



**New Zealand Labour Party**

**96<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference**

**Initial Draft  
Policy Platform**

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## **Please Note**

The content of this draft Policy Platform is provided to give the 2012 Annual Conference a taste of what the Platform might look like, if Conference adopts proposed reforms to Labour’s policy process.

The content is not policy, and is only a first draft.

# Introduction: the Initial Draft Policy Platform

Dear Members,

Please find attached a copy of the initial Draft Policy Platform. This will be discussed at Annual Conference, but it is **important to note that it is a draft working document and it will not be adopted at this year's conference**. It will be finalised at Annual Conference next year (see below for more detail).

## WHAT IS THE POLICY PLATFORM?

At conference this year as part of the Organisational Review there are amendments to the constitution to create a policy platform. The platform will be an enduring document that covers the party's values, vision and priorities for policy. It will enable the perennial question, "what does Labour think about...." to be answered at any time, not just in the year of an election.

Subject to the decisions taken at conference this year, the platform when it is finalised will be binding on the party, including the Caucus, and will only be able to be changed by Annual Conference. It will guide the creation of the manifesto for each election, and anything in the manifesto will have to be consistent with the platform.

## HOW IS THE POLICY PLATFORM BEING DEVELOPED?

The Policy Council, through the Party's policy committees have developed a first draft of the platform that will be up for discussion at this year's conference. It is very much a work in progress, and it will not become a binding document this year.

What the Policy Council is providing for discussion this year is a high level document. We have focused on the values and vision part of the platform. **The specific priorities have not been put down in detail. That will be a major focus of work next year.** The document is being provided this year to give members an idea of what the platform will look like to assist in planning for 2013

The draft, subject to amendments and discussion at conference, will be the base for discussion and Regional Conferences in 2013. It will then return to conference in 2013 at which point it will become binding on adoption by the conference.

## HOW IS THE PLATFORM STRUCTURED?

The platform is structured into twelve chapters that cover off most major policy areas. In each chapter there will be sections on Values, Vision, Achievements, Overall Priorities and Specific Portfolio Priorities. There will inevitably be overlap between chapters, and through the process over the next year there may be some changes as to the exact material covered by each chapter.

Please note that the second chapter, entitled *Big Decisions for New Zealand's Future*, will be written based on the work being done next year.

**WHAT DO DELEGATES TO CONFERENCE NEED TO DO TO PREPARE FOR DISCUSSIONS ON THE PLATFORM?**

We are still finalising the process for discussions of the platform at this time. Delegates should prepare to discuss the platform along the following lines:

- Is the structure of the Platform right? Do the chapters cover the important elements of our overall policy and approach?
- Are the Party's values captured within each chapter area? If not, what needs to change?
- Does each chapter give a compelling vision for what Labour will do in each area? If not, what needs to change?
- At a high level, are the priorities that have been listed the right ones?

**What we will not be discussing are specific policy initiatives. That will be the subject of discussion next year.**

This is an exciting development in the way that the Labour Party makes its policy. It will give members a more significant say in the policy of the Party. Please take the time to engage with this process, now and over the next year.

Your feedback is welcome on any aspect, and if after Conference you or your Party organisation would like to make suggestions, please do so.

Feedback to be incorporated in the next draft should be sent to Fraser House by email (to [office@labour.org.nz](mailto:office@labour.org.nz)) or by post by the end of February 2013.

**Grant Robertson MP**  
Deputy Leader of the Labour Party  
Chair of the Policy Council

**Jordan Carter**  
Secretary of the Policy Council

## Chapter 1: Introduction – Labour values are New Zealand values

*This draft Values chapter was prepared by the Policy Council to solicit input, feedback and advice from Party members and groups. It is based on what members and supporters told the Party in the process of the organisational review in 2012, and on the Principles and Objectives set out in the Labour Party Constitution.*

***It is a challenging task to try and write down the Party's values and record. We know that not all members and supporters will agree with the way they are summarised here. It is important to keep in mind that this is simply a first draft, to help members and Party groups discuss Labour's values and vision.***

*Your feedback is very welcome, and will help shape the next version of this Chapter for debate at the 2013 Regional Conferences. Feedback should be sent by email to [office@labour.org.nz](mailto:office@labour.org.nz) or by post to: Platform Feedback, NZLP, PO Box 784, Wellington.*

***Feedback should be received by the end of February 2013 to be taken into account in the next draft.***

*Jordan Carter  
Secretary, Policy Council*

### Introduction

Labour's vision for New Zealand is a country in which everyone belongs; a country in which we live in strong, egalitarian communities that support and respect everyone's contribution; in which equality and justice for all is a common ambition; in which we are good stewards of our environment; in which we honour and uphold the Treaty of Waitangi; and in which there are opportunities for everybody to live a worthwhile and satisfying life. Labour's vision is of New Zealand as a good citizen in the world: promoting and sharing our ideals of fairness, justice and peace, and striving to influence world affairs and events in our home Pacific region in line with our values.

Labour's core values arise from this vision, and are reflected in the party's principles and objectives (attached at the end of this chapter). They speak to our commitment to stand up for the rights of all citizens to participate at every level of society and to achieve our full potential, as individuals and together as communities and a nation. They affirm our commitment to equality of opportunity and to more equal outcomes, to social justice and equity between one generation of people and another. They hold us accountable for the promotion of peace and for environmental stewardship, both here and abroad. They are founded on co-operation, fairness and mutual respect, and are underpinned by the Treaty of Waitangi as our founding document.

Labour's values are New Zealand's values. This chapter sets out Labour's values. It then briefly explores Labour's history, which represents our values in action since the party was formed. It concludes by looking at the big challenges that Labour and New Zealanders face in the next decade and beyond.

## Labour's values

**Freedom**, to be who we are and to achieve our individual and collective potential; **equality** of opportunity and outcome so we all have positive pathways to fulfilling our individual and collective aims and aspirations; **solidarity**, where we have a vested and mutual interest in each other's lives underpinned by the ethic of social justice, where all citizens can thrive in a fair and just society. These are the core values of social democratic movements across the world.

Woven through the record of our five governments are examples of these values in action. They have stood the test of time, but the world has changed. The challenges we face in 2012 are very different from those we faced in 1916, or those when we first took office in 1935.

Today the Treaty of Waitangi underpins the exercise of our core values and this is reflected in the inclusion of kaitiakitanga as a core value.

**Freedom:** Freedom is a value that is inclusive of both the right to fully participate in society and to exercise choice about how we live our lives. Labour recognises that people can only exercise true personal freedom when they have the resources to enable them to participate fully and in the context of a society that establishes strong personal, social, and economic rights for all.

**Equality:** Our vision of a just society is founded on equality. Labour says that no matter the circumstances of our birth, we are each accorded equal opportunity to achieve our full potential in life. We are a diverse people, all equal before the law and all enjoying the same fundamental rights. We owe each other and the community the same duties, and we are all worthy of the same respect. An equal society is one that is built on co-operation and respects diversity. A just society is an inclusive society. It also promotes participation – decisions around New Zealand's future are everyone's business, and all should have their voices heard. Notions of fairness are central to New Zealanders, and equality is fundamental to fairness.

**Solidarity:** Solidarity is the value that underpins the social contract which affirms our acceptance of mutual rights and obligations for the good of society as a whole. Solidarity recognises that the human experience is a shared one, and talks to our common responsibility for the health and wellbeing of our families, communities, workplaces, our economy and our environment. The expression '*it takes a village to raise a child*' has no meaning unless there is an acceptance of this collective duty of care, which must also be inter-generational. Reciprocity has always been a value inherent in the labour movement – 'a fair day's work for a fair day's pay'. Labour believes a society can be judged by how it provides for the old, the young and the disabled. We are not just selfishly concerned about

ourselves and what we have, but whether our actions are going to leave our children's and grandchildren's generations with the same or increased opportunities.

**Kaitiakitanga:** Kaitiakitanga is more descriptive of the core Labour value that is about the guardianship that is an inter-generational obligation. It means so much more than maintaining the environment. It includes understanding our environment, and acknowledging and mitigating against the impacts that development has on our environment. Our commitment is to sustainable development.

**The Treaty of Waitangi - Te Tiriti o Waitangi:** The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of our nation. The relevance of the Treaty's status is reflected in the recognition of Maori as the indigenous people and Treaty partner. To that extent the bicultural base of our society needs to be firmly established and the core values incorporate both cultures. From that base the development of a society that comprises and accepts the multicultural reality of our communities can flourish.

Labour's values combine with our determination to promote and protect New Zealand's place in the world as a proud and independent nation, with a distinct and inspiring national culture that celebrates these values. This small country has led the world on many issues in the past. We will again.

## Labour's History

We are New Zealand's oldest political party. Like similar movements in Europe and across Australia, we were formed out of an alliance of liberal, progressive and radical political movements. These included Christian and other socialists, other activists and most prominently, trade unionists. They understood that the existing political order could not deliver sustainable prosperity, fairness and independence to a new nation. Since our formation in 1916, we have for nearly 100 years, been the natural home for mainstream progressive political thinking and action.

We were first elected to govern in 1935, to respond to the aftermath of the great depression. By the time we left office 14 years later, we had strengthened local control of the economy, brought about full employment, raised living standards, extended secondary school education to all, invested in public infrastructure – including a major afforestation programme - expanded the housing supply, and provided a safety net including a new minimum wage below which no New Zealander should fall.

Thanks to our commitment to eradicate poverty and to right historical injustices, we formed an alliance with the Ratana Church. Having ensured the election of New Zealand's first woman MP in 1933, we appointed the first woman cabinet minister in 1947. We brought New Zealand successfully through World War II, and strongly advocated for a new world order based on multilateralism and self-determination. This included the creation of an effective United Nations in which small and newly-formed nation states could have their voices heard and culminated in the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our desire for an independent New Zealand perspective also saw us ratify the Statute of



Westminster, and create nation-defining and nation-building institutions such as the New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation and the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra.

Like the First Labour Government, the Second (1957-1960) and the Third (1972-75) took office during an extraordinarily difficult international economic environment. Yet, by 1975, New Zealanders could identify significant social developments which had arisen from those governments. By creating the Accident Compensation Corporation, we eliminated the expensive lottery for working people that was personal injury litigation. We stood up to French nuclear testing in the Pacific and denied entry to a racially-selected Springbok team. We recognised China, and promoted relationships with a newly-independent Pacific. We established the Waitangi Tribunal which provided a forum for redressing Treaty grievances, enfranchised 18 and 19 year olds, and created a world-leading retirement savings scheme (later destroyed by our opponents).

During the 1970s and 1980s, our progressive thinking came to be increasingly influenced by environmentalism, the human rights movement, and reactions against government authoritarianism. These influences were reflected in the achievements of the Fourth Labour Government between 1984 and 1990. We enacted a Constitution Act and a Bill of Rights Act, as well as measures to promote open government, and paved the way for the reform of the electoral system. We enacted an Environment Act and a Conservation Act, laid the groundwork for the passage of the Resource Management Act, and took the first steps toward a climate change response. We repealed anti-worker legislation and created a modern industrial relations system. Homosexual law reform took place, parental leave entitlements were created, and significant extensions of housing, educational, social and health entitlements occurred. The Waitangi Tribunal's jurisdiction to consider historical Treaty grievances was extended back to 1840, te reo Maori became an official language, New Zealand went nuclear free, and we re-established diplomatic and trade representation with powers such as India.

But the Fourth Labour Government's programme of extensive economic reform was in breach of Labour's traditions and values. Without any specific mandate, this Labour government embarked on a wide-ranging programme of privatisation; abandoned the central policy goal of full employment and instead focussed the Reserve Bank on the reduction of inflation above all else; opened the economy suddenly to international forces; and gave up a large degree of regulatory control in favour of unrestrained market forces. As a result, short- and long-term unemployment soared, poverty and economic inequality grew, and trust and confidence in government in general – and Labour in particular – plummeted.

The Fifth Labour Government took office in 1999. We largely put behind us the economic legacy of the 1980s and 1990s, providing change across a range of areas in line with Labour's values. Important achievements included restoring economic growth, and then sharing its gains through programmes such as interest-free student loans, Working for Families, and paid parental leave. We improved collective bargaining and other workplace rights after the 1991 assault on employment rights; made retirement more secure by founding KiwiSaver and the New Zealand Superannuation Fund; created KiwiBank and bought back control of KiwiRail and Air New Zealand. We began to put our economy on a

sustainable basis, including by developing an Emissions Trading Scheme; speeded the pace of Treaty settlements; established final appeal rights within our own Court system; invested heavily in infrastructure; delivered the lowest unemployment in a generation; paid off almost all of the public debt; and kept New Zealand out of foreign military entanglements – particularly the Iraq war.

Labour left office in 2008 with more people in work and a stronger economy than had been seen for a generation. Inequalities were reducing and New Zealand was moving in the right direction.

## **Building a future for all**

Our values give Labour a solid platform to tackle the challenges New Zealand faces in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

This and future generations will live with the effects of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC), a series of collapses in American and global financial markets that began in 2008, and which led to massive economic turmoil. The GFC proved the bankruptcy of the economic ideas driving policy for the preceding thirty years, and showed that an economic strategy that was in part founded on suppressing wages (to boost corporate profits), combined with massive debt expansion to give people an illusion of economic success, cannot be the path to future growth or to future widespread prosperity in New Zealand. It showed that not just finance and capital but also housing, jobs and government services are vulnerable to unbridled excess.

In the wake of the GFC, Labour must pioneer a new economic paradigm – one that is consistent with our values. The attempt to manage the consequences of the GFC globally has poured huge quantities of taxpayer money into banks, and seen jobs vanish and public services disappear from those who need them most. At the same time, taxes have been cut for those who earn the most. Inequality is growing and there is no clear direction from the old orthodoxy about how the economy needs to change. The crisis, in other words, is not over for the huge majority of us: the need for a Labour government, with a new approach to the economy, is clearer than it has been for many years, if the future is to be built around the needs of the many instead of the desires of the elite.

### **Three key challenges**

There are two main economic problems facing New Zealand that have been brought to the surface by the GFC. Labour will need to solve when next in government. One is the crisis of inequality; the other is the lack of opportunity. Tackling both is at the core of building a strong, productive, high-wage economy. A third problem that Labour must tackle is climate change and the growing environmental crisis.

### **Inequality**

The scourge of inequality is a disaster in New Zealand, as it is in the other countries that followed the neo-liberal path. A divided society can never be a fair one, and nor can it be truly prosperous. Those left behind by today's economic model are victims of a bankrupt

economic system. The insight that everyone is worse off because of inequality is a core Labour understanding: all will be better off in a fairer and more equal society, no matter where they stand today. This applies to New Zealand's economic prospects and outcomes as well as to the more commonly agreed matters of social inclusion and equality of opportunity – a widely divided society breeds economic as well as social failure. The distribution of wages, wealth and taxes, the nature of the social security system, policies towards stratospheric CEO salaries in the private and public sector, the weakness of collective bargaining rights and the capacity to generate full employment – all these and more will need to change to tackle inequality.

