

SOCIAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NEW ZEALAND

SUPERANNUATION SCHEME:

A Manifestation of Normative Intergenerational Justice

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Sociology
at Massey University, Palmerston North,
New Zealand.

Melodie Jo Gribben

2009

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the current study is to investigate New Zealanders' social attitudes towards the economic support for the aged provided by the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The structure and nature of those social attitudes is revealed. The study examines social attitude responses to determine if intergenerational justice plays any role in the nature of support for the aged. One thousand and eighty-three participants were selected from the electoral roll and all were sent a survey pack followed by two subsequent reminders. Five hundred and nineteen people agreed to participate. The hypothesis is that New Zealanders agree that economic support for the aged should be provided through the Superannuation Scheme, but that the nature of this support varies according to demographic characteristics and individual perceptions of intergenerational justice.

The survey results found that respondents support the economic provision for the aged in the current Superannuation Scheme. However, they are less prepared to support those mechanisms that maintain the Superannuation Scheme and they consider intergenerational transferability of the Superannuation Scheme as important. A generational difference was found in the survey among younger respondents, those forty-one and below, with regard to need taking precedence for supporting the aged, concerning ideas about assessing the economic circumstances of the aged and ideas about the balance of 'advantages and disadvantages' distributed to different generations. Older generations, those respondents aged forty-two and above, supported the social democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme. They believed that entitlement to returns was more important than need and they opposed economic assessments for the receipt of the Superannuation Benefit. However, older generations did not believe that differences in the balance of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations have occurred in New Zealand.

The survey results indicate that New Zealand is unique compared with other developed countries in that there is little predictor value or correlation value for most of the demographic characteristics pertaining to welfare attitudes towards the economic support of the aged. Meanwhile, generation and household income have some predictor and correlation value in relation to welfare attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Finally, the Superannuation Scheme exists in a momentary formal state. It may be the non-transferability of this Scheme between generations that poses a threat to the economic support of the aged, given that the number of people in New Zealand reaching sixty-five is set to increase dramatically.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was made possible by the contributions of a number of people. Thank you to all those people who participated in the pilot study. Their contributions were invaluable for the development of the survey.

A special thanks to all those research participants who returned their surveys. They provided invaluable feedback, making it possible for an increased understanding of the topic area.

I wish to thank Dr Paul Perry and Dr Catherine Brennan for their invaluable support, encouragement and guidance throughout the research process. Thank you to Ben Healey who helped select the sample, using SAS from the electoral roll.

I am grateful to those who helped to fund this research. This research could not have been undertaken without the financial support of a private donor, a grant from the former School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University, Palmerston North and my foster family.

I wish to thank Nigel Hefford for assisting me with some of the editing for Chapter One and Chapter Two.

A special thanks to my foster family for the emotional support and encouragement that made this research possible.

PERSONAL STATEMENT

I, Melodie Jo Gribben, am not a neo-liberal democratic supporter of capitalist society. In other words, there is no political party in New Zealand that I support.

I consider that the ethics of need, philosophy of equality and capacity requires discussion in order for New Zealand to overcome the issues of ageing. Hence, all social groups who are dependent or requiring help must have their worth comparable with each other. There is no them and us. Furthermore, no one social group should live better than another at the expense of one when the other is already experiencing poverty. This situation creates further pain to a social group already disadvantaged. This already occurs in New Zealand and will continue until a situation occurs that forces a change. Why wait to hit the brick wall? Why not start doing something about our ageing issues today?

My thesis deals with an emotionally charged issue that can be easily misconstrued. Fear is a problem that is attached to ageing issues. It is of our self-interest that fear is propagated along with our social claim of entitlement for what may happen when we require financial assistance during old age. This is a looming issue that by context alone may force, hitting the brick wall, New Zealand into designing ageing policy that may cause greater levels of poverty for the aged in future.

I am from generation X, a bust baby, and I am concerned about the projected 2.2 non-aged people around to financially support my retirement in 2051 and onwards. Yet, no one is bothering about this issue or the differences that generations have had in their investment and its impacts upon poverty for old age. However, my solution to the impending difficulty, starting soon with the retirement of the Baby Boom, we are facing and will face is through the central tenet of need and through greater fairness (central tenet of equality and capacity) across space and time for people living in New Zealand.

My agenda for this thesis was an attempt to promote discussion about ageing issues and intergenerational justice, but, in my view, has failed considerably. In this way, my thesis has failed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Personal Statement	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter One	14
A Normative Theory of Social Justice	
1.1 Social Justice	14
1.2 Justice Situation	16
1.3 Normative Social Justice	21
1.4 Central Tenets of Social Justice	21
1.41 Concept of Equality	22
1.42 Concept of Need	25
1.43 Concept of Capacity	28
1.5 Influencing Elements	31
1.6 Conclusion	32
Chapter Two	33
A Theory of Generations and Normative Intergenerational Justice	
2.1 Generations	33
2.2 Intergenerational Justice	36
2.21 Intergenerational Equality	37
2.22 Intergenerational Need	43
2.23 Intergenerational Capacity	47
2.3 Influencing Elements	55
2.4 Conclusion	57
Chapter Three	58
The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme	
3.1 History of Economically Supporting The Aged	58
3.2 The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme	65
3.3 Context of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme	66
3.4 Age Structure	69
3.5 Dependency Ratio	70
3.6 The Superannuation Scheme and Generational Justice	72
3.7 The Influencing Element of Age	74
3.8 Conclusion	74

Chapter Four	76
The Nature of Social Attitudes	
4.1 Social Attitudes	77
4.2 Social Attitude Structure	78
4.3 Welfare Attitudes	79
4.4 Primary Constructs and the Survey Questions	80
4.5 Social Attitude Change	87
4.6 Factor Analysis	88
4.7 Criterial Referent Theory	88
4.8 Attitude Measurement	90
4.9 Conclusion	90
 Chapter Five	 92
Methodology	
5.1 Hypotheses	92
5.2 Sampling Frame	94
5.3 Questionnaire Design	95
5.4 Ethics	96
5.5 Funding	97
5.6 Procedure	97
5.7 Survey Representation	98
5.8 Survey Analysis	100
5.9 Conclusion	104
 Chapter Six	 105
The Structure of Social Attitudes towards Superannuation	
6.1 Social Attitudes	105
6.2 Attitude Factors for the Nature of the Superannuation Scheme	108
6.3 Attitude Factors for Dependent Equity	113
6.4 Attitude Factors for Superannuation Environment	115
6.5 Conclusion	119
 Chapter Seven	 120
The Correlates of Social Attitudes towards Superannuation	
7.1 Statistical Background	120
7.2 Distribution of Variables	123
7.3 Factor Analysis	126
7.4 The Correlates of Factors for the Nature of Superannuation	127
7.5 Correlates of Factors for Dependent Equity	134
7.6 Correlates of Factors for Superannuation Environment	138
7.7 Integration of Attitude Dimensions	143
7.8 Social Attitude Responses	144
7.9 Conclusion	145

Chapter Eight	146
Discussion of Social Attitude Responses towards Superannuation	
8.1 Context of Discussion	146
8.2 Demographics	147
8.3 General Discussion	148
8.4 Nature of Superannuation	151
8.5 Dependent Equity	154
8.6 Superannuation Environment	157
8.7 Summation of Attitude Responses	162
8.8 Conclusion	164
 Chapter Nine	 165
Social Attitude Responses and Intergenerational Justice	
9.1 Generations	165
9.2 Intergenerational Justice	169
9.21 Intergenerational Equality	170
9.22 Intergenerational Need	176
9.23 Intergenerational Capacity	180
9.3 Influencing Elements	190
9.4 Social Attitudes	192
9.5 Conclusion	193
 Conclusion	 196
 Appendix A	 207
Questionnaire	
 Appendix B	 233
Covering Letters, Post Card and Ethics	
 Appendix C	 241
Demographic Data	
 Appendix D	 243
Factor Analysis Data for Attitude Dimensions	
 Appendix E	 249
Data for Attitude Responses and Statistical Analyses	
 Appendix F	 260
Outline of Generations, Diagrams of Social Justice and Diagrams Related to Social Justice	
 Bibliography	 272

Introduction

The purpose of my thesis is to highlight the intergenerational inadequacies in respect of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and the social injustices that the Scheme produces. Given this objective, I will attempt to explore social attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. It is my contention that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a manifestation of normative¹ social justice. This manifestation is a result of the actions undertaken by the New Zealand nation-state, various institutions [international organisations, continental institutions, basic institutions (governmental ones such as schools and hospitals), and large organisations that are influential in New Zealand such as Telecom and the banks] and various agencies (small organisations, companies, social groups, charities and individuals). According to Rankin (1995), these actions have been advantageous to the “favoured generations usurping the political muscle required to design a welfare system – a system of intergenerational transfers – which will evolve with its designers to serve their needs rather than the needs of the community as a whole” (p. 4). Therefore, the actions of the New Zealand nation-state, institutions and agencies created changes in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ for different generations. This means that some generations are fortunate in receiving significantly more ‘advantages’ than previous generations and subsequent generations. These changes flow on to affect the life chances of different generations and determine how each generation will experience old age. In other words, irrespective of generational membership, the aged occupy the same condition of ‘neediness’ or ‘poverty’ such as homelessness and hunger. However, these conditions for all generations are not considered by the current favoured generations in New Zealand to be of the same worth across space and time.

For a society to exist, two or more people must hold some bond of solidarity. This bond unites them through their common need and divides them through their possession of

¹ The term, normative, is used in the sense that every theory has a practical side. This practical side includes what is put into action, assessing the influences behind actions and the measurement of any notion of social justice. In addition, the practical side is concerned with the measurement tools of social justice, the ability to compare social groups and compare social groups in different historical periods. A diagram relating to the theory and the normative facets of social justice is located in Appendix F, Diagram E, pp. 266-267.

different skills and abilities (Plato translated by Lee, 1974, p. 53). Both need and ability are necessary for social relations to develop. These relations are acknowledged through the processes of exchange, reciprocity, trust, duty and right. These processes influence the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ that are distributed to members in society. For this reason individuals living in close proximity require some system of social justice. My theory of normative social justice underpinning this study of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, provides an understanding of how social relations influence and are affected by the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to various generations in society.

