



# The framing and reframing of public policy in New Zealand

Michael Hanne

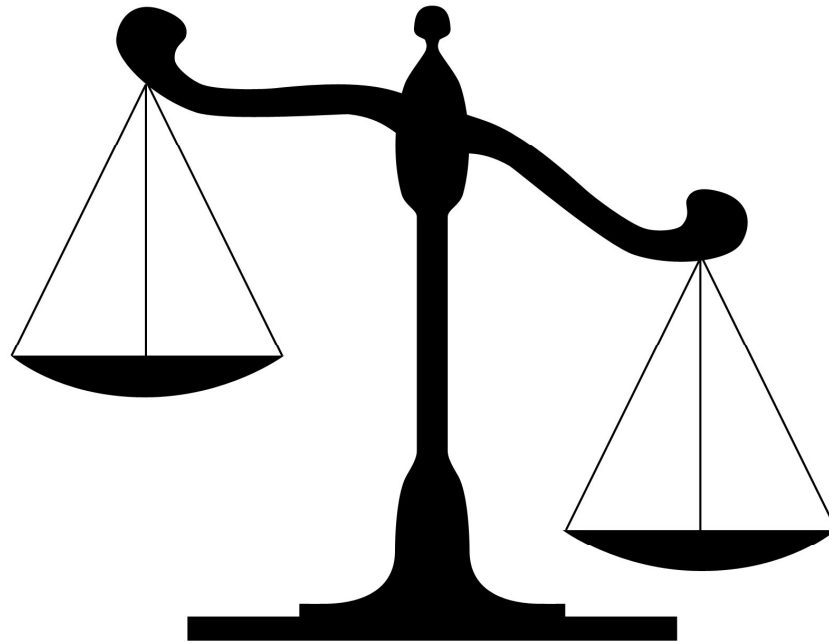
18 October 2023

Webinar for ESR

# Jack Woodward



# Metaphor of balance





# Human/medical metaphors in engineering

- lifespan
- fatigue
- ageing
- dams bleeding
- diagnosing
- curing
- rehabilitation
- pathology of construction