## **Opportunity**

New Zealand's second critical challenge is restoring a sense that there is a viable future in this country, especially for the young. People have hopes and aspirations for a better life that New Zealand today cannot deliver on. The consequences of the past thirty years – higher education fees and debt, housing prices spiralling out of reach, less training available at work, less secure work and higher unemployment, and the ever-brighter lights across the Tasman throw real doubts about whether future generations will find a satisfying life here. The social contract between us all is frayed around the edges, with intergenerational inequality forming a ticking time bomb. New Zealanders need to participate in global economies, but with better returns for this country. They need to be able to go and travel and work internationally, but to have the option of return to satisfying, rewarding roles here. Keeping things as they are dooms New Zealand to be little more than a foreign owned mine, with a few hotels and retirement villages. We need to secure the future of our productive industries, and the land and resources they need to grow. We need to make sure New Zealanders own and profit from our economy, and too that we reap benefits higher up value chains than merely exporting commodities will give us. Making sure that opportunities for New Zealanders are real – and that the national story is one of excitement and growth and change that attracts people to our shores – is the second facet of recovery from the economic crisis.

## **Climate Change**

Combined with this economic crisis is the deeper problem of climate change. Human activity is changing the environment in ways that will cause unpredictable changes to the weather, and the ability of the world to feed its growing population. The Western world's historic model of carbon intensive economic development cannot be copied by today's developing countries, or the problem will become far worse: instead, the innovations to drive a new, low-carbon development path and the resources to change to new ways of developing have to be made available by those who have benefited, for themselves as well as for those yet to develop.

New Zealand is not immune to these damaging changes, but can help solve the problem. New Zealand's own actions cannot fix the global climate change threat, but we have led the way before. We can show the world that simple changes can make a real difference to greenhouse gas emissions, and we can use the strength of our commitment to persuade other countries to adopt measures that will make a difference. In doing this, a new economy

can be developed here which does less damage to New Zealand's environment than is done today.

## **Government today**

Labour will govern in the spirit of the age, with a new focus on the state as an enabler of community action and citizen involvement. Openness and transparency should be watch-words in modern government; the voice of citizens must be heard at every level of government; and evidence needs to be taken into account when policy decisions are made.

This approach to government is all the more important in an era where public faith in politics and government is not high. Democracy is a fundamental principle of New Zealand's politics but is too often ignored today. To build (or re-build) public confidence in government and in the possibilities of political change, Labour must take steps to restore faith in democracy itself. The challenge is to build a political culture and institutions that can meet the expectations people have.

In that spirit Labour will work to ensure that communities are empowered to engage with the government in the true sense of partnership and co-operation. The truth is that we cannot predict what the future will bring, so engaging communities in joint learning and decision-making will ensure they are well-prepared to play a leading role should circumstances call upon them to do so.

## **Conclusion**

The values set out in this chapter are Labour's values. Working together or solidarity is at the heart of New Zealand's way of life. Equality is a value with wide support, and defines what fairness means. Freedom is a value widely shared. Kaitiakitanga and respect for the environment is a common facet of our lives. These are the values that guide our common aspiration to build a better life for all.

These aren't Labour's values alone: they are New Zealand's values. The breadth of support for them is such that they motivate other parties besides the Labour Party: with New Zealand's MMP electoral system this fact means that progressive, social democratic coalition governments are a real prospect for much of the time.

Throughout Labour's Draft Policy Platform you will see reference to values. The intention is that there is a clear link to be drawn from values, through each chapter, to the individual policies that Labour puts forward at general elections.

Our history and our values mean nobody will be surprised when we fight for a fairer and more inclusive New Zealand, when we fight against inequality and when we fight to preserve our freedom and opportunity for all: that is what Labour believes in and which drives the activity of our party and its members.

## **Attachment: Labour's principles and objectives**

Labour's constitution sets out our principles:

- All political authority comes from the people by democratic means including universal suffrage, regular and free elections with a secret ballot;
- The natural resources of New Zealand belong to all people and these resources, and in particular non-renewable resources, should be managed for the benefit of all, including future generations;
- All people should have equal access to all social, economic, cultural, political and legal spheres, regardless of wealth or social position, and continuing participation in the democratic process.
- Co-operation, rather than competition, should be the main governing factor in economic relations, in order that a greater amount and a just distribution of wealth can be ensured;
- All people are entitled to dignity, self-respect and the opportunity to work.
- All people, either individually or in groups, may own wealth or property for their own use, but in any conflict of interest, people are always more important than property and the state must ensure a just distribution of wealth.
- The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand and that the Treaty should be honoured in government, society and the family.
- Peace and social justice should be promoted throughout the world by international co-operation and mutual respect.
- The same basic human rights protected by the state apply to all people, regardless of race, sex, marital status, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, religious faith, political belief or disability.

Our objectives are based on these principles and are:

- To elect competent men and women to parliament and local authorities through free elections for the purpose of giving effect to Party policy and principles.
- To build and maintain an economy which can attract and retain the intelligence, skills and efforts of all citizens.
- To ensure the just distribution of the production and services of the nation for the benefit of all people.
- To promote and protect the freedom and welfare of all New Zealand citizens.
- To educate the public in the principles and objectives of democratic socialism and economic and social co-operation.

## **Chapter 2: The big decisions for New Zealand's future**

*This chapter will be a summary of the key initiatives in the Platform, and can't be written until the full draft is prepared in 2013.*

## **Chapter 3: The Economy**

### **New Zealand. Working. Innovating. Growing. Together.**

#### **Vision**

Labour is committed to a strong economy in which all enjoy the security of higher incomes, better jobs and the benefits of export-led success. Labour believes that New Zealand has great potential for sustainable economic growth, able to improve people's lives, across the Maori and Pasifika economies, across regions and industries, and in all our communities. An economy rebuilt with Labour values will see a reduction on the economic inequality that so blights our country today. Labour is committed to integrated, radical economic and economic development policies, which will transform New Zealand into a high performance, high wage, high employment and high export economy.

Labour will introduce innovative, growth-directed macroeconomic policies, designed to overcome long-term structural weaknesses exposed by the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC). We need policies focussed on long-term sustainable growth, a tax system that is fairer and sends the right investment signals, and an improved savings performance.

Labour will deliver monetary policy which strikes an appropriate balance between control of inflation and a competitive exchange rate, which will support strong export performance, alongside economic development measures which promote export success. These measures will focus on globally-competitive companies, industries and regions committed to, and supported for, innovative and creative products and services, particularly in the manufacturing sector.

Labour understands that high performance companies require high performing, high value, high-wage, participative, safe workplaces and workforces, supported by legislation that

protects minimum standards and guarantees a voice for working people. Engaged, valued and well-trained workforces are productive and innovative workforces.

Manufacturing is vital in a modern successful economy. Labour is committed to a renewed focus on advanced manufacturing and services, supported by new partnerships to expand investment in research and development. An invigorated focus on regional development is vital. Agriculture's traditional economic role, especially in exports, remains important for Labour. Responsible mining will also play a role in the economy. However, Labour believes firmly that improved standards of living and export success requires sustained diversification of the New Zealand economy into modern, advanced and specialised manufacturing and associated services. The sustainability of economic growth is also inextricably linked to the environment in which it takes place. A modern, high performance economy must be committed to environmentally-responsible, sustainable outcomes in economic development and the development of clean and renewable technologies.

Labour will address the growing gap in New Zealand between the poor and rich, the doubling of the rate of child poverty in 30 years, the lack of sufficient range and number of career opportunities for our young people, and growing intergenerational unfairness, all caused by our opponents' failing economic policies. These inequalities must be reversed.

Labour has a positive vision for a New Zealand that offers everyone a decent job and income, a home of their own, a land to love, and a successful future in which all New Zealanders can believe and have a stake. Above all, it speaks to a country where our people want to live and build that future.

## Values

Labour understands that today there can be no "business as usual" after the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). Events of the last decade have reminded us that unregulated markets are frequently very unstable, with devastating consequences for the whole community. 2008 showed us that markets can fail, and fail badly, a lesson that some have forgotten or ignore.

Labour understood this in the 1930s, and acted firmly and successfully to protect the vulnerable and to rebuild growth. Labour sought then to create a resilient society. Labour is prepared to act again, recognising that a new approach to the economy is needed. Labour is, above all, a party of action and change, which rejects "muddling through" and the mantra of the "free market", believing instead in smart, active policies that will cushion the impact of economic shocks or crises and provide a sound platform for growth.

Labour is committed to high value growth, driven by innovation and creativity, supported by strong R&D provision, delivered in companies that are high-performing, well-managed and built on engaged workforces. New Zealand also needs a diversified export base, supported by strong, stable macroeconomic settings and economic development policies that overcome market failures, promote business opportunities and provide good living-wage jobs.

Companies must have access to capital and savings that improve the capital-labour ratio and deliver improved productivity. Growth that is based on the suppression of wages and living standards is not worth having. Instead, we must invest in skills, infrastructure, plant, and R&D to develop a truly prosperous and sustainable economy that delivers for those investing capital and those providing labour.

Good minimum employment standards and effective collective bargaining systems underpin a high value growth model. Labour understands clearly that the current policy settings take us in the opposite, low value direction. That direction will not create the high-quality jobs and wages that New Zealand needs.

Improved savings will reduce or eliminate the balance of payments deficit and provide greater opportunity for investment. Domestic capital markets must be strengthened, by expanding Kiwisaver and supporting Kiwibank, and identifying new and additional vehicles to enhance business investment flows into the real economy. Financial institutions and governance must be stronger and reconfigured to promote the flow of savings into domestic productive investment.

A high performing economy also requires an unremitting focus on the quality and provision of both compulsory education and post-compulsory “lifelong” education and training. Labour sees education as an investment, not a cost to be reduced. New Zealand needs smart, skilful and well-educated workforces. Management capability also remains a challenge for New Zealand, one which Labour will take seriously.

Labour believes that the state has an important role to play in economic development, in conjunction with the private sector. The principle of partnership between the two sectors is vital for successful economic development. It is a principle that operates at company, industry, regional and national levels, including Maori and Pacifica businesses, and will be fostered in Labour’s economic development and employment relations initiatives.

Labour will introduce a new partnership approach to Economic Development, based on a targeted, focused active state and a “bottom up” approach to development initiatives, in which business and communities will drive economic development.

Sustainability is a core Labour value. Sustainability is many things. It is environmentally-sound policies and economic development that recognise the perils of environmental degradation. It is initiatives that understand the economic and commercial possibilities created by changing products and services, and changing demand, as a result of environmentally-sound development. It is policies and initiatives that truly reflect New Zealanders desire for a “clean green” country that lives up to the label. Apart from a renewed commitment to the RMA and effective environmental regulation, Labour will actively promote Cleantech as a major economic development initiative.

Labour puts people first. Labour believes that an inclusive economy should work for all of us, not vice versa, and that it should deliver benefits for all New Zealanders. The economy must deliver well-paid jobs and career opportunities, rewards that are fair and equitable, and reduce current inequalities in income and opportunity. Full employment and a living wage are not only the right goals, but are also achievable in a dynamic modern economy.



Labour always has, and always will, support strong employment rights, including an effective right to collective bargaining. International and local evidence shows that the erosion of collective bargaining over the past thirty years has driven economic inequality, created a more discordant society, resulted in increased consumer debt to compensate for low wages, and reduced our economic potential. This runs contrary to Labour's belief that economic development requires a confident and engaged workforce with a real stake in the workplace and confidence that rewards to success will be shared. New Zealand families must be able to achieve their goals and dreams.

Labour believes uncompromisingly in the innovative and creative powers of New Zealanders, and their capacity – in workplaces, communities, industries and elsewhere – to achieve economic, social and environmental outcomes that are not only comparable with any elsewhere in the world, but also in tune with all New Zealanders' desires for their families and communities.

## **Past achievements, future ambitions**

In office, Labour grasped the nettle of economic transformation after a decade of neglect. Over nine years, Labour provided a sound and successful macroeconomic environment for economic development. Labour ran budget surpluses, leaving stronger government books than most countries enjoyed when the 2008 crisis hit. Unemployment was reduced to record low levels. Savings were promoted, productivity and high performance improvements supported, education and training better resourced and improved, growth in the regions and industries emphasised, and export success given priority. R&D and innovation were made major policy initiatives, small business costs reduced and venture capital initiatives were introduced.

That progressive agenda was further developed in Labour's 2011 manifesto, which promised to return to surplus by 2014/15, pay off net debt faster than the government from 2017/18 without selling our assets, and reduce net debt to zero by 2022, a year ahead of the government. The manifesto also committed Labour to control spending, and to secure long-term fiscal sustainability through the combined returns of retaining the assets and revenue from a fairer tax system.

Labour offered an integrated policy package, including an improved tax system, measures to improve saving, changed Reserve Bank objectives, broadened monetary policy tools and measures to promote investment capital and business growth.

Labour remains committed to this programme. The challenge now is to turn these positive structural changes into economic progress, by working more closely in partnership arrangements to create the conditions for success in industries, sectors and regions. The aim is to build a high value, high-performance, sustainable, export-oriented economy. Labour particularly recognises the potential for such outcomes in vibrant Maori and Pacific Island economies.

Action is needed now. Labour will support a stronger, more dynamic and innovative economy that pays its way in the world through export led growth. Labour rejects an

economy based on unlimited and unregulated flows of credit, and too much consumer debt. Labour will deliver an economy in which the rewards to effort are fairly shared so that all our families and communities are able to achieve their dreams and goals, an economy that delivers full employment and decent jobs.

## Priorities in government

In terms of broad economic policy, New Zealand faces chronic problems - too few jobs and low wages, poor growth, a narrow export base, too little savings, asset inequality, and tax incentives that go to the wrong sectors. Getting the fundamental settings right for the economy is crucial, and the foundation for all that Labour wishes to achieve in power.

A major priority is tax reform for growth. New Zealand workers and exporters need pro-growth tax reform, which prioritises income from wages and productive investment over speculative earnings, and shifts lending from property to companies.

Exchange rate and monetary policy are crucial. New Zealand faces competitive devaluation by major trading partners and ignores it at our peril. The overvaluation and volatility of our currency undermines our exporters. Meanwhile, competitive devaluation is being used by our competitors to support their exports.

Improved savings are vital. A better savings performance underpins family security, comfort in retirement, and improved economic performance. More savings will deliver the capital to invest in the technology that brings higher wages, more jobs and improved exports. High performance work systems and effective collective bargaining will allow people to earn enough to save. Decent work with decent wages in high performance workplaces employing skilled, flexible workforces are major priorities.

Labour welcomes foreign direct investment (FDI) that supports New Zealand development and is geared to leading edge industries. Labour supports the idea of joint ventures between domestic ventures and FDI in leading edge areas. Labour also supports fair, transparent and sustainable international trade agreements and investment regimes, and will work closely with other countries in international arrangements that support New Zealand's sovereignty, economic goals and standards. In fostering these arrangements Labour will work openly and democratically to ensure transparency in decision-making.

Labour believes that a sustainable superannuation system, with universal public provision at its core, is essential. We are determined to protect it and keep it on a sustainable footing that is fair to all generations.

Labour will build partnerships across workplaces, industries, communities and regions and at national level, including in R&D, venture capital funding, export-focused initiatives, in Industry Standard Agreements, and in Government procurement initiatives.

Labour will harness New Zealand's innovation, creativity and R&D in a National Innovation System, based on a strong partnership between government and business and improved research collaboration between research and business.

Labour understands that action is needed to protect the future of the planet in the interests of future generations. Labour is committed to a viable and effective emissions trading scheme. Labour's vision for a clean, green and clever New Zealand means we need to develop industries that reinforce our valuable international branding, provide skilled well-paid jobs, and move us away from our dependence on fossil fuels to help lower our greenhouse gas emissions.