All of us, from the moment of birth, are subject to ‘advantages and disadvantages’. These are determined by the nation’s² position relative to other countries, the nation-state’s interest in protecting the populace, the position of the family within the social structure and one’s position within the family (Bengtson & Harootyan, 1994, p. 9). These forces are outside our control and occur as a consequence of living in a society. The distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ is also outside our control and often entails a history of oscillating (changes that are between extreme points) circumstances regarding the nature of normative social justice that is prevalent in New Zealand. These oscillating circumstances, from the 20th Century through to the 21st Century, have meant that generational differences have occurred in New Zealand society. One generational difference relates to how the aged are treated across space and time. For example, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is an ‘advantage’ that is distributed to the aged, while providing the non-aged with either an implicit delayed reward or a variable reward for the ‘disadvantage’ of contributing taxes. This situation implies that the Superannuation Scheme represents a particular form of normative social justice called normative intergenerational justice.

Intergenerational justice is an emerging field of theoretical and practical (normative) inquiry. In some countries intergenerational justice has yet to surface in the

² For the purpose of this thesis, I use the term, ‘nation’, to define a group of people who live within territorial boundaries. These people may or may not have relations that lead to the establishment of an overall society. A nation-state arises from the social relations between people in society that determine who has the status of citizenship or residency.

consciousness of people. If social justice and generations exist, then intergenerational justice exists. This is because intergenerational justice is contained by social justice.³ In New Zealand, intergenerational justice may be implicit or non-existent at the societal level but it does not mean that it is not present. This is because the life chances for each generation are to some degree determined by the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to them by various institutions (international organisations, continental institutions, basic institutions such as schools and hospitals, large organisations that are influential in New Zealand such as Telecom and banks) and agencies (small organisations, companies, social groups, charities and individuals). Recently, there has been an emergence of interest in intergenerational justice. However, there is currently a dearth of literature and limited resources upon which to build a particular theory of intergenerational justice for this thesis. Therefore, I attempt to build a theory of social justice that can be used to analyse the nature of normative intergenerational justice underpinning the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

In New Zealand, generational pressures on resources for the aged will emerge in the near future as an issue of intergenerational justice. How these pressures are dealt with may contribute to changes in the social relations between and within generations. This is critical since New Zealand currently has a generous Superannuation Scheme that exists in momentary pretexts⁴ and is reliant upon intergenerational relations for its survival. Hence, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme survives by means of one or more generations contributing to the ‘advantages’ of other generations for current

³ A diagram for the exogenous and endogenous aspect of social justice is located in Appendix F, Diagram F, pp. 268-269.

⁴ A momentary pretext refers to the unpredictable, temporary and transitory nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The Superannuation Scheme is determined by the current political environment and lacks applicability to all living New Zealanders. This means that Legal Acts relevant to the Superannuation Scheme conceal the ‘disadvantages’ of contributors, mislead regarding the ‘advantages’ by not actually being applicable to all living New Zealanders and undermine the fact that the Scheme could not exist without the non-aged contributors. In other words, principles of exchange for social relations between generations do not explicitly exist (Diagram G and Diagram H are located in Appendix F, p. 270 and p. 271 respectfully). The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is present today in a particular type and form that may not be present tomorrow or may exist tomorrow in a completely different type and form. There is absolutely no way of knowing what will happen with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in the medium-term (two years plus) and in the long-term future for New Zealanders. Sometimes changes to the Superannuation Scheme in the short-term are unknown until they are formalised in legislation. These changes tend to be applicable to those who enter the age of entitlement. This means that there is age-based unfairness in the rules relating to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

‘disadvantages’ and for potentially further ‘disadvantages’ when they too reach old age. Moreover, the history of distributing ‘advantages and disadvantages’ by institutions and agencies in New Zealand during critical life phases prior to old age either attenuates or exacerbates the condition of ‘neediness’ and ‘poverty’ during old age. A history of ‘disadvantage’ experienced by many people from one or more generations exacerbates their condition of ‘neediness’ in old age and may play a role in their declining support for the current social democratic welfare state⁵ for the aged. After all, the current momentary pretexts of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are subject to the whim of the various institutions, agencies and temporal moral imperatives⁶ that are present in society. This unpredictable and uncertain nature of the Scheme is not conducive to any condition of ‘neediness’ and ‘poverty’, it is assumed, that the aged occupy.

I will attempt to present a theory of social justice in Chapter One. My theory is an intricate web whereby structure⁷, function⁸ and post-modern⁹ principles influence the underlying construction of social justice. No other social justice theorist uses such principles. My theoretical framework allows for the analysis of various types and forms of social justice in different societies in different historical periods. This framework also

⁵ The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is the only form of provision for dependents that is based upon principles of a social democratic welfare state. All other provisions for dependents in New Zealand are based upon the principles of a neo-liberal welfare state.

⁶ Temporal moral imperatives’ are the current morals and social norms that are regarded as important for determining how ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed to people in society. These influence what is considered by institutions, agencies and people to be absolutely necessary or unavoidable to prevent some given crisis. These are short-term solutions to a given crisis that may be misguided and may generate long-term ‘disadvantages’.

⁷ I use the terms, structure and structural, as referring to society as an organic whole that contains parts. These parts are any set of potential universals that I consider to exist among humankind. In other words, the universals between humankind are derived (originate) from any recurring pattern that arises in the social relations. These recurring patterns allow for elements to arise that are associated with a particular grouping that has its own arrangement. For example, the central tenets of social justice are arranged in a particular way giving it structure. Similarly, the arrangement of social justice relative to external factors (other parts in the social system) and the arrangement of the constructs under the lattice for social attitudes. Consequently, the elements influence each other and are organised in some way to fit into the whole.

⁸ Any diagram that has structure must also have function. Thus, I use the words, function and functional, in this thesis to understand the actions by which there is a use for designing something in a given way. For example, the function of social justice is about creating a society which institutions and agencies consider desirable.

⁹ My term, post-modern, in this thesis means returning to the classical theorists of social justice. In addition, principles in the natural sciences (Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Mathematics and Statistics) are used in my development of social justice, intergenerational justice and social attitudes. This means that parallels may be drawn, using any lens from the natural sciences, to improve understanding of my ideas.

incorporates my central tenets of social justice [equality, need and capacity (opportunity, desert and participation)] and the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’. Therefore, my theory of social justice is a complex field of inquiry. I have woven and threaded some recent ideas from Fleischacker (2002), Miller (2003), Larsen (2006) and Esping-Anderson (1990) with my own ideas on social justice.

Fleischacker analysed the relevance of the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ in the theoretical literature on social justice. He traced this idea through the various theories of social justice and found that the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ plays a role in most theories of social justice. This role arises due to the importance of social relations. However, Fleischacker did not apply the idea of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ to the most recent theories of social justice. Moreover, he has not developed his own theory of social justice using the notion of distributed ‘advantages and disadvantages’. I have integrated Fleischacker’s idea regarding the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ into my own theoretical and normative understanding of social justice. My understanding of social relations concerns how interactions are an essential element of social justice. It is these interactions that require the exchange process of giving (disadvantage) and taking (advantage) in social relations in order for social justice to exist in society. In other words, I thread Fleischacker’s notion of distributed ‘advantages and disadvantages’ into my own conceptualisation of social justice.

I also integrate Miller’s (2003) concepts of equality, need, and procedural desert and his axioms of social justice into my theory of social justice. Miller was amongst the first to state that equality (formal horizontal equality) is an essential element of social justice. However, his particular understanding of the nature of equality relevant to social justice only included formal horizontal equality, since he believed that formal horizontal equality is not embedded in morality. I oppose this view. Instead, I include equality as a central tenet of social justice which is grounded in morality (moral philosophy). In other words, equality can take any type (consisting of formative, substantiative and mixed) and any form (consisting of horizontal, vertical and mixed). Without a basis in morality, there could be no concept of equality nor could equality exist in any potential type or form.

In addition, Miller (2003) excludes the role of institutions and social equality as part of social justice because these are also embedded in morality. Contrary to Miller, I include the relevance of institutions as influencing the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to people and the role of social equality as the outcome of social justice. After all, institutions and agencies can be used by social groups to exert political influence to serve their own interests.

I try to integrate most of Miller’s (2003) principles pertaining to need (minimal existence, relative existence and extended existence) into my theory of social justice. However, these principles of need have been rearranged in order to fit Miller’s theory with other theories that I consider pertinent to social justice. These other theories relate to the welfare state and to dependents (Larsen, 2006, Lumer, 2006, Tremmel, 2006, Esping-Andersen, 1990). In other words, I assemble the tenet of need by using Miller’s principles for the type of need. Within this type of need there are many forms.

Miller’s (2003, 2006) notion of procedural desert was employed in the analysis of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Procedural desert in this thesis refers to the Scheme’s criteria, the relevance of need and the worthiness of “what different people deserve” (Miller, 2003, p. 133). It must be noted that desert incorporated into the theory of social justice may take numerous types and forms. Some of Miller’s (2003) ideas were added to a new structure of desert that I develop. This new notion of desert includes institutions as a part of social justice. This is because moral notions of deservingness and non-deservingness for equality and need have had an impact upon the type and form of normative social justice in New Zealand.

