPs see the Pakeha group in possession of the things they need and want. However there is a difference between wanting something and actually do something about it like getting a job and getting out of dependency.

15. References

- Ashcroft, B. (2001). *Post- colonial transformation*. London: Routledge
- Belich, A. (1995). *Making people*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd
- Bell, A. (1996). 'We're just New Zealanders': *Pakeha identity politics*. In Spoonley, P. (Eds), (1996). *Nga Patai: Racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/ New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd
- Belgrave, Michael & Cheyne, Christine & O'Brien, Mike (1997). *Social policy in Aotearoa New Zealand: A critical introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boston, J. & Dalziel, P. (Eds.) (1992). *The decent society? : Essays in response to National's Economic and social policies*. Auckland: Oxford University Press
- Coolican, H. (1999). *Research methods and statistics in Psychology*. London: Hodder & Stoughton
- Durie, M. (1989). 'The Treaty of Waitangi perspectives for social policy', in Kawhari, I. (Eds.) *Waitangi: Maori and Pakeha perspectives of the Treaty of Waitangi*. Auckland: University Press
- Fougere, G. (1994). *Health*: In Pearson, D & Shirley, I (Eds.) & Spoonley, P (1994). *New Zealand Society*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press limited
- Hornby, A. S. (1997). *Oxford Advanced learners dictionary of current English*. Hongkong: Oxford University Press
- Mcleay, E. (1992). 'Housing policy' In Boston and Dalziel, The decent society? Auckland: Oxford University Press
- Niven, C. & Turner, P. & Williams, J. (2000). *Lonely Planet: New Zealand*. Melbourne: Lonely planet publications
- Osterhammel, J. (1997). *Colonialism: A theoretical overview*. Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers
- Parker, I. (1997). *Discursive psychology*. In Fox, D. & Prilleltensky, I. (Eds), (1997). *Critical psychology: An Introduction*. London: Sage Publication Ltd
- Pierson, C. (1998). *Beyond the welfare state*. Padstow: Polity Press
- Reilly, M. (1996). *Te matakite hou o nga korero nehe no niu tireni: Revisioning New Zealand history*. In Spoonley, P. (Eds), (1996). *Nga Patai: Racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/ New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd

Robson, C. (2000). *Real world research*. Oxford: Blackwell

Spoonley, P. (Eds), (1994). *New Zealand Society*, Palmerston North: Dunmore press Ltd

Statistic New Zealand A. (2002). *Economy*. www.stats.govt.nz/

Statistic New Zealand B. (2002). *Population*. www.stats.govt.nz/

Statistic New Zealand C (2002). *Taxation*. www.stats.govt.nz/

Stonequist, E, V. (1937). *The marginal man*. New York: Russell & Russell inc.

Thomas, D, R. & Nikora, L, W. (1994). *Maori, Pakeha and New Zealander: Ethnic and national identity among New Zealand students*. Journal of intercultural studies vol.1

Work and Income New Zealand A (2002) *Work and income New Zealand*.www.winz.govt.nz/

Work and Income New Zealand B (2002. Unemployment and Independent Youth Benefit.
www.winz.govt.nz/text_only/get_financial_assistance/benefits/main

Work and Income New Zealand C (2002. Sickness Benefit.
www.winz.govt.nz/text_only/get_financial_assistance/benefits/main

Work and Income New Zealand D (2002. Domestic Purposes and Widows Benefit
www.winz.govt.nz/text_only/get_financial_assistance/benefits/main

Work and Income New Zealand E (2002. Disability Benefit
www.winz.govt.nz/text_only/get_financial_assistance/benefits/main

Background information

Appendix 1

Economy/Income

*Income support.....NZD per 2week *Housing support.....NZD per 2week
*Other support.....NZD per 2week *Income of work.....NZD per 2week
*Income of pension.....NZD per 2week *Other income.....NZD per 2week
All incomeNZD per 2week

Costs

*RentNZD per 2week*Telephone.....NZD per 2week
*Gas/electricity.....NZD Per 2week *Food.....NZD per 2week
*Other.....NZD per 2week *All costs.....NZD per 2week
*Automatic payments.....
.....

*Income – CostsNZD per 2week

Car ...Yes....No.... If car Insurance.....Yes.....No

Home insuranceYes.....No.....

Family constellation

*Married... *Unmarried... *Living together... *Single... *Other

*How many children?.....

*How many members of the family live together?.....

Living conditions

*Statehouse... *Apartment *How many Bedrooms?.....

*How many Squarmeters?.....

*How is the standard? *Very good... *Good... *Not that good... *Poor...

*Where in Auckland do you live?.....

I hereby give my consent for Daniel Te Kira to use the information gathered in this form as he sees fit, under the conditions that the information will be unidentified.

Interview form

Would you like to tell me something about yourself and your family?

How did you start up getting benefit?

How do you think you and your family cope under these special surcomstanses (living on social welfare)?

How good is your and the rest of the families health?

Do you get regular income support?

Do you have to visit 'Work and Income' often for other kinds of support?

How do staff members at Work and Income treat you?

Do you get information about your rights and obligations?

What do you know about your right to appeal?

How much more money would you need to live decently?

Could they (Work and Income) do anything for you that would make you feel better and be better of?

What stops you from getting of the benefit?

If you would wish for something (everything you want) what would that be?

Do you have any thoughts about the future regarding what will happen to your family and yourself?

Do you have any special hopes for the future?

Where do you see yourself in five and ten years?

What do you see yourself doing in five and ten years?

Is there anything you would like to have support with that you haven't got today?

I hereby give my consent for Daniel Te Kira to use the information gathered in this interview as he sees fit, under the condition that my identity and the information will be unidentified.

Auckland

.....