Agriculture is an important part of New Zealand's current economic makeup, contributing significantly to our export receipts. We will work with the sector to ensure that we gain the maximum possible economic benefit from agricultural activities, with a particular focus on enhancing the value and productivity of our agricultural sector through science and innovation. At the same time we will ensure that we protect the environment that we all rely upon. Labour will take action to clean up our polluted waterways, and to reduce agricultural emissions.

Responsible mining and extractive industries will contribute to New Zealand's economy. However Labour will not allow the mining of Schedule 4 land. Labour believes that our long-term economic future lies in moving into specialised, advanced manufacturing technology and services, and in the intellectual property produced on the back of improved education and training and improved R&D performance.

Labour is committed to a sound infrastructure (especially in transport, ports, energy, and ICT) in which ownership and decision-making meet New Zealand's long term developmental needs.

### **Delivering financial stability and successful macroeconomic policy**

The successful management of macroeconomic settings is imperative if New Zealand's full potential is to be realised. In office, Labour managed public finances prudently and successfully, reducing gross government debt from 38% to 18% of GDP, and reducing net debt to zero. This was a tremendous achievement, better than most of our competitor economies and putting the New Zealand government in a strong financial position when the 2008 crisis hit. As in the past, Labour will continue to manage government finances prudently.

Labour will introduce a Capital Gains Tax, in part to introduce greater fairness into the tax system, in part to respond to speculation in the housing market, and in part to introduce a neutral tax signal into the economy in support of productive investment.

Labour will act to reduce and then stabilise exchange rates when overvalued, for example by drawing on the range of monetary tools developed in the OECD and IMF since the 2008 GFC, and the experience of successful export economies such as Singapore.

Labour will amend the Reserve Bank Act in order to balance a focus on inflation with other objectives, particularly a competitive exchange rate underpinning improved export performance and job creation.

Labour will continue to support an improved savings performance by introducing a universal Kiwisaver scheme.

Labour will promote R&D with targeted tax benefits to encourage successful research-business R&D collaborations.

Labour will support international trade and investment arrangements which meet New Zealand's economic needs and also meet standards of fairness, transparency, sovereignty, and sustainability.

In relation to National Superannuation, Labour has committed to a transition to an age of eligibility of 67 years. Labour is also committed to ensuring that those who cannot work past 65 in their normal work and need super then will get the equivalent from 65.

Labour will implement a smart immigration policy that meets labour market needs whilst also maintaining labour standards appropriate to a high-performing, advanced economy, and will mobilise the New Zealand talent that circles the globe in New Zealand's long-term interests.

### **Delivering sustainable economic development**

Labour is committed to building a high-value, high employment, innovative and sustainable economy on the basis of active partnerships with business, trade unions and communities.

Labour will implement focused, evidence-based industry policies, designed to respond to market failures and opportunity analysis on a partnership basis. An industry sector-based perspective is essential because New Zealand needs high-performing, specialised firms, working together in industry clusters to compete more successfully on the world stage, making use of cutting edge R&D, and able to take advantage of stable macroeconomic settings.

Labour will work hard to ensure that these industry clusters are strongly supported with basic infrastructure and institutions, New Zealand-based savings and investment, technological content, skilled labour, market intelligence, public good research, R&D tax support, linked government procurement, and international market assistance through NZTE.

Labour believes that regional policy is particularly important and needs to be boosted. The impacts of economic cycles are acutely felt at regional level, where business closures can dramatically affect unemployment levels and other social problems. Many regions are hurting badly as a result of job loss, falling investment, and the migration of skilled people. Building on the shared capabilities of regions can assist the development of internationally competitive industry clusters. Regions can also share dependence on common infrastructure needs (e.g. ports, rail, and airports).

Labour is committed to the rebuilding of a Christchurch that is known internationally for the quality of its urban environment, its creative contribution to the local and national economy, and its commitment to sound environmental principles.

Labour is firmly committed to a New Zealand Manufacturing Strategy. Manufacturing's multiplier effects are striking. They deliver high performing jobs, high performing workplaces, investment, innovation, exports and opportunities for improved productivity.

Manufacturing –and its upstream and downstream supply chains and linkages - is the lost opportunity in New Zealand’s economy since the 1980s.

New Zealand’s manufacturing future lies in specialised, high value, export-orientated production, in which IP is controlled domestically, in which manufacturing is integrated into advanced services, in which competitive advantage is maximized, in which the positive benefits of FDI are realised.

Labour will take innovation and R&D policies forward by integrating support for innovation across the CRIs, tertiary institutes, private sector research activities and industrial and regional initiatives, by targeted support for innovation and R&D, by a particular focus on SME development where export potential can be shown clearly and by the freeing-up of core state investment in support of R&D and innovation.

Labour is committed to an economic development approach that is “clean, green and clever”. There is a significant win-win in maintaining a sustainable environment and an economic strategy that is high-value but tilted towards a lower carbon, more renewable energy future.

A strong focus on environmental protection and sustainability can assist New Zealand to meet its domestic environmental objectives and build a pathway to a more sustainable environmental footprint, whilst also taking advantage of growing international demand for clean technology and renewable energy that provides a potential major future export opportunity for New Zealanders.

The success of the current High Performance Work Initiative will be the basis for widened and deepened support for high performance production in public and private sectors. It can be extended beyond its current focus on Lean Management, across the public and private sectors, and on a wider geographical and sectoral basis.

Economic development looks to education and training provision to support growth in general, and, in particular, high road, high performance outcomes. Lifelong learning must involve a sustained engagement with knowledge and learning in a rapidly-changing world.

Today’s rate of change puts ever greater focus on learning on flexibility and problem-solving. Where necessary, Labour will grasp the nettle of poor institutional performance, duplication of institutional effort, and the need sometimes to re-direct financial resources.

Underpinning Labour’s Economic Development strategy is a radical move away from a top-down, state-to-client model, to a bottom-up partnership model, in which industry, regional, workplace, trade union and community organisations will be first movers in identifying opportunities to drive improved economic performance and improved outcomes for people. Those proposals will be developed, and then taken to government for evaluation and support. Labour in government will respond to these initiatives actively, constructively and in partnership with communities and industry, while protecting and promoting the overall national interest as appropriate.

The proposal is for new partnership based on a strong active government with clear priorities and active business and community leadership. It involves maximizing the

advantages of a small smart country, an innovative and flexible state response to Economic Development needs, regional, industry-based, community and workplace partnerships in a team effort, and New Zealand's "can do" approach.

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## Chapter 4: Protecting and preserving the environment

### Vision

Labour believes future generations should enjoy the richness of the world around them, rather than learn about it in history books. Kiwi kids should grow up enjoying the results of our stewardship from preserving our environment, rather than cursing us for our greed in pillaging it. As New Zealanders we are responsible for our impact on the environment. Labour will partner with communities and individuals to balance the need to protect the environment while using its resources sustainably.

Labour wants all New Zealanders to grow up in a country where the outstanding natural beauty that surrounds us is celebrated in actions as well as words. Where our incredible biodiversity is valued, where endangered animals are brought back from the edge of extinction and their habitats preserved. We need first-class biosecurity systems to keep pests and diseases out of New Zealand and protect our country from environmental and economic damage. Labour believes our lakes and rivers should be clean enough to swim in. We should be able to walk or ride in our hills and mountains, and to lie on our beaches and fish in our waters without harm to ourselves or to the environment.

We understand that the economy and the environment are indivisible. The health of New Zealand's economy depends on conserving and enhancing our environmental assets. Without a healthy environment we cannot have a healthy economy or a healthy society.

Labour wants all New Zealanders to grow up in a country which values its natural resources not for how much they are worth once they are extracted and sold, but for their economic potential left where they are. We also believe all New Zealanders should benefit from our use of sustainable natural resources like sun, wind and water which power our electricity.

Labour wants all New Zealanders to grow up in a country with a world class built environment. Where all our homes are healthy and energy efficient, our cities well designed and our transport systems are accessible, safe and efficient. Where people are able to walk and cycle without fear of their safety.

Labour wants New Zealand to be a good international citizen, fully accountable for the carbon it emits and which strives to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions through good science and responsible behaviour by companies and individuals. Our vision is for healthy oceans that are wisely managed. In exercising economic opportunities, we must ensure that our marine environment is protected for generations to come.

Labour knows that with the right leadership and co-operation New Zealand can once again be a natural paradise.

## Values

New Zealand's prosperity depends on our **sustainability** over the long term. We are **kaitiaki** of our environment for future generations. It is not for us to plunder our environment so that one generation might profit at the expense of all future generations.

Kiwis value clean air, clean water, open spaces and our remarkable natural landscapes and plants and wildlife. **High environmental standards** are central to our identity, social development and international competitiveness, and a vibrant and healthy future for all New Zealanders.

The goods and services that make up our economy are dependent on our planet's ecological systems. Yet natural capital is grossly undervalued in economic and cost-benefit calculations, which take too short-term a focus.

We must **take responsibility** for our impact on our environment. Our natural systems are in bad shape. A disastrous 3-4 degree warming of the Earth is looking increasingly likely, biodiversity is being lost at an alarming rate with many animals critically endangered, and acidification is pushing the oceans close to their ecological limits. Labour wants New Zealand to become a carbon neutral nation that takes full responsibility for its greenhouse gas emissions. Many New Zealanders share these concerns. Labour wants to give communities and individuals a greater say in addressing them.

Transport emissions make up 19% of New Zealand's overall greenhouse gas emissions, with road transport accounting for 90% of these. We must greatly reduce these emissions by moving our urban populations on to efficient public transport systems and away from a dependence on private motor vehicles. Agriculture accounts for over 40% of our GHG emissions. New Zealand has led the world in farming innovations in improving productivity. With the right support our science community can build on the good start made working with agriculture to reduce or alleviate natural emissions too.

We must address issues around fresh water supply and quality, deal more effectively and efficiently with our waste, and ensure the air we breathe is clean.

We must work with producers, importers, retailers and consumers to ensure they use appropriate processes and protections to minimise negative environmental effects of their activities with a "cradle-to-grave" approach. This has the potential to greatly improve how we deal with some of the more difficult waste such as electronic goods.

New Zealand's renewable energy resources are the envy of the world. Our hydro, wind, and geothermal resources mean we are ideally placed to build an energy system that is affordable, sustainable, and reliable.

Urban design and our built environment are critical to the quality of our lives, our economic productivity, and our determination to achieve sustainability. Urban development and rural intensification must be planned to ensure highly-valued natural areas are protected. The rebuild of Christchurch provides an opportunity for **world-class sustainable urban design**.

With 85% of New Zealanders living in cities there is a growing demand for a world class built environment. Urban design can build the homes, public spaces, and neighbourhoods that are satisfying to be in. It can deliver the places we want to live, work and play, and where businesses can thrive. Increasingly people are calling for investment in public transport. City



streets are being reclaimed for strolling, drinking coffee and shopping and not just a thoroughfare for traffic.

The old approach of motorways and sprawl is now seen as part of the problem. Successful cities rely on active government: urban planning to ensure affordable housing, investing in infrastructure, managing growth, promoting economic development and fostering creative, exciting and liveable communities.

New Zealand's institutional arrangements for managing and governing our environment have to be of the highest quality. **Democratic control and expert advice** are two important principles which guide our approach. The people of New Zealand must be allowed their democratic rights in shaping and managing their environment – it is only with the participation of the New Zealand people that we will achieve a truly sustainable future. This means that regional councils must be elected, and the ability for the Environment Court to overturn the will of communities who have collaboratively and democratically arrived at a plan for their region, must be significantly curtailed.

Expert advice in the form of the Environmental Protection Agency and the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment must be protected and enhanced. Labour will strengthen the EPA so that it is a comprehensive, transparent and strong environmental regulator with clear powers and purposes, including above all to protect and enhance the environment (a function that it currently lacks). Labour will support comprehensive, independent authoritative environmental reporting by the PCE, and will ensure that her office has the powers and resources required to carry this function out without compromising her other duties.

Labour will ensure that current and future generations have clear pathways and choices for protecting and nurturing a natural Aotearoa New Zealand by direct individual actions such as minimising waste and community solutions like investing in public transport and parks.

## **Past achievements, future ambitions**

Labour has a proud environmental record.

Labour led the world in 1987 by establishing the Department of Conservation (DOC) as an agency dedicated to the protection of our natural environment, as well as to providing opportunities for Kiwis to enjoy the great outdoors. Labour upholds the values and aspirations that support conservation and biodiversity protection. Labour will work in partnership with supporters of that conservation work but will ensure that conservation work is not dependent on commercial patronage.

The Resource Management Act, conceived by a Labour government, remains the cornerstone of New Zealand's environmental management. It provides a robust process for managing the environmental impacts of activities. This is to ensure that natural resources are managed sustainably, and our environment protected for future generations.

When last in government Labour reformed the RMA to reduce delays and costs, and we supported local government, RMA practitioners and stakeholders in developing best practice in the use of the Act. Further improvements can and must be made including the use of national policy statements and monitoring and enhancing the work carried out by local and regional authorities.

In government Labour strengthened New Zealand's system of managing genetically modified organisms (GMOs) to being one of the more robust and stringent in the world. We believe accountability and traceability of GMOs is necessary to protect New Zealand's unique environment and our valuable organic farming sector.

The foundations for a sustainable transport network were laid by the last Labour government with a 15-fold increase in public transport spending, electrifying Auckland rail, buying back KiwiRail, and legislating for sustainable biofuels. Valuable planning and consultation on how to make better use of domestic sea transport was completed in 2008 but not implemented. Now more than ever that plan, *Sea Change* should be reviewed for implementation as part of a New Zealand wide transport strategy.

Labour in Government will resume the task of building an efficient and sustainable transport system by investing in modern public transport systems for our cities, and an integrated freight network that gets the best out of all modes: roads, rail, coastal shipping and ports.

## Priorities in Government

1. **Energy** – Labour will prioritise the development of renewable and low carbon energy technologies so we are able to transition away from our dependence on fossil fuels. In partnership with stakeholders we will develop a comprehensive strategy to grow the sector and ensure that we are providing the necessary training and skills for the jobs that will be created.
2. **Resource Extraction** - The extractive industries are a significant part of the New Zealand economy and will continue to be so in the short to medium term. It is simply not feasible to suggest that we could stop all mining and oil and gas exploration tomorrow and continue to enjoy the same quality of life. This is why the development of alternatives is so crucial if we are to reduce our reliance on fossil fuel extraction (see above). However Labour has learnt from the experiences of the Gulf of Mexico, Pike River mine and Rena disasters and we would put in place bottom lines that any further projects must meet in terms of emergency response preparedness, liability and ability to pay in the event of an accident, appropriate legislative and regulatory controls, and local as well as national benefit.
3. **Climate Change** - Climate change is the single biggest environmental challenge facing the planet. As one of the worst carbon polluters per capita, New Zealand must do its bit to reduce our gross greenhouse gas emissions and encourage the development of mitigation technologies and industries such as forestry. Labour will ensure that our Emissions Trading Scheme has environmental credibility as an 'all gases all sectors' scheme rather than being a Trojan horse for massive subsidies to greenhouse gas polluters. Labour will take an all of government approach to climate

change so decisions being made in other policy areas such as transport and economic development are not undermining our emission reduction efforts.