The theory of social justice that I will attempt to present in Chapter One uses and extends Fleischacker’s (2002), Miller’s (2003, 2006) and Lumer’s (2006) ideas. These ideas are adapted to fit with my understanding of social justice, which is heavily influenced by structure, function and a post-modern base as already stated. The dialogue with Fleischacker (2002), Miller (2003, 2006) and Lumer (2006) will enable me to develop a theory of social justice that includes three underlying central tenets (internal approach)

and has multiple external influences (institutions, agencies and influencing elements). The central tenets of social justice are: equality, need and capacity (opportunity, desert and participation).

The internal approach¹⁰ taken in the thesis means that the central tenets of social justice cannot be viewed in isolation but must be linked to the external influences. This is because external institutions and agencies also influence social justice.¹¹ These external institutions and agencies include: international, continental, national, societal and basic institutions, the welfare state (an aspect of basic institutions) and social attitudes (opinions). These external institutions make social relations possible. These relations provide a basis for normative social justice. They also provide a basis for the practical assessment of the type and form of normative social justice that is present in a society. There are numerous types and forms of normative social justice that reflect some given theoretical notion of social justice. If a set of external institutions or agencies (people, social groups, small organisations, representatives) is investigated in a survey of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, then people's attitudes or opinions can be assessed for some manifestation of normative social justice. The data obtained from the attitude responses of people may or may not reflect normative social justice.

After presenting my theory of social justice in Chapter One, I will define what is meant by 'generations' and then apply this term, 'generations', to social justice in Chapter Two. I will define generations on the basis of a birth cohort. A birth cohort is a set of people born during a given year while a set of birth cohorts, that are located in close proximity to each other, represents a generation. This structural idea pertains to people who are members of some given generation and the social relations that exist within¹² (intra) and between (inter) generations. Therefore, social justice and generations are about social

¹⁰ The internal approach to social justice refers to the central tenets, how central tenets relate to each other, how changes occur at any level within social justice, how central tenets intersect and the potential types and forms that each central tenet may take. Diagram A and B in Appendix F shows how the tenets overlap, p. 262.

¹¹ Diagrams D, pp. 264-265, show the external institutions and some of their multiple ways of influencing social justice.

¹² 'Within' refers to what is occurring inside a social group or generation. In other words, the focus is on establishing what is going on inside the social group and why there are differences between the members in a social group.

relations. These social relations enable me to combine social justice and generations in order to establish an aspect of social justice. This particular aspect is called generational justice. Generational justice contains a subcategory of normative intergenerational justice. Using intergenerational justice, I will be able to consider the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and the underlying principles behind the economic assistance for the aged as intergenerational issues. To reinforce the importance of intergenerational justice, I will attempt to incorporate Tremmel's (2006) and Lumer's (2006) ideas relevant to my own understanding of social justice. Lumer's (2006) five principles of generational justice that will be used are: "welfare orientation (ethical hedonism), beneficiary universalism, prioritarianism (or priority view), principle of limited commitment, and efficiency (economy principle) (pp. 39-44)". Furthermore, I understand that intergenerational justice focuses upon a particular aspect of the overall theory of social justice. Normative intergenerational justice is considered in this thesis against the backdrop of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This approach has enabled me to investigate New Zealanders' attitudes towards the economic support of the aged.

In Chapter Three, I will highlight the history of economic support for the aged and how this relates to the changes to the 'grand plan'¹³ in New Zealand. I will discuss some of the changes that have occurred so that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme can be understood as a manifestation of intergenerational justice. This discussion provides background information about the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and explains how it has emerged in its current social democratic form. The Scheme's purpose, nature and statutory basis clarify why demographic pressures, namely dependency ratios, may create generational differences beyond what is fair necessitating changes to the universal Superannuation Scheme. These changes, along with the dramatic changes in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' handed down during critical life phases to some generations during their youth, will lead to further increases in the 'disadvantages' of some generations. In other words, since the 1970s there have been considerable increases in the intergenerational injustices in New Zealand society that may continue to increase as the number of people who enter old age in the population increases.

¹³ I refer to the 'grand plan' as any set of social relations that dominate so as to influence the actions and philosophy of the nation-state. This is elaborated upon further in Chapter Three.

My thesis places a considerable emphasis on the study of social attitudes. This is because social attitudes are both an internal factor and an external agency of social justice. In Chapter Four I try to explain that people's social attitudes are an external agency of normative intergenerational justice. This enables social attitude responses of people towards the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and some environmental aspects¹⁴ of the Superannuation Scheme to be examined. Understanding the nature of social attitudes is important when interpreting attitude responses to questions about the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. I decided to develop a different approach to social attitudes from other researchers. This is because I disagree with the perspective that social attitudes rely solely on beliefs, behaviour or both for their existence. Instead, it is my contention that the social attitude responses to the questions about the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme rely upon a premise of response, the context of the resultant attitude and the corresponding attitude presiding over a lattice of constructs.

My lattice underlying a presiding attitude has six constructs. These constructs are: knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology and essential character (nature). The constructs are also part of the internal link between social attitudes and social justice. The aspect of intergenerational justice is contained in social justice and involves the same kinds of links whereby social attitudes are an essential part of social justice. The social attitude and social justice link is anchored in the concept of participation which is part of the central tenet of capacity. It is through participation that individuals learn about social relations. Participation enables human life to survive longer than the first year of life. Moreover, it provides the basis for knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology and the essential character (nature) of the individual.

The approach that I take in this thesis enables statistical tools such as Factor Analysis and Regression to be used to identify how social attitudes are structured and how attitudes vary with respect to generational position. By understanding individuals' attitudes as an

¹⁴ Environmental aspects are the surroundings in which people live that relate to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. These surroundings are the economic, social, ecological, historical, political and personal circumstances that play a role in determining one's position as experienced in old age.

external agency of and an internal link to intergenerational justice, it is possible to investigate whether or not New Zealanders support the economic provision for the aged with the Superannuation Scheme across space and time.

In order to investigate the social attitudes of New Zealanders, I will outline in Chapter Five the methodology used in this thesis. I will emphasise the importance of analysing the demographic characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, household income and so on) of respondents who participated in the survey. Moreover, I will compare participants' characteristics with the best estimates for New Zealand's demographic structure. The best estimates New Zealand has are from the 2006 Census. The results from this comparison help to identify the lens, whether representative of the general New Zealand population or representative of a subgroup in the population, through which to interpret the attitude responses. This is because the Simple Random Sampling that is used can often produce errors. To reduce such errors demographic analysis will be performed. Afterwards, I discuss Factor Analysis and explain how Factor Analysis attempts to untangle the interrelationships that arise among the attitude responses. This is done so that the attitude structure can be described and used for further analysis to find out if there are any differences among the attitude responses relative to demographic characteristics.

In Chapter Six, I will investigate the structure of three attitude dimensions that relate to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The purpose of these dimensions is to find out the structure of attitudes for a set of specific questions which are related to different aspects of social justice. In other words, how survey questions are related. Therefore, the attitude responses are not isolated opinions. Using Factor Analysis helps to establish the underlying links among the attitude responses. These links become known as factors. The questions cover some aspect of social justice. The first attitude dimension for the Superannuation Scheme relates to its structure of need. This structure concerns the form of the welfare state required for economically supporting the aged. The second attitude dimension focuses on the equity of dependents. The aged occupy one category of dependents. This dependent category may be positioned in a hierarchical structure along with other kinds of dependents that may indicate their moral worth (desert). The last attitude dimension concentrates on an environmental aspect of the Superannuation

Scheme. This is about exchanges. Each attitude dimension entails a profile of factors that reveals how social attitudes are structured on any given topic.

I will undertake further statistical analysis in Chapter Seven. This analysis is to investigate the demographic nature of the attitude structure for the three attitude dimensions and the attitude responses towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Each demographic characteristic is assessed further according to the normative distribution assumptions so that only the relevant demographic characteristics are retained for accessing the attitude responses. This result will be reinforced by the statistical approach used to exclude demographic characteristics in the Ordinary Least Squares Regression process. The purpose here is to investigate if attitude responses of New Zealanders towards the Superannuation Scheme are influenced by demographic characteristics. I will use Ordinary Least Squares Regression to investigate if there is any relationship between the demographic characteristics of respondents (the independent variables) and the underlying factors (the dependent variables) for each attitude dimension that emerged from the Factor Analyses. The Regression Analysis presents correlates between the dependent and independent variables. These correlates show if any relationship exists and the extent to which a given independent variable affects a dependent variable. The independent variables that have a role in affecting the attitude responses will be split into a set of dummy variables for statistical analysis. This process attempts to find if there are any differences between generations in their attitude responses toward questions that focus on the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

In Chapter Eight, I discuss the survey results and compare these results with international research. The purpose of this exercise is to merge the results from the social attitude structure, social attitude nature and general attitude responses, adding depth to understanding the economic support for the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, while comparing results with international studies. Differences between the attitude responses of New Zealanders and international studies may arise. This is because New Zealanders' attitude responses may be unique in that different or perhaps no demographic characteristics feature as having some effect on the social attitude responses. Meanwhile, what we do know is that international studies show that attitude

responses are affected by most demographic characteristics (household income, relationship status, ethnicity, social class, gender and so on). However, I would suggest that both New Zealand and international sources demonstrate that government provision for the aged is important, even if they may differ concerning the approaches for economically supporting the aged.

In my last chapter, I consider the survey results against the backdrop of the theory of intergenerational justice, which informs this study of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. It is my contention that the theory of intergenerational justice will add depth to the results by explaining why attitudinal change may occur, in accordance with demographic characteristics such as age, and how attitude dimensions may harbour some elements of intergenerational justice. As stated earlier, the attitude responses may not necessarily reflect the reality that most of the aged will require financial assistance for most of their income during old age. This is because the premise of response and the context of the resultant attitude can change the attitude responses. Moreover, various generations in New Zealand have experienced different distributions of 'advantages and disadvantages' during critical life phases. This state of affairs may change these generations' social attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Notably, these generations are: X, Y and Z. Therefore, a progressive change in the social attitudes towards the economic support of the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may be revealed in the survey results.