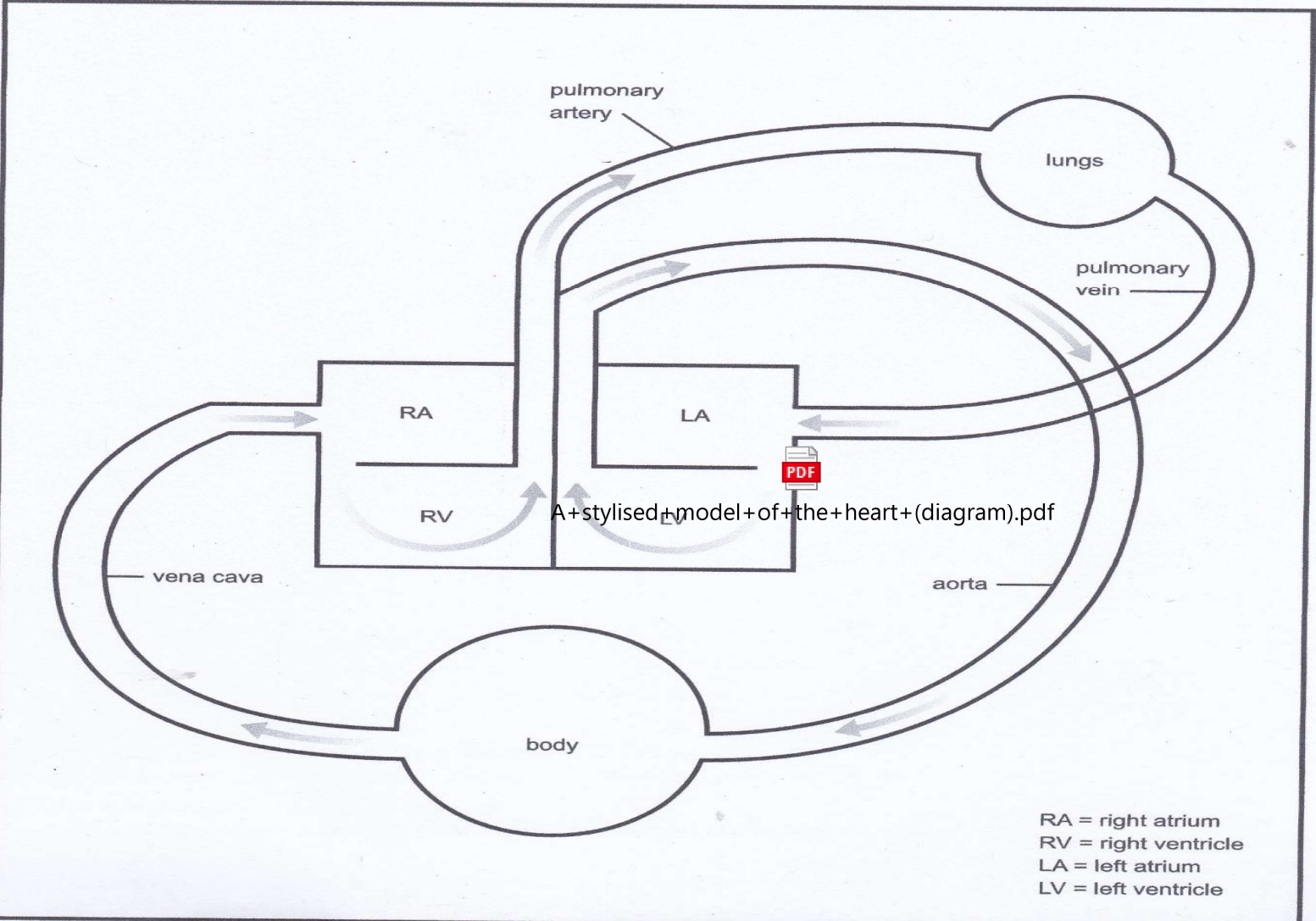




# Engineering metaphors in education

- building blocks of learning
- foundational subject matter
- argument lacks structure
- cementing knowledge in place
- teaching as scaffolding
- bridging the educational gap
  
- ‘schools are social sorting machines’

# A stylised model of the heart





# **Devices for making sense of the world**

**“Narrative and metaphor are primary cognitive instruments” (Louis O Mink)**



# Metaphor generates narrative

**Metaphor used to define a social problem generates the narrative solution you seek (Donald Schon):**

- **Slum defined as ‘cancer’ leads to policy to ‘cut it out’**
- **Slum defined as ‘undernourished community’ leads to policy to ‘nurture it’ or ‘feed it up’**





## **Widespread assumptions about poverty in NZ**

- **Tiny number of poor people in generally prosperous country**
- **Many people are poor because of bad life-decisions**
- **A “safety-net is” required to catch those who fall into poverty, but it mustn’t become a “feather bed”**