4. **Energy efficiency** – Whilst energy security and the sources from which we generate that energy are important, just as important is ensuring efficient use of any energy resource and reducing energy demand. Households and businesses need access to the technology to monitor their energy consumption and independent advice to empower them to be able to decide what technologies will work for them to lower their energy costs whilst ensuring a healthy living environment whether they rent or own.
5. **Conservation Estate** – Complete tenure review and Review of Stewardship Land.
6. **Built Environment and Urban Design** – Labour will champion urban planning and urban design, building a critical mass of expertise so central government can work alongside local councils and the private sector to transform our cities, towns and suburbs. We will reform the Resource Management Act to incentivise high quality urban design, and take a hands on role with local government and private sector to drive brown and greenfields urban development projects.
7. **Green economy / technology** – Labour’s responses to the economy should include a focus on the development of industries such as insulation and alternative energy sources that create jobs and protect the environment; a reconsideration of what “growth” means, given the rapid depletion of planetary resources; and the pursuit of valued-added industries rather than the export of raw products.
8. **Agriculture/ Rural Sector** - Labour recognises the strides that agricultural and rural sectors have been making in developing good environmental practices in recent years. Labour will work with farmers and agricultural scientists to ensure best practices can become the industry norm. Our agricultural and rural sectors should be supported so that environmental champions can shine and polluters can be made to clean up.

## Specifics

This will be filled out next year.

**Portfolio 1, Portfolio 2, Portfolio 3, Portfolio 4, Portfolio 5**

## Chapter 5: Opportunity and Fairness for all

### Social Development

#### Vision

The great goal of Labour's social development policy has always been that New Zealand would be a place where everyone, no matter what their circumstances of birth, or what unexpected troubles life throws at them, will be included and be able to get ahead: to build their capabilities, make their own contribution, and have a stake in society.

Labour envisions a country where disadvantage is not replicated across generations by way of unhealthy housing or poor access to childcare, preventable diseases or a lack of support for disability, inadequate time to spend with children or challenges transitioning from education into work.

The reduction of poverty at both ends of life is a priority for Labour. Budgets and imaginations will need to be stretched not just to meet the growing costs of the early years and the ageing population, but to enable the contribution to society of older citizens, and the next generation of New Zealanders.

Labour wants a New Zealand where the rungs on the ladder are there for all citizens and communities. A New Zealand where people from early childhood to old age feel safe and secure, reach out to learn and take opportunities and are able to build a future for themselves and their families. A New Zealand where everyone knows they can access the basics rights of health and education and the magnificent beauties of our country. Our place, a home where we know that as New Zealanders we all play a valued part in the economy and society, and can respect ourselves and others as members of a diverse and caring community.

#### Values

Labour grew from the recognition that today's economies and societies offer great opportunities, but that markets alone and the survival of the fittest will not see everyone realising their potential. Opportunities need to be opened up for people through education, an accessible health system, and a safety net when necessary.

At the core of Labour values are the linked commitments to real social security, fairness and realising potential. Labour respects the fact that everyone wants to get ahead, to hope that tomorrow and the next generation can provide more opportunities for all. Labour is the party of hope and aspiration for all New Zealanders. Labour policies will offer ways out of being stuck in a rut, whether as a young person unable to enter the workforce; a parent stuck at work (or at home) when they could be making a different contribution; a worker stuck in a low paid job when they want to do better; a middle aged person struggling with debt and rent, or for whom disability, injury or unemployment have closed down prospects

and made retirement uncertain; or an older person needing to know that poverty and poor health will not dominate their lives.

When things happen that threaten, and that are out of people's control, Labour's core values mean our social policy will prioritise both real social security, and active support for moving on and getting people into (or back into) work, education, or stable family or living situations. Labour knows that there are times when all of us just need support: and for some that may mean, lifelong support to live a life of dignity and participation. For others, unpaid care is the contribution they make, first and foremost: and this needs full respect. For others, the chance to stand on our own two feet is realisable and absolutely important. In the 21st century, Labour is still the party of work and working people, of people being secure in making their contribution, and of everyone, not just the lucky few, getting ahead. The contributions people make are diverse: they may be in paid or unpaid work, in carework, in whanau, in communities: Labour respects all of them.

Labour sees all people as citizens and contributors to society. But rising inequalities, a widening gap between the top few and the struggling many threaten this standing, while producing negative effects right across society. Inequalities in asset ownership and between generations have also grown. Countries with high inequalities achieve do worse in health, educational outcomes, crime and imprisonment, and more. At the same time, widening gaps between better and worse off mean that the social contract - the strong shared sense of 'us' and of fairness - is under pressure. If the better off feel a lessened connection to the less well off, they are less likely to support things like targeted health and education some will need to get ahead. Labour's challenge is to keep that sense of us strong, and to fight social divisions and exclusion.

Social Security is about fairness. Labour will always be the party of what's fair, and of fair and open debate and negotiation about what fairness is. Our challenge is to listen to what people consider fair, and to make that fairness a reality all New Zealanders support and benefit from. At the same time, a strong community is one where we all pitch in to help each other when we need it. But it's unfair, and undermines the whole system, if someone lives off the contributions of others when they have the opportunity to make their own. Fairness is self-reinforcing: fair, living wages, a tax system and housing provision that rewards all contributions, and helps families get ahead, and safety nets that make everybody's responsibilities clear will mean all will want to contribute.

## **Past achievements, future ambitions**

Social security in New Zealand grew out of the Labour movement's recognition that unexpected, undeserved things happen to working people, families, and the elderly which can cause serious disadvantage over generations. Many of these things (workplace injury, sickness, crowded housing) were considered accidental or unavoidable: yet they consistently affect some parts of society much more than others. Economic growth did create many new opportunities. But downturns in the economy had effects right across society: again, hurting some much more than others. Security and fairness, Labour reasoned, demanded that those adversely affected should not be dependent on charity, or be subject to humiliation or meaningless hard labour to survive.

Labour set out to generate greater security and fairness, with all of society playing their part, and everyone benefitting from a better society. Labour also knew that ultimately working people had to be able to stand on their own two feet, earning living wages established through collective bargaining in fair labour markets, and not subject to the stigma and victim blaming that charity would always bring. After the 1930s Great Depression, Labour put social security in place to make sure that when things happen that are out of working people's control, there is a way forward, one with dignity and basic regard for everyone's capabilities and contribution. Most of these provisions, including health care, education, old age support, and child support, it provided universally, to everyone who needed or would benefit from them.

As Labour developed its vision of social security and social development, it worked against disadvantage being passed down generations, and set out to give every New Zealander an opportunity to realise their potential, regardless of where they grew up and what their parents achieved. Today, wasted potential and re-producing of disadvantage are still the product of unaffordable and unhealthy housing, struggles accessing childcare and early childhood education, high costs of going to the doctor and lack of preventive care, lack of time with children and family, patchy support for disability, trouble transitioning from school to work. At the end of life poverty, expensive housing and unfairly distributed healthcare still threaten to shorten lifespans, make old age painful and shut in, and limit contributions older citizens can make to families and society.

**Security, fairness, and equality of opportunity** required political leadership which understood people's struggles and circumstances, and was committed to creating equality of opportunity. It still requires leadership that cares about people's aspirations as well and understands their realities, that represents and speaks to people's hopes, but that knows that people themselves have to realise their dreams, and the state or government cannot simply do that for them.

As society has changed Labour has set a high value on **inclusiveness and diversity**, alongside fairness and security. Not all families are the same: it is the ability of the family to provide security, belonging and boundaries that matters, rather than how many parents of which gender it has. Labour recognises that not all mothers want to stay home and care, or go out and run careers, and that fathers too need choices in care arrangements. Labour recognises that communities, and especially Maori whanau, Hapu and Iwi, want and should have more involvement in the design and delivery of social services.

The 21st century has already reminded us that we don't always know what is around the corner or how we will be affected. When things happen that are beyond people's control, including crisis, disasters big and small, and change (such as climate change or globalisation) that affects all of us, the need for a safety net is still strong and supported by the vast majority of New Zealanders. So too is the need for safeguards against disadvantage that gets passed down through generations, especially as widening inequalities undermine social mobility, housing security and the ability to save and securely own assets.

Now too, we face the challenge of putting much of what we have understood and developed into contexts of children and young peoples' development, universal opportunity and the effects of inequality that we now understand better.

This is especially the case when we consider the very early years of life, when evidence suggests social development policy should invest now to save later. This means investment in helping parents spend quality time with their young children, providing quality childcare and early education, and, where needed, early intervention that can make lifelong differences. Investment is also needed to banish child poverty, isolation and abuse, which have separate, lifelong effects. There is no simple fix. More than ever, those caring for children are also juggling work, life, income, careers, housing costs and stress. More children are spending more time in care outside the immediate family. New Zealand is moving down all these tracks, but we are well behind comparable countries in the amounts of money we spend on children, and the quality of the services like childcare we provide. Achieving quality in all these areas - with appropriate early intervention when needed - is still a huge challenge.

Similar challenges exist in the years of youth transition from education to work. Difficulties here, especially long periods out of work or training, have lifelong consequences. Similar effects emerge from struggles in the years of childbearing and childcare, the years of late middle age, and of old age.

Everyone is different, and social development needs to make the most of this. Different groups of disabled people need different approaches to enabling participation. There are many more single people, and growing numbers of aged. What works for income support and case management for an older person transitioning from a lifelong relationship into independent living might not be best for a young teenager who has just given birth to a child, or someone put off work by a participation threatening injury. Our challenge is to work with people, not benefit categories.

Other huge challenges loom. One is the need to fund growing needs at both ends of the lifecycle: in the early years, and in the aging population. Meeting the costs (and enabling the contribution) of older New Zealanders will stretch imaginations and budgets. We must make the most of the contributions of whanau, neighbourhood, community, and local government to deliver real local outcomes in the face of big picture challenges like inequality and housing affordability.

## **Priorities in government: real social security and active social development, right across the lifecourse**

### **Families and the early years of life**

For children and young families, social security and realising potential means not growing up- and especially not spending the early years- in poverty, vulnerability, isolation, inadequate housing and healthcare. Labour will support policies that actively reduce and set out to eradicate child poverty, with these policies coordinated and monitored across all parts of government and other providers.

Children develop and thrive when surrounded by people who love and care for them, keep them safe from harm and hunger, and provide them with stable and secure boundaries.

Labour will support early years policies which create stable, predictable family and care environments, where there is enough time, resources and supportive, flexible working arrangements.

Here, social development policy urgently needs to catch up with the science and other learning about children's development. Labour will support policy which brings together the best evidence about human development with the best evidence about what makes a positive difference.

This evidence shows that security and vulnerability in the early years has many aspects: vulnerability to poverty, isolation and abuse all have real impacts, each requiring its own approach. Opportunity matters too: the possibility of developing confidence and a sense of security when reaching out to learn about the world around, trust in carers and the boundaries they bring enabling children to explore further, and a capability for self control and mastery whatever comes up. As the evidence about what makes for great child development expands still further, Labour will need to keep up, and be prepared to lead public opinion on how to realise the potential of the early years.

The early years are about learning: learning from parents who have good parenting skills, know how to set boundaries, and above all have time to be there for children. Learning too from other children, and skilled carers and early childhood education teachers. Learning in environments that are culturally relevant, affordable, and not too far from home and work.

All of the early years are about care and protection. Labour will support systems in which early signalling of vulnerability and risk is closely matched to provision of effective interventions, with literally no child falling into the gaps. This will involve making better use of universal services to identify where more intensive intervention is required.

Parenting up to the time children leave home is an expensive business. Labour recognises this, and will support families facing the costs of raising children via the tax system.

## **Housing**

Having a secure and affordable home is central to achieving wellbeing and security for all New Zealanders. A stable and healthy home environment underpins the health and wellbeing of our families and children. Without it we will not be able to make the necessary interventions to ensure that every child is able to reach their full potential.

Housing costs are the largest budget item for many low and middle income families. Housing policy is absolutely critical when considering how to raise take home incomes and combat the rising cost of living. Housing can also be a great source of economic and social security. At any age, but especially in old age, an owned home is an asset that will keep you out of poverty, and provide security and choices.

Labour takes seriously the evidence that the market alone cannot solve housing issues and long term shortages of affordable, accessible housing; and nor can simply subsidising landlords through tax breaks or rental subsidies. Despite a range of incentives and subsidies, this an area where trusting and even helping the market to supply has simply not worked: most houses currently built in the last 25 years have been very expensive: in Auckland, virtually no houses are being built for the bottom 25% of housing need. Now, we have



overly expensive houses- owned by fewer and fewer Kiwis- which New Zealanders are borrowing more and more money to buy (and thereby contributing to a private debt issue for the whole economy). We have seen the emergence of a rental crisis with powerful and long term structural underpinnings: and it is not clear high levels of subsidy (through the accommodation supplement) have made the overall situation better.

Whether a family rents or owns their own home, a stable, healthy home is crucial for the wellbeing of all children. The short and long term costs of children growing up in cold, crowded, mouldy homes which cost too much to heat are high. Labour must support arrangements that deliver the security of long term rental arrangements, and set high, enforceable standards for rental houses in areas including insulation, health and safety.

With Labour, the state sector will take a stronger lead in improving the quality of rental situations, starting with its own properties, and often working with others including community housing providers and developers to provide quality housing for less well off families.

Overall, housing provision requires a number of actors working within an effective framework. Labour will continue to improve the quality of the state housing stock, and work with local councils, state social housing providers, developers, and community social housing providers to deliver a mix of affordable rental and ownable houses: houses people want to live in, are in many cases able to own. Labour will find ways to work with families themselves, via savings schemes and Kiwisaver, to enable them to own assets. Labour will make sure finance and bond markets are geared to long term provision of secure capital, not the usual cycles of boom, bust, capital destruction and debt hangover.

## **Disability**

Labour recognises that disability is a part of many New Zealanders' daily lives, and that disability can have huge impact on individual and families aspirations. Labour believes each disabled person must be recognised as an individual person with their own unique set of needs: just as no two people are the same, so no two disabled people are the same.

Labour believes too that a disabled person should have the right to choose their own lifestyle: in most cases, disabled people want to make independent choices and have the freedom to ask for support if required. Their choices must include their housing needs, employment opportunities, sporting and recreational activities, political aspirations and education opportunities: things most of society takes for granted.

As a progressive political party that values equity, diversity and inclusion, Labour's disability policy must provide active leadership in disability areas, and help change social attitudes. But it will only succeed and be recognised if it has the hallmark of genuine authorship by the disabled community.

Labour's policy commitments must move beyond the myth that all disabled people need care. Rather, disabled people must be allowed to choose what support is needed in order to lead successful lives, whether these are items for the home to make it easier for disabled people to live in or equipment to enable them to work like everyone else.

At the same time, Labour policy must leave behind the assumption that disabled people are unable to work. In many cases, support can and must be put in place to ensure that these people can leave school and go into higher education, trades training or work. Currently, this section of society is the only group where people think it's acceptable to give them a benefit when they leave school.

However, for those with very significant health and disability support needs, Labour will provide adequate and fair support for parents and caregivers, so that families are supported to assist their children and young adults to reach their full potential. Labour will find ways to do this that enhance the wellbeing of the entire family unit, including respite care and support when adult children leave education.

## **Senior Citizens**

Labour recognises that older New Zealanders built this country and deserve our respect. We also recognise and value the skills, knowledge and experience older people contribute to their families and communities. And too, that old age can be a time of uncertainty and vulnerability.