The focus of my thesis is on how a particular theory of intergenerational justice provides an important analytical tool to offer a constructive account of why attitudinal changes are occurring amongst New Zealanders in relation to assisting the aged through the Superannuation Scheme. Extending social justice theory to the analysis of generations provides an insight into how the momentary pretexts of a public good like the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may create unfair 'disadvantages' between generations. An unfair 'disadvantage' that arises between generations is that intergenerational concerns pertaining to 'need' and 'poverty' are currently not considered relevant in research, public policies and politics in New Zealand. Therefore, New Zealanders may lack conscious awareness of intergenerational concerns, lack understanding of

intergenerational justice and may lack an appreciation of what intergenerational justice means to them – especially, when generations share the same predicament of ‘need’ and ‘poverty’ during old age. While there is always some element of injustice between generations the imbalances that have occurred in New Zealand do not, I would suggest, need to be so large. This thesis attempts to highlight the imbalances regarding these intergenerational concerns.

The theory of intergenerational justice informing this study of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, enables us to assess the fairness or unfairness of any practical manifestation of social justice. This being the case, the route to unfairness can be uncovered so as to show where or why some types and forms of intergenerational injustices are occurring in New Zealand. Hence, intergenerational justice theory makes it possible to consider solutions to reducing the differences between generations as to how they are treated across space and time. The economic support of the aged through the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one manifestation of intergenerational justice that may in future be part of the solution to cater for the needs of all generations that have the tendency to experience ‘need’ and ‘poverty’ during old age, and for improving intergenerational relations.

Chapter One

A Normative Theory of Social Justice

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a foundation for the discussion of intergenerational justice that follows. This foundation is rooted in the central tenets of social justice¹⁵ and enables the principles of social justice to be extended to the concept of generations. This means that New Zealanders' attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme can be examined. Therefore, the chapter provides an overview of the particular theory of social justice¹⁶ informing this thesis. I will outline the external institutions and agencies that influence the type and form (nature) this theory may take. Social justice is a complex field of enquiry requiring axioms for its foundation. Miller's (2003) axioms are used as a basis for the theory of normative social justice that I espouse. These axioms, along with my own ideas, contribute to the central tenets of social justice outlined in this thesis. These tenets are: equality, need and capacity. The tenets change according to 'influencing elements' and historical contexts.

1.1 Social Justice

Social justice concerns how social relations are influenced by the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' across space and time. It addresses the question of which factors are important in determining these 'advantages and disadvantages', and what outcomes are acceptable for the "distribution of benefits and burdens" (Miller, 2003, p. 5) administered to individuals or social groups. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is an example of distributional justice. It exists alongside a set of other representations of social justice. There are many types and forms of social justice that change according to

¹⁵ Justice contains three dimensions: environment, economic and social. These dimensions are not mutually exclusive and often will collapse without the presence of each other. A way of thinking about these dimensions is through a Venn Diagram. In this thesis, I focus on social justice.

¹⁶ I use a top-down approach to social justice while also using elements of bottom-up. Thus, allowing for the underlying basis of factors to be used in order to inform the discourse of social justice. Most philosophers stick to either moral philosophy or ethics when dealing with justice. On the other hand, I encompass both within the ambit of justice under different central tenets that intersect. This creates a different perspective. However, I am unable to cover the philosophical issues and debates in this thesis.

historical contexts. Miller's (2003) axioms for the existence of social justice are used and I ground his axioms in nation and society.

My understanding of social justice amalgamates¹⁷ the axioms of nation and society. For Miller (2003), the first axiom for the existence of social justice is based upon "a connected body of people who form the universe of distribution" (p. 5). However, Miller does not discuss nor relate this axiom for the existence of social justice to nation and society. In addition, he does not link what I consider fundamental, need and ability, to social justice. Hence, my first axiom for the existence of social justice is that a society is bounded by territory that imposes some criterion of membership (Rawls, 1971, p. 68). Territory identifies the physical and cultural parameters of people in society. It is the place where social relations between them make it possible for a nation-state to arise (Miller, 2003, p. 5). These relations draw upon the unity of need and differences in ability between members to create the potential¹⁸ for 'mutual advantage' in society. The nation-state determines who is a member and who is not. It attempts to manage and facilitate the relations between legitimate members by how membership is reinforced by the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. According to Miller (2003), the sum total of this distribution "presents the fairness or unfairness that different theories of social justice try to demonstrate" (p. 4). The differences in the shares of 'advantages and disadvantages' accruing to people reflect the type and form (nature) of social justice that is prevalent in society.

Miller (2003) argues that the second axiom for the existence of social justice is that "identifiable sets of institutions" and structures "impact on the life chances of individuals and groups" (p. 5; see also Rawls, 1971, p. 7). These life chances can be measured between and within social groups to reflect how institutions distribute 'advantages and disadvantages'. This is because institutions are able to allocate rights and duties, and determine the division of 'advantages and disadvantages' (Barry, 2005, p. 16). Miller's (2003) third axiom for the existence of social justice is that "there is some agency capable of changing the institutional structure in more or less the way our favoured theory

¹⁷ 'Amalgamate' refers to combining primary elements from two areas. In this case, nation and society.

¹⁸ 'Potential' refers to the possibility or likelihood that something, such as 'mutual advantage' may occur.

demands” (p. 6). In other words, the nature of social justice that I endorse relates to institutions and agencies (people, social groups, organisations, representatives) that permit change by breaking down or building upon existing structures (Miller, 2003, p. 6). Thus, institutions and agencies influence the type and form of social justice. The axioms for the existence of social justice outlined above provide some insight as to why social justice is linked to the core relations derived¹⁹ from nation and society.

Social relations are reflected in what I consider to be the central tenets of social justice.²⁰ These are the concept of equality (citizenship), the concept of need (united by need) and the concept of capacity (difference in ability). These concepts incorporate subsequent concepts that appear in a lattice like arrangement. This lattice is flexible and fluid. Concepts and subsidiary concepts are subjected to variable levels of relevancies, weights, saliencies, strengths and orientations. In other words, variability arises in response to the changes in other concepts, the internal change of a concept and the external changes relative to the concept of social justice and to the referent (the topic of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme). These external changes occur as a consequence of actions undertaken by institutions or agencies.

1.2 Justice Situation

External institutions and external agencies affect the state of normative social justice. These institutions and agencies impose variable levels of relevance, weights, saliencies, strengths and orientations relative to historical location by determining the type and form of social justice that is present in society. My normative approach to social justice in this study, highlights how institutions and agencies determine some of the social relations through their practices and actions. External institutions and external agencies include:

¹⁹ ‘Derived’ refers to the development of social justice from some core elements that underlie the existence of nation and society.

²⁰ Diagrams for the structure of social justice, the intersections of social justice and the link between theory and normative social justice that I have created for this thesis are located in Appendix F, Diagram A, B and E, p. 262, p. 262 and pp. 266-267 respectfully.

international, continental, national, societal and basic institutions, the welfare state (an aspect of basic institutions), social justice and social attitudes.²¹

In my view, a Global village is the set of all countries that exists on the planet. Each of these countries at any given moment is located at any given position in a hierarchy of nations with membership or non-membership status in relation to international institutions. It is my contention that a country's position in this hierarchy is based upon its domination of, and subordination to, other countries. The hierarchy is characterised by the subject matter that dominates²² the nature (type and form) of social relations between countries with respect to historical location. In other words, I consider that international institutions are those bodies or countries that hold some power over basic institutions and practices within other countries. These international institutions influence a country's position in the hierarchy of nations. The 'empire' in existence at a particular historical period is a country that holds substantial international power that influences the type and form (nature) of social justice in other countries.

My understanding of international institutions includes the current 'empire' (United States of America), international organisations such as Interpol and the law of nations (International Law and the International Money Fund), and the historical contexts of social relations (neo-liberal economics in a capitalist neo-liberal democracy). Therefore, international institutions exert some control over the distribution of some 'advantages and disadvantages' that are found in countries. These countries may also, in my view, belong to continental institutions but these countries do not have the choice of not belonging to the Global village where international institutions prevail.

In my view, continental institutions either reinforce the nature (type and form) of social justice supported by international institutions or endorse a different nature (type and form) of social justice. A continental institution consists of a set of countries. These

²¹ A diagram, one out of ten is included in the thesis, for the role of institutions and agencies that can influence the type and form of social justice is found in Appendix F, Diagram D, pp. 264-265.

²² In this thesis, I use the word, dominate, to refer to the sphere or spheres that have control over, have power over and have authority over the nature of social relations. These social relations flow on to affect the manifestation of normative social justice. Some of the spheres include: economic, social and environmental.

countries may or may not challenge international institutions. They may or may not be constrained by existing on the same continent or landmass. For example, Australia and New Zealand are signatories to a Trans-Tasman agreement. They are not located on the same continent and the Trans-Tasman agreement is part of formalising the existence of a continental institution. The European Union is another example of a continental institution. I consider that continental institutions do not necessarily rely on being European²³ but countries may need to be invited as potential members. Acknowledgement of membership arises when countries become official signatories to certain principles and practices. Agreements, then, reflect the nature of continental justice (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 32) which provides guidance for the type and form (nature) of social justice enforced. These agreements influence some of the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ that are distributed to citizens and residents.

My idea of nation starts from the basis of some landmass where a group of people live. These people may or may not belong in a nation-state. This is because citizenship and residency are distinct from birthplace. If everybody is covered under citizenship and residency criteria, then “the universe of distribution” (Miller, 2003, p. 4) may or may not acknowledge this membership. This is because ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed amongst people who are members of a nation-state. National justice embodies this sentiment. According to Rawls’ (1971) theory of social justice, “a valid member of society is accorded with an equal right to liberty and an equal liberty of worth” (p. 250). Therefore, the presence of citizenship and residency allows for equality to exist.

