

A Chronology: Social Welfare Policy and Māori

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**MINISTRY OF SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT**
TE MANATŪ WHAKAHIATO ORA

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Disclaimer

The views and interpretations in this report are those of the researchers and are not the official position of the Ministry of Social Development.

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Contents

Contents.....	iii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
<i>Background</i>	1
1835–1899: The colonial redistribution of welfare: Dismantling hapū ora.....	2
1900–1937: On the fringes of mono-cultural welfare	6
1938–1971: Assimilating into universal welfare.....	11
1972–1989: (Re)Claiming Māori welfare	21
1990–2022: Kei hea te Rito? Bi-culturalising welfare.....	29
Footnotes.....	42

Introduction

This chronology is developed to provide online historical context for MSD's new website *Te Hao Rangahau* [[Te Hao Rangahau \(msd.govt.nz\)](https://www.msd.govt.nz)]. The website is an interactive, searchable online annotated bibliography of key MSD research and/or policy documents relevant to Waitangi Tribunal Kaupapa Inquiries, from 1938, the date the New Zealand Social Security Act was passed, to present day.

The chronology provides a brief history of significant events from 1840, representative of key time periods, and themed to political, social, cultural and economic shifts within te ao Māori. It is designed as a tool to assist users of *Te Hao Rangahau* to understand the context of the annotated bibliography documents. For example, each downloadable document has a brief annotation **and** interactive web content to provide a short background of the wider Māori experience, at that time. *A Chronology: Social Welfare Policy and Māori* provides the opportunity for users of the website to download and print the interactive information as a hardcopy document.

This chronology draws on historical research undertaken by historians and other social commentators who have well-contributed to our understanding of the racial, economic and political contexts underlying the historical development of welfare policies in New Zealand.

The chronology brings together the complex realities of generations of whānau Māori who at once grappled with the loss of traditional ways of thriving as tangata whenua in exchange for contested access to an inequitable system of 'social welfare'. It is only through this broader contextual lens that the nature and impacts of social welfare policies can be appreciated from the perspectives of Māori men, women and children.

Background

In 2020 the Solicitor General wrote to Debbie Power, MSD Chief Executive, requesting (appropriate) access to MSD evidential material for Waitangi Tribunal research purposes. The request was made in relation to the Wai 2700 claim – the Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry into claims alleging prejudice to Mana Wāhine arising from Crown breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi.

As a government department with a long history of social service development in Aotearoa NZ, MSD holds a significant body of knowledge relevant to the Mana Wāhine claim, and Māori social service history in general. Nevertheless, this information is not always easily accessible to researchers, claimants, and/or all those seeking to access the same material for research purposes. MSD has therefore developed *Te Hao Rangahau* as a proactive and innovative approach to supporting (initially) Mana Wāhine Kaupapa Inquiry claimant and counsel research needs. Furthermore, MSD's web team have designed the website to enable material to be continuously uploaded, creating a significant online research database for all those interested in accessing the history of MSD social services in relation to Māori.

1835–1899: The colonial redistribution of welfare: Dismantling hapū ora

This period opens with a politically and socio-economically robust iwi Māori population of around 80,000 people.¹ Whenua and whakapapa form the basis of hapū and whānau wellbeing. W.H. Oliver argues that the first instrument of social policy in New Zealand was the system set up by Hobson in 1840 for the purchase and resale to settlers of Māori land.² Pākehā welfare was dependent on the continued dispossession of Māori land.³

The New Zealand Wars (1845–1872) either directly or indirectly impacted all iwi Māori throughout New Zealand.⁴ Related legislative measures enabled the Crown to alienate Māori land and taonga across the motu prior to and beyond the next century via confiscation, land tenure reforms, local legislative measures and contested land purchases.

Iwi Māori assertions of rangatiratanga and resistance to the alienation of lands occurred across the motu, either physically, through the courts, via direct petitioning to the government or through the simple occupation of lands. Such measures led to some government concessions, such as the Sims Commission and South Island Landless Natives Act 1906,⁵ but after 1872 resistance also sometimes led to the government's use of force in the later 19th century and well into the 20th century. (eg, Parihaka in 1881, Waima in 1898, Takaparawhāu in 1978).⁶

By the end of the 19th century Māori were a minority of the national population. In 1896 the Māori population hit an all-time low of 42,650, compared to a Pākehā population of just over 700,000. Although the Māori population was recovering, their communities were reeling from land alienation, decline of resources, indebtedness, diseases and warfare. Māori communities survived on subsistence economies, with a growing dependence on paid work.

Māori were either excluded or faced barriers to accessing welfare support introduced during this period¹.

Date	Event	Description
1835	Te Whakaputanga	Northern Rangatira sign Declaration of Independence.
1840	Māori population estimated at 80,000	An iwi Māori population supports a dependent Pākehā population of approximately 2,000 c.1839.
	Signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi	
1845–1872	Beginning of New Zealand Wars	
26 October 1846	Destitute Persons Ordinance	Promoted the start of the family responsibility themes in New Zealand social policy. ⁷ Was put in place due to concern about 'dangerous lunatics' and made families financially responsible for their own members. ⁸ Became New Zealand's first income support measure. ⁹

¹ Colour code– Pink: Te Ao Māori and/or wider government actions. Grey: Departmental-related actions.

1846	Hospitals established in the North Island	1846 saw the establishment of state-financed hospitals in Auckland, Wellington, Wanganui, and New Plymouth, creating the nucleus of a national hospital system. ¹⁰
1847	Limited Government support for Mission Schools	Māori women played a significant role in establishing Mission Schools. Māori children were initially educated in Mission Schools, separate from Pākehā children, and received some funding from government from 1847.
24 August 1849	Pensions Ordinance	Provided a limited pension for volunteers and others who were disabled or seriously wounded while acting with or in aid of the Crown forces in the suppression of the rebellion in the far north of New Zealand in 1845/46. ¹¹
1852	New Zealand Constitution Act	New Zealand is now self-governing, with allowances made for self-governing Māori districts. Provinces are responsible for the 'needy poor'.
	Civil List for 'Native purposes'	From 1852 the Civil List included a sum of £7,000 for 'Native Purposes' including medicines and medical services. ¹²
1857–1860	First attempts at a Māori Census ¹³	This marked the first attempt at a separate Māori census.
	Resistance to land alienation asserted throughout the country Te Aukati established in Waikato. Te Wherowhero became the first Māori King First Kohimarama conference ¹⁴	
1862	Native Lands Act	Established the Native Land Court, an important means of Crown land acquisition and assimilation.
1863	New Zealand Settlements Act	War, followed by land confiscation, became another way of implementing social policy to transfer land into Pākehā hands. ¹⁵ Roads were also constructed for the military and for economic expansion, especially farming communities, that would draw Māori within the reach of 'civilising influences'. ¹⁶
1864	First proclamation confiscating land under the New Zealand Settlements Act ¹⁷	
	Public Works legislation	

1865	Native Land Court established under Native Lands Act 1862	The Native Lands Act of 1862 gave the Governor authority to establish a Native Land Court in any district defined by him. Those found by the court to be owners were then at liberty to sell or let land directly to settlers. ¹⁹
September 1866	Military Pensions Act	The Military Pensions Act 1866 provides for members of the Colonial Forces killed or wounded on active service in the New Zealand wars. Payments were higher for European members. Special allowances could also be provided to family (widows, children and other relatives) of European soldiers that died. ²⁰
1867	The Neglected and Criminal Children Act	Authorised residential institutions which formed the basis of government social services for children in 19 th century New Zealand. ²¹ Enabled Provincial Councils to establish 'industrial schools' to which the courts could commit neglected, indigent or delinquent children. ²²
1867	Māori Representation Act	Māori acquired four seats in the House of Representatives.
1867	Native Schools Act	'Native Schools Act 1867 provided subsidies for rural Māori communities that offered land for a school site and contributed to the teachers' salaries. This was a parsimonious measure, paid for partly by withdrawal or diminution of government contributions to the church-run boarding schools. ²³
1870s	Earliest records of special courts or arrangements for children	Until the early 1900s children committed to state care in New Zealand passed through the regular adult court system, normally the magistrate's court. ²⁴
1877	Treaty of Waitangi rights judged to be a legal nullity by Chief Justice Prendergast	
1880	The Department of Justice relinquished jurisdiction over industrial schools to the Department of Education	Signalled a shift from residential schools as primarily punitive institutions to more reformative institutions. ²⁵
1881	Native Succession Act	Māori women's property rights took a step backwards in 1881 when the Native Succession Act created the potential to discriminate against Māori women's property rights under customary marriage. ²⁶
1887	Infants Guardianship and Contracts Act ²⁷	
1890s	Developments in welfare and income provision create a network of 'social services' as the state plays a greater role in the lives of its citizens. The country carves out an	This decade saw the enactments of women's suffrage, labour legislation, and old-age pensions. ²⁸ Hospitals existed as a charitable aid system and pensions were available for the aged and widowed, alongside existing provision by religious and other voluntary philanthropic organisations. Anxieties about declining Pākehā birth rates also raised interest in maternal health. ²⁹ Rescue homes for 'fallen' women, prisoner's aid societies, shipwreck relief

	international reputation as a 'social laboratory'.	associations, sailor's rests and other voluntary and benevolent societies were in the main cities by the 1890s. ³⁰
1894	The Government Advances to Settlers Act	Established the Government Advances to Settlers Office with the original purpose of providing cheap land for farmers in a period of falling overseas prices. It also allowed the government to lend to rural settlers who owned land but had limited access to capital and were hampered by high interest rates. Māori were excluded from this initiative. ³¹
1892–4	Māori women's suffrage campaign and Māori Parliament Kotahitanga o Te Tiriti o Waitangi established	Meri Te Tai Mangakahia campaigned for women's suffrage. The first woman to address the Kotahitanga Parliament (in May 1893), she noted that Māori women were landowners, and entitled to political representation. ³²
	Kotahitanga Parliament drafted the Native Rights Bill	The Bill was tabled in Parliament by Māori MPs. It sought the abolition of the Native Land Court, the right of Māori to make their own land laws, and Māori control of reserved land and land developments. ³³ Parliament rejected the Native Rights Bill in 1896.
1 November 1898	Old-age Pension Act	The first statutory provision for old-age pensions. Excludes Māori receiving money under the <i>Civil List Act 1873</i> . Most Māori received less than the full rate and were likely deterred by application requirements, such as providing proof of birth. ³⁴ Nevertheless, Māori were defined as 'a distinctive problematic class' when they asserted their right to claim the pension in numbers well beyond that expected by the Treasury and the Old-age Pensions Office. ³⁵

1900–1937: On the fringes of mono-cultural welfare

Most Māori lived in rural enclaves of Aotearoa New Zealand and practiced customary ways of living and caring for whānau. However, assimilationist policies and a capitalist economic framework were beginning to impact, especially with the migration of adults in search of paid work. By 1920, Māori land holdings had decreased to 8% of total New Zealand lands and the population had increased from 56,987 in 1921 to 82,326 in 1936.³⁶ Factors contributing to this significant population growth, which continued beyond the 1920s, were ‘falls in infant and child mortality, especially but not exclusively from the end of the 19th century to 1976’, ‘reductions in mortality at older ages’, and ‘the high relative fertility of Māori women’.³⁷ While Māori women and children were at the forefront of the recovery of te ao Māori, they were also targets of state messaging about their ‘proper’ family roles and places in New Zealand society.

Western concepts of child welfare were introduced legislatively in the early 20th century (whāngai restrictions to whenua) and enforced increasingly throughout the century as Māori children began to enter the child juvenile system. Access to pensions and benefits are either denied or paid at a lower rate than for Pākehā.