# Neoliberal metaphors for life





# Division of Wealth in NZ

50% of population owns

1.0%

40% of population owns

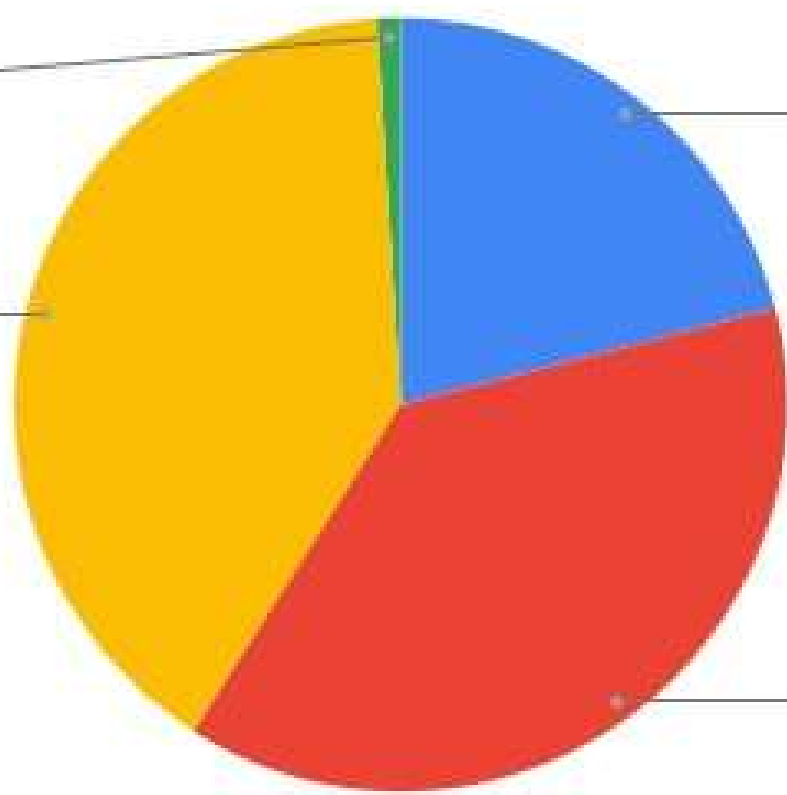
40.0%

1% of population owns

21.0%

9% of population owns

38.0%

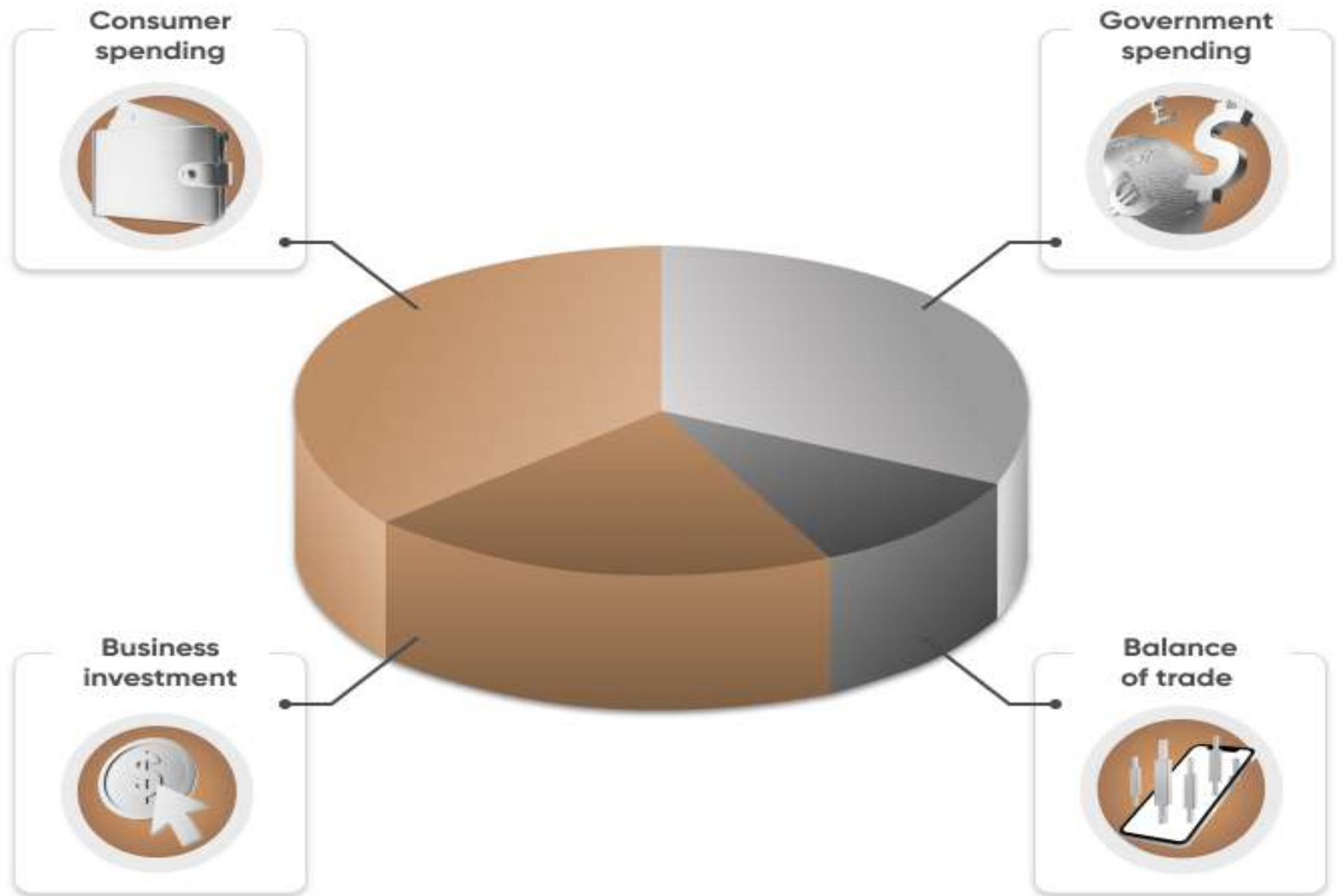