A nation encompasses a body of people whose relations at any level can constitute a society. Society incorporates culture, historical tradition, language and ideology. Rawls (1971) reflects this by stating that: “our life prospects will also be shaped by the political and social structure we inhabit, and our talents and skills will be significantly shaped by our society” (p. 134). My two axioms, nation and society, are characterised by the primary relations that exist within society, need and ability. Societies have different

²³ The common term for ‘continental institutions’ relies on the set of countries that are European which are party to some agreement and occupy the same continent (Nussbaum, 2003). This differs from the definition I have used in this thesis.

views about these that change according to historical contexts but the elements of need and ability are always present.

A nation-state is a governing institution that embodies the social relations of a state and a political space. It may also, as Nussbaum (2006, p. 32) points to, contain subordinate states. In some countries state and political space are identical institutions or agencies, while in others they are separate agencies with intersecting parts. The nation-state determines the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’. It lays down the foundation for how the central tenets of normative social justice (equality, need and capacity) are endorsed and acted upon. The nation-state creates laws, rules and procedures that guide basic institutions.

Basic institutions adopt and put into action the nation-state’s stance on equality, need and capacity. These basic institutions administer ‘advantages and disadvantages’. The institutions determine the life chances of social groups, families and individuals. According to Rawls, “major social institutions (basic institutions) distribute fundamental rights and duties and determine the division of advantages from social cooperation. By major institutions I understand the political constitution and the principal economic and social arrangements ...[that] taken together as one scheme...define men’s (sic) rights and duties and influences their life-prospects, what can they expect to be and how well they can hope to do” (1971, p. 204).

In my view, the actions underpinning basic institutions characterise the welfare-state, a system that comprises a set of potential forms of welfare. Some of the forms of welfare are conservative, neo-liberal and social democratic (Larsen, 2006, p. 12). These forms may exist concurrently or separately for different dependents at any given place in history. Esping-Andersten’s (1990) ‘three worlds of welfare capitalism’ attempted to link different forms and phases of welfare to the changes in basic institutions with respect to the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed among people (p. 58). I suggest that a nation-state may have a uniform or mixed welfare state for dependents but it is always in flux. If mixed states of welfare arise, then there is a hierarchy of dependents that are affected by ‘influencing elements’. My ‘influencing elements’ refer to any human

element that may affect social relations. These social relations have the potential to affect the type and form (nature) of social justice. Two human elements on a social group scale that influence social justice are stigma and social status. These ‘influencing elements’ result from the social attitudes of agencies in society, that is, their values, ideologies, interests, knowledge, experiences and essential character (nature). Thus, members of a nation-state may be accorded with variable types and forms (nature) of the welfare state.

Social justice concerns the relations, processes and influences that determine how ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed. Social justice alters according to the changes in institutions and agencies or changes in the central tenets (principles) of equality, need and capacity. When changes arise, this modifies ‘advantages and disadvantages’. An ‘advantage’ may become a ‘disadvantage’ and vice versa. The distribution of resources contributes to the degeneration and regeneration of the social structure. This is because “each society has already been fixed: each has a ‘basic structure’ whose form is determined by those principles” (Rawls, 1971 cited in Nussbaum, 2006, p. 232). The nation-state supports certain types and forms of social justice. This means that the social structure is arranged and reinforced in particular ways that reflect the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’.

Social justice relates to members of the nation-state. The nation-state contributes directly and indirectly to the development of social justice and how resources are distributed. People’s lives are influenced by the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ in the nation-state. These resources determine their life chances (Cohen, 2006, p. 148). These chances are reflected in the position people hold in the social structure and may contribute to their understanding of the social world (Barry, 2005, pp. 60-69). Understanding of the social world influences notions of social justice, the role various institutions play in the creation of social justice and the various mechanisms involved in creating the type and form of social justice. According to Miller (2003), the “notion of justice seems to mean different things to different people and in different circumstances” (p. 43). The results of these understandings are often reflected in people’s attitudes or opinions.

Social justice exists within a society that is made up of interdependent components. External institutions and agencies were identified above in order to elucidate the external influences on social justice. These external influences, I suggest, determine to some extent the type and form (nature) of social justice. This allows for different theories of social justice to be developed. Some of these theories can be used for normative enquiry.

1.3 Normative Social Justice

It is my contention that there are multiple theories of social justice. Some theories of social justice are amenable to numerical enquiry. Miller (2003) contends that the normative theory of social justice attempts to link theory and practice; this ensures that abstract arguments do not diverge from reality and that the interpretation of empirical evidence does not deviate from theory (pp. 7-9). Normative social justice uses evidence that derives from social attitudes, structures, official edicts, outcomes, procedures, definitions, principles of fairness, classifications and justifications for the distribution of resources. This evidence is identifiable through the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to people and the outcomes of this. The outcome of these ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to people impact upon their life chances and their position in the social structure.

1.4 Central Tenets of Social Justice

Social justice is a contentious subject among theorists. Some ideas are found in ancient Greek philosophy, for example, Plato’s ‘universal justice’ (Lee, 1974, p. 55). Later philosophers such as Aristotle (Leyden, 1989), Grotius (Fleischacker, 2004) and Hume (1998) developed these ideas further. The nexus of their work reveals that three variants of social justice persist. These variants are: citizenship, unity of need and difference in ability. Pre-modern philosophers used the notion of citizenship to ensure equality for a specific group of people living in a nation.²⁴ Citizens had access to the means to fulfill certain kinds of need and certain investments were made in their abilities. Others were

²⁴ See the definition of nation laid out above. I use the idea that a nation could exist prior to modernity, even though the concept of nation was not yet developed or known.

denied this. These non-citizens were forced to live by a different set of laws and rules. What I deem to be the central tenets of social justice that reflect these ideas²⁵ are: equality, need and capacity.

1.41 Concept of Equality²⁶

A modern manifestation of equality is that all people belong to a nation-state, whether it is by birth or by meeting residency requirements. The formal clarification of this is laid out in law along with other impositions. My concept of equality incorporates this understanding in its official type and form (nature), procedures (adjunct to equality) and outcomes (social equality). This allows equality to exist for a specific social group. In my view, equality consists of different types. These types include: formative, substantive or some mixture of these. Each type of equality entails a form: horizontal, vertical or some combination of these. The type and form (nature) of equality is detected by teasing out the rule of law, the distribution of rights and the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ to members in society. The official type and form of equality contributes to the elementary procedures, criteria and guidelines for basic institutions. This elementary approach (adjuncts to equality) enables the outcome of the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ among people to be assessed. It is my contention that these outcomes may be officially approved, impartial and justified. Other outcomes may be due to ‘influencing elements’ [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests, the current dominance of wealth, age structure and so on]. These elements are incorporated in officially approved purposes and outcomes that are unjustified and are prejudiced (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 304).

In New Zealand, access to citizenship rights includes those people who are born here, those who have become citizens and those people who are non-citizens but long-term residents. These requirements are laid out in law. This law is imposed upon people in that

²⁵ Interactions between the central tenets of social justice are not discussed and a comprehensive analysis of these tenets is not undertaken. The limitations of a Masters thesis prevent this.

²⁶ The philosophical foundations for equality are not discussed. The limitations of the Masters thesis prevent this.

they do not have the choice of living in a ‘state of nature’ (Plattner, 1979, p. 24). Law may or may not provide “some form of advantage in regard to well-being” (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 85). Therefore, some may not be ‘mutually advantaged’ by co-operating or by the way in which ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed. The term, ‘mutual advantage’, refers to people who receive “something by living together that they could not attain on their own” (Rawls, 1971 cited in Nussbaum, 2006, p. 14). The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is an example of formative horizontal equality. This is because ‘everybody’ is entitled to receive the Benefit when they reach sixty-five. It is a momentary law²⁷ that may not apply to every living citizen and resident. Thus, some people may be ‘disadvantaged’ by the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

My ‘adjuncts to equality’ have to do with the procedural treatment of people. This procedural treatment is attached to the surface (elementary) allocation of public resources in order to provide basic services for people. Basic services include: health, education, infrastructure and social services. Basic services are based upon the premise of officially approved laws, public policies and guidelines. In some historical eras basic services rely on a premise of ‘mutual advantage’, while in other eras basic services rely on ‘influencing elements’ [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests, the current dominance of wealth, age structure and so on] that are in opposition to ‘mutual advantage’. Therefore, ‘adjuncts to equality’ contain elements of distributional criteria for the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ of people. A primary criterion of ‘mutual advantage’ requires that a relatively proportional equivalent distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ with respect to the type and form of equality accepted in society be allocated to members belonging to the nation (Miller, 2003, p. 232; Klemmack & Roff, 1980, p. 150). This criterion allows for the elementary allocation of capital to put the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ into practice. Capital influences how resources are divided, how resources are distributed and how the nature of resources are affected.

²⁷ A momentary law is a law that may change at any moment. This law may appear to be applicable to all living people, but is not applied to all members of the nation-state. In other words, a law today may not be a law tomorrow.

In 2006, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme cost the taxpayer four percent of gross domestic product (IMF, 2007, p. 18). If the Scheme's criteria remain the same in future, the percentage of public spending is projected to increase to nine percent of gross domestic product by 2030 (IMF, 2007, p. 18). This means that the proportion of funds directed towards the aged may create distributional changes between people in New Zealand. The direction taken at the surface (elementary) level²⁸ will influence the type and form of need. This direction will determine the nature of the welfare state that provides economic support to the aged. If people are born equal and have equal treatment, then the nation-state will attempt to distribute resources in a fair manner. It will act in the best interests of the populace at the surface (elementary) level (Longman, 1987, p. 35). This must mean that the nation-state attempts to ensure that all people when they reach old age have the same probability of experiencing poverty, irrespective of space and time.