In the coming decades, the proportion of older people in the population will increase. Labour believes this expanding group will have an increasingly important role to play in our society. An important way to own our future is to support older New Zealanders to be fit and able, not only to contribute to the workforce and communities where they choose to, but to enjoy their retirement in good health.

At the same time, concerns around aged care health services, elder abuse and cost of living pressures are mounting for older New Zealanders. Future generations will not have the same levels of asset ownership that currently keep poverty low for older New Zealanders. Inequalities which developed earlier in the lifecycle are likely to have greater significance in old age.

Labour's overall commitments to senior citizens are in terms of security and predictability, support and enablement, and equity. Labour policy will support security and predictability of income, housing, and of access to health care; enablement to pursue active lifestyles, make contributions to society, and remain financially and personally independent and supporting living in their own home as long as possible; support, reducing isolation and enabling regular personal contact; equity, in terms of making sure all older New Zealanders have access to a minimum level of provision in all these areas, and avoid poverty and its traumas.

## **Violence, families and communities**

Labour recognises that violence in families and communities is a violation of basic human rights which has profound and far reaching implications for New Zealand society. Domestic violence is characterised by power and control with an abuser controlling their victims through coercion and fear in order to get their own way and often, with little regard for consequences. It is a crime that affects many aspects of our lives from health and wellbeing to employment, rights and justice. Domestic violence encompasses physical, sexual, financial and psychological abuse and occurs regardless of educational background, income level, profession or ethnicity. However, certain groups may be more vulnerable to violence

and experience additional barriers to accessing support such as women with disabilities, migrant and refugee women and rural women.

Labour will support policy which addresses family and community violence based on international best practice, developed in consultation with stakeholders. Labour policy on domestic violence will be evidence-based, and will acknowledge that gender inequality is both a driver and a result of violence. Labour's policy on violence will include universal approaches and specific approaches tailored to address issues within the more vulnerable groups such as violence against women with disabilities, harmful practices within migrant and refugee communities (e.g. honour-based violence and forced marriage) and barriers to accessing support within these groups.

## **ACC**

ACC remains a remarkably successful innovation. Like Pharmac and other comprehensive, efficient, effective cost saving innovations in and around health care, its uniqueness is not because no-one else thought it worth copying. It is because it alone, given support from many governments, has overcome the powers of vested interests which in other countries make literally billions of dollars out of other people's injuries.

Our ACC scheme is cost effective and relatively cheap. It manages injury proactively and preventively, it delivers active rehabilitation and realistic compensation. It has efficiency of scale and power in the market. It negotiates nationally with treatment providers, hospitals and ambulance services. Yet for all its strengths, it needs to be revitalised and protected from insidious undermining.

Recent years have seen increased contention over funding for ACC. Politicised claims that ACC is in crisis and not paying its way have been used to justify both cost cutting (claims declined, cutbacks in treatment) and a full funding model which has built up reserves but left ACC operating in a private sector insurance approach anticipating privatisation.

ACC must remain a fair and balanced system where compensation is distributed speedily, consistently, and without undue contention. Cost containment, injury prevention, improved rehabilitation outcomes and administrative efficiencies are all important elements of the ACC scheme: however they should not be pursued where injustice occurs as a result.

## **Community and voluntary sector**

Labour recognises that community and voluntary organisations embody much of what is best about New Zealand: they support diversity and local do it yourself initiative, deepen whanau and wider relationships, train people and help them make meaningful contributions across the lifespan and despite disability, and professionally deliver services which are core to health and wellbeing. They also provide a vital component of bottom up voice and democratic engagement. Increasingly, it is recognised that they contribute to the economy in a range of important ways.

Labour recognises too the need to build on community capabilities, and to let communities do what they do best. At the same time, Labour recognises it is counterproductive to devolve responsibilities to communities that they struggle to meet. Partnership and a clear

and well considered division of responsibility between central, local and community agencies is needed, before necessary responsibilities and funding are devolved.

Labour too has always regarded the voluntary contributions people make to their communities as sitting at the heart of social development. Where possible, and in whichever ways are best, Labour will support volunteer organisations to make their contribution and stand on their own efforts: whether this be in providing services like meals on wheels or youth mentoring programs, or providing entry level or post-employment work opportunities for a range of people, or providing community activities like early childhood centres, language nests, marae or sports clubs.

The Fifth Labour Government (1999-2008) made a commitment to a new way of working with communities based in partnership in social development. New relationships, some restored trust, and a deeper understanding of government and community roles did emerge from the partnership approach; but overall the partnerships didn't achieve the kinds of results they might have.

For all this, community and voluntary sector and government relationships remain fragmented. Labour is committed to working in collaboration with the community and voluntary sector to ensure New Zealanders receive the knowledge and expertise of this key group, enabling positive change to take place at a community level.

## Chapter 6: World class education for everyone

### Vision

Labour envisions a New Zealand where all people from every walk of life can reach their full potential through education. Education is the route to social and personal transformation and social mobility, and in building the promise of a social democratic society.

New Zealand needs engaged citizens, prepared and ready for the twenty first century. New Zealand is a young and vibrant nation that has contributed to the world , in exploration, in culture, in science and technology, in the arts, in sport, in business, and in effective teaching practice - we strive for excellence and are keen to innovate. Our strength is our diversity. Education plays a critical role in giving people the opportunity to succeed, no matter what their background.

In a fast-moving world where change is common-place knowing where you/we stand matters.

"Whāia te iti kahurangi, mēnā ka tuohu koe he maunga teitei"

"Pursue the very highest of aspirations, if you bow be it only to a lofty mountain"

New Zealand's public education system is at the centre of Labour's vision. The system focuses on the needs of people in all their diversity of age, gender, ability, culture and socio-economic background. Education at every level opens people to the huge cultural and intellectual world both within and beyond our nation. In our vision, people are challenged, excited, and come to know they are part of the best education the world has to offer. They meet and exceed the highest standards of thinking and creativity.

We believe it is vital that at every stage of their lives, and no matter where they live, people have access to the highest quality education system. Whether it is in early childhood, at school, in tertiary training and education or in access to adult and community education, citizens through their lives should know that education is always an option, to develop their talent and realise their dreams.

Labour's vision is of a system staffed by highly trained, well paid professionals with a real vocation and passion for their work. It is well resourced to deliver to the needs of all learners, with new resources going to areas with the greatest need. The costs to learners will not be a barrier to participation at any level. Education in New Zealand will honour and respect the diverse traditions and cultures of New Zealand's communities. Educational institutions will be self-managed within a strong, supportive framework of government institutions, sound curriculum and high-quality professional development.

Labour's vision recognises the brilliance and celebrates the successes of New Zealand's world-class system, while charting out a vision for an even better future.

## Values

The values we uphold as a community should be reflected in the way we educate our children, and in how we provide lifelong learning opportunities to all. Labour's vision is built on a demanding aim: to build a caring, tolerant and responsible society. The future we all face means that everyone needs a broad range of knowledge and skills to gain perspective, to innovate and solve problems, to be resilient to all sorts of challenges, to seek and share knowledge, to determine new solutions to old problems, to be confident and competent citizens.

**Equitable access to quality learning** means every citizen in education has the opportunity to reach their full potential and succeed, no matter where they live or what their background is. Every service, school, and institution will be high quality – no exceptions. It also means that Labour will prioritise investment in a quality public education system to support children, parents, students, working people and local communities to get ahead.

**Respect for diversity** means that we have an inherent responsibility to broaden the way the education system is relevant to all citizens from all walks of life. In the schooling system, it means that Labour will make sure the New Zealand Curriculum is relevant to all, and will continue to promote effective teaching practices that value culture and identity as significant reference points for content delivery, teaching practice and achievement measurement.

**Promoting a fair and just society** means that education is accessible to all, and that the practices within educational institutions honour the wider ideals of fairness and social justice that underpin our society. At every level of the system, this commitment means inclusion and respect to all no matter their background, and additional support to those in most need so that everyone has the chance to succeed.

**A caring society** means each citizen deserves the very best from our education system – a system that must strive to personalise their learning journey throughout life. It also means that Labour will promote a coherent education strategy for life-long learning that will allow all learners the opportunity for success. Individual learning plans, robust choice within the public education network, innovative teaching practices, tailored employment, training and skills pathways and relevant options in the post-school parts of the system will underpin a greater emphasis on what works for the learner.

**Advancing a fair and equitable investment in education** means that systemic barriers caused by growing inequality and the damaging effects that living in poverty can cause to learning outcomes will not be ignored. Labour sees as vital a wide set of policies that will bring about greater economic equality in New Zealand. Also important are integrated service co-ordination with schools, sustainable initiatives that promote intergenerational learning and wellbeing and implementing objectives to restore equity will go a long way towards reducing welfare dependency and the harmful effects of poverty.

## Past achievements, future ambitions

Labour is proud of a long record in educational reform, right from the time of the first Labour government in the 1930s. The watchwords each time Labour has been in power has been quality and inclusion: making world class education available to every citizen, no matter what their background is. The success of this approach is recognised around the world. Some specific achievements:

- Renewal of the curriculum, including Te Whariki and the 2007 New Zealand Curriculum (including Te Marautanga) which have been widely recognised as a world-leading approach to education.
- The introduction of self-management in the schooling system, which has been in place since 1989 and which gives communities the lead role in creating schools that work for their children. Self-management is important but so is the support available to schools that need it – more can and will be done. A review of the framework is timely, and Labour will conduct one.
- Hugely expanding affordable access to early childhood education during the fifth Labour government, and boosting quality by requiring teachers to be trained. This reform, combined with tackling child poverty, will over time have huge payoffs as children come to school better prepared to learn. Access and quality will remain the focus.
- In tertiary education, Labour's record has been to respect institutional autonomy and academic freedom, and to reform the funding system to more closely connect the work of the tertiary system with the needs of the community and the labour market. Student support received major increases in funding during the 2000s as well. Recent reforms have too often been steps in the wrong direction. Labour will build on its record to see improvements to the funding and provision system to continue developing a world-class tertiary education and training system, along with a focus on opening up accessibility for those not traditionally able to take part in tertiary education.
- Widespread access to adult and community education is part of a commitment to lifelong learning: people's needs and interests change, and a continuing chance to learn and grow is a part of the New Zealand way of life. Labour is committed to the provision of those services and in particular to tackling literacy problems among adults and in the workplace.
- The transition from school to work is not always easy. Closer integration of senior secondary with tertiary education and training and well-supported tracks from school to training and work need further development. From the student's point of view, there should be a wide range of options, easy to understand and to choose between, to give the best possible start into working life.

## Priorities in Government

Too often, those who need the most from the education system do not get the support they need for the opportunities they deserve to be realised. A wide range of factors hold back

achievement, some of which is outside the education system (for example, inequalities and poverty, concentrated pockets of deprivation, cultural factors) but some of which relates to the quality of provision, and the level of resourcing available for educators to be able to do their work. Labour is very clear about the links between these broader social factors and educational achievement, and as outlined elsewhere in the Policy Platform, will be tackling these. Inside the system, we will make resources available first to those with the highest need, aimed at ensuring a fair chance for everyone. Labour will also reinforce the support available to schools in trouble, because every single school needs to be safe, inclusive and providing high quality education to every student.

Trust and confidence between the government and many parts of the education system is at an all-time low, due to sudden policy shifts and decisions being made without evidence or often in the face of strong contrary evidence, and usually without appropriate consultation. Labour will take a considered, strategic approach to policy. Including the sector in decisions about it is vital: Government takes a clear focus in making sure the interests of students at all levels are the first priority for future changes. Evidence based change, with trials and experimentation done when needed, is essential.

There is a huge amount of work to do in expanding the availability of education services at all level tailored to the needs of Māori and Pacific students. There are many examples of great success to build on.

Māori as tangata whenua have provision in some areas through kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori, but more needs to be done in expanding the range of options for Māori language education at all levels, and in broadening the availability of Māori language learning for all students at all schools. Pacific language education needs also to be further developed.

The tertiary education system needs to change. Polytechnics are in crisis, and the universities do not have access to world-class levels of resource. The sector is not living up to its potential as a well-connected network of institutions that give all New Zealanders access to quality tertiary education. Collaboration between institutions needs to deepen if the best use is going to be made of the resources students and taxpayers put into the system.

Professional development and improvement in the school system in particular has been much debated in recent times. Labour's priority is in improving the quality of the teaching workforce and raising the achievements of all students. We wish to see schools working together, not competing: sharing best practice; teacher education, mentoring and improvement strengthened; standards-based recognition of teaching performance (perhaps, as examples, a Master Teachers standard that attracts significant pay and sabbatical benefits, or recognition for on-going professional development or extracurricular involvement in schools); and new ways for schools to recognise quality teaching and to support teachers who need improvement.

Parents are keen to have a sense of how their children are progressing at school, just as students at tertiary institutions want to know their progress and standing. Clear, accurate information is essential. Recent years have seen rhetoric about parent information massaged into concerns about performance – but the mechanisms in place today too often



deliver misleading or unreliable information that is of little value to students, parents, or schools. Clear reporting of achievement against the curriculum, so parents and learners know where they stand, is the objective: how that is achieved needs to be debated between government, professionals in the system, academics and experts and policymakers, parents, and students themselves. Evidence needs to be applied, and changes need to be tested before they are imposed across the system. Labour recognises that the best way to ensure this happens is to encourage the relationship between schools and their communities. Steps to encourage this will be taken.

If “inclusion” is to be more than rhetoric, the compulsory education system in particular needs to be more open to and supporting of students who don’t fit into the typical learner profile. People with specific learning and behavioural needs or disabilities have the right to access specialist education services and effective support, with a real voice for parents and learners. Support should be there in ordinary schools or in other institutions: the system is not yet delivering this, but it has to. Social dislocation and disadvantage cannot be completely solved by schools but they can make a difference and must do so. Students with English as a second language can be better catered for. Doing these things right will mean the system works better for everyone. Labour will resource the compulsory education system, where needed, to make this happen.

Labour recognises success at school is linked to a range of social policies, including health, housing and employment. We support the Community Hubs concept, connecting families with a range of services through early childhood services and schools. Further development of this area is under way.

## Specifics

This will be filled out next year: Early Childhood Education, Schools, Tertiary Education, Adult Education, Māori and Pacific Education, Accessible Education for All (Special Education).

## Chapter 7: Health – prevention, access and fairer outcomes

### Vision

Labour's vision for Health is to build a nation where all New Zealanders are able to live longer and healthier lives because they have the knowledge to make more informed health decisions for themselves and their children. Labour is committed to adopting a holistic approach to health as encompassed in the four cornerstones of Maori health care - whanau (family health), tinana (physical health), hinengaro (mental health) and wairua (spiritual health).

Labour aims to give every child the best start in life by reducing child poverty and providing a healthy environment, good nutrition, and access to health care. We have seen the emergence and increase of childhood diseases of poverty such as rheumatic fever, skin infections and whooping cough. For children, these mean lingering health problems, absence from school and learning opportunities, and compromised futures. Labour will tackle the social determinants of health, as well as ensuring continuity in the provision of good health care for these children up to young adulthood.

We know that the top four non-communicable killers in New Zealand, cardiovascular diseases, cancers, chronic respiratory illnesses and diabetes, make up 80% of the disease burden for the total population and they are largely preventable. The main risk factors are smoking, poor diet, physical inactivity and the harmful use of alcohol. These diseases disproportionately affect Māori and Pacific people. Helping people understand and manage the main risk factors is the most effective way of avoiding a crisis in demand for health services and Labour will seek to do this.