Iwi Māori continued to fight for hapū autonomy and control over their own welfare. Wāhine Māori, such as Whina Cooper and Te Puea Hērangi, were among Māori leaders pushing for tikanga-based solutions for the wellbeing of their people and Māori nationwide.³⁸

Date	Event	Description
1900	The Māori Lands Administration Act	The Māori Lands Administration Act granted Māori some local autonomy and some legal power over their land. However, special conditions restricted these gains. ³⁹
	Māori Councils Act	Under the Māori Councils Act, Māori settlements were empowered to elect a marae committee (Komiti Marae) – the individual members of which were awarded statutory power to control the liquor trade, regulate traffic and impose sanitation measures. Komiti Marae appointed ‘native constables’, or ‘komiti marae constables’, as they were also known, to assist with community control and the enforcement of Māori Council by-laws. The government provided virtually no funding for these councils and all improvements were paid for by Māori. ⁴⁰
	Department of Public Health established through Public Health Act 1900	This department had a ‘Māori Health’ section. First Māori Doctor, Maui Pomare, was recruited to the new Department of Public Health as ‘Health Commissioner for the Natives’ in 1901. Te Rangi Hīroa (Peter Buck) engaged as Pomare’s assistant in 1905. ⁴¹
Early 20 th century	Residential care was regarded as the best option for young offenders, and for young people considered to be out of control	Alternative forms of care, such as foster care with non-family members, were reserved for the least difficult children committed to the care of the state. ⁴² Children and young people were seen as victims of society, or threats to it, or both at once. ⁴³ Females made up 40% of all committals into state care before 1925. ⁴⁴ Child abuse and neglect were seen as the most significant social issues. ⁴⁵
Early 20 th century	Prohibition	Once women have the right to vote, from 1893, elections are commonly accompanied by referenda on alcohol prohibition.

		Although Māori were not allowed to vote in National Licensing Referenda until 1949, prohibition was something that Māori felt very strongly about. Apirana Ngata enlisted the help of Ani Kahutawhiti to gather signatures and each woman who signed was given a prohibition ribbon – the OG white ribbon campaign for Māori communities. ⁴⁶
1901	Native Land Claims and Adjustment and Amendment Act	This Act made it necessary to formally ‘register whangai placements in the Native Land Court to qualify the child to succeed to lands of their whangai parents’. ⁴⁷ The Act also legalised the adoption of children outside of the kin-based network.
1904	Old Age Pension policy for Māori	Old-age Pensions Office became an independent department. ⁴⁸ In 1904 the decision by New Plymouth magistrate Thomas Hutchinson to pay a reduced rate of pension, £12 rather than £18, to a Māori pensioner set a precedent for an unofficial policy that lasted another 40 years. ⁴⁹
1907	Tohunga Suppression Act	Prohibited traditional Māori healing practices. ⁵⁰
1909	Native Land Act	This Act prohibited customary whāngai practices. Instead, formal adoptions needed to be legally registered through the Native Land Court. ⁵¹
11 October 1913	Pensions Act	This Act consolidated statutes relating to old age, widows, and military pensions. The Act did not apply to Māori who were receiving money appropriated for Native purposes under the Civil List Act 1908. Application required an applicant’s age to be corroborated to the satisfaction of a magistrate. This effectively excluded many Māori. ⁵²
1915	Te Hokowhiti a Tū, Māori contingent leave for war	Altogether 2,227 men served overseas. Three hundred and thirty-six Māori men (15%) who served in the war, on Gallipoli Peninsula or the Western Front, were killed. Of those who returned, nearly 40% had been wounded. ⁵³
	Māori Soldiers Fund	Lady Liverpool with Miria Woodbine Pomare formed a Māori Soldiers Fund which drew upon the resources of 28 Māori women’s committees across the country. ⁵⁴
10 June 1916	The Military Services Act	The Military Services Act 1916 introduced conscription, which initially applied only to Pākehā. Conscription was extended to Māori in June 1917. By the end of the war, ‘nearly 30,000 conscripts had joined the New Zealand Expeditionary Force.’ New forms of pensions for Māori War veterans were introduced in 1916. ⁵⁵
1917	Eastern Māori Patriotic Association established	Set up by Āpirana Ngata to raise funds for Māori returned servicemen, because of the doubt that the government would act fairly in providing land for rehabilitation. ⁵⁶
1918	Influenza epidemic	‘The official figures released at the time grossly underestimated Māori suffering; their death rate was seven times higher than for Pākehā. It is now thought that more than 2,100 Māori died in the epidemic.’ ⁵⁷

1918	The Epidemic Allowance (Epidemic Pension)	The Epidemic Allowance (Epidemic Pension) was introduced as an immediate response to the sudden deaths during the influenza epidemic of 1918. The Allowance provided for widows whose husbands had died in the epidemic and for the support of children of widowers through the employment of housekeepers. The Epidemic Allowance was initially paid by the Health Department. In 1920, its administration was transferred to the Pensions Department. ⁵⁸
1919	Housing Act	Introduced due to an acute housing shortage following the 'return of soldiers, a scarcity of labour and a rise in the cost of building materials. The Scheme operated for only three years during which time 800 houses were built.' ⁵⁹
1919	Te Rangihīroa (Peter Buck) is appointed Director of Māori Hygiene	Māori councils were transferred to the Health Department in 1919 but at this point most only existed on paper. ⁶⁰
	Te Hokowhītu a Tū return home from war	
1920	Reorganisation of the health system	Led to the formation of divisions for Dental Hygiene, School Hygiene, and Child Welfare, the last under the leadership of Truby King. ⁶¹
1924	The Prevention of Crime (Borstal Institutions Establishment) Act	Offenders aged 15–21 could be detained in borstals for one to five years for 'reform' which included occupational training. ⁶²
1925	Child Welfare Act	Child Welfare Act 1925 expunged the term 'industrial school' from the Education Department vocabulary. ⁶³ The legislation caught up with, rather than set, a new welfare policy for children. ⁶⁴ It created a separate system of juvenile justice through children's courts for those under 16 years. The establishment of children's courts changed the Division's function to that of a preventive and treatment agency, rather than a punitive one. ⁶⁵ It legislated the establishment of the Child Welfare Branch (CWB) of the Department of Education, operational from 1926, the first semi-autonomous section of a government department devoted exclusively to welfare matters. ⁶⁶
1926	Pensions Act	First attempt to systematise New Zealand's pension system. A tight rein placed on Māori eligibility by local magistrate's assessments. The Commissioner became responsible for agreeing to all renewals of Māori pensions and adopted the practice of lowering Māori pensions across the board to 25% less than the full rates. ⁶⁷
1926	Sim Commission	The Sim Commission inquired into the more than three million acres of Māori land confiscated throughout Taranaki, Waikato and the Bay of Plenty under the 1863 New Zealand Settlements Act. Its subsequent report contained no discussion of justifications for either the New Zealand Wars or the subsequent confiscations, and no appraisal of any consistencies with or breaches of the Treaty. It simply found the

		confiscations had indeed been excessive, and recommended compensation in the form of annuities to be administered through Māori Trust Boards. ⁶⁸
1926	Child Welfare Branch set up	Based in the Department of Education, it had responsibility for the welfare of all children (whether in institutional care or in the care of family). The Superintendent of Child Welfare was responsible to both the Minister of Education and the Minister in Charge of Welfare. ⁶⁹
1926–1948	Māori children/ youth increasingly in Child Welfare Court and disproportionately placed under supervision	In the late 1930s Māori increasingly appeared in children’s courts and from 1926–1948 Māori made up 30–40% of all cases of children magistrates placed under supervision each year. ⁷⁰
1927	The Child Welfare Amendment Act	Raised the age limit for children’s courts from 16 to 17 which caused a sudden increase in case numbers. ⁷¹ It also provided for the state registration and inspection of orphanages. ⁷²
1928	Public Works Act	The 1928 Act continued most of the principles and policies developed in previous years, including many of the inheritances of the 1882 Act regarding Māori land. However, land ‘could be taken under the Public Works Act 1928 for State housing purposes, provided that no Māori land was taken without the consent of the Minister of Maori Affairs’. ⁷³
1929	Native Land Amendment and Native and Claims Adjustment Acts	Māori Land development schemes begin, providing a lifeline to whānau Māori.
	First Māori Women’s Institute, Te Awapuni, formed at Kohupātiki ⁷⁴	
1930	The Division of Māori Hygiene disbanded ⁷⁵	Responsibility for Māori health passed to the Department of Public Health’s medical officers.
1930	The Great Depression	Unemployment grew to 12%, forming a new group demanding government assistance. The government set up an Unemployment Board and legislated to raise an annual levy of 30 shillings from every adult working male to fund the Board’s activities which became an important precedent for the social security tax. ⁷⁶ The effects of the Depression caused an apparent failure of voluntary welfare. By the mid-1930s even the leading churches were urging greater state activism and redistribution of wealth. ⁷⁷ Both private charity and the system of charitable aid proved insufficient, inefficient, and humiliating. ⁷⁸ This led to new public expectations of what the state should provide for citizens. ⁷⁹

1930	Unemployment Act	Established government responsibility for the support of the unemployed, but relief works and payments proved inadequate. ⁸⁰ The Act established an Unemployment Board, charged with making arrangements with employers for the employment of the unemployed, promoting the growth of primary and secondary industries, and administering a new contributory scheme of sustenance payments to those out of work. ⁸¹
1931	Native Land Act	Removed recognition of adoptions by Māori custom for things such as succession to native land where there was no will (unless the adoption had been registered pre-31 March 1910 and was still in place). The Act also impacted land development and title. ⁸²
1932	Health Camps	The first permanent Children’s Health Camp was built at Ōtaki. ⁸³
1934–35	Māori Purposes Fund Act constituted the Māori Purposes Fund Board, charged with promoting Māori health, education, social and economic wellbeing ⁸⁴	This Act amalgamated three former Boards: The Māori Ethnological Research Board (1923); The Māori Purposes Fund Control Board (1924); and The Māori Arts and Crafts Council Board (1931).
1935	First Labour government develops new housing, full employment, and social security policies ⁸⁵	These new policies turned needs into rights and then allied these needs and rights with those of the middle classes drawing on a philosophy of the vulnerability of every individual in the face of wider forces. ⁸⁶ Family welfare started to dominate welfare policies. ⁸⁷ As the state’s welfare frontier expanded, it took the voluntary sector with it and sometimes opened up possibilities for volunteerism. Sectoral boundaries blurred. ⁸⁸ Many church proposals throughout the 1930s for state intervention on the issue of unemployment were rendered irrelevant. ⁸⁹
1935	Native Housing Act ⁹⁰	Initiated the beginning of nationwide surveys.
1936	Māori Land holdings: 4,992,013 acres, and 8.3% of Māori women engaged in paid employment	
	Lady Pomare’s Welfare Committee forms the Ngāti Poneke Young Māori Club ⁹¹	

1938–1971: Assimilating into universal welfare

Labour’s policies were underpinned by a principle of universality and a vision of the nation as a classless community. Rich, middle-class and poor were linked by the same national system of state support and social services; superannuation, however small, was to be available to every aged person who was not already on another benefit and was an important symbol of citizenship. The ‘system as a whole was removed from ‘the taint of charity’ and became a source of national pride’.⁹²

This was a period of great demographic change for iwi Māori with the mass migration of its rural population to the cities of New Zealand. The need for workers in essential industries and the post-war labour boom provided rangatahi and whānau Māori with ample employment, ‘incomes that were almost equal to those of Pākehā, and access to family welfare benefits that boosted the incomes of large families by around 50 percent.’⁹³ However, the financial rewards were offset by one or both parents working long hours to cover the costs of city living and it exposed Māori to discrimination. The Department of Māori Affairs played a welfare role in the lives of whānau Māori during this period, with a policy of integrating Māori into the social fabric of ‘mainstream’ New Zealand society. Through housing allocation policies attempts were made to pepper pot Māori in Pākehā suburban streets.⁹⁴ Young Māori women who moved to the cities for essential industry work or single rangatahi simply moving to the city for work opportunities were directed into hostels.