Social equality is an ideal outcome of the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. It is, I would argue, unachievable in practice and consequently some degree of social inequality is always present in society. The sum of the distributional outcomes characterises how different people are treated and what positions they occupy in the social hierarchy. These hierarchies may be reinforced or created by institutions and agencies. If the shares of 'advantages and disadvantages' are the same (formative horizontal equality), this means that some people in society are unable to function. This is because people require different levels of investment based upon their different abilities, different needs and different social positions. In this regard, Anderson (2006) states that:

What citizens ultimately owe one another are the social conditions of freedoms people need to function as equal citizens. Because of differences in their internal capacities and social situations, people are not equally able to convert resources into capabilities for function. They are therefore entitled to different amounts of resources so they can enjoy freedom as equals...(p. 176).

²⁸ Surface (elementary) level refers to the outer layer of actions that the nation-state passes on to basic institutions and agencies to enact. These actions may focus on any given level in society that is directed by the nation-state.

To achieve the closest approximation to equal outcomes defined by law and procedures, the shares of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to each individual require unequal levels of public investment. If this happens, everybody is valued in society and all are fairly treated. It is the outcomes among people that identify whether they are valid members of society.

The concept of equality includes official type and form (nature), procedures and social equality. These either contribute to distributing resources to people under the auspices of a nation-state, or the total share of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ lead to differences in the outcomes between people. The concept of need incorporates these distributional sentiments.

1.42 Concept of Need²⁹

The concept of need incorporates the definition of ‘need’ and the principle of distributing ‘need’. Miller (2003) argues that both are critical for establishing any foundation of social justice (pp. 203-229). How ‘need’ is defined and the principles of distributing ‘need’ influence how ‘advantages and disadvantages’ provide the needs of people for ‘mutual advantage’ (Smith cited in Fleischacker, 2005, p. 27). If need is unmet, equality is undermined. The fundamental principle for ‘need’, as Miller (2004) points out, is that people are to be treated in the same way if they occupy an equal status of need, irrespective of their characteristics (p. 213). Under circumstances where there is a scarcity of resources for equally needy people, a tool of allocation is necessary to prevent institutions and agencies with special interests determining whose needs are more important than others (Miller, 2003, pp. 213-214). This tool prevents the construction of hierarchies of dependents³⁰ and mixed welfare states for the provision of different dependents.

²⁹ The ethical arguments are not discussed. Although, I support a two tier approach to ethics, which flows through my use of need in this thesis. The limitations of the Masters thesis prevent this.

³⁰ ‘Dependents’ refer to those people who ‘need’ support in order to live. For example, children, the unemployed, the sick, the disabled, students and the aged.

The definition of ‘need’ enumerates the set of things that human beings require in order to function and survive. It does not include wants or desires. It changes according to the type and form of ‘need’ widely accepted in society. There are potentially infinite types and forms (nature) of ‘need’. The type of need that I deem important is based upon Miller’s (2003) ideas that incorporate some internal scale and refers to a set of parameters that identifies what is classified as a minimal need for all. Types include: minimal existence (absolute need), relative existence (norm of need) and extended existence (social norm of need). Miller (2003) states that minimal existence prevails when “in the absence of certain conditions then malfunction or death of people occur” (p. 207). Meanwhile, relative existence describes those needs that are considered to be critical to maintain basic functioning in a particular historical period (Miller, 2003, p. 208). For example, in 2009 shelter is a ‘norm of need’ in New Zealand. To meet this need an accommodation supplement is available to those meeting specific income and rent criteria.

My understanding of ‘need’ is that the type of need encompasses infinite forms. These infinite forms are related to the different forms of welfare state. This is where I extend Miller’s (2003) ideas concerning need so that they relate to other essential theories. Each type of ‘need’ entails multiple forms of welfare (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 59). For example, the type of need called relative existence³¹, in my view, includes many forms of welfare-state; two of these are a conservative welfare state and a neo-liberal welfare state. Both forms are different due to the set of things that define ‘need’ for all. According to Mannheim (1951), relative existence is insufficient. He states:

Give the people social security, food, shelter, and jobs, and all these problems will disappear. Those who say this do not realise that economic and social insecurity are only part of the general insecurity. They overlook the fact that psychological and spiritual insecurity are sometimes even more disturbing than the former (p. 283).

³¹ ‘Relative existence’ extends from minimal existence to extended existence. Each type of existence contains different forms of the welfare state. In other words, there are numerous forms of the welfare state under the type of need called relative existence.

Miller (2003) incorporates these ideas in his notion of need, extended existence (p. 210). Extended existence allows for those items necessary for psychological and social well-being. It is manifest in the ability to participate in society. According to Smith, “need is judged in terms of capacity to function in a variety of ways, not in terms of individual choices about whether to exercise a particular capacity. So need is identified as those conditions that allow people to lead a minimally decent life in society” (cited in Lipset, 1992, p. 67). The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, in my view, provides for the type of need called extended existence.

The definition of ‘need’ used in society for providing welfare services is applicable to everyone. This is because “everyone is of equal worth that they should have access to what they need, or at least to what they basically need” (Pierson & Castles, 2006, pp. 54-55). If a person aged sixty-five and a person aged eighteen are unable to provide for their own food, they are ‘equally needy’ (Miller, 2003, pp. 213-214). If one is given resources while the other is not, I would suggest that there are ‘influencing elements’ [stigma, knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests, the current dominance of wealth, age structure and so on] that make it possible for a hierarchy of dependents to exist. The prevalence of ‘influencing elements’ demonstrates that the characteristics of people and not the position of ‘need’ are important. Therefore, dependents have unequal worth for accessing a predefined need. Consequently, each item in the set included under the type and form (nature) of ‘need’ active in society carries no weight.

Each item in the set of a defined ‘need’ carries in practice its own weight that is measured against other items. This process constructs a hierarchy of essential ‘needs’. The hierarchy extends from the most important to the least important. According to Miller (2003), the hierarchy of ‘needs’ allows for all dependents to be placed at certain points on a continuum with respect to their need or needs (p. 222). This means that a dependent or dependent’s characteristics are not important but that the position of need relative to the position of others is. Rawls’ (1971) phrase “to each according to his (sic) need” (p. 204) reinforces this. Therefore, it is those who occupy the lowest position on that spectrum who receive assistance as they are experiencing the greatest need. This assistance is not

provided at the expense of those already suffering some level of need, for to do so would undermine the purpose of allocating scarce resources to those living in need (Butler, 2001, p. 547).

Scarcity of resources limits the ability to deal with the needs of members belonging to a nation (Miller, 2003, p. 214). This being the case, I would argue that preventing ‘influencing elements’ affecting the type and form (nature) of need, giving weight to need according to the characteristics of people and the establishment of a hierarchy of dependents, are necessary for treating dependents fairly. This cannot be accomplished when a society lacks any acknowledgement of ‘need’, employs an ambiguously defined term of ‘need’, has no continuum of needs and incorporates no system for weighing items considered as needs.

1.43 Concept of Capacity³²

I link capacity³³ to ability. Three aspects of capacity that I identify are: opportunity, desert and participation. These are ‘mutually dependant’ upon each other. Ability is either natural, acquired or inherited. According to Smith, “poor people have the same native abilities as everyone else. The difference in these abilities, natural talents, in different men (sic) is, in reality, much less than we are aware of” (cited in Fleischacker, 2004, p. 65). The cultivation of people’s abilities depends upon life chances that are either ‘advantageous or disadvantageous’. Some achievements arising from these chances can be used to gain other ‘advantages’, while others do not provide other ‘advantages’ (Barry, 2005, pp. 38-39). Skills and talents developed through engaging in activities are often ignored. Activities develop informal skills and talents that are used for assessing proficiencies. These proficiencies are sometimes rewarded accordingly or denied, while other rewards are unfairly provided to those deficient in proficiencies or abilities.

³² The philosophical basis to the concept of capacity is unable to be discussed due to the confines of the Masters thesis.

³³ I have developed a new tenet of social justice. This tenet incorporates opportunity, desert and participation. A few recent theorists include opportunity as important for social justice, while most theorists do not. Desert has been widely debated historically and is important for social justice. I also include participation in social justice. No other theories of social justice have done this. The reason for including participation is that it is absolutely fundamental in the establishment of social relations. Attachment theory provides some understanding of the importance of participation.

Opportunities³⁴ are those public goods that improve the quality of life for people beyond the ambit of need. They are the investments that create ‘advantages or disadvantages’ for citizens (Goodman, 1966, p. 36). In other words, opportunities are the ‘advantages’ acquired from public investment in those things deemed important for promoting the well-being of all or for the majority of people in society (Cohen, 2006, pp. 230-235). There are different types and forms of opportunities. Types of opportunities are those public investments, in Mannheim’s (1951) view, that enable access to education, health, status and resource accumulation (pp. 188-189). Meanwhile, forms of opportunity involve the quality of public goods. This is because life chances acquired through the administration of ‘advantages’ require the retention of value.

To illustrate, public investment in home ownership reduces the probability of citizens experiencing poverty during old age. If this investment changes or the quality of investment erodes, then the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ is altered. This leads to the contraction or expansion of opportunities (Thomson, 1991, p. 43). A contraction reduces ‘advantages’ so that certain opportunities are either discarded or eroded. In this case, some opportunities freely available in one historical era are not available in another and this is incorporated into social hierarchies.