# GDP COMPONENTS





# Division of Wealth in NZ

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1.0%

40% of population owns

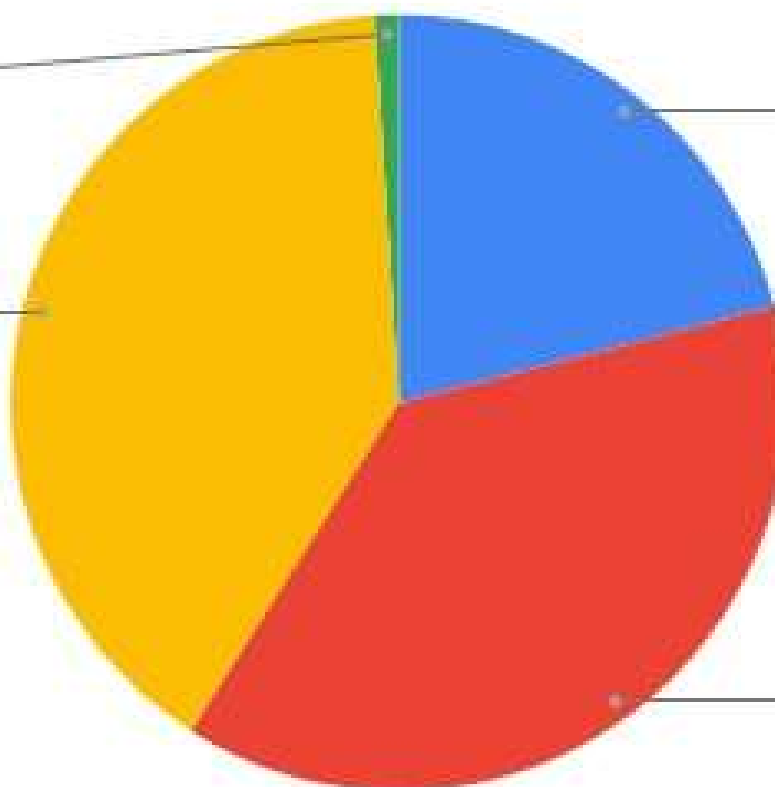
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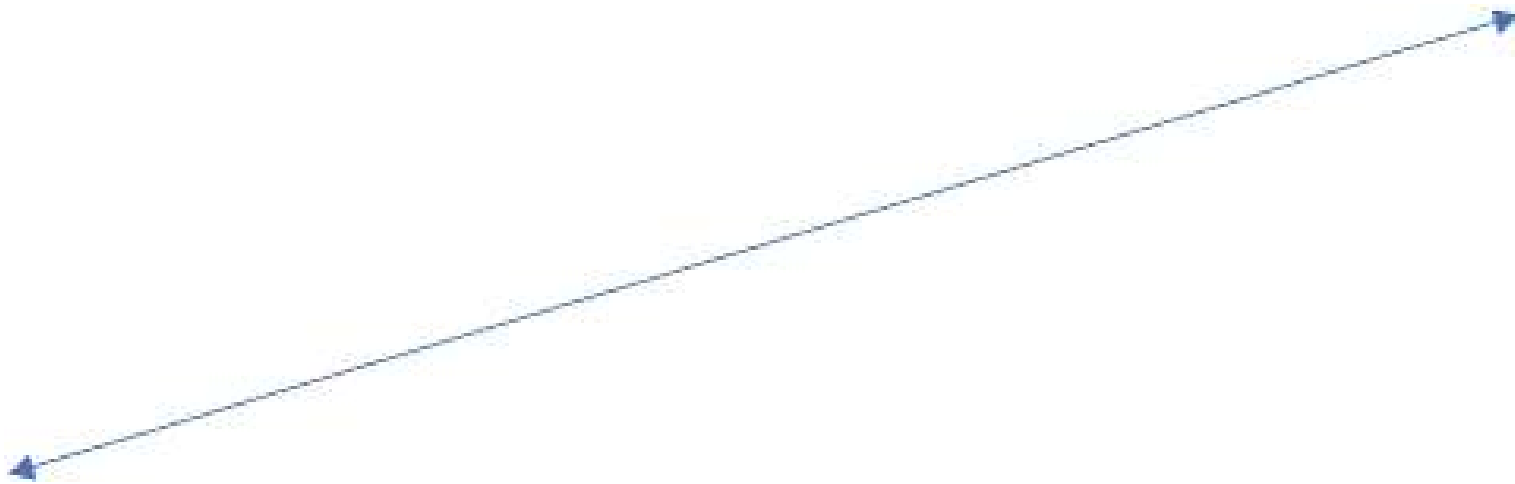
38.0%