Before the 1950s, child welfare agencies endeavoured to keep Māori children with their families or in their own tribal area.⁹⁵ In the 1950s, Māori became a disproportionate minority in all areas of child welfare work with a steady growth in Māori juvenile delinquency with recorded Māori offending at three or four times the rate of Pākehā, particularly in the 15–20 age group.⁹⁶

Date	Event	Description
14 September 1938	Social Security Act	<p>Various forms of governmental assistance that supported family life began: sickness and unemployment benefits, subsidised medical care, state housing schemes, mortgage relief, and later a universal family benefit.⁹⁷ The Act brought health and income maintenance together in a broad framework of citizenship entitlement by providing free GP services, hospital services, pharmaceutical services, and an expanded school dental service.⁹⁸ The old-age pension became a means-tested pension of thirty shillings a week for those over 60 (55 for single women) with a ‘universal superannuation’ of four shillings a week from the age of 65 for those whose income and property exceeded the means test levels.⁹⁹</p> <p>Child welfare officers developed ways of aiding women financially, such as ‘fostering’ their children with them and paying board rates, and invoking the provisions of the Social Security Act 1938 to provide emergency and other benefits.¹⁰⁰</p> <p>Section 72(2) of the Social Security Act allowed the Social Security Commission to reduce the rate of benefit if payment of the maximum benefit was seen to be not ‘necessary for the maintenance of the beneficiary’ which was used to continue the prejudice against Māori beneficiaries and keep their benefit rates reduced.¹⁰¹</p>

		The underlying principle of the Act was that every citizen had a right to a reasonable standard of living and that it was a community responsibility to ensure that its members were safeguarded against the economic ills from which they could not protect themselves.
1939	Outbreak of WW2, 28 th Māori Battalion formed, more than 17,000 enlist ¹⁰²	
	First national conference of Young Māori Leaders ¹⁰³	
Late 1930s – early 1940s	The Child Welfare Branch’s annual reports from the early 1940s noted a growing ‘problem’ among Māori youth	Māori increasingly appeared in children’s courts. Māori youths outnumbered Pākehā coming before the Northland courts by 2.5:1 in 1940–41, although Māori were only a quarter of population in the area. ¹⁰⁴
1940	Māori Purposes Act	Marriages in accordance with Māori custom, and certain earlier adoption orders, were deemed valid for specific land purposes. ¹⁰⁵
	Universal superannuation began under the second Labour Government ¹⁰⁶	
	A New Zealand Council of Educational Research review of the Child Welfare Division was released	The review found that, amongst the approximately 2,500 children in church-run care institutions in 1940, none were Māori. ¹⁰⁷
1941	A ‘needy families’ scheme (means tested) began as a highly targeted form of prevention	There was no publicity for the scheme and it could not be applied for. Families came into it via the Social Security Department, the State Advances Corporation, voluntary welfare groups, and child welfare officers. ¹⁰⁸
June 1942	Autonomous Māori War Effort Organisation established	The Māori War Effort Organisation (MWEO) based on representative tribal leadership was established. Its initial function was to assist with recruiting, but the organisation expanded to the production and supply of food, investigation of Māori housing conditions and the alleged misuse of social security benefits. Their broad functions also often required them to consider Māori education, vocational training and land use. Within six months,

		Māori had set up 315 tribal committees and 41 executives. ¹⁰⁹ Between June 1942 and April 1945 15,000 Māori were employed in essential industries. The 1942 'manpowering regulations' included women but it largely went against the grain.
1943/4	Almost 300 families with 1730 children had been helped through the Needy Families scheme	Aid was divided fairly evenly between rental subsidies, grants, and the provision of homes. ¹¹⁰
1944	Fareham House opened	Fareham House was opened in August 1944, specifically for Māori girls to separate them from female Pākehā 'sexual delinquents' on whom they were thought to have detrimental effects. Kuini Te Tau was appointed to run Fareham House in the late 1950s and emphasised the importance of Māori culture and language. ¹¹¹
1945	19% of Māori living in urban areas More than 500 Māori working in essential industries during WW2 ¹¹² Māori population 100,870 on 31 December 1944 ¹¹³	
1945	The Social Security Amendment Act	Introduced universal family benefit. This brought almost every family into the social security system and receiving benefits became a common experience from rich to poor, multiplying the number of parents receiving the family benefit by five. ¹¹⁴ Like its predecessor the family allowance, the benefit was again paid directly to the mother. ¹¹⁵ The boundary between the state and volunteer sector shifted towards government control with an extensive welfare state. ¹¹⁶
1945	Māori Social and Economic Advancement Act ¹¹⁷	MWEO tribal and executive committees incorporated into the Native Affairs Department. Māori welfare officers were appointed under the Act and set up a network of committees and executives concerned with welfare and marae administration. Tribal committees were given a role in cooperating with the Education Department in the training of Māori children. The Act also eliminated the discriminatory legal provisions in earlier pension legislation by which Māori recipients of old age and widow's benefits received significantly less than Pākehā beneficiaries.

		The 1945 Act can also be seen as an attempt to deflect the moves towards rangatiratanga implicit in the success of the Māori War Effort Organisation.
1946	More than 900 families and more than 5000 children helped through the Needy Families scheme	Support included: 296 rental subsidies and grants, another 68 rental subsidies, 342 grants for food, bedding or furniture and families moved into 382 homes. ¹¹⁸
1947	Māori replaces Native in official usage ¹¹⁹	
1948	The Child Welfare Branch of the Department of Education was responsible for giving practical assistance to large or needy families now solely responsible for the Needy Families scheme ¹²⁰	Work included supervising children from the Pacific Islands resident in New Zealand and British children evacuated to New Zealand during WW2, checking on the welfare of children from broken marriages, and investigating applications for various pensions. This transformed the Child Welfare Branch from an agency of child welfare to one of social welfare. ¹²¹ There were now psychologists in the Department's offices in all main centres. ¹²² The Child Welfare Amendment Act 1948 renamed the Branch as the Child Welfare Division. ¹²³
1949	Māori Welfare Division: 63 tribal executives and 381 committees under 1945 Act, headed by Rangī Royal	
1949	Labour Government defeated by National First Māori woman MP, Iriaka Ratana (until 1969) ¹²⁴ Māori Electoral Roll established for the Māori seats ¹²⁵	Throughout her 20-year political career Iriaka focused much on the welfare needs of Māori. ¹²⁶
1950	Māori Purposes Act	The Māori Purposes Act of 1950 excluded Māori customary marriage from legal benefit qualifications, ¹²⁷ although family benefits were paid for all children whether legitimate or not.

1950s	Establishment of the Māori Boys and Māori Girls' trade training hostels	From the 1930s, as Māori began moving to urban centres, concerns arose among iwi Māori, mission organisations and the state about the safe accommodation of young Māori girls and boys in the country's cities. By the 1950s, trade training institutions such as Sylvia Park training centre in Auckland and the Rehua Māori Apprentices' Hostel in Christchurch were accommodating Māori apprentices. ¹²⁸
1951	Establishment of the Māori Women's Welfare League (MWWL)	The League 'undertook myriad community-based voluntary welfare activities. In its first few years it advocated for te reo Māori in schools, culturally responsive hospital services and ... preserving Māori arts'. The League brought 'Māori women together to address their needs and those of their whānau'. ¹²⁹
1952	MWWL survey of Auckland housing for Māori ¹³⁰	Survey provides evidence of Māori need for housing.
1953–4	Enquiry into Māori offending	Growth of Māori delinquency encouraged the Justice Department to undertake a special inquiry in 1953/4 which examined all Māori offending. ¹³¹
1954	Child Welfare Amendment Act (No.2)	Targeted the allegedly central role of girls and young women in fostering illicit relationships by creating the new category of 'delinquency' for all adolescents who committed indecent acts, or allowed them to be performed on them. ¹³²
1954	The Mazengarb report	The Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents criticised films, comics, and declining standards of family and religious life, including working mothers. Later described as leading to a 'moral panic'. ¹³³
1955	Marriage Act	Does not recognise Māori customary marriage practices. ¹³⁴
1955	Adoption Act	This Act and its 1962 Amendment upheld the principle of secrecy via 'closed adoption'. Legislation inferred the transparency inherent to 'whangai practices [was] somehow detrimental to the child and their whangai Parents.' ¹³⁵
1955	Mainstreaming of Native schools began Māori Education Conference, leads to establishment of Māori Education Foundation ¹³⁶	
1955	Māori Trust Boards Act	Between 1922 and 1953, ten Māori trusts were established by statute to receive and administer compensation awarded by the Crown in settlement of various long-held Māori grievances. In 1955, as part of a move to update all existing Māori legislation, the

		<p>Act aimed to standardise and improve the administration of these existing bodies and to provide a template for future boards.¹³⁷</p> <p>Māori Trust Boards were established for 'Aorangi, Arawa, Aupouri, Ngaitahu, Tainui, Taitokerau, Taranaki, Tuwharetoa, Wairoa and Whakatohea.</p>
1955	National Committee on Māori Education	The Minister of Education appointed a National Committee on Māori Education (with majority Māori membership), which agreed there should be one system of State schooling for both Māori and Pākehā. The Committee was reconstituted as the National Advisory Committee on Māori Education in 1956, reporting annually to the Minister of Education. ¹³⁸
1957	Department of Māori Affairs published the first, and perhaps only, national directory of social services	The directory was considered incomplete but still included the details of some 360 voluntary organisations, as well as hospital boards and most government departments with a welfare brief. ¹³⁹
Dec 1957	The New Zealand Māori Wardens Association (NZMWA) held its inaugural meeting at Rotorua early in December 1957	By the end of 1957 there were 376 Māori wardens who had been appointed through tribal committees. ¹⁴⁰
1958	<p>The first permanent social welfare officers began working for the Department of Social Security¹⁴¹</p> <p>Family benefit capitalisation for home purchases</p>	Walter Nash initiated the capitalisation of family benefits in 1958 by allowing all of each child's benefit to be paid in advance in a lump sum if this was used either for the purchase of a new house or for necessary additions to a house the family was already in. ¹⁴² Family benefits increased to \$1.50 a week. ¹⁴³
1960	Māori Urban relocation programme	Introduced by the Department of Māori Affairs and consistent with the Hunn report which welcomed Māori urban migration as the quickest way of integrating Māori into Pākehā ways of life.
1961	Report on the Department of Maori Affairs – Hunn Report published	The Hunn Report, named after its author Jack Hunn, examined the social and economic circumstances of Māori people. It analysed three specific trends for which Hunn said future policy should account: the 'explosive growth' of the Māori population, a looming 'employment problem' and the inevitability of urbanisation. The report was comprehensive, up-to-date and, significantly, provided the first official public explanation of integration and how it would shape Māori Affairs' policies and services. The Hunn Report influenced Māori policy well into the 1970s and became the single

		<p>most important mid-twentieth-century document on Māori relations with the state. The report worked through the subjects of population, land settlement, land titles, housing, education, employment, health, legal differentiation and crime, and described some worrying social and economic inequalities between Māori and Pākehā.¹⁴⁴</p> <p>The emphasis on a policy of integration gave support to calls for the abolition of separate treatment and government provision for Māori.</p>
1961	The Māori Education Foundation Act	Set up after the Hunn report and used mainly Department of Education staff to lift Māori education standards 'equal to that of the Pākehā' by encouraging Māori into secondary and tertiary education. ¹⁴⁵
1961	On 25 January 1961 the Board of Health's Māori Health Committee met for the first time	The Board was established as a result of R.J Rose's <i>Maori-European Standards of Health</i> report. ¹⁴⁶
5 July 1961	Social Welfare Advisory Board	'The Social Welfare Advisory Board was established by the Public Services Commission to co-ordinate State welfare activities and to report on the feasibility of establishing a Department of Social Welfare.' ¹⁴⁷
1962	Māori Welfare Act – New Zealand Māori Council formed	<p>The Māori Council was described by Miria Szaszy as an undermining of wāhine Māori leadership and organisation.¹⁴⁸</p> <p>The Māori Social and Economic Advancement Amendment Act 1961 contained the title 'New Zealand Māori Council'.¹⁴⁹ The Act accorded recognition to District Māori Councils (which Māori had already established) and the New Zealand Māori Council of tribal executives (which, again, already existed in provisional form) as the apex of the tribal committee system. It gave these bodies the statutory powers and responsibilities that had been agreed between the treaty partners.¹⁵⁰ By 1961, 110 out of 330 Tribal Committees in existence were reported to be inactive, while 20 out of 67 Tribal Executive Committees were no longer functioning.¹⁵¹</p> <p>The 1962 Act gave statutory recognition and powers to Māori self-government institutions: local Māori Committees and regional Māori Executive Committees, District Māori Councils (DMCs), the Māori Women's Welfare League, and – at the top of the structure – the New Zealand Māori Council (NZMC), a national body comprising delegates from DMCs. Under the 1962 Act, the Māori Committees also received exclusive powers to control and supervise the Māori Wardens or wātene Māori, who first gained statutory powers under the 1945 Act.</p>