Desert concerns the appraisal process that justifies reward, need or deterioration of performance. This process sometimes takes into account motivation, merit, skills, informal abilities, need and predefined criteria of assessment. According to Miller (2003), “desert refers to the deeds he (sic) has done” (p. 137). However, desert also entails the notion of “the poor person’s right of desert in the property of the rich” (Simmons, 1992, p. 31). The justification for administering ‘advantages’ and ‘disadvantages’ can be tailored to suit any criteria as to who is deserving or undeserving of this entitlement. Therefore, some ‘advantages’ are justly earned (deserving) or unjustly (undeserving) earned (Casal, 2006, p. 254). ‘Advantages’ unjustly earned occur because of influencing

³⁴ Merit plays a considerable role in social justice. It arises as a consequence of the intersection of equality and capacity. Merit refers to equal opportunity and to the converse of Desert.

elements or social hierarchies of social group worth. Figaro (1784) reflects this when he states:

Nobility, fortune, rank, position! How proud they make a man feel (sic)! What have you done to deserve such advantages? Put yourself to the trouble of being born – nothing more! For the rest – a very ordinary man (sic)! Whereas I, lost among the obscure crowd, have had to deploy more knowledge, more calculation and skill, merely to survive (cited in Fleischacker, 2004, p. 53).

Participation is the ability to be involved in activities. Underpinning participation is the learning process of interaction between two or more people. This interaction teaches principles of exchange, reciprocity, trust, responsibility, duty, value and right (Eggebeen, 1992, p. 444; Hobbes cited in Plattner, 1979). The foundation of these principles allows for social relations to be extended. This extension enables people to take part in activities that create a sense of belonging, that develop social skills, that develop empathy, that develop social awareness, that transmit social rules, that instill moral standards and that teach acceptable forms of behaviour (Mannheim, 1951, p. 207). These activities promote altruism (Eisenstadt, 1956, p. 170). Therefore, participation is about the access to activities that create some ‘advantage’. Access concerns the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ that determines the resources, the value of activities and the time for activities that are supported by society. According to Goodman (1966):

Individuals may be regarded as poor when they are excluded from participation in the major institutions of society. To reduce poverty we must open the opportunities for participation in the crucial institutions which shape policy that affects the lives of the poor (p. 36).

Lack of participation, in my view, undermines the purposes of social justice. This is because social justice attempts to help the most ‘disadvantaged’ and ensures that individuals can function in society. So, my understanding of capacity incorporates those things beyond ‘need’ that are important for society and lead to solidarity between people. Any contraction of investment, irrespective of social position, leads to disintegration. This arises when opportunity, desert and participation are seen as unimportant.

The three tenets of social justice that I have highlighted: equality, need and capacity, provide an insight into the importance of social justice. Social justice reflects the social relations between people. The tenet of equality reveals that equality is a human creation that people experience and is imposed upon them from birth. This imposition of equality, I suggest, necessitates a basis for alleviating the ‘disadvantage’ caused by it through the provision of need and the provision of capacity. When these are excluded, equality, I would argue, ceases to be fair by creating ‘disadvantages’ among most people.

1.5 Influencing Elements

My emphasis on ‘influencing elements’ concerns the effect of human characteristics on social relations that may flow on to affect social justice. Therefore, ‘influencing elements’ incorporate any human element that may affect social relations and may be represented in the type and form (nature) of social justice. Social relations are integrated through the institutions and agencies in society. Human elements that influence social relations are based upon the premises of interaction. Some elements are: values, ideologies, interests, knowledge, experiences, stigma and the nature of individuals and social groups. These elements are arranged with respect to the focus of a given manifestation of social justice and flow on to affect the social relations between or within social groups.

Social relations between people have the potential to misguide and affect the purpose of social justice. This, in turn, affects how ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed. For example, three ‘influencing elements’ on a social group scale that can potentially affect social justice include: stigma attached to dependents, social status relative to age and social facts of life events for all generations. Thus, distribution may or may not be fair or justified since ‘influencing elements’ are those elements and interactions that cloud human understanding. This understanding is reflected in how the type and form (nature) of social justice is related to historical contexts, what role social justice plays in society and what relevance social justice has for various institutions and agencies in society.

1.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an outline of the essential foundations that underlie social justice and make intergenerational justice possible. The underlying parameters of social justice are rooted in the three central tenets that I developed, using some of Miller's (2003) ideas and Fleischacker's (2006) 'distribution of advantages and disadvantages'. These tenets include: equality, need and capacity. I conceptualised the foundations of social justice with the help of Miller's (2003) ideas and by employing three axioms to identify the boundaries of social justice. These axioms are: society is bounded by territory that imposes some criterion of membership – based upon the principles of nation and society, along with the unity of need and ability; “identifiable sets of institutions” and structures that “impact on the life chances of individuals and groups” (Miller, 2003, p. 5); and institutions and agencies that permit change by breaking down or building upon existing structures (Miller, 2003, p. 6).

The foundations underlying social justice are also affected to some degree by external institutions and agencies. An overview of these external institutions and agencies (justice situation) provided potential avenues that influence the type and form (nature) of normative social justice. These potential avenues of influence may lead to any given manifestation of 'advantages and disadvantages' that affects the lives of people. One external agency relates to people and their social attitudes. These attitudes (opinions) are derived from people's values, ideologies, interests, knowledge, experiences and essential character (nature) that are linked to social justice through social relations. Consequently, New Zealanders' attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme can be investigated.

Chapter Two

A Theory of Generations and Normative Intergenerational Justice

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationship between the concept of generations and social justice so that intergenerational attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme can be better understood. A foundation is provided for intergenerational relations by defining birth cohort and extending this to the term, generation. There are multiple generations alive at any given time. These generations interact with each other at different levels. These interactions are described as intergenerational relations. The relations entail the tenets of social justice. This is called intergenerational justice. Normative intergenerational justice concerns the way in which relations are reflected in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ across space and time. This kind of justice helps to identify differences relative to age and the factors that determine the treatment of different generations. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one representation of intergenerational justice. The relationship between this Scheme and the principles of social justice is emphasised.

2.1 Generations

The study of generations is common amongst social scientists, philosophers and social psychologists. Interest in this area was sparked by Mannheim’s (1952) essay on ‘The Problem of Generations’. Mannheim is considered the founding father of the theory of generations. He theorised that age can be used as a quantifier to assess the links between birth cohort and social relations. In essence, my conceptualisation of ‘generations’ attempts to build upon biological terms of life, that is, the premise that humans are social animals that require social relations for their well being (Eyerman & Turner, 1998, p. 91). Despite the popularity of generational research, there is no agreement amongst researchers regarding this term. Consequently, the terms, cohort and generation, used in this study of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme warrant clarification.

A birth cohort refers to a set of people born during a given interval of time. For some researchers, it refers to those born during a given year while among others it refers to those born during a collection of years. I define a birth cohort in this study as consisting of people who enter the biological rhythm of life during the same year. Each birth cohort represents a non-concrete social group³⁵ whereby members will share life phases and events during their life span that extend to their departure (Ryder, 1965, pp. 845-847). During this life span, a cohort lives in a social world interacting with others that “endows them, to the extent, with a common location in the historical³⁶ dimension of the social process” (Mannhiem, 1997, p. 290). In other words, cohorts are engraved by their location in history, their location in the social structure and the form of social justice leading to their receipt of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ (Strauss and Howe, 1991, p. 56).

The term, generation, also creates confusion among researchers on the term. For some researchers generation is not associated with age, while for others generation can refer to a birth cohort. In this study, I understand a generation as a set (collection) of birth cohorts during a given time interval. The term, generation, is sometimes replaced with ‘age-groups’ or ‘cohorts’ and the time intervals vary according to the researcher. For example, a generation can extend from ten to twenty years for statistical purposes. The time period used for a generation, in this study, is a twenty-year span. This generation contains two sub-generations of ten-year intervals.³⁷ According to Edmunds and Turner (2002), generations defined in this way are “groups of people born during a specific period and who are distinct from other groups of people born in a different period” (p. 6). These distinctions arise due to:

³⁵ The definition of a ‘non-concrete social group’, used in this thesis, refers to a set of people who belong to a social group based upon either endogenous or exogenous elements. People may or may not have knowledge of their membership and the membership of others. They may not participate in activities to create ties of association. The members of any social group may also consciously exert their own interests, may unconsciously exert their interest or may oppose their own interests.

³⁶ For the purposes of this study the term, historical, refers to the influence of politics, sciences, arts, economics, environment and society.

³⁷ A table of generational categories with corresponding dates and names is located in Appendix F (Table R, p. 261).

the fact of belonging to the same class, and that of belonging to the same generation or age group, ... that both endow the individuals sharing in them with a common location in the social and historical processes, and thereby limit them to a specific range of potential experiences, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action. Any given location then, excludes a large number of possibilities (Mannheim, 1997, p. 291).

This allows for a generation to be characterised differently from other generations.

Generations are influenced by other generations. There are large generations (crests), and small generations (troughs). These delineate the age structure of society. Large generations face competition and when its members are aware of their group occupation, they can utilise their position to maximise their own interest (Thomson, 1989, p. 12). The behaviour of a generation is often reflected in basic institutions³⁸ and in individuals. Edmunds and Turner (2005) relate generational size to “active or passive” roles in society (p. 562). They claim that active generations exploit all forms of resources creating social change in political, educational, economic, environmental and social spheres. They close off ‘advantages’ to subsequent generations. Meanwhile, passive generations are inactive and submit to the environment surrounding them.

Edmunds and Turner (2005) state that, “an active generation is followed by a passive generation” (p. 562). Therefore, generations have specific prejudices that are affected by the social, the historical and the demographic currents in society. These currents occur, given that a generation exists along side other generations in a constant stream of successive generations. Generational replacement is a driving force for the historical progression of change (Mannheim, 1997, p. 281). The succession of living generations is about co-existence. This co-existence, according to Dilthey, concerns the connection between generations and the ability of generations to determine events, whether controllable or uncontrollable, affecting the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ of subsequent generations (Mannheim, 1997, p. 282). These, ‘advantages

³⁸ Refer to Chapter One for a definition. Some basic institutions include: hospitals, schools, Ministry of Health, organisations, for example, New Zealanders’ Kiwi Saver funds and defence.

and disadvantages’ create underlying currents which influence the destinies and life chances of individuals.