We believe that the health inequalities can be addressed by dealing with the causes of poor health, and by re-prioritising critical health expenditure. It is time to rebalance the allocation of health resources by prioritising long-term health outcomes, though they are less readily measurable, instead of pursuing short-term health outputs. It is also time to seek a bipartisan consensus on key health goals so that health ceases to be a competition on who can provide more elective surgical procedures, or reduce the waiting time in Emergency Departments faster. We need evidenced based strategies which will survive any change of government to meet the health needs of our people.

We are facing an increasingly ageing population and the country has no long-term or sustainable strategy for it. People are living longer with accompanying multiple long-term health conditions, leading to more acute geriatric care being required.

Labour has a vision of a just society where health outcomes are not predetermined by location, ethnicity or ability to pay. We believe access to good health care is the right of every New Zealander.

## Values

### Equality and Fairness

Labour believes in fundamental values such as equality of access to affordable and good health care and fairness. Our health dictates our opportunities for a great future. While we are all inspired by those who overcome health obstacles and proceed to achieve extraordinary things, the common reality is that those who come from impoverished backgrounds face more obstacles and barriers, limiting their opportunities to develop and succeed to their full potential. Labour further believes that all New Zealanders deserve to have accessible, timely, appropriately delivered and prompt health care.

Providing healthy and affordable housing and healthy food will be important steps in fulfilling these values. Once these most basic of human needs are met, then we can turn to the quality of life which arises from robust health. It is axiomatic for Labour to provide for the most vulnerable, young and old. We believe in providing all of life care. Labour has promoted a universal health service before and we will do it again.

We believe that to achieve our values, a Labour government needs to take an active role in equalising the health inequities, by distributing resources where they are most needed. That means intervening in the provision of health care to ensure that those most in need access what they require to get up to the same starting point as others. Children do not start equal so it is part of the government's responsibilities to even up the odds when it comes to health care.

We also firmly believe that we can only fulfil these values through publicly available health care. We do not believe that better health care can be delivered through increasing privatisation of resources, or more private health insurance.

### Partnership and Responsibility

Labour will encourage people to take responsibility for their own health outcomes, using a partnership approach. The environment in which people live, grow up and work, influences their choices and decisions. If we provide health education messages together with support to make different decisions, such as quitting smoking or taking up exercise, we can even up the health inequalities.

## Past achievements, future ambitions

In our last nine years in government, Labour developed some strategies and programmes with long-term outcomes in mind.

First, we introduced the *Primary Health Care Strategy*, which developed the *Primary Health Organisations* (PHOs) whose job it was to deliver health care in the community, where people were. They gave people a voice in the delivery of their health care services and promoted multi-disciplinary team approaches to achieving health outcomes. That delivery

was not just through General Practitioners, although they were and always will be an important part of community-based health care delivery. It was through programmes like *Healthy Eating, Healthy Action* (HEHA), the *Get Checked Diabetes* programme, and the immunisation programme for small children. Labour started all of these programmes, but unfortunately, some of them have now been discontinued.

We developed the *Māori Health Strategy* (He Korowai Oranga) which was based on a holistic and cross-departmental approach to health, housing, education and other needs.

We implemented the *Mental Health Blueprint Strategy*, which saw money ring-fenced for mental health service delivery, and peoples' diverse mental health needs were finally recognised and addressed. We set up the Mental Health Commission which provided advice and worked, through advertising programmes such as *Like Minds, Like Mine*, to de-stigmatise mental illness and improve awareness of mental health issues so that people could come forward to be treated and symptoms could be recognised earlier.

We developed the *Cancer Prevention Strategy* in an effort to halt some of the behaviours which could lead to cancer. Messages and prevention became frequent and universal. We increased support to those wishing to quit smoking so that they could get support to improve their own health and to make healthy decisions.

We also brought in the *Older Persons' Health Strategy* and the *Ageing in Place Strategy* which prepared the groundwork for greater wellness and independence in old age.

We regulated health practitioners through the Health Practitioners Competence Assurance Act 2003, protecting the public from inadequate practitioners and ensuring that practitioners are fit to practise.

Labour reduced prescription charges from \$15 an item to \$3 an item, in order to make medicines more readily available. They are about to increase to \$5 an item. We reduced the cost of doctors' visits to between \$27-\$33 per visit and introduced *Low Cost Access* visits to the doctor so that people who were less able to afford to go to the doctor could pay no more than \$15. This has now increased to \$17. We supported Union Health Centres where doctors are paid on salaries and costs of visits are often kept even lower than the *Low Cost Access* providers. We also improved the numbers of elective surgical procedures that were performed, with special emphasis on hip and knee replacements and cataract operations. We promised more of those and we delivered them.

Labour in government provided \$400 million to insulate both state and private rental properties, through under-floor and ceiling insulation and lagging of hot water pipes. This provided marked improvements in quality of life and health status for thousands of families.

Each of these initiatives, and this is not the totality of all we achieved in nine years in office, demonstrated our values and our commitment to universal health care for all and special efforts for those most in need.

## Priorities in government

Child poverty and closing the health inequality caused by poverty are the two greatest health priorities for Labour. This means that providing healthy housing for children is a priority. Children and Youth will be put at the centre of our health policies.

Critical priorities for Labour will lie with primary health care, focusing on prevention, health promotion, health education and research into what works best here in New Zealand. We do believe that starting at the beginning, with diet and exercise messages for pregnant mothers, is appropriate. We also believe that if we start with children before they are born, that is, begin with their mothers, we have a better chance of imprinting patterns which will protect those children from obesity, harm from alcohol, compromised health from smoking, and diabetes.

We will work with health professionals to determine where the greatest needs lie and get a clinical consensus on how to address these needs. This will take real professional commitment by health professionals to long-term health outcomes for all New Zealanders.

In addition, we will prioritise those areas currently left untouched, including, a strategy for preparing for an ageing population, and the implementation of an oral health strategy. We will reinvigorate the *Primary Health Strategy* and reinstate the *Cancer Prevention Strategy*.

There will be greater and more effective linking of portfolios than we have ever managed before. The Health/Housing linkage is an obvious one, but Social Development, Education and Economic policies will also have critical impact on Health policy and health outcomes. We will make the Minister of Health an Associate Minister of Housing; and the Minister of Housing, an Associate Minister of Health.

There will also be attention paid to the training and availability of health professionals. Whilst we have a well-trained professional health workforce, an increasing and unsustainable proportion are sourced from outside the country. This together with the difficulties of staff retention and recruitment are likely to get worse with increased global demand for health practitioners. It is vital that we make better use of the clinicians we have and move towards self-sufficiency.

It will take a Labour government to make all of this happen.

# Chapter 8: Justice, civil rights and equality for all

## A fair go for all New Zealanders

**NOTE:** this chapter has been developed with Justice issues at the forefront, and will expand its ambit to match the title in 2013. Sector sections on equalities issues will fit here.

### Vision

Labour understands that justice encompasses more than just crime and punishment. Justice means all New Zealanders having equality of access; it means working to achieve real public safety, rather than just delivering immediate punitive measures; it also compels New Zealand to lead by example on the international stage to live up to our international obligations.

Labour's vision for justice involves a society that is safe and secure. We will achieve this by emphasising the importance of safety throughout the criminal justice system and by emphasising the prevention of crime in all communities. Labour recognises the need for a smarter, fairer and more intelligent approach to criminal justice in order to ensure the safety of communities. More prisons, more prisoners and punitive "three strikes" policies simply won't work. To address crime effectively means to address the wider symptoms and drivers of crime. It is also the state's responsibility to detain its citizens: Labour will act to return prisons to public administration.

Labour understands that justice is not an isolated process, but one that happens within communities and between people. It requires well-resourced community and individual responses. Labour will review, rather than cut, legal aid and community legal resources so that those who cannot afford to effectively engage in the legal system can do so.

Justice, equality and fairness are at the heart of a successful criminal justice programme. Perpetrators should be dealt with firmly but responsibly, in ways that ultimately encourage rehabilitation and reduce recidivism. Victims should be given fair and just support. Labour also sees the impact that the law has on people's lives: we will ensure that rules and regulations are accessible, fair and easily understood.

In a healthy democracy, communities need to be able to engage effectively and in a meaningful way with powerful public agencies. Labour will ensure independent Parliamentary officers (such as the Ombudsman, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, and the Auditor General) and other complaints bodies (such as the Human Rights Commission and the Human Rights Review Tribunal) are adequately financed and empowered. Furthermore, dispute resolution services, including those offered by courts and tribunals, should be accessible to all. We know that a society that promotes equal rights for

all citizens is a fairer and more secure society. More needs to be done to promote equality of access and equality before the law for everyone.

Not all crime and violence is reported and in plain sight. Labour will have a renewed focus on domestic and family violence, and on child care and the prevention of abuse. The law as it relates to the care of children is vital and should be updated so that it is fair, responsive and always focused on the best interests of the child.

Labour prioritises our independent values as a Pacific nation that acknowledges the Treaty of Waitangi as a founding document. We respect the fundamental importance of the rule of law. Our constitutional arrangements should reflect these unique values and our place in the world.

## Values

Labour's values for the justice sector include:

- Upholding **fairness, justice and the social contract** between citizens, the state and each other;
- Implementing the concept of **societal safety**, where everyone feels safe in their own communities and threats to safety are addressed holistically;
- Making justice decisions based on **evidence-based policy**, not retributive ideology;
- Taking a **long-term approach of addressing underlying causes of crime**, rather than playing to the "lock 'em up and throw away the key" audience;
- Ensuring **access to justice for everybody**, and addressing access where it is not apparent;
- Making sure that our justice system is **transparent, efficient and accountable** to victims and their families, the public and also to the prison population;
- Being firmly committed to the **principle of Justice as a core state responsibility** that cannot be contracted out;
- Striking the **right balance between victims and offenders**;
- Striking the **right balance between restorative and punitive justice**;
- Ensuring the **protection of children and the most vulnerable** and ensuring cooperation between different government departments and the non-profit sector for the most effective results;
- Ensuring **well-funded and well-resourced** policing;
- Ensuring that our **justice system and our courts are relevant, accessible and effective** for ordinary New Zealanders;
- Keeping our constitutional arrangements **effective and relevant**.

## Past achievements, future ambitions

Labour has a strong and proud tradition of standing up for the human rights of all New Zealanders. Labour also has a strong and proud tradition of working to ensure that New Zealanders are safe, secure and comfortable in their own communities.

### What we have done:

- Brought victims' rights into the justice debate and into the justice system;
- Passed legislation giving legal rights to relationships and families who do not fit the 'traditional' family model, as well as protecting the civil liberties of our most vulnerable citizens;
- Modernised our property relationship laws;
- Introduced restorative justice to Youth Courts;
- Updated our sentencing laws to give judges more power to sentence offenders in line with community views;
- Implemented major constitutional reforms to empower New Zealanders and bring our highest appellate court, the Supreme Court, to New Zealand – giving New Zealand courts, rather than the English Privy Council, the final say in our justice system;
- Updated our laws on the care of children;
- Properly funded and trained a bigger, more modern police force;
- Repealed unnecessary laws and removed discriminatory legislation;

### How does this inform what we will do?

- More work needs to be done on balancing the rights of victims with the punishment of offenders, where the balance will be informed by the principles of natural justice.
- More work needs to be done in reviewing and updating our constitutional framework. As this is a mixture of legislation, international covenants and parliamentary conventions, it requires frequent review.
- We need to work to make our law reflect the diverse makeup of our families. There is still work to do in making the law equitable and fair. Further work is needed in Family Protection, the Care of Children and Guardianship.
- Commitment to compliance with our international obligations across all areas of law.

## Priorities in Government

Labour's priorities when we take office include:



**Getting smart about crime prevention:** The current "lock-em up, and throw away the key" approach to criminal justice is not working. In some areas it is actively harmful and only contributes to more crime. This needs to change.

Labour is committed to taking a new, smarter approach to societal safety and crime prevention. Criminal justice is complex and interdependent. Labour will ensure that key problem areas are immediately addressed, but also that a more expansive approach to criminal justice is taken. This will ensure that our communities are safe not just now, but in the months and years to come.

**Drivers of crime – alcohol and drugs, violence, socio-economic issues:** Labour understands that crime does not happen in a social vacuum. There are important drivers of crime that need to be addressed. Labour's guiding principles of fairness and equality will seek to address these in the justice policy area. Labour will ensure that criminal justice is not addressed on its own, but is developed across government to ensure it is as effective and responsive as it can be. A broad, principled response to the drivers of crime is called for, and Labour accepts that the intended results will take years, not a single electoral cycle, to achieve.

**A well-funded, effective and efficient justice system:** Access to justice empowers citizens and resolves disputes fairly and finally. Today's justice system is in need of reform to make sure this happens. Labour will modernise and update our courts and court structure in a principled manner, with the aim of making it more effective and efficient.

Labour recognises that not all citizens have equal power when accessing justice and the courts. Labour will halting the current cuts to legal aid and will review the legal aid system to make sure that it is being targeted at the people and communities that need it most.

Labour also understands that community responses to crime and crime prevention need to be adequately supported. Labour will properly fund community policing and investigatory work, and will support and encourage innovation in New Zealand's police force.

**Taking an evidence-based approach to constitutional change and law reform:** Labour in government will review and update the law so that New Zealand's laws reflect who we are as a modern, diverse society free from discrimination. This will also involve constitutional reform to ensure that the rules that regulate government are fair, open and transparent.

Where reform is required, Labour will make it a priority to ensure that all law changes are based on sound evidence, good policy and international best practice. Where insufficient information exists for Labour to rely on, Labour will insist on sound evidence - to ensure that any reform is done right, first time.

## Specifics

This will be filled out next year.

## **Chapter 9: Effective and Accountable Government**

### **A partnership with communities**

#### **Vision**

Labour's vision for effective and accountable government recognises the significant influence both central and local government have in the day to day lives of New Zealanders. Communities lie at the heart of this vision. We want to refocus central and local government processes to enable communities to own and actively participate in the decision making that affects their lives. In order to help shape positive outcomes, government needs to be more responsive in using its resources and partnering with others.

Labour is committed to strong public services, which means they need to model the behaviour that gives people confidence. Our state services need to be leaders in public policy through their delivery. This vision would see for example, Housing NZ building and managing high quality, energy efficient public housing.

We believe in local democracy and the right of communities to have a say on major decisions affecting them, in particular the nature of the provision of local services. If local government needs to be reorganised, kiwis should have a chance to determine the outcomes that affect them.

Labour knows that participation at all levels promotes community capacity and resilience. Responsive, transparent and accountable government promotes trust. A strong civil society with the capacity to engage with government builds social capital, which in turn makes communities more resilient to any emergent challenges. Accordingly, Labour will work collaboratively with communities in an inclusive way to build self-confidence and self-sufficiency and encourage participation in our democracy at all levels.

Whether it's about earthquake recovery in Christchurch, local government reform in Auckland, or the health and well-being of diverse local communities throughout the country, Labour believes effective, accountable government puts New Zealanders in the centre. It is modern, accessible, responsive and takes flexible approaches to complex problems. Agencies, services, regulations and laws must work fairly and transparently to address issues, build foundations, and support New Zealand's aspirations for the future.