1962	The Currie Report	This report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand reinforced the State's provision and control of education. It advocated equality of opportunity, drew attention to the disparity in Māori education and recommended Te Reo as an optional subject at secondary level. ¹⁵²
1962	1955 Adoption Act and its 1962 amendment	Whangai was not a valid practice under these Acts, which ensured the secrecy of parents was upheld in the adoption process. Adoptions passed to the general courts signalling the completion of legal assimilation in this area of tīkanga Māori. The following year all Māori adoption hearings moved to magistrate's courts. This changed the balance between private groups and the Division by giving child welfare officers a larger role in the adoption process. ¹⁵³ The Division's share increased from 34% of all adoption placements in 1957 to over 70% by the early 1970s. The Act gave Māori the right to adopt Pākehā children, a right they had lost in 1909. ¹⁵⁴
1963	Māori Welfare Amendment Act	Section 2 of the Act reinstated the Māori Committees' authority over wardens, carried out by agreement between the NZMC and the Crown, and at the request of the NZMC. ¹⁵⁵
1964	'Washday at the Pa' published, distributed and then withdrawn from public circulation	The publication was withdrawn following complaints from Māori and in particular the MWWL which asserted the booklet was a misrepresentation of Māori family life. ¹⁵⁶
1965	The Justice Department commenced a study of preventative measures aimed at the three categories of child abusers it had identified	Categories: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. the young and inadequate mother with a large family and little emotional support; 2. the tense and perfectionist type of mother; 3. the jealous and possessive father. <p>Women were noted as being more likely to be convicted of child abuse than men and their actions were often more 'vicious' offences.¹⁵⁷</p>
1965	First urban marae, Te Puea Memorial Marae, opened in Auckland	
1966	Te Unga Waka centre built by Māori Catholic Community of Auckland	
	Thirty-three Māori Committees were operating in	Support included budgeting advice and advocacy on behalf of Māori people in their relations with Pākehā landlords or the authorities. In Ōtara, for instance, the local Māori Committee was,

	Auckland, offering services to assist new migrants to the city	by the late 1960s, operating a budget service and leading a project to construct an urban marae in the suburb, as well as overseeing the work of up to 40 Māori Wardens. ¹⁵⁸
	Over 85% of Māori leave school with no qualifications ¹⁵⁹	
1967	Māori Affairs Amendment Act described by Māori as the 'last land grab' ¹⁶⁰	Despite widespread opposition of Māori, including the NZMC and the Māori members of Parliament, this Act made it possible for the government to compulsorily convert Māori freehold land with four or fewer owners into general land, while the Māori trustee gained authority to compulsorily acquire and sell 'uneconomic' interests in Māori land. ¹⁶¹
1968	Māori Organisation on Human Rights formed	
1968	Department of Māori Affairs was amalgamated with the Department of Island Territories to become the Department of Māori and Island Affairs	There was no change in overall policy or the types of work done; Polynesian welfare officers were appointed to the staff to work with the small, but growing, number of Pacific Island immigrants. ¹⁶²
1968	The Guardianship Act	Defined and regulated the authority of parents as guardians of their children, their power to appoint guardians, and the powers of the Courts in relation to the custody and guardianship of children. ¹⁶³
1968	In 1968 the government agreed to introduce 'domestic purposes emergency benefit' for circumstances not covered by a statutory benefit ¹⁶⁴	Viewed as an emergency benefit which specifically met the needs of sole parents, grouping deserted wives and separated and divorced women together.
1969	Integrated schools	The separate Māori school system administered by the Department of Education was abolished. Management of the 105 Māori primary schools and remaining Māori district high schools were transferred to Education Board control. Māori High schools had been closing or transferring since the mid-1950s. ¹⁶⁵
1969	Juvenile Crime Prevention Section	

	renamed the Youth Aid Section ¹⁶⁶	
1969	Status of Children Act	This Act eroded ex-nuptial v nuptial distinctions, dispensed with the term illegitimacy, and suggested a focus on the child as a child rather than as a member of a larger unit. ¹⁶⁷
1969	Committee for Research into Illegitimacy launch comprehensive study	Led by Victoria University lecturer Jim Robb and including members of the Child Welfare Division, the committee initiated a descriptive study in order to construct a profile of the unmarried mother. ¹⁶⁸ The study concluded the solution was to campaign to reduce premarital sex and the promotion of contraceptives. ¹⁶⁹ By the late 1960s the monthly cost of maintaining a child in a family home was \$43.50 compared with \$165.38 in institutional care. ¹⁷⁰
Late 1960s	Hokio Beach residence	The residence was for boys aged 11–14 and was one of several residences that catered for the growing Māori population in Child Welfare Division’s homes. In the late 1960s it introduced Māori language, history, and culture into the curriculum. ¹⁷¹
1970	Results of an extensive national survey of the Child Welfare Division initiated in 1967 were revealed	Pasifika children and young people began to be a disproportionate minority in child welfare services. ¹⁷² Two or three in every 10,000 children under the age of 16 came to the Division’s attention because of abuse. ¹⁷³
1970	The Māori Purposes Act	Amended section 25 of the 1962 Act and altered the NZMC’s funding arrangements by replacing the pound-for-pound subsidy system on money raised by Māori Associations with the payment of a Minister-approved annual grant. The NZMC had raised the issue of its finances directly with the Minister at a meeting in December 1969, and this measure was probably a direct outcome of that meeting. ¹⁷⁴
1971	Joint ‘J’ Teams	Teams were set up to support young Māori in cities and included Police, Child Welfare, Māori Affairs and voluntary groups (disbanded in 1980). ¹⁷⁵
29 April 1971	Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Housing	The Commission of Inquiry into Housing released its report and recommendations. This was a wide-ranging inquiry and the Commission made 114 recommendations. These included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That Polynesians should be housed in very small, dispersed groups and that large concentrations should be avoided. • That a more systematic and more positive approach be adopted for welfare services for Polynesians, especially in mass state housing areas; and that the Māori and Island Affairs Department assume prime responsibility for arranging the housing of Māori living in sub-standard conditions in the Bay of Islands, introducing transportable housing if necessary.¹⁷⁶

1972–1989: (Re)Claiming Māori welfare

From the 1970s, iwi Māori faced an unemployment crisis. 'Between 1976 and 1981, rates of Māori unemployment increased dramatically. In 1981, Māori comprised almost a quarter (24.2 percent) of the total unemployed, a figure that represented 14.1 percent of the Māori workforce, compared to 3.7 percent of the non-Māori workforce. The unemployment crisis worsened for Māori throughout the 1980s as Māori suffered a job-loss rate of 15.1 percent between 1988 and 1991, compared to the Pākehā rate of 3.1 percent for the same period. This became one contributing factor for the return of many iwi Māori to their rural homelands. In 1988, however, researchers described a 'Māori rural housing crisis due to decades of neglect by housing authorities'.¹⁷⁷

In 1984, 46.5 percent of all offenders under 15 were Māori boys.¹⁷⁸ Of complaints coming to the attention of the children's courts, 44.1 percent were for 'children beyond control', nearly half of whom were Māori (45.5 percent), and 73 percent of the total were dealt with by committing the child to the care of the Department of Social Welfare.¹⁷⁹

Government policy

From the 1970s to the early 1990s, the growing cost of providing welfare services and a new philosophy of 'user-pays' called into question the continued viability of extensive welfare support and started the castigation of 'welfare dependency'.¹⁸⁰ The context for the 1980s through to the 1990s was also the privatisation of state assets such as lands and forestry. Consequently, the NZMC challenged the sale of state assets, giving rise to the legal definitions of Treaty of Waitangi principles that underpinned challenges to government policy.

From the 1980s, government departments faced more direct and assertive Māori challenges and struggled to appear responsive to Māori concerns.⁶³ Social Welfare had to address the question of how to achieve departmental reform within a clear Treaty context and while meeting treaty obligations.⁶⁴

By the mid-1980s it was estimated that \$75.4 million was being transferred annually from government departments to the voluntary social sector. Sixty-eight percent of this was pre-allocated to large organisations such as Plunket and IHC.¹⁸¹

Māori claimed control over their future and wellbeing and there was much organising in local Māori communities, rural and urban. Hoani Waititi marae opened in west Auckland and Pipitea Marae opened in Wellington. Te Whare Wānanga o Raukawa opened at Ōtaki, first kōhanga reo opened at Wainuiomata, following Hui Whakatauirā. Tatai Hono marae became a base for the Waitangi Action Committee (WAC) and Bastion Point activists, and a rallying stage for anti-Springbok tour protests.

Māori activism across the spectrum of te ao Māori continued with both conservative and high-profile protests fuelled by continuing discontent about racism, the loss of land, language, cultural identity, rangatiratanga and Treaty of Waitangi status. A Māori Language petition, 30,000 signatures strong was delivered to Parliament in 1972. The 1975 Māori Land March led by Te Roopu Matakite o Aotearoa 'demanded that the statute books be cleared of any legislation that could encroach on Māori land, and that patronising government interference in Māori land cease.

In 1977 and 1978 there were land occupations at Takaparawhāu (Bastion Point) and Raglan Golf Course. By the late 1970s, WAC denounced Waitangi Day commemorations as tokenistic and the day became the focus of annual hikoi protests to Waitangi. In 1979, He Taua confronted University of Auckland engineering students practising a mock haka 'culminating in eleven arrests, charges of rioting – and the end of the engineering students' mock haka'.¹⁸²

The Māori Women’s Movement was led by a new generation of women activists agitating around issues of race and gender. Many women campaigned about the Treaty, te reo and a range of social issues such as health and education – on both national and regional stages. All ‘gave expression to notions of mana wāhine’.¹⁸³

Date	Event	Description
13 October 1972	National Housing Commission	It ‘undertook its last major survey of serious housing need in 1988. This survey comprised half of New Zealand’s population representing the areas considered to have the most housing need. In these areas, it was estimated that 17,500 households with children had a serious housing need. Of these, 60% were in the central and southern Auckland area, with 51% Māori and 32% Pacific people’. ¹⁸⁴
1972	Lake Alice Child and Adolescent Unit opened	The Unit operated for six years but children and young people may have been treated in Lake Alice prior to the unit being opened. ¹⁸⁵
1972	Royal Commission on Social Security	Stated that the purpose of social security was to provide dependent people with ‘...a standard of living consistent with human dignity...irrespective of the cause of dependency’. ¹⁸⁶
1972	Child Welfare Division joined with the Social Security Department in a ‘forced marriage’ to become the Department of Social Welfare ¹⁸⁷	A 1972 report, New Zealand’s first comprehensive inquiry into child abuse, indicated there was relatively little child abuse in NZ communities. However, it signalled that out of reported abuse cases, Māori and Pasifika figures had been relatively higher from the late 1960s. For example, it was reported that in 1967 the incidence of abuse among Māori children was 6 times that of Pākehā children and 9 times higher for Pasifika children. ¹⁸⁸
1972	Number of youths in residential institutions tripled between 1948–1972	Government financial transfers to the voluntary sector increased markedly during this period. ¹⁸⁹
1973	Introduction of the Domestic Purposes Benefit	Financial support for sole parents caring for dependent children, regardless of situation was introduced by the Fourth Labour Government. ¹⁹⁰
8 November 1974	Children and Young Persons Act	‘The Children and Young Persons Act 1974 replaced the Child Welfare Act 1925. The Act was founded on the principle of the interests of the child or young person as the first and paramount consideration.’ ¹⁹¹
1974	1967 Māori Affairs Act was repealed	Despite the repeal, the damage of the last seven years in regard to the alienation of Māori land had already been done. ¹⁹²
1975	The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal ¹⁹³	