# Income comparisons NZ 1982

Average annual income of the richest 1%

\$227,00



\$12,000

Average annual income of the poorest 10%

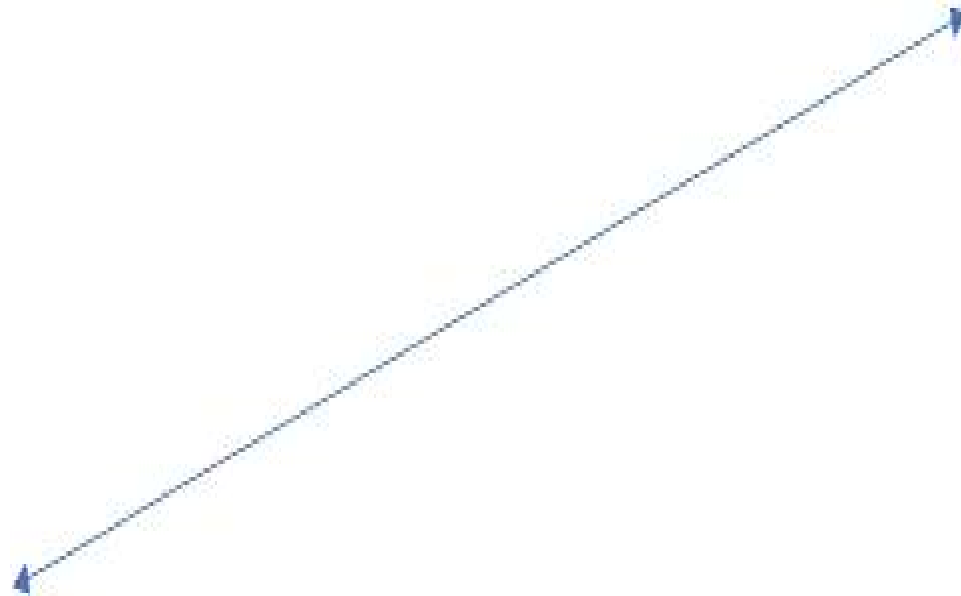




# Income comparisons NZ 2016

Average annual income of the richest 1%

**\$481,000**

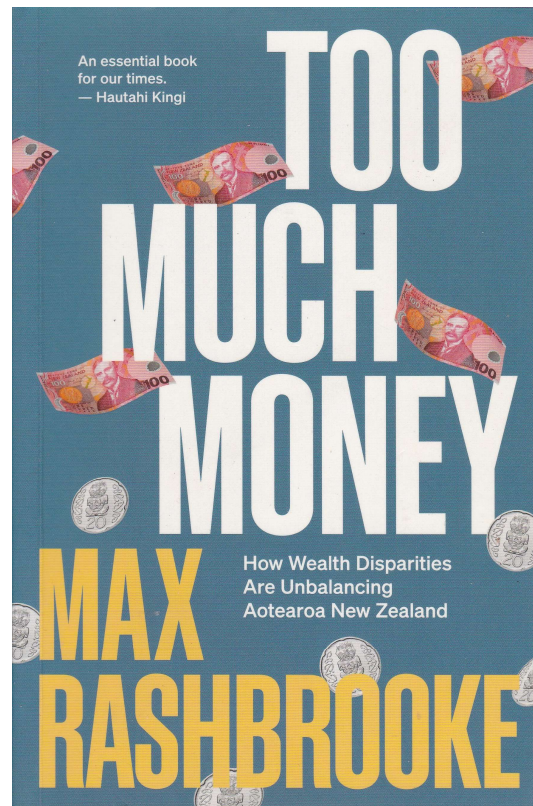


**\$15000**

Average annual income of the poorest 10%



# Max Rashbrooke, *Too Much Money*

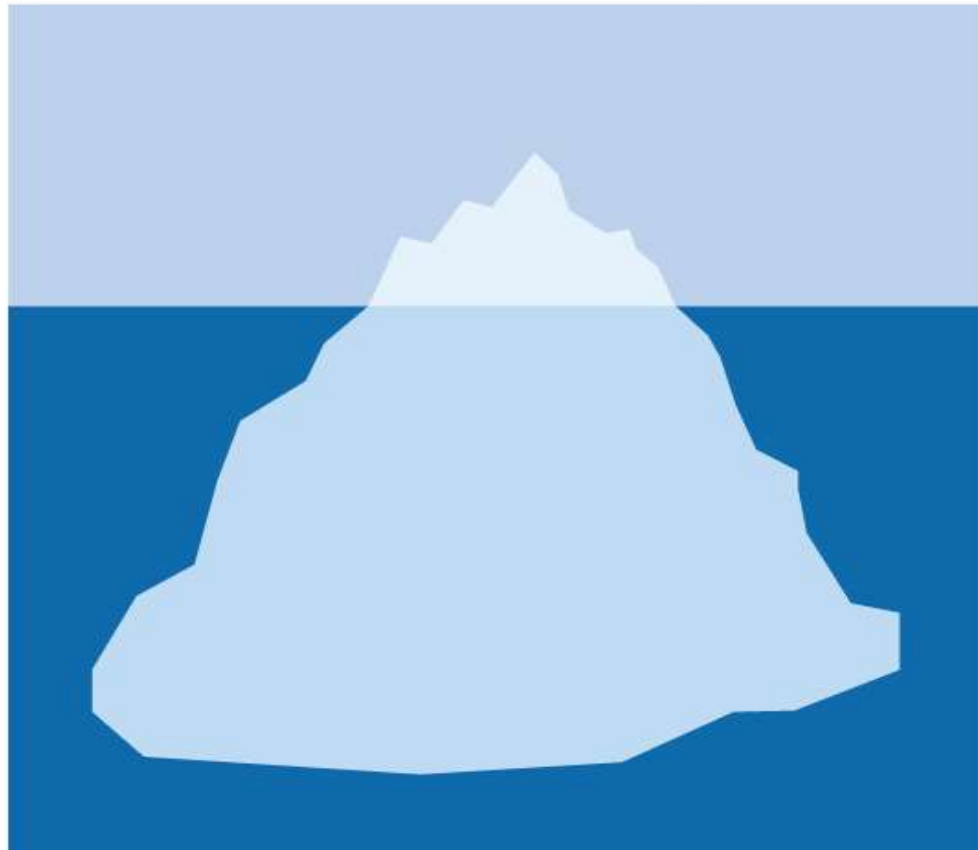




# **Progressive thinking typically looks to**

- **Past AND future**
- **Rights AND responsibilities**
- **Individual AND collective**

# Youth crime as tip of iceberg of social alienation





# Conventional ‘framing’ of NZ housing needs

- Most NZers expect to BUY their own home
- Most homes will be stand-alone houses on own section
- Buying a house guarantees long-term secure accommodation, but also a growing investment asset
- Small number won’t be able to, or are saving up to buy a home, and they will rent
- Assumed by both National and Labour that rental homes will be provided in free market by private landlords and as social houses by Kāinga Ora