#### **Values**

Labour strongly believes that all people should have equal access to all social, economic, cultural, political and legal spheres, regardless of wealth or social position. Labour's commitment to equity means effective public services are a priority to ensure that all New

Zealanders have opportunities. Although everyone benefits from public services, vulnerable New Zealanders are more likely to access them.

In a democracy, public confidence relies on people knowing what government is doing and why, as well as being able to take part in the debates in a meaningful way. It is essential that people know the government is listening and that it is open to good ideas expressed by the public.

It requires a government commitment to transparency, accountability and responsiveness at every level. It also requires a commitment to ensuring that public decision-making is as close to the people it affects as possible. This means it is more authentic, in terms of the communities' needs; and communities, as opposed to a few at the centre who end up 'owning' the decisions.

The success of this approach needs communities to be well-informed and to have people who are prepared to apply pressure and to campaign for what they want. The process of coming together as a community to protest or campaign helps build strong communities. Governments (central or local) should not be afraid of the process nor seek to suppress it. It is democracy in action.

New Zealanders need to have confidence that there is sound democratic process in the way government works, they also need to know that they can participate at whatever level they choose, whether personally or through associations of individuals or organisations, political and otherwise.

To enable these values to be made tangible and real, people need to be fully informed and actively engaged in their communities and for those communities to be actively engaged with government. This requires us to think about how those communities of interest can be connected to and effectively involved in the range of decision-making processes that affect their lives.

## **Past achievements, future ambitions**

Local government has a vital role in our overall system of government and we believe that role should be respected and enhanced.

When Labour was in government local government was given the power to provide the range of services that the local community wanted. The legislative purpose of local government was expanded "to promote the social, economic, environmental and cultural well-being of communities".

Labour believes that co-operation and collaboration hold more benefit for communities than a model based on competition and focused on simply cutting cost. Removing the community's "well-being" from the purpose of local government exposes a fundamental flaw in an approach that doesn't see the connection between well-being and all the aspects of infrastructure and regulatory functions of a council. Think about council responsibility for a clean and safe environment or the enforcement of standards around food and water

quality or the oversight of building standards essential to safe and warm homes – the fundamentals of well-being. Think about libraries, art galleries and museums and how they help define communities.

Labour spearheaded a new approach to community development by working closely with communities in order to understand their strengths and their weaknesses. One size does not fit all. The clear benefits of this approach can be today in a community called Aranui in Christchurch. The combination of Housing New Zealand's Community Renewal programme and Ministry of Social Development's Strengthening Community Action Fund has empowered this community to identify its strengths, articulate its needs and form genuine partnerships with central and local government to achieve real change. We need to explore opportunities for making this model sustainable (including independent revenue streams), while assessing whether it can be replicated in other communities.

#### *Leading the Way*

The State Sector Act needs to be remodelled to allow for a better way of doing government. Part of this must be about setting the benchmark for excellence, for example 50% women on government boards, or Housing NZ providing energy efficient quality housing. Public services must be accessible both in terms of technology and also a 'no wrong door' approach.

#### *Lessons Learned*

The Canterbury earthquakes have highlighted the challenges that disaster response and recovery efforts pose for the public services, both at the local level and nationally. We plan well for the response to a disaster however we have not planned well for recovery. All the templates went out the window as a centralised top-down model of government was imposed on the city. The removal of the democratically elected regional council has raised serious questions about how a locality or region can protect itself against the heavy hand of central government. We know we can do better than that.

In terms of effective and accountable government there are also lessons to be learned from the imposed amalgamation of Auckland's local authorities. It highlights how important it is to ensure that local communities have the final say over amalgamations and the shape of their own local government, which includes the form of Maori engagement and participation. It also includes what services will be provided locally by their council, through council controlled organisations or in partnership with community organisations and the process for establishing each community's priorities.

The international literature points to the need for inclusive and engaging leadership, with a commitment to empowering the communities that have been adversely affected. Engaging with communities in a meaningful way may seem to take longer, but the evidence shows that the reverse is true. The approach helps build public resilience so the people themselves have the ability to respond to a adversity and recover quickly.

The question we will explore is whether the current top-down civil defence model supports the recovery of communities after disaster. Other countries have developed a bottom-up civil protection movement that seems to encourage communities to look within themselves for their immediate response and recovery framework, rather than looking outside.

Utilising existing community and Iwi networks, starting from Neighbourhood Support & Residents Associations, could provide the basis for such an approach, as well as providing opportunities for communities to work collaboratively ahead of any disaster occurring. This could lead into developing a better understanding of how communities can interact with decision-makers in central and local government.

Labour is developing a comprehensive “Government and Community Partnership Charter” to inform future decisions about how to ensure effective and accountable government, based on public participation and new forms of engagement. We acknowledge that the changes this will require will be challenging to some parts of government, and to the existing operational approach of the public sector. That is why we will be engaging broadly on the development of the Partnership Charter in the manner we intend to continue.

## Priorities

Labour will:

- Break down the silos between government departments and agencies, promoting more collaborative ways of working and ensuring that people don't get the run around by being shunted from one agency to the next;
- Continue to explore new ways for citizens to interact with government, including making better use of new and emerging technologies;
- Work with local government and non-government organisations to ensure that services are delivered in a way that is responsive as possible to local communities and their needs;
- Continually enhance transparency in government decision-making processes and set the benchmark for excellence in service provision to boost public confidence; and
- Work collaboratively with communities in an inclusive way that builds upon their strengths.

## Portfolio Areas

*This will be filled out next year.*

Portfolio 1 Local Government; Portfolio 2 State Services; Portfolio 3 Canterbury Earthquake Recovery & Civil Defence & Emergency Management; Portfolio 4 Internal Affairs; Portfolio 5 Urban Affairs.

## Chapter 10: New Zealand identity and culture

### Vision

In a world that has become increasingly connected and standardised, Labour believes it is important to retain a strong sense of what is important to us, as New Zealanders. Summing up the essence of New Zealand is no easy task as it is constantly in flux. New Zealand's ethnic composition, the global economy, the government of the time and a myriad of other factors all impact upon how we see ourselves. However, there are some constant factors in Kiwi identity and culture. It is incumbent on us to understand what is significant for New Zealand, and to hold on to it for future generations.

When Labour was formed in 1916 its founders saw New Zealand as more than a distant dependent cog of the British Empire but with a true sense of both nationalism and internationalism. The first Labour Government stood up to Italian and Japanese aggression and built a welfare state based on mateship and co-operation. The Prime Minister who led Labour's Third Government said that "in our name the word New Zealand is as important as the word Labour" and proudly articulated a strong sense of New Zealand identity. This was reflected in actions as diverse as sending a frigate into the French nuclear testing zone at Mororoa, starting the New Zealand author's fund and passing the Treaty of Waitangi Act in 1975.

As New Zealanders we celebrate our distinctive Maori history and culture and the fact of our nation's founding and development based on Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Labour formed a partnership with the Ratana movement in the 1930s, established the Waitangi Tribunal to address injustices to Maori and articulated the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, including the principles of partnership and mutual respect as part of the basis of a uniquely bicultural nation. We envision a society where Te Ao Maori is supported and flourishes; where both traditional and contemporary Maori art forms develop and are living; where Maori have a voice and that voice is heard. Chapter 12: Tangata Whenua provides further detail on Labour's vision for Maori.

A core part of our national identity is our natural environment. Our mountains, rivers and the ocean that surrounds us makes New Zealand unique. We are recognised internationally for being remote, beautiful, rugged, clean and green. Chapter four: Protecting and Preserving the Environment speaks directly to the importance the natural environment has in our lives.

Labour puts freedom of expression and the ability of all New Zealanders to participate in decision making processes as a fundamental value. From radio to print, television to the Internet, every New Zealander should have the right to seek, receive, and impart information and opinions. We also know that the state has an important role to play here, to enable New Zealanders fully to exercise that right. Labour understands that the cultural sector is not just an important part of the modern economy but also the lifeblood to our national identity. Creative industries - whether writers, artists, musicians, playwrights or film makers - all have an important role to play in recording our shared history, values and

accomplishments - from a New Zealand perspective. Labour believes it is essential that our artists and musicians are able to make a living and build careers from their work.

Our national identity is built on the distinctive accomplishments of New Zealanders. Our sense of nationhood reflects the legacy of Labour and other governments in building our welfare state, being the first nation that gave women the vote, our comprehensive accident compensation system, our nuclear free policy and our advocacy for international justice and peace. New Zealand scientists have been pioneers in splitting the atom, space travel and agricultural research. Our writers, artists, musicians and film makers inspire and entertain people throughout the world. Kiwi sports people often bestride the sporting world and generate amazement and awe from a country so small in numbers but big in national pride. Our inventors and business people have made major contributions to the world economy.

Our identity has been derived from our environment, history, challenges and achievements and proudly and distinctively expressed through the achievements of our writers, artists, sportsmen, scientists, inventors, business leaders and statesmen.

## Values

Part of who we are comes down to how we treat each other. Whether you call it the ANZAC spirit, mateship or through living in a small country, Kiwis tend to help each other out when they need it. Labour believes that this is something worth fighting for. We want a country where people continue to care about and for each other, not one where people look the other way. The strong sense of community demonstrated in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquake shows not only the resilience of Cantabrians but also the ability of the rest of New Zealand to pull together and assist those in need.

Labour believes that knowing and understanding our past and conserving our heritage is essential to establishing a strong sense of national identity. It is important we tell the stories of our nation's history, and that places of significance are preserved for future generations.

We will protect freedom of expression and create genuine opportunities for peoples' voices to be heard. Ensuring New Zealanders have their own television and radio stations means that that we have a voice within our own country and the ability to share our stories. We value cultural diversity, artistic expression, renewal and quality, and will defend those values. The arrival of reality television with its readymade ability to entertain with minimal cost and creativity will not subsume New Zealand's skill to make quality drama and documentaries. We know that the public support of the arts is central to their continued vitality.

Labour strongly supports international cultural exchange and meetings between different cultures within New Zealand. Our ability to accept, understand and live alongside of other cultures is something we are proud of. New Zealand has not suffered from the deep racial division we have witnessed in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and even Australia.

The Treaty of Waitangi provides us with an excellent foundation for a strong bicultural and multicultural country that is diverse and thriving. We recognise that New Zealand has been built on a partnership between Maori and Pakeha. Although our history has been tumultuous, the Treaty relationship has enabled New Zealand to build a culture of mutual understanding and trust between peoples that is internationally recognised.

## Past achievements, future ambitions

- A national heritage preservation incentive fund was set up to encourage the preservation of privately-owned and nationally-significant heritage properties that would otherwise be in danger of neglect or demolition.
- In 2008 Labour established a Screen Production Incentive Fund to support increased production of medium and larger-scale movies with significant New Zealand cultural content.
- In 2001, only six percent of monthly album sales were by New Zealand musicians. But through initiatives like the highly successful New Zealand Music Month and support for the New Zealand Music Commission, our home-grown artists now make up around 20 percent of album sales.
- Support for implementation of a voluntary quota of New Zealand music on radio has also meant radio play of New Zealand content has risen by a similar amount and now averages at about 20 percent of airplay.
- The New Zealand Film Commission's funding was significantly boosted to support the efforts of Kiwi filmmakers. This increased funding has brought us some of New Zealand's most successful films in recent years, such as *Whale Rider* and *Boy*.
- The Artists in Schools Programme was implemented in 2007 to give Kiwi primary and secondary school students the opportunity to learn from professional New Zealand artists in the fields of dance, drama, music, and visual arts.

## Priorities in Government

### Owning our country

Labour believes that New Zealand should not be sold. It makes no sense to sell strategically important and highly profitable assets that Kiwis already own. They are part of the country that we have built together. Labour opposes asset sales because selling our power companies and our airline will not grow our economy or build our future. We want to retain ownership of the core parts of New Zealand.



## **Media**

Labour believes in a public broadcasting service that reflects the diversity of voices in our country. Its mission must be to inform as well as to entertain and uplift. An informed democracy needs a strong, independent free public broadcasting media service not driven by commercial interests. Adequate funding is essential to maintaining that strength.

All New Zealanders should be represented by and be able to receive public broadcasting content, including news and current affairs across radio, TV and the Internet. Labour considers that the current commercial market framework does not deliver this because it lacks a public service broadcaster aside from Radio New Zealand. It is time for this to change.

Labour believes it is time to expand the definition of public broadcasting to encompass new media. The Internet enables communication of unprecedented reach and depth. Publicly funded productions should make full use of the possibilities of this new medium. The relatively low cost of online distribution should make it possible to make publicly funded content available to the public for free.

## **The digital age**

The Internet is changing how we engage with culture. There are new opportunities to reach ever wider audiences, and to provide greater access to our cultural and heritage experiences. With music formats increasingly shifting to digital media, Labour will support our musicians to access digital markets and maximise the opportunities provided by new technology. We will also support the development and export of digital initiatives, in recognition of changing international markets.

With cultural trends and technology changing fast, our laws need to keep pace. The convergence of technology across the telecommunications, ICT and broadcasting sectors require a converged policy framework to deal with them effectively and efficiently. This includes ensuring that both broadcasting and telecommunications policy consider the wider cultural context in which they operate.

Labour supports a copyright regime that both protects the rights of artists and authors in their works, and protects the interests of the public, including preserving fair use, format shifting and reasonable term limits before works enter the public domain.

## **Employment & education**

Labour is committed to building viable paths into fulfilling, rewarding careers in the creative and cultural sectors. Labour will continue to focus on measures which will lift the incomes of artists and those who work in the cultural sector. Labour recognises that investment in industry training and skills development is vital to ensure the success of New Zealand film, music and television into the future. We believe it is important to ensure the long-term sustainability of the cultural sector through investment in tertiary education and professional development for artists, and a strategic focus on areas of anticipated future growth.

## **Participation in Culture**

Labour will ensure that every New Zealander, no matter their income or their location, is able to participate in our cultural life.

We are committed to funding our museums, galleries, libraries and archives to a level that allows this. We recognise the importance of local government in supporting arts and culture and see a continuing vital role for local government in promoting and enhancing cultural wellbeing. We believe that involvement in culture extends beyond looking and listening: it also means doing.

The freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and opinions are fundamental rights of all citizens. As the Internet becomes an important and even necessary medium for this freedom, we affirm that access to the Internet is necessary for everyone.

Participation need not be limited to being a reader or an audience member. Labour will support ordinary New Zealanders in creative activity through funding for continuing education and community groups. Labour recognises that workers need leisure time to participate in cultural life and we will support improved bargaining rights for workers.

## **Specifics**

This will be filled out next year.

**Portfolio 1, Portfolio 2, Portfolio 3, Portfolio 4, Portfolio 5**

# Chapter 11: Strong and Independent – New Zealand's place in a changing world

## Vision

Labour's International vision is for a peaceful, prosperous and interconnected world where human rights and differences are respected, where we cooperate to secure a sustainable environment, and where trade and movement of people contribute to wellbeing and inclusion for everyone, not just the few.

Labour envisages New Zealand as a small but proudly independent country committed to playing a proactive, humane role in foreign affairs, based on core principles Labour respects.

Labour sees New Zealand as a capable partner in the development of our region, a willing contributor to multilateral development initiatives, building peace and security, helping reduce poverty, strengthening regional cooperation, integration and opportunities for our Pacific neighbours.