1976	McCombs Report (<i>Towards Partnership</i>)	Criticised the lack of Māori, Pacific people and women in school governance, the isolation of school boards from communities and the concentration of power in the Department of Education. ¹⁹⁴
1977	The Domestic Purposes Benefit Review Committee	Established under the Third National Government, the committee's report stated that the DPB was needed and should be retained. ¹⁹⁵
1977	National Superannuation Scheme redesigned by National Government	Superannuation was initially paid from 60 years, but cutbacks were made throughout the following decades. ¹⁹⁶
1977	Raupuora project launched by MWWL	Led by Erihapeti Murchie, the report analysed the health perceptions of 1,177 Māori women. ¹⁹⁷
1978	In June 1978 inquiry into allegations of cruel and inhuman punishment of young people in Auckland Social Welfare homes	The inquiry was hosted by ACORD, Ngā Tamatoa, and Arohanui Inc. ¹⁹⁸
1978	The Department of Social Welfare formulated preparatory guidelines for the processing of child abuse cases, then established a pilot multi-disciplinary child abuse project to trial the guidelines and assemble a register of abuse cases	Trial project began in Hamilton in early 1980 and by the end of its first year had worked on 53 cases referred from other groups. The project was given funding and a social worker by the Department. ¹⁹⁹
1978	The Department of Māori Affairs introduced the Tu Tangata programme	This programme was an attempt to empower Māori and to change focus from a government department with all the power concentrated at one level. Part of this new philosophy was the Kokiri community administration programme designed to put decision making into community hands. ²⁰⁰
1979	Change of name of the Māori Welfare Act 1979 to the Māori Community Development Act	Said to have symbolised a shift in emphasis away from what was seen as 'welfare-statism' towards 'community empowerment and self-reliance'. ²⁰¹

1979	Intensive Foster Care schemes	The Department of Social Welfare established Intensive Foster Care schemes to match more difficult children with carefully selected foster parents, who received training, advice and support. ²⁰²
1980	The Family Court Act	Established the Family Court. Its jurisdiction included marriage and its dissolution, adoption, guardianship, paternity, matrimonial property and spousal and child maintenance. It was later expanded further to include care of children and child protection and welfare. ²⁰³
1981	Borstals closed	The last of the borstals was closed by the Criminal Justice Amendment (No 2) Act 1980. ²⁰⁴
1982	Group Employment Liaison Service established	Group Employment Liaison Scheme (GELS) was established within the Department of Labour. GEL targeted unemployed with the aim of facilitating access to employment and training programmes via community fieldworkers, most of whom were Māori. ²⁰⁵ GELS was absorbed into the Community Employment Group in 1991.
1982	Remote Area Policy	'Provision was made in policy guidelines to refuse to grant or cancel an Unemployment Benefit when a person has deliberately and without good reason moved to a locality where there is no work available either with the intention of living on the benefit in an isolated area or engaging in leisure activities not normally available to a working person, other than in holiday periods.' ²⁰⁶
1982	Kōhanga Reo	The first Kōhanga Reo was supported by the Department of Māori Affairs. A year later, there were 100 (currently over 460). As well as reviving Te Reo Māori, the aims included immersing children and whānau in Māori child rearing practices. ²⁰⁷
1982	Bi-culturalism	Hiwi Tauroa, freshly minted Race Relations Conciliator releases a report called "Race Against Time" in which he argues that race relations in New Zealand needs urgent attention.
1983	Maatua Whāngai programme	The programme was established to centralise whānau, hapū and iwi in all welfare work. It aimed to keep Māori young people and children among their whānau or hapū and out of government institutions. ²⁰⁸ The programme was founded on the Tu Tangata principle of community decision making. ²⁰⁹ Maatua Whāngai was piloted from 1983 and applied nationally from 1985.
1983	Race Relations Conciliator's report on youth and law	Report argued the inadequacy of representation for Māori and general appropriateness of the court system for Māori. ²¹⁰
July 1984 – August 1989	Fourth Labour Government	Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas, introduces neoliberal economic reforms between 1984 and 1988. Known as Rogernomics, 'the government removed a swathe of regulations and subsidies, privatised state assets and introduced corporate practices to state services.' ²¹¹

14 November 1984	Unemployment Benefit: Remote area policy clarified	'It was accepted that a person had a good reason for relocating to a remote area (and could therefore continue to be eligible for the <i>Unemployment Benefit</i>) if they had previous connections with the area or previous lengthy residence. This included Māori returning to land with which they had a direct family connection (Papakāinga).' ²¹²
1984	Department of Social Welfare accused of racism	The Women's Anti-Racism Action Group (WARAG) accused the Department of Social Welfare of practicing institutional racism in that the framework of the Department (staffing, training, legislation and policies) reflected a relentless Pākehā view of society which systematically discriminated against staff and clients who were Māori or Pacific people.
1984	Hui Taumata	Hui Taumata (Māori Economic Development Conference), convened by Koro Wētere, was held at Parliament and spanned three days. Leaders asked the government to grant more authority which led to greater awareness amongst government departments of Māori concerns. Departments were now advised to consult with Māori directly. ²¹³
July 1985	Establishment of a Ministerial Advisory Committee to advise on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare	A Ministerial Advisory Committee, chaired by John Te Rangi-Aniwaniwa Rangihau, was established to: 'advise the Minister of Social Welfare on the most appropriate means to achieve the goal of an approach which would meet the needs of Māori in policy, planning and service delivery in the Department of Social Welfare'. ²¹⁴
1985	Mana Enterprises Scheme initiated	Funds allocated by the Department of Māori Affairs to facilitate the entry of Māori into business through Māori authorities, usually tribal but also urban.
1985	Maatua Whāngai review	The review revealed problems arising from hasty implementation and the lack of a whakapapa-based concept of community. ²¹⁵
1985	The Adult Adoption Information Act	Enabled adopted children and birth parents to access information about each other, but allowed birth parents to request a veto on their information so that the child could not have access to the information. ²¹⁶
1985	Waitangi Tribunal empowered to investigate Treaty claims dating back to 1840 ²¹⁷	
1985	The Ministerial Advisory Committee report on institutional racism released	Reported that 62% of children in residential homes in the Auckland area were Māori. ²¹⁸ In a report in 1985, the Māori Advisory Unit concluded that the Department was racist in the institutional sense; it was a typical, hierarchical bureaucracy, the rules of which reflected the values of the dominant Pākehā society. It reported that Māori input to policy was negligible and that insistence on

		professional qualifications for staff frequently disadvantaged Māori applicants. ²¹⁹
1 July 1986	Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for Social Welfare: <i>Puao-Te-Ata-Tu</i>	The Minister of Social Welfare Ann Hercus released <i>Puao-te-ata-tu</i> after the end of a special ministerial inquiry led by John Rangihau involving over 60 hui across the country. ²²⁰ The report was highly critical of the department and identified ‘institutional racism’ as a major problem, with the agency imposing a strongly European cultural perspective on its Māori clients. The committee found that the department had failed to protect the interests of Māori and had profoundly misunderstood the place of the child in Māori society and the relationship of Māori children with whānau, hapū, and iwi structures. ²²¹ The report made 13 recommendations on how the department might meet the needs of Māori in policy, planning, and service delivery. ²²²
1986	<i>Te Whaingā i Te Tika – In Search of Justice</i>	The report of the Advisory Committee on Legal Services raised concerns about: children lacking effective legal protections; young people not understanding what was happening in courtrooms; institutional racism; and identified children and young people under the control of government departments as especially vulnerable. ²²³
1986	Royal Commission on Social Policy established	In 1986 the government established the Royal Commission on Social Policy, which published its report in 1988. This was occurring at the same time as <i>Puao-te-ata-tu</i> . Commissioners appointed were Sir Ivor Richardson [Chair], Ann Ballin, Marion Bruce, Len Cook, Mason Durie and Rosslyn Noonan. Future Directions Volume 2 addressed the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi, including wellbeing. ‘The Commission had no difficulty concluding that few, if any, aspects of wellbeing could be seen to stand outside the Treaty.’ ²²⁴
1987	Social Security Amendment Act	Changes recommended in the <i>Puao-Te-Ata-Tu</i> (daybreak) Report are embodied in this Act: Puao-Te-Ata-Tu recommended the government adopt a bicultural approach to policy formulation and incorporate the ‘values, cultures and beliefs’ of Māori in the formulation of legislation, programmes, and services. It recommended specific amendments to both the Social Security Act 1964 and the Children and Young Persons Act that would better acknowledge Māori beliefs and cultural practices. The Report also recommended that DSW share power and authority over the use of its resources. ²²⁵
1987	Launch of Mana Enterprises Development Programme and MACCESS – Māori Access Schemes	Provided small business loans to Māori business initiatives, and subsidised employment schemes tailored to Māori. ²²⁶ Te Whānau o Waipareira was designated by the Department of Maori Affairs as a Māori authority for West Auckland in 1987 and was authorised to implement the Mana Enterprises and Māori Access schemes in West Auckland. ²²⁷

1987	NZMC v AG	Colloquially known as the 'Lands Case', this is the first time that the Treaty principles are articulated in the Courts, specifically 5 principles articulated by the Appeal Court judges.
1987	Māori Women's Development Fund	Established by the Māori Women's Welfare League with a grant from the Mana Enterprise Development Committee. ²²⁸
1987	Māori Language Act	Te reo Māori becomes an official language. ²²⁹
1988	Treaty of Waitangi Act (State Enterprises)	This Act enabled the Waitangi Tribunal to direct the government to transfer certain state-owned-enterprise assets to iwi as part of claim settlements. ²³⁰
1988	He Tirohanga Rangapu: Partnership Perspectives policy document	In April 1988 Labour released the <i>He Tirohanga Rangapu</i> report focusing on the Department of Māori Affairs and recommending a suite of changes to improve the Crown-Māori institutional relationship that was failing Māori, one of which was abolishing the Department of Māori Affairs, and a call for changes to the delivery of services to give Māori a more meaningful role. ²³¹
1988	State Sector Act	The State Sector Act 1988 was part of a suite of reforms intended to shift the focus of NZ's social welfare policy from inputs to outputs and outcomes (social investment). ²³² The Act made chief executives of government agencies responsible for delivering services within budgets and rather than being based on the needs of those they served. ²³³
1988	The Mason Report	<i>The Committee of Inquiry into Procedures used in Certain Psychiatric Hospitals in Relation to Admission, Discharge or Release on Leave of Certain Classes of Patients</i> investigated the treatment of patients who had a crossover with the justice system (particularly violent offenders). As a result, a network of regional psychiatric secure units such as Auckland's Mason Clinic was set up. The report also called for integrated bicultural services to better meet Māori needs, acknowledging that psychiatric assessments used a western model that did not consider family, culture and spiritual identity. ²³⁴
1989	Education Act	Section 155 provided for the Minister of Education to designate a state school as a Kura Kaupapa by notice in the New Zealand Gazette.
1989	School Trustees Act	Made it mandatory for all schools at all levels to include Treaty of Waitangi protocols within their charters. ²³⁵
1989	Department of Māori Affairs abolished and replaced by the Iwi Transition Agency (Te Tira Ahu Iwi), headed by Wira	Tasked with managing government programmes previously administered by the Department of Māori Affairs, while making preparations to transfer them to mainstream government agencies as soon as feasible.