# Critiquing the conventional assumptions

- Nest-egg of one generation at expense of the next
- Rents and mortgages eating up higher proportion of income
- Too much of domestic capital invested in housing
- Small private investors have neither competence nor interest in meeting long-term needs of renters
- Cities spreading into valuable horticultural land, stretching infrastructure to limits, requiring more car travel

# Typical new homebuilding in NZ





# Reframing NZ housing needs

- Decent affordable housing over long term is a human right
- Responsibility of government to ensure that
- Need to focus on supply, affordability, quality, long tenure, rather than ownership
- Look at best practice in countries where renting seen as just as good as owning e.g. Austria
- Develop apartment complexes, environmentally sound, with social facilities, within existing city boundaries
- Use Limited Profit Housing Associations and similar

# A different housing landscape for NZ







# The social imaginary

- **Rough-and-ready template we measure new ideas and information against**
- **Made up of numerous metaphor+narrative heuristics**
- **These may or may not be consistent with each other**
- **Varying amounts of theory, information, experience mixed in**



# My questions to you

- **How convincing is my account of ‘the social imaginary’?  
How is a paradigm shift most likely to occur?**
- **What do you think of my reframing of ‘poverty’ and ‘the housing crisis’?**
- **What are some big issues you think need ‘reframing’?**

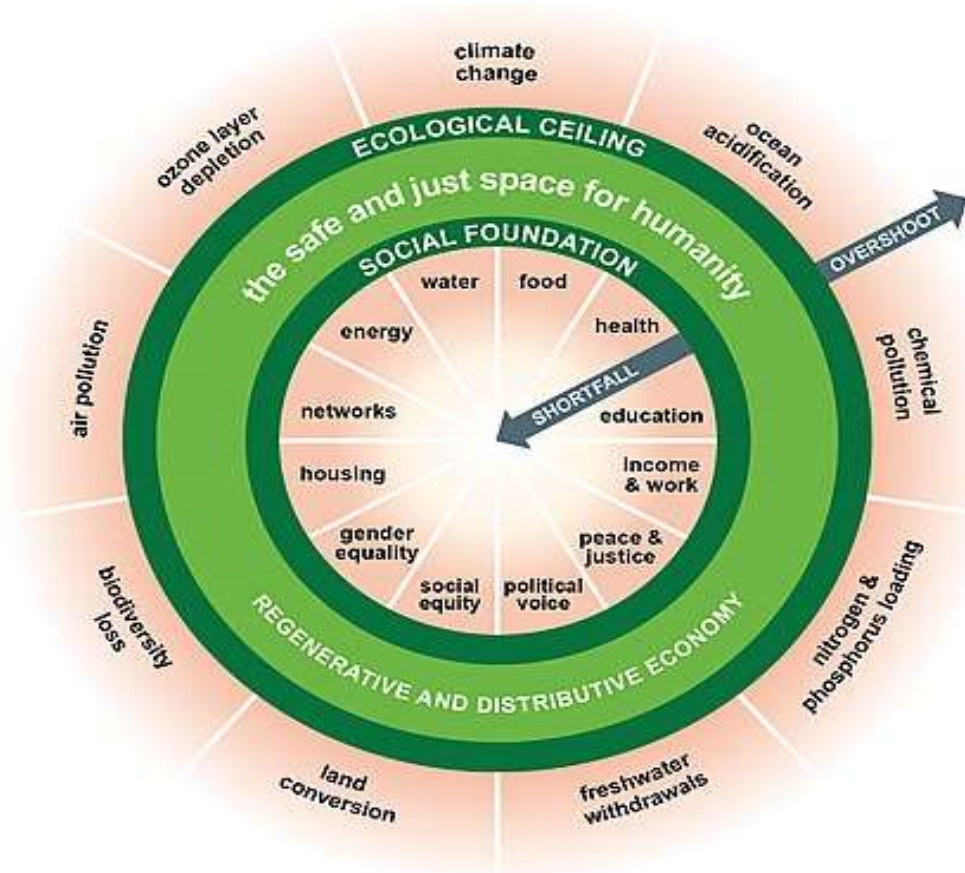








# Kate Raworth's Doughnut ideal



# The doughnut reality