Labour sees New Zealand as using its small size to its advantage as a non-threatening country, respected for its integrity, independence, ability to promote clear and coherent solutions and willingness to mediate disputes and assist others.

Labour sees New Zealand's multiculturalism and unique Treaty partnership as a basis of experience for working with diverse cultures and countries and bridging differences within and between nations, especially within the Pacific.

Labour's Defence vision is for a Defence Force that capably participates in the maintenance of peace, security and stability in New Zealand, in the Asia-Pacific region and around the world.

Labour's vision for Customs is for a highly skilled, intelligence based, technologically advanced organisation that is well connected to customs agencies of our key trade partners, and able to secure, protect and facilitate at our borders as increasing volume and rapid technological innovation challenge our capabilities.

Labour will take an approach to trade negotiations that promotes an environment where innovative firms can develop capability to adjust to new international challenges and pursue opportunities that exist in a rapidly globalising market, within a rules-based, multilateral global trading system which is accessible, fair and transparent.

## Values

**Labour values people;** working people, caring people, people going about their daily business. Threats to people, to the peace and basic wellbeing they should enjoy, come from a range of places, including international and national contexts; but they impact on lives

often at very local level, in marginal situations that are easily ignored. Labour believes New Zealand, in its international engagements, should speak up for all people: speak up for justice, for fairness, for access to opportunity.

**Labour believes in active engagement with the international arena.** The Labour movement has also long understood that international affairs, economic, social, military and security, and increasingly, the environment, have a huge impact on everyone's lives, from the powerful to the vulnerable. Labour knows that all New Zealanders are affected by the ways we engage the wider world, in trade, security, and environmental issues. We also understand that New Zealand does have an effect well beyond our shores.

Labour values mean that New Zealand will be proactive in engaging support or New Zealand's interests, and the greater good of humanity.

**Labour values our distinctive past and contributions.** New Zealand itself was established on the basis of an international Treaty, which linked rights of citizenship with rights of people to enjoy what they already had. That Treaty has been tried and tested; but it remains a core basis for what New Zealand does, here and internationally. It has taught New Zealanders about mutual respect, the different contributions that peoples make, and the need overall for fairness and honouring commitments. It is these lessons and values that Labour believes New Zealand will take into its international engagements.

Over time, New Zealand has developed, a distinctive, clear voice in international affairs: one labour values, and will continue to develop. Labour, and New Zealand with Labour, has not been afraid to support causes that few others did; but it has shown repeatedly that principled leadership can come from any country.

**Labour values our connectedness.** New Zealand is a small country on islands at what look like huge distances from the threats that have caused war and devastation since our country was established. There is some security in that isolation also bears costs and risks. No country however is an island. Labour knows now that the world is increasingly interconnected: no country stands alone or outside obligations to make the world safer and more just, and to respect and care for its citizens according to basic rights that reach across humanity. International events affect us; and what we do has an effect on others, especially the smaller island nations of the Pacific, with whom we have a special connection. Labour not only recognises those connections: it values them, and will work to make them better, fairer, and more inclusive. These connections include trade connections; the ability of New Zealanders to travel and engage safely around the world; and the ability of people from around the world to come to New Zealand and make their contribution to building this country.

Labour has long believed too that more can be achieved together, through connections. Labour knows that supporting human rights or engaging in international affairs means acting together, multilaterally, with other nations, with diplomacy, and with the skills of a highly professional Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In all its international engagements, from reducing poverty to enhancing security or rebuilding after conflict, Labour believes New Zealand must support quality, well principled and well evidenced engagements, and should do so whether New Zealand agencies are in the lead, or not.

## **Past achievements, future ambitions**

Labour can be proud of the role Labour Governments have played in promoting New Zealand as a country committed to multilateralism and the rule of law, and New Zealand's role in international affairs as an independent nation.

Under Labour's first Prime Minister, Peter Fraser, New Zealand was a foundation member of the United Nations and helped formulate the UN Charter. New Zealand led the moves to establish UNICEF, and opposed the right of large countries to veto UN Security Council resolutions.

Under successive Labour Governments New Zealand took initiatives to promote disarmament and oppose nuclear weapons.

- In the Third Labour Government, we sent our frigate to protest French nuclear testing and took France to the International Court of Justice.
- The Fourth Labour Government made New Zealand the first and only country to legislate for being nuclear free.
- The Fifth Labour Government played a leading role in banning cluster munitions and calling for nuclear weapons to be taken off high alert.

Labour strongly opposed apartheid as institutional racism and our participation in the Vietnam War, and stopped New Zealand becoming involved in the war in Iraq. It actively supported work to provide peace in Timor-Leste, the Solomons and Bamyan.

Labour set up New Zealand Aid as an independent development assistance body committed to reducing poverty, and made progress in increasing our development aid.

Labour helped win a reputation for New Zealand as an independent, principled country which promoted policies for a better, more peaceful and fairer world.

## **Priorities in government**

### **Peacebuilding and Sustainable development**

- New Zealand under Labour will restore its reputation as a country prepared to play a leading role in pushing sustainable economic and environmental policies particularly in taking up the challenge to respond effectively to limit the threat of global warming.
- New Zealand under Labour will restore its leadership role in promoting disarmament by working with like-minded countries to lead the development of a Nuclear Arms Convention to outlaw nuclear weapons.
- New Zealand under labour will actively engage our Pacific partners in the development of a strong, integrated region, able to protect and grow its

environment and resources, and access global markets and opportunities for its young people.

- New Zealand under Labour will work actively and cooperatively towards the achievement of Millennium Development as well as Peace and Security Goals, within the New Deal framework
- New Zealand under Labour will develop its capacity and commitment to play a strong role in conflict prevention and resolution. New Zealand is well placed to play a constructive role particularly in the Pacific region, in resolving disputes, as it has previously on Bougainville, Timor-Leste and the Solomon's. By developing specialist capacity within MFAT and the NGO community, New Zealand as a small, non-threatening country will act as an honest broker in conflict resolution.
- New Zealand under Labour will also take specific initiatives in the areas of promoting openness and transparency in government, combatting corruption and working with countries to develop institutions that respect and promote human rights. These are areas in which New Zealand has a strong reputation and this can be done as part of the work we do in international development assistance.
- For New Zealand to be effective in the world, it needs not only strong values, but also a highly professional, capable and committed Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade to promote those values and our interests. Labour will rebuild the morale of MFAT to ensure we have a small but highly qualified and capable Ministry.

## **Defence**

- Labour will ensure that our Defence Force has the resources required to be deployed on peacekeeping, reconstruction, disaster relief and, where necessary and UN mandated, full combat missions. Significant capital investment will be required in the coming decade to ensure the Defence Force has the equipment required to carry out its tasks successfully. Labour will ensure that a plan is in place to manage the capital requirements of the Defence Force.
- Labour values New Zealand's Defence Force personnel and will ensure that the commitment and loyalty demonstrated by our service people and their families is reciprocated by the Government. Labour will work to restore the morale of the Defence Force and ensure that recruitment and retention rates remain at sustainable levels.
- Labour will continue to enhance our relationships with the Defence Forces of our traditional partners. We also need to build on our relationships with the nations of the Asia-Pacific region to assist our pursuit of peace and stability in our region.

## **Customs and border security**

- Labour's commitment to investing in highly skilled staff will be crucial to ensuring that the NZ Customs Service is able to adapt to rapidly changing technology, volumes of passengers and an expected increase in trade.
- Labour will also look to strengthen relationships with the customs agencies in other nations especially those of our key trade partners to ensure greater risk

management, intelligence flows and possible integration of technology. The aim being better targeted policing and faster and more efficient flow of goods.

- Labour will look to enhance the introduction of the Joint Border Management System to achieve its objectives in this area.
- Labour will ensure that New Zealand Customs, Police and other international customs and enforcement counterparts work more closely together to reduce the flow of precursor material used in the manufacturing of methamphetamine.

### **Trade negotiations**

- In trade negotiations, Labour recognises how important it is for New Zealand to continue pursuing strategic trade relationships that grow the value of our exports, create jobs and deliver higher incomes. But Labour will not support provisions in trade agreements that would unreasonably constrain our sovereign right to make laws and regulations on social, environmental, economic (including intellectual property and copyright) and foreign investment matters for the public good.
- Labour will not support provisions in trade agreements that limit the government's right to provide, fund or regulate public services, such as health or education. Trade agreements should not prohibit the government from restricting the sale of land and infrastructure or regulating the sale of state assets.
- Through our trade agreements and negotiations, Labour will seek to enhance labour and environmental standards. Labour upholds New Zealand's right to adopt measures it deems necessary to fulfil its obligations under the Treaty of Waitangi, and affirms that the interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi, including as to the nature of the rights and obligations arising under it, should not be subject to any dispute settlement provisions.
- Labour will promote a broader civil society debate around our trading relationships based on principles of openness, greater transparency, and the virtue of contestable advice.

## Chapter 12: Tangata Whenua

### Vision

Labour stands for a strong, enduring relationship between the Crown and all Maori. In Government, we will set the tone for a positive Treaty partnership in the post-settlement era that supports Iwi, Hapu and whanau to determine their own aims, aspirations and success. We aspire to act in such a way that all Maori can benefit from settlements, and support the development of a programme of initiatives that create positive and inclusive development opportunities.

Maori hold a particular status as the indigenous peoples, the tangata whenua of New Zealand that distinguishes them from any other group in New Zealand. Maori are identified by the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues as the indigenous peoples of New Zealand and it is important that this status is recognised by Labour when we take office.

This status has driven treaty settlement processes and there is approximately 60 Iwi, Hapu groups still to progress through the treaty settlement process, our truth and reconciliation process as a nation within the context of colonization. Of those that have settled it is estimated the value of the Māori economy is between \$16b and \$32b. Labour is committed to working with Iwi, Hapu to add value to this capital base for the benefit of tribal members and all Māori and will work to consolidate how this status will be expressed post-settlement in partnership opportunities.

Labour will ensure that Maori who have become disconnected from their Iwi, Hapu and wider whanau are included in partnership initiatives and are specifically included in discussions. This new relationship and future discussions must be inclusive of all Maori.

Demographic shifts means the number of Māori practitioners of te reo me tikanga is declining. Consequently, there is a need to ensure as a country we work with Iwi, Hapu to retain aspects of our indigenous culture, language and heritage which may be at risk.

Rangatahi development will be a particular focus. Labour will ensure that the next generation of Maori are given the opportunity to succeed and are able to learn their language and culture which is their birthright.

Labour recognises the need to build on Iwi, Hapu capabilities, and to work together to meet the needs of tribal members and Maori generally.

### Values

The New Zealand Labour Party recognises the special relationship between Maori and the Crown, as tangata whenua and Treaty partners.



- **Kotahitanga** is the foundation for a mutually respectful and beneficial relationship between Maori and the Crown. Kotahitanga (oneness) acknowledges that we make progress when we are united.
- We celebrate the unique place Maori hold as **tangata whenua**, and the importance of te reo and tikanga to our collective identity as New Zealanders.
- To embrace the concept of **manaaki** which is to accept that equality of opportunity on its own is not enough. Manaakitanga means caring for each other by identifying the factors that lead to inequality and addressing them based on the needs of the individual, whanau and the community. This needs to include access to housing and employment opportunities.
- These policies should reflect the central importance of the whanau within Maori community structures, and the concept of **whakawhanaunga** and family ties transcending the nuclear unit.
- Respect for **tikanga, Maturanga Maori** and the Maori world view, specifically within the context of service provision - we need to focus on outcomes and the ability of Maori themselves to help themselves.
- Growth within the **iwi sector** is important to the advancement of Maori interests and specific support of Treaty settlement entities is vital to ensure the ability of Hapu, Iwi and Maori communities to determine their future.

## Past achievements, future ambitions

Labour in government has achieved the following initiatives which are worth highlighting:

Honoured the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi with a national holiday.

After initially establishing, enabling the Waitangi Tribunal to investigate Treaty claims dating back to 1840 (Treaty of Waitangi Amendment Act 1985).

Making Te Reo Māori (the Māori language) an official language of New Zealand, with the Māori Language Act. The act also established the Maori Language Commission, which amongst its objectives include the maintenance and promotion of the Maori language.

Responded to the 1987 New Zealand Māori Council v Attorney-General ruling of the Court of Appeal by setting out its own principles of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1989.

The Papakainga housing scheme was introduced, which enabled people to borrow money to construct or purchase housing on Maori land in multiple ownership.

The Maori attestation scheme, He Tohu Maturanga, was extended to the primary service (1988). The attestation process was administered by the trustees of a marae. It confirmed

the candidate's fluency in the Maori language and understanding of Maori culture. Applicants for primary teacher training could use attestation as an additional criterion for entry to a three year training course. As a result, "Maori enrollments at colleges of education increased by 175 (41%) from 1988 to 1989".

The Runanga Iwi Act of 1990 empowered tribal authorities to deliver government programmes. It was repealed by the incoming National government.

Specifically, Labour in our last term of government and at the 2011 general election:

- Defended the Maori electoral option
- Advanced Treaty settlement negotiations with a view to settling all claims by 2020;
- Created a framework for Maori to realise the value of Maori land;
- Developed housing partnerships with iwi to extend housing options for Maori;
- Encouraged the use of Te Reo through Maori broadcasting initiatives;
- Fostered the development of Maori pathways in education with Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa;

### **How will this inform what we do?**

- We continue to respect the Treaty partnership between Maori and the Crown in our policy and the way we govern.
- More work must be done to address the causes of inequality between Maori and other New Zealanders. The first step is in identifying the factors that lead to the widening gap and developing partnership opportunities with Hapu, Iwi and Maori communities to address these inequalities.
- We will partner Iwi, Hapu and Maori communities to ensure health, housing, education and justice policies that incorporates a Maori world view and advances collective Maori interests.
- We need to create laws that recognise the importance of the Iwi, Hapu, whanau and Maori communities.

## **Priorities in Government**

Treaty of Waitangi settlements will continue to be a priority until completion and the next phase is to consolidate partnership initiatives that address both development aspirations and eliminate inequalities.

Developing specific partnership initiatives with Iwi, Hapu post treaty settlement will be a priority and some of these partnerships will be developed in recognition of a settlement process where Maori have been extended the right of membership to decision making entities responsible for co-managing some of our natural resources such as lands, rivers and maunga.

Addressing the growing wealth disparity both within Iwi, Hapu and Maori communities and across society will be a priority. Evidence suggests that a growth in inequality leads to a growth in social problems. Therefore, Labour will seek to partner with Iwi, Hapu and to advocate programs and initiatives that will ensure not only equality of opportunity but outcomes through access to appropriate services that create positive growth and development opportunities for all tangata whenua.

The Māori economy is undergoing significant structural change. The Māori economy is based, for the most part, on primary production. However, many iwi are beginning to turn to financial markets and growth industries like science and technology. Labour will aim to facilitate structural change so iwi, and by extension Maori, can take advantage of emerging economic opportunities. Labour is committed to building a smart Māori economy with tangata whenua as partners.

The number of rangatahi is increasing. Recent research suggests that only half of Māori school leavers will have the skills and capacity to find a job or study at tertiary level. These challenges provide opportunities to develop partnerships between the crown and Iwi, Hapu to ensure all our young people have opportunities to be supported in whatever they are passionate about to develop positive futures for all rangatahi.

## **Specifics**

We will develop an overlay that specifically looks at rangatahi needs and aspirations.