	<p>Gardiner. A new policy-focused ministry was also established: Manatū Māori or Ministry of Māori Affairs which began operations in July 1989.²³⁶</p>	
1989	<p>Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 (Oranga Tamariki) Act</p>	<p>Formally recognised the ‘mixed economy’ of child welfare that had operated informally since the 19th century (government agencies, families, and communities).²³⁷ The Act incorporated the Treaty and came out of recommendations from Rangihau’s 1986 report to recognise the value of kinship groups and the personal roles of Māori such as elders.²³⁸ The Act asserted the primacy of families, whānau, and family groups in having and taking responsibility for the welfare of their members.²³⁹ Disruptions to the families would henceforth be minimal, children's rights as individuals emphasised, and child and family viewed as inextricably bound together (emphasising family based decision making via family group conferences). It included approval and funding for community- and iwi-based schemes. The Act also distinguished between issues of welfare and those of justice, between those of care and protection and those of youth offending. Legislation was not funded adequately due to times of government retrenchment and there was also a reduction in funding for youth justice.²⁴⁰</p> <p>The Act made funding available for community facilities to offer residential programmes. Facilities were small and localised, focusing on rehabilitating children back into their community e.g. Napier’s Nga Toko Rima Hinemanuhiri Trust that provided care specifically for Ngati Kahungunu children or the Dingwall Trust in Auckland.²⁴¹</p> <p>The 1989 Act led to almost 6,000 youth justice family group conferences in the first year of operation.²⁴² It also replaced visiting committees with Residential Management Committees that had responsibilities to iwi and the community to ensure residences followed bicultural practices.²⁴³</p> <p>By late 1989 the Department had only 9 residences with 300 beds. The average number of admissions to all institutions dropped from 202 a month to 75 which led to a review of residential services in 1990.²⁴⁴ More than 6,500 child abuse and neglect cases were recorded in 1989.²⁴⁵</p>

1990–2022: Kei hea te Rito? Bi-culturalising welfare

Multiple waves of welfare reform occur throughout this period in line with changing government leaders and governments. Between November 1990 and 1999 the National Government welfare reforms were made under Ruth Richardson. Economic and Social Initiative (ESI) outlines proposed social and employment policy changes '(Jim Bolger, Ruth Richardson and Bill Birch were the authors)'. This led to the Employment Contracts Act 1991, and eligibility and benefit cuts to increase work incentives, work testing and means testing family benefit via new 'Family Support' payments.²⁴⁶

'Māori welfare dependency rose while incomes decreased to such an extent that in 1990 the average income of Māori households languished at about 20 percent below the average income for New Zealand households as a whole'.²⁴⁷ The rate of Māori unemployment continued to climb, reaching 25.4 percent of the total Māori workforce in 1992.²⁴⁸ By the end of this period the wellbeing of Māori children remained a dominating issue. In July 2020, there were 4,179 tamariki Māori in state care, representing 69 percent of the total care population. By 31 December 2020, Māori comprised 75 percent of the children and young people currently in the Youth Justice custody of the chief executive. This compared to the nine percent in custody who identified as New Zealand European or other.²⁴⁹

Between 1999 and 2008 the Fifth Labour Government placed some emphasis on addressing inequalities and family development. A further round of benefit cuts and beneficiary obligations followed with the National Government 2011–2017. This National Government also focused on more targeted spending through adopting a Social Investment approach.

Iwi Māori sought greater control over their welfare. It was a period of growth of post-settlement agreements or accords, where largely settled iwi were engaged in long-term work with different government departments focusing on a range of cultural, social, economic and environmental outcomes for their people.

Date	Event	Description
1990/1991	Placement Targets for the long-term unemployed	The New Zealand Employment Service was required to place 40,000 job seekers registered for 26 weeks or more, within its overall target of 90,000 placements. The Service was also required to improve its placement results for women, Māori, Pacific Islanders and people with disabilities (though numerical targets were not specified). The New Zealand Employment Service, did not meet its target for 1990/1991, but placed 32,817 long-term unemployed (an increase of 62% over the previous year). ²⁵⁰
1990	National Māori Congress established	An iwi-wide response to changes within te ao Māori and Māori–Crown relations. ²⁵¹
1991	Fourth National Government Welfare reforms	The National Government cut welfare benefits and removed the universal family benefit entirely with Ruth Richardson's 'mother of all budgets'. ²⁵² Jenny Shipley criticised welfare system dependency and benefits as a poverty trap and pushed a modest 'safety net' welfare system which encouraged personal and family self-reliance and supported only those in need who could prove an ableness and willingness to be independent. Adult sickness benefits were lowered by 3–10%, widow's and domestic purposes benefits by 8–16% depending on whether the women had children, and adult

		<p>unemployment benefits by 7–10%.²⁵³ Core benefit rates were cut by up to 25% and tighter welfare eligibility rules removed \$1.275 billion from the social welfare budget in a full fiscal year.²⁵⁴</p> <p>Social, health and education services were to be delivered in a business-like fashion through contracts between the state and individual providers.²⁵⁵</p> <p>A small drop in the funding for Plunket in 1991 opened doors to competitors in the infant welfare field. Health Minister Simon Upton explained the government was funding a new child welfare service in Rotorua, the Tipu Ora project, a Māori initiative.²⁵⁶</p> <p>National abolished the 1990 Iwi Runanga Act in 1991 (passed in the last few days of the previous Labour administration) which had offered Māori enhanced status in law and to provide for the establishment of iwi authorities that might represent iwi in legal matters, in accordance with special charters, to receive public funds.²⁵⁷</p> <p>The Social Welfare Commission, established in 1987 as part of the implementation of Puaoteata-Tu, was restructured.²⁵⁸</p>
1991	Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust moved from providing services based on 'goodwill and voluntary labour of [the] Māori community' to funded services under the name Te Whānau o Waipareira Social Services	This development arose from a two-year contract with DSW to provide a homebuilder's service, followed by a further contract in April 1992 to provide child and family support services. ²⁵⁹
1991	<i>Ka Awatea</i> report	Winston Peters, National MP, releases <i>Ka Awatea</i> which recommended the abolition of the Iwi Transition Agency and Manatū Māori, replacing them with a new Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK). ²⁶⁰ This new agency was to have a strong regional presence and work in cooperation with iwi, urban Māori authorities, and other organisations to identify local needs and develop targeted programmes to address those needs. ²⁶¹
1991	NZ Census of Population and Dwellings includes 'Iwi'	The first national census since 1901 to include iwi. ²⁶²
1992	Government welfare services reforms split the Department	

	of Social Welfare into three business units	
	1. The New Zealand Community Funding Agency established	The New Zealand Community Funding Agency was established as one of the key 'operating businesses' of the Department of Social Welfare and helped ensure that voluntary welfare services funded by the government were 'accessible and appropriate to the needs of their client groups and complement services provided by the state'. ²⁶³ The newly-created CFA came to the view that, for the purposes of the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act 1989 at least, only traditional kin-based groupings of Māori were in Treaty partnership with the Crown. ²⁶⁴ In 1992, the Maatua Whangai programme then operating within the Children and Young Persons Service finished and the money used in that programme was transferred to the CFA for Māori service provision. ²⁶⁵
	2. New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service established	The welfare of youth was the focus of the New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service whose first general manager was Robin Wilson. ²⁶⁶ This agency had 90 family homes compared to 150 in 1982. ²⁶⁷ In 1992 there were almost 11,000 child abuse cases and investigations, compared to 2,131 in 1987/8 and more than 6500 the following year. ²⁶⁸ Robin Wilson told the Minister of Social Welfare that 'the state cannot be a family for a child'. ²⁶⁹
	3. The New Zealand Income Support Service established	This business unit of the Department of Social Welfare was responsible for the delivery of income support. ²⁷⁰
1992	Establishment of Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Māori Development	Te Puni Kōkiri replaced Manatū Māori as well as the Iwi Transition Agency. Both agencies had replaced the Department of Māori Affairs. Part of the role of the new Ministry was to monitor other government departments for delivery to Māori, especially with the transfer of Māori programmes and related funding from the Department of Māori Affairs to other government departments. ²⁷¹
1993–1994	Additional Fourth National Government social welfare reforms	Release of DSW's <i>Briefing to the Incoming Minister</i> , published in 1993, raised concerns about increasing number of sole parents, and long-term unemployment following the passage of Employment Contracts Act. The <i>Prime Ministerial Task Force on Employment, 1994</i> , proposed reforms in youth unemployment, income support along with education and training, and work transition. ²⁷²
1994	From Welfare to Well-Being, 1994 policy	Department of Social Welfare, <i>From Welfare to Well-Being</i> (Wellington: Department of Social Welfare, 1994) introduced the idea of reciprocal obligations. ²⁷³ Introduction of case managers to address barriers individuals face returning to work.

		Sole Parent Pilot Scheme introduced. ²⁷⁴
1994	Māori Development Conference – Hui Whakapumau	A two-day meeting of Māori who gathered to review the ‘Decade of Māori Development 1984–94’, and to focus on issues which needed to be addressed if ‘self-determination and social justice were to prevail’. Hui called for a shift in focus from iwi development to enhancing whānau development. ²⁷⁵
1994–1995	The Fiscal Envelope policy was introduced and rejected by Māori	This policy capped all historical Treaty settlements at one billion dollars. Regional hui were held to discuss the Fiscal Envelope – and it was unanimously rejected. ²⁷⁶
1996	Hui Whakapiripiri	This hui on strategic directions for Māori health led to a Declaration for Māori Health Researchers and reinforced the belief that research on Māori should be by Māori and for Māori. ²⁷⁷
1996	Strategic Directions: Post-Election Briefing Paper (Wellington: Department of Social Welfare, 1996)	Further welfare reforms to address welfare dependency. ²⁷⁸
	Community Wage and Job Seeker agreements / contracts up to 20 hours per week.	Work for the dole programme replaces unemployment, sickness and training benefits. ²⁷⁹
1997/1998	The 1997 Code of Social and Family Responsibility	Attempted to further strengthen the responsibility of families and communities to meet their own needs but was met with strong resistance and dropped. ²⁸⁰
	Community Wage Program changes	Sickness benefits reduced to same as unemployment benefit. ²⁸¹
	Domestic Purposes Benefit cuts	Including: parents with children aged between 7 and 13 being required to look for part-time work, or full-time work if children were aged over 14. ²⁸²
1997	Tū Mana Motuhake – Beyond Dependency conference	Four-day event sponsored by MSD and other government agencies including Ministries of Health, Women’s Affairs and Youth Affairs and NZ Police as well as Te Puni Kōkiri. The conference ‘aimed to encourage solutions to welfare dependency’. ²⁸³
1998	Income Support Service and Employment Services merged to become Work and Income NZ (WINZ) ²⁸⁴	

1998	Towards a Code of Social and Family Responsibility	Outlined National/New Zealand First conservative values perspective. Intended to garner consensus on family responsibilities, although targeted at beneficiaries. ²⁸⁵ Ultimately abandoned.
1998	Super 2000 Task Force Appointed	The Superannuation 2000 Task Force was charged with finding a sustainable superannuation solution for New Zealand. In 1999 it commissioned a comprehensive survey of the living standards of older people. Three separate surveys were conducted to meet the objectives of the research. One survey was of older New Zealanders in general and the second was of older Māori. The third survey was a sample of working-age people. ²⁸⁶
1998	Te Puni Kōkiri report <i>Progress Towards Closing the Social and Economic Gaps Between Māori and non-Māori</i> highlights significant inequalities in education, employment, economic and health status.	In January 1998, Tau Hēnare, the Minister of Māori Affairs, instructed his ministry to undertake a review of the Maori Community Development Act 1962. ‘During May and June of that year, TPK officials undertook a series of 15 information hui on the proposed review to update the Act in the context of what Māori communities determined to be their development needs in the 21st century. The review was to cover ‘issues relating to a national representative body for Māori, through reform of the NZMC’. ²⁸⁷ TPK released the outcome of its review, <i>He Pūrongo Whiriwhiringa i te Ture Whakapakari Hapori Māori 1962/Discussion Paper on the Review of the Māori Community Development Act</i> in April 1999. ²⁸⁸ Following a change of government however, none of the recommended changes were implemented. ²⁸⁹
1998	Waitangi Tribunal release <i>Te Whānau o Waipareira Report</i>	The Waipareira Trust claimed it had been discriminated against by the Community Funding Agency, a unit of the Department of Social Welfare, in funding and policy because it was not an iwi organisation. The Tribunal found that ‘...it did not think Waipareira represented all Māori groups in West Auckland but ... that the Trust represented a significant Māori community based predominantly in West Auckland and made itself fully accountable to West Auckland Māori’. Determining rangatiratanga to be a broad and adaptable concept, and not strictly kin-based, the Tribunal also found that Waipareira exercised its own distinct rangatiratanga in the delivery of social services. ²⁹⁰
1999	Department of Child, Youth and Family Services established	Children, Young Persons and their Families Agency established with the merger of the New Zealand Children and Young Persons Service and the New Zealand Community Funding Agency. Later in the year, it became the stand-alone Department of Child, Youth and Family Services (known as Child, Youth and Family or CYF). ²⁹¹
1999–2008	1999 Fifth Labour Government	Policy goal: decreasing poverty, social inclusion, planning and individual development rather than punitive approaches.

	Closing the Gaps/Reducing Inequalities. ²⁹²	Job Seeker agreements between case managers and clients. Identify barriers and provide support and resources. ²⁹³ Making Work Pay policies: increased minimum wage, abolished youth wage. ²⁹⁴ Working for Families introduced, Community Wage withdrawn. ²⁹⁵
2001	Ministry of Social Development established	Amalgamation of the Ministry of Social Policy and the Department of Work and Income. ²⁹⁶
2000s	Māori socio-economic update	MSD noted a progressively worse over-representation of Māori children and young people in the system. In 2001, Māori made up 45% of the total client group, with 55% in care and 48% in youth justice. ²⁹⁷
2001–2002	Lake Alice apology	Government apology and compensation to approximately 180 former patients of the Lake Alice Hospital Child and Adolescent Unit (1972–1978) after a private inquiry into mistreatment in the Unit. ²⁹⁸
2002	Whānau ora becomes part of Ministry of Health's strategy for Māori health ²⁹⁹	
2002	Nga Pae o Te Maramatanga established	Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (NPM) is New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence (CoRE) funded by the Tertiary Education Commission and hosted by The University of Auckland. 'The centre's research is driven by its vision of creating the foundations for flourishing Māori futures and it is focused on bringing positive change and transformation to the nation, and the wider world.' ³⁰⁰
2002	Statistics NZ released the discussion document <i>Towards a Māori Statistics Framework</i>	Led by Māori Policy Manager and Statistician Whetumarama Wereta and informed by Statistics NZ's Māori Reference Group, the paper called for Māori statistics in the official statistics system to be developed to suit Māori rights and needs. The paper proposed a Māori Statistics Framework with indicators identified from Māori aspirations. The Māori Statistics Framework is the basis of much official statistics Māori data development work today. ³⁰¹
1 July 2003	Housing Innovation Fund established (renamed Social Housing fund from 1 July 2011)	Established to increase the availability of rental housing and home ownership opportunities for low-income households and people with special needs. Funding was also available for community groups and organisations, Māori and iwi to increase their involvement in providing social housing. ³⁰²
2003	National Urban Māori Authority	NUMA represents seven affiliated urban Māori authorities in five urban centres across New Zealand. It is responsible for the delivery of approximately 300 whānau and community-based services

	(NUMA) was founded.	across the areas of education, health, housing, justice, and social services. ³⁰³
2003	Families Commission established	The focus of the Commission was as an advocate for NZ families, with the Act also providing for identifying factors that support resilience and strength of families. Importantly, the term 'family' is broadly defined to include 'whānau'. The Commission had a strong Whānau Rangatiratanga work programme and was responsible for the Families and Whānau wellbeing research programme, and its annual research report. The Commission was restructured in 2014, inclusive of a stronger research function. ³⁰⁴
2003	Social workers are required to be registered	In 2003 the Social Workers Registration Act was passed to prevent any unregistered person from claiming to be a social worker. ³⁰⁵
2005	The Iwi Chairs Forum was convened at a hui at Takahanga Marae in Kaikōura	This forum is made up of the chairs of iwi governance entities who hold regular meetings to discuss matters of national interest to iwi and Māori more broadly and represents, according to their own approximation, two-thirds of all Māori. ³⁰⁶
2005	Hui Taumata	A' national hui focused on accelerating Māori economic development, held at Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington from 1–3 March 2005. The vision for Hui Taumata 2005 was to expand Māori economic pathways. ³⁰⁷
2006	Claims Resolution Team	Set up inside the Ministry of Social Development to respond to claims of historic abuse or neglect against Child, Youth and Family or its predecessor entities. ³⁰⁸
2006	The Child, Youth & Family business unit of the Department of Social Welfare was fully integrated into the Ministry of Social Development ³⁰⁹	
2006	The <i>Towards a Māori Statistics Framework</i> paper was presented to the 2006 UN Forum.	Discussions at this UN Forum included Indigenous Peoples and Indicators of Wellbeing. ³¹⁰
2008	Māori leaders propose new strengths-based and Māori-led approaches to Māori family violence	In April 2008, a national summit hosted by Tainui and opened by King Tuheitia was held at Hopuhopu marae. Māori leaders in attendance sought to address the issue of family violence, resulting in the E Tu Whānau initiative, a Māori-led approach that engages at a community and whānau level. ³¹¹

2010s	Te Ao Māori and tamariki in state care	The number of Māori children in care rose from 54.7% in June 2013 to 61.2% of children in care in 2017. The Pākehā proportion of children in care over the same period reduced from 33.2% to 26%. ³¹² Between 2015 and 2018, the total number of newborn babies (under three months old) removed from their mothers and placed in State custody increased from 211 to 288. In 2018, five babies a week were being separated from their mothers – the significant majority of whom were Māori. In 2019, the number of newborn babies taken into custody dropped to 248, however, these uplifted babies remained – at 69% – predominantly Māori. ³¹³
January 2010	<i>Whānau Ora: Report of the Taskforce on Whānau-Centred Initiatives</i>	MSD provided administrative support to the taskforce set up in 2009 to address concerns about health and social service providers being too slow and focused on individuals rather than whānau wellbeing and capabilities. The Taskforce reported to Dame Tariana Turia, Minister for the Community and Voluntary Sector, Associate Minister of Health and Associate Minister for Social Development and Employment. ³¹⁴
1 July 2010	Whānau Ora policy	<i>Whānau Ora</i> – an interagency approach to providing services and opportunities to all New Zealand families in need – was also about the transformation of whānau (with whānau setting their own direction). It was driven by a focus on outcomes that whānau would be self-managing; living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in society; confidently participating in te ao Māori; economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; and cohesive, resilient, and nurturing. ³¹⁵ A Minister for Whānau Ora was created with Te Puni Kōkiri as lead agency and the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Social Development in support.
2010	Welfare Working Group (WWG) established under National Government	In its final report, the WWG summarised its recommendations as: ‘a plan for a large scale and comprehensive reform of the welfare system to reduce long-term welfare dependency’. Two key elements were the introduction of Jobseeker Support (replacing all existing benefits), and the establishment of Employment and Support New Zealand. ³¹⁶
April 2010	Fifth National Government welfare reforms ‘Future Focus’	The National-led coalition government embarked on an ambitious programme of welfare reform – the largest such programme since major cuts to welfare benefit rates in the early 1990s. The first phase was the Future Focus initiative. From late September 2010, unemployment beneficiaries were required to reapply for their benefit, as well as complete a new work assessment interview, after every 52 weeks continuously on benefit. Forty-three thousand sole parent beneficiaries with a youngest child aged six or older were newly subject to a part-time work test. ³¹⁷
2011	Investment approach announced	In November 2011 the government announced that this long-term fiscal liability focus, or ‘investment approach’, would underpin its future welfare reform programme. ³¹⁸

2011	Waitangi Tribunal release the Wai 262 report <i>Ko Aotearoa Tēnei</i>	The Waitangi Tribunal recommended wide-ranging reforms to laws and policies affecting Māori culture and identity and [called] for the Crown-Māori relationship to move beyond grievance to a new era based on partnership. This report was the first ‘whole-of-government report, addressing the work of more than 20 government departments and agencies’. ³¹⁹
2011	Major earthquake strikes Christchurch and surrounding areas	Ngāi Tahu becomes a statutory partner with Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Authority (CERA). Ngāi Tahu and Ngā Mātā Waka from across the country established the Māori Recovery Network reaching over 10,000 whānau. ³²⁰
2013	Statistics NZ released <i>Te Kupenga, the Māori Social Survey</i>	Te Kupenga was the first ever nationally representative survey of Māori and whānau wellbeing. The last Te Kupenga survey took place in 2018. ³²¹
2013	Te Hiku o Te Ika Iwi – Crown Social Development and Wellbeing Accord signed	The Accord entailed Te Hiku Iwi and the Crown working in partnership towards the cultural, social and economic prosperity of the communities, whānau, hapū and iwi of Te Hiku. The Ministry of Social Development was one of the government agencies signed up to the Accord. ³²²
1 July 2014	Māori Housing Strategy launched	The <i>Māori Housing Strategy – He Whare Āhuru He Oranga Tāngata</i> reflected the Government’s desire for a long-term strategy to improve Māori housing and respond to the housing aspirations of whānau, hapū and iwi. ³²³
2014–2015	The Vulnerable Children’s Act and the Vulnerable Children (Requirements for Safety Checks of Children’s Workers) Regulations 2015	The Act introduced new requirements for children’s worker safety checking. State services and organisations providing government-funded services to children and families were required to have a Child Protection Policy setting out their commitment to child protection and providing information on how staff should respond when they have concerns about the safety and wellbeing of children. The regulations set out the details of the mandatory safety check. Anyone convicted of a specified offence could not be employed as a core children’s worker unless they had an exemption. ³²⁴
2015	Expert Panel Advisory reviews the Child, Youth and Family Agency (CYF)	In April 2015, the Minister for Social Development, Anne Tolley, established an expert advisory panel to review the care and protection system, and to determine how the lives of vulnerable children in New Zealand could be transformed. The panel’s report, released in December 2015, found the current system to be fragmented and lacking accountability. It had proved itself unable to prevent re-abuse and re-victimisation, and to tackle the over-representation of Māori children. Compared to the total population, Māori children and young people were twice as likely to be notified to CYF. ³²⁵

2015	Te Mana Raraunga [Māori Data Sovereignty Network] established	An inaugural meeting on Māori Data Sovereignty was held at Hopuhopu on 19 October 2015 where the formation of Te Mana Raraunga as the Māori Data Sovereignty Network was accepted by the participants and the contents of the charter discussed. The purpose was to assert Māori rights and interests in relation to data; ensure data about and for Māori is safeguarded and protected; support the development of sustainable data systems and advocate for Māori rights and control of Māori data. ³²⁶
2015	Social Investment Agency	In a series of speeches in 2015, the Minister of Finance, Bill English, and his Associate Minister, Paula Bennett, reiterated that the government was applying a 'social investment' approach to welfare. The Social Investment Unit of the State Services Commission was subsequently converted into a stand-alone Social Investment Agency, a website launched, and staff appointed. ³²⁷
2016	The Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Vulnerable Children) Amendment Act	'Subsequent child' provisions were introduced to the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989, as part of a 'package of reforms to address child abuse and neglect'. The new provisions, under sections 18A–18D of the Oranga Tamariki Act 1989, applied where parents who had previously had a child removed from their care intended to care for, or were caring for, subsequent children. The provisions placed the onus on those parents to 'prove that they are unlikely to inflict or allow the same harm that resulted in the first child being removed from their care'. ³²⁸
2017	Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children through the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act ³²⁹ Introduction of Mana Tamaiti principles	A Māori Design Group was established alongside Oranga Tamariki as an external reference group. Appointed by the chief executive of Oranga Tamariki, members represented a wide range of community groups with expertise relating to whānau, hapū, and iwi. ³³⁰ In response to the obligations set out for Oranga Tamariki in section 7AA and reflecting Oranga Tamariki's growing awareness that a Māori worldview of wellbeing is critically important within the care and protection system, Oranga Tamariki introduced the Mana Tamaiti principles in 2017. These seek to support tamariki Māori to establish, maintain, and strengthen their sense of belonging through cultural identity and connections to whānau, hapū, and iwi. ³³¹ Available data appears to indicate that changes made to fulfil the mana tamaiti objectives of section 7AA have already reduced disparity in certain respects. ³³² During 2017, the government released a \$2 billion Family Incomes Package to purchase better social outcomes. The 2014–15 social housing valuation (released in 2017) underscored the same point: 'The future bill of the government's social housing programme has a figure, \$16.4 billion, and it's projected to increase.' ³³³
2017/18	Māori children made up the greatest proportion of Oranga Tamariki	Māori made up 55%, compared with 'other ethnicity' at 27% and Pacific at 11%.

	care and protection notifications' requiring further action ³³⁴	
2018	The Families Commission was disestablished	The Families and Whānau Wellbeing Research Programme, and Growing Up in New Zealand, were transferred to the Research and Evaluation Unit of MSD. ³³⁵
2018	Abuse in Care Royal Commission established	The Government announced the establishment of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Historical Abuse in State Care (later extended to include Faith-based Institutions). The Royal Commission's contextual hearing, its first substantive public hearing, was held in November 2019. ³³⁶
2018	Welfare Expert Advisory Group established to advise government on the future of NZ's welfare system	The government established the Welfare Expert Advisory Group to provide advice on the future of New Zealand's social security system. Their report, <i>Whakamana Tangata, Restoring Dignity to Social Security in New Zealand</i> was released in May 2019, and made over 40 recommendations, including those specifically targeted at better social security design and delivery with and to Māori. ³³⁷
2018	Section 70a benefit reductions removed	Under section 70a of the Social Security Act 1964, the benefit received by a sole parent was reduced for each dependent child for whom they did not seek child support [subject to some exemptions]. The reductions applied if a sole parent receiving benefit did not identify the other parent of the child, did not complete a child support application, or did not attend and provide information at a hearing when required. In 2018 this part of the Act was repealed. ³³⁸
2018	Te Arawhiti established	In 2018 Cabinet agreed to establish Te Arawhiti – an agency to oversee the government's work with Māori in a post-Treaty settlement era. Te Arawhiti's work is 'Te Kāhui Whakatau (Treaty Settlements), Te Kāhui Whakamana (Settlement Commitments), and Te Kāhui Takutai Moana (Marine and Coastal Area) to complete historical Treaty settlements, ensure the commitments made in Treaty settlements endure and to process applications under the Marine and Coastal Area (Takutai Moana) Act 2011'. ³³⁹
2019	Te Pae Tawhiti and Te Pae Tata strategies introduced at MSD	Te Pae Tawhiti was introduced by MSD as a strategic direction. The three strategic shifts included: Mana Manaaki (creating a positive experience); Kotahitanga (partnering for greater impact) and Kia Takatū Tatou (supporting long-term social and economic development). Te Pae Tata is the Māori Strategy and Action plan which sets out how MSD intends to practically achieve better outcomes for Māori. ³⁴⁰
2019	Section 7AA of the Oranga Tamariki Act	Section 7AA sets out specific duties of the chief executive in order to 'recognise and provide a practical commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (te Tiriti o Waitangi)' as stipulated by

	1989 came into force on 1 July 2019	section 4 of the Act. Its stated objective is to ‘reduc[e] disparities by setting measurable outcomes for Māori children and young persons who come to the attention of the department’. ³⁴¹
1 October 2019	Kāinga Ora – Homes and Communities established ³⁴²	
2019	Treasury introduces the first Wellbeing Budget	This budget encouraged agencies to develop wellbeing measures for reporting, and looked beyond Gross Domestic Product (GDP), to ‘improving the wellbeing of our people, protecting the environment and strengthening of our communities’. ³⁴³
2019	Child and Youth Wellbeing Strategy	The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet (DPMC) introduced the strategy, framework and programme of action. ³⁴⁴
2019	Two inquiries launched into uplift of a week-old baby by Oranga Tamariki	Inquiries focused on what became known as the ‘Hastings Uplift’. This involved an attempted uplift of a baby without notice under a section 78 custody order in May 2019. The mother’s first child had been taken into care and despite her attempts throughout the pregnancy to prove to Oranga Tamariki that she would be a good mother, Oranga Tamariki staff went to Hawke’s Bay Hospital to take the six-day-old baby from her. A Waitangi Tribunal report later described the attempted uplift as follows: ‘The notify–investigate model – coupled with a child rescue imperative – inevitably results in over-surveillance and disproportionate intervention and harm to whānau Māori, and to other communities who may be struggling with entrenched inequality and poverty. We have tried to describe how such a system can also lead a range of State employees (including Māori staff) to act on occasion in harmful and apparently inhumane ways, simply because they have a court order to implement.’ ³⁴⁵
2020	Public Service Act passed to replace the State Sector Act 1988	Key features of the new Act are that it: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ provides a more flexible set of options for how the public service can organise itself to better respond to specific priorities; ▪ allows public servants to move between agencies more easily; ▪ clearly establishes the purpose, principles and values of an apolitical public service, as well as its role in government formation; ▪ supports the Crown in its commitment to and its relationship with Māori; ▪ strengthens leadership across the public service and, in particular, provides for system and future focused leadership; and

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> shifts the focus from state services to public services, changing the name of the State Services Commission to the Public Service Commission.³⁴⁶
2020	Covid lockdowns	The first Covid lockdown was March to May 2020. The Alert system was introduced and New Zealand entered various Alert phases throughout 2020 to December 2021, when the Covid Protection Framework was introduced. Early on, many Māori communities established their own checkpoints to protect the health of vulnerable communities. Data modelling for the impact on Māori predicted Covid would be '50% more likely to be fatal for Māori' owing to underlying health, and socio-economic factors. ³⁴⁷
13 February 2020	Aotearoa/New Zealand Homelessness Action Plan released	The action plan set out an overarching framework for communities, Māori, iwi, providers, and government agencies to work together to prevent and reduce homelessness. ³⁴⁸
July 2020	Tamariki Māori in state care	In August 2020, Minister for Children Tracey Martin, announced that Cabinet would partially repeal the subsequent child provisions introduced in 2016. ³⁴⁹
2020	Mana Orite Relationship Agreement signed between Inaia Tonu Nei Māori representatives and Justice Sector Leadership Board	In response to a Māori call for reform of the justice system, the Mana Orite Agreement was developed as a partnership response to creating 'a future that benefits both Māori and all New Zealanders by transforming the justice system whereby Māori are no longer affected by the impacts of institutional racism, whānau and communities are empowered, and the system focuses on healing and restoration'. The agreement was viewed as a 'foundation for justice system transformation' and a way to 'ensure Māori can effectively engage with the Crown and gain funding to support an investment approach.' ³⁵⁰
2021	Waitangi Tribunal releases report: <i>He Paharakeke He Rito Whakakikinga Wharuarua – Oranga Tamariki Urgent Inquiry</i>	At the heart of this claim was the issue 'that policies and practices inconsistent with te Tiriti o Waitangi / the Treaty of Waitangi...caused significant and irreversible prejudice to tamariki Māori taken into State care, as well as their whānau, hapū, and iwi'. This prejudice, the claimants allege, [was] exacerbated by the disproportionately high number of tamariki Māori continuing to enter the State care and protection system. ³⁵¹
2021	High Court rules that the Ministry of Health reconsider its decision not to release Māori data to Te Pou Matakana for use in their Covid-19 health response	These rulings focused on whether the Privacy Act and the Health Information Privacy Code contained provisions 'to make sure that personal information, including health information, [was] able to be used as necessary for the pandemic response, while ensuring that people's privacy [was] protected.' 'After two consecutive High Court judicial review decisions in November and December 2021, the Director-General of Health modified his decision about the release of data of unvaccinated Māori in the North Island / Te Ika a Māui to the Whānau Ora

		Commissioning Agency – the data being subsequently released with clear conditions. ³⁵²
2021	Registration with Social Workers Registration Board	It became mandatory that all people practising as social workers needed to be registered with the Social Workers Registration Board. ³⁵³
2022	Whaikaha [Ministry of Disabled People] established	Established in partnership with the community and Māori to support disabled people and whānau who are facing barriers to achieve ordinary life outcomes. ³⁵⁴

Footnotes

¹ 'The first Māori census was attempted in 1857–58'. Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2014, p. 246. Earlier censuses were taken during the 1840s, however these were particular to regions and settlements and from there estimates were made by missionaries and colonists as to what the national population level might have been. Salmond and other prominent authors are sceptical of these figures and believe the numbers were greater. A census of Māori was attempted in 1867 but warfare prevented its completion. *Tangata Whenua, Appendix One*, p. 490.

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³ Tennant, 2004, p. 41.

⁴ For more detailed information see the following link: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/new-zealand-wars>

⁵ For more information see: Tangata Whenua, pp. 256–301, and <https://teara.govt.nz/en/new-zealand-wars>

⁶ *Tangata Whenua*, pp.322-3.

⁷ Tennant, 2004, p. 10.

⁸ Tennant, 2004, p. 41.; Margaret McClure, *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security in New Zealand 1898–1998*, Auckland, 1998, p. 12.

⁹ Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare: Voluntary Organisations, Government, and Welfare in New Zealand, 1840–2005*, 2007, p. 28.

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¹¹ Alex McKenzie, *Social Assistance Chronology 1844–2022: A historical summary of social security benefits, war pensions, retirement pensions, taxation measures, family assistance, housing assistance, student support and labour market programmes* (as at April 2022), Ministry of Social Development, p. 4.

¹² Derek Dow, 'Specially suitable men?', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 32, 2, 1998, pp. 163–188, pp. 164–165.

¹³ **Cautionary note regarding the fluidity of who would and could be counted as Māori:** 'Census definitions in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were made directly by British or Māori census collectors, based informally on what appears to have been a mix of descent, cultural practices and modes of living'. 'From 1916 the census collected data on 'race', giving Māori as one example, signalling a significant shift to a more structured, descent-based definition of Māori. This shift became more concrete in the 1926 census, when Māori were asked a question about 'blood quantum' or descent by proportions of ancestry. Subsequent censuses continued to collect Māori proportion-of-descent. Those reporting that they were half or more Māori by descent were categorised as Māori. From the 1976 census, terminology shifted away from 'race' to 'ethnicity', but the responses remained based on fractions of descent from various named ethnic groups, including Māori. In 1981 the official question was about 'ethnic origin'. Again, a fractional approach was taken, with people responding as half or more Māori.' *Tangata Whenua*, p. 490.

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- ¹⁶ The April report, p. 6.
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- ⁴⁰ Wai 2417, p. 194.
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- ⁴⁴ Dalley, 1998, p. 26.
- ⁴⁵ Dalley, 1998, p. 4.

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- ⁵³ *Tangata Whenua*, pp. 343-345.
- ⁵⁴ Tennant, 2007, p. 84.
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- ⁵⁶ Wai 2417, p. 58.
- ⁵⁷ *Tangata Whenua*, p. 345.
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- ⁶² www.abuseinquiryresponse.govt.nz/rauemi-resources/state-care-timeline/
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- ⁶⁷ *Tangata Whenua*, pp.416-436.
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- ⁷² Tennant, 2007, p. 105.
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- ¹²¹ Dalley, 1998, p. 95.
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