Interrelationships concern the transmission of things such as values, ideologies, knowledge, experiences, interests and essential character (nature). Therefore, the concept of generations is often extended to focus on intragenerational and intergenerational phenomena (Tremmel, 2006, p. 5). Intragenerational (horizontal) research examines how people who belong to a particular generation are coping during a given historical period. In other words, research identifies the characteristics of a particular generation, the outcomes of a generation and how a generation fares with respect to the allotted ‘advantages and disadvantages’. Meanwhile, the focus of intergenerational (vertical) research is the relations and differences that arise between generations. It may examine differences in ‘advantages and disadvantages’, outcomes relative to differences in resource distribution, historical differences of generations and the age-structure of society (Kallen, 1989, p. 4). Therefore, intergenerational research contains elements associated with social justice. This is called intergenerational justice.

2.2 Intergenerational Justice

It is my contention that intergenerational justice is an aspect of social justice. My understanding of intergenerational justice concerns the relationship between the central tenets (equality, need and capacity) of social justice and generation. I employ Lumer’s (2006) five principles of generational justice [“welfare orientation (ethical hendonism), beneficiary universalism, prioritarianism (or priority view), principle of limited commitment, and efficiency (economy principle)] (pp. 39-44)” by connecting them to my central tenets (equality, need and capacity) of social justice outlined in Chapter One (pp. 39-52). In other words, one aspect of intergenerational justice focuses on the universal distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ for living and sometimes non-living generations. This is because all people across space and time experience similar events with respect to the life cycle. At a minimal level, every person will have stages of dependency, stages requiring investment and stages of working. These same people have

similar life cycles that are treated according to some predefined criteria of social justice. This varies according to space and time, while the life cycle remains the same.

Most people and their families are unable to provide for all these life stages. Therefore, most people require some form of additional support. Support reinforces the value of family. Support provides for stages of dependency, it provides investment in those things necessary for society to function and it provides investment for poverty prevention in the future. The nation-state provides this additional support but in return it imposes rules from birth upon its predefined members. Under these rules, people may or may not be 'mutually advantaged' across their life cycle (Thomson, 1991, Chapter One). If any life stage is undermined, the reason for the nation-state is undermined. After all, I would argue that the nation-state in any given society mandates the type and form (nature) of equality, the type and form (nature) of need and the type and form (nature) of capacity that makes 'mutually advantageous' relations possible.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme fulfils, in my view, some ambiguous notion of 'need' for a particular stage of dependency. This Scheme incorporates a type and form (nature) of equality. The Scheme, along with previous types and forms (nature) of investment, determines the probability of experiencing poverty during old age. Hence, intergenerational justice is important for understanding how different generations are affected by the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' relative to other generations, how generations influence other generations and how historical location influences the treatment of generations.

2.21 Intergenerational Equality

My concept of intergenerational equality concerns the minimal basis for the treatment of generations across space and time. This is evident in the type and form (nature) of equality in practice. Normative intergenerational equality, I contend, is formalised in law, enforced by the distribution of rights and guided by the longitudinal distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. Furthermore, this nature (type and form) of equality formalises those things all generations need when they are unable to fulfil their own

needs, and ensures social investment in those things considered by people to be important for maintaining or improving society.

By employing such mechanisms the interdependence of generations is formalised. This encourages generations to develop social relations that are ‘mutually advantageous’ (Plato translated by Lee, 1993, p. 53). In other words, intergenerational equality is about the co-existence of generations and about treating generations fairly across space and time. In this regard, I apply Lumer’s (2006) ‘beneficiary universalisms’ (pp. 40-43). ‘Beneficiary universalisms’, according to Lumer (2006), involve the idea that “all human beings should be equal beneficiaries of the morality of a subject. The principle of ‘beneficiary universalisms’ gives an answer to the question whose welfare is morally relevant and who shall be beneficiary of a morality” (pp. 40-41). There are multiple universalisms. In New Zealand, there are no ‘beneficiary universalisms’ legitimised.³⁹ However, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme has, I would suggest, the potential to be a ‘beneficiary universalism’.

The definition of intergenerational equality raises issues regarding the question of whether to include only living generations or to broaden the term to include infinitely many (Dierksmeier, 2006, pp. 72-73). By including infinitely many, one assumes the position that all living and potentially unborn generations are party to the distribution of rights (Tremmel, 2006, Chapter Ten; Beckerman, 2006, Chapter Three). Despite these controversies, extending laws to encompass generations legitimises the timeless element of justice for those things that are important for all generations (Wallack, 2006, p. 89). All living generations contribute, in one way or another, to the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed in society. Therefore, justice between generations requires some formalisation and acknowledgement so that the contributions of various generations are protected for the long-term interests of all generations. This is for their ‘mutual advantage’. Moreover, some formalisation of justice between generations would prevent

³⁹ No legal Act, public or private law, in New Zealand incorporates generations. These Acts are based upon momentary pretexts that entail the term, ‘everyone’. But the definition of ‘everyone’ does not actually apply to all and sundry as the various New Zealand Acts exist in a flexible and fluid manner. This means that all and sundry may not receive the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme when they reach sixty-five because the Act is indeterminate across space and time.

any exploitation of some generations who hand over resources for little benefit to themselves (Mannheim, 1951, p. 112). Consequently, I would argue that laws need to focus on treating generations as equals, treating generational needs equally and treating generational capacities fairly. This would prevent any temporal discounting of the 'advantages' for subsequent generations by previous generations, while restricting the degree to which burdens are passed on to subsequent generations (Gardiner, 2006, Chapter Eight).

When legislation fails to incorporate guarantees, rights may not be transferred to living generations. For example, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may not be available to all living generations when they reach old age. Since most people, from all generations, are unable to provide for their own old age, the consequences for some generations may differ markedly. Therefore, the failure to embrace some predefined notion of generation in law demonstrates that different age groups have different levels of moral worth. This is reinforced by legislation surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The Scheme's existence as formative horizontal law is merely momentary. Hence, not all generations are accorded with minimal rights to their fair treatment when they reach old age. Since the Scheme is not legally transferable, the question arises as to why the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is still in existence?

Some New Zealanders may embrace the notion of implicit agreements as a right to receive the Superannuation Scheme when they reach old age. But this implicit notion may or may not be transferred between generations (Ederer, Schuller & Willms, 2006, p. 129). Implicit rights are not 'beneficial universalisms' where some generations can make claims on other generations to provide economic support to them in old age. This sentiment is reflected by Kohl (1996) when he states that "the pension is safe – for the present generation" (cited in Haberle, 2006, pp. 224-225). Therefore, the implicit right to access the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme does not officially recognise living generations as being 'equal benefactors' in the process of exchange. Consequently, any claims are fruitless since there is no legitimate claim by those without rights. I would argue that generations do have claims for the misappropriation of their tax contributions

to the pay-as-you-go Superannuation Scheme, the Superannuation Fund⁴⁰ and the additional services provided to the aged from which they may not benefit.

Adjuncts to intergenerational equality, I contend, amplify the influence of laws, policies and official rules. These adjuncts to equality guide basic institutions when distributing the shares of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ among people. Institutions provide surface (elementary) levels of funding for services. The funding, the services and the taxes provide insight into which social groups are ‘advantaged’ and which are ‘disadvantaged’. The set of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ for each social group may be used to compare social groups. Generations manifest their adjuncts to equality. There are numerous adjuncts involving need and capacity, for example, the Superannuation Fund, the Superannuation Scheme and the Kiwi Saver Scheme.⁴¹

Basic institutions distribute resources between generations (Rawls, 1971, p. 6). This may be undertaken with or without ensuring that generations receive a substantively equal share of resources relative to the historical era and proportional to each other. If generations receive a substantively equal and ‘relatively proportional’⁴² share of resources compared to each other, they are accorded with an equivalent set of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ for the same life phases of comparable worth; if not, they are ‘disadvantaged’. According to Rawls (1971), “justice is the way in which the major social institutions distribute fundamental rights and duties” (p. 7). In New Zealand, justice between generations is missing and this is why some generations have a greater

⁴⁰ The Superannuation Fund is a savings scheme whereby the New Zealand nation-state sets aside a proportion of taxes in the present for maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme during a specific period in future.

⁴¹ The Kiwi Saver is a retirement saving scheme for individual New Zealanders that is sanctioned by the nation-state in New Zealand.

⁴² ‘Relative’ refers to consistent statistical measures on any given thing. These measures incorporate exogenous and endogenous factors that remain unchanged over space and time. This allows for one social group to be compared with another at the same time or during different eras. Meanwhile, ‘proportional’ refers to the statistical tools that convert quality, quantity, degree and sets of ‘advantages’ to any given statistical measure or thing being compared. The compound word, ‘relatively proportional’, is the ability to compare social groups across space and time, given the statistical measures used and the statistical tools used to convert measures. For example, taxation in 1970 for the Baby Boom generation and the taxation of generation X in 1990 can be compared to find out which generation paid more taxes during the same life phase. The distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’, I consider, as having some measurement value.

probability of experiencing poverty during old age than others (Else & St John, 1998, pp. 41-42; Thomson, 1991, p. 216).

The Superannuation Fund reinforces, in my view, the absence of intergenerational justice and neglects the long-term interests of New Zealanders in social policy. This Fund is an investment portfolio designed to maintain the Superannuation Scheme temporarily in the near future (IMF, 2007, p.18). The injustice arises for those generations who contribute, receive no returns from the Fund, pay more for the aged when capital in the Fund is depleted, may not receive a Superannuation Scheme when reaching old age and pay with reductions to services so that investments can be made to the Fund. This is testament to the lack of institutional care for intergenerational justice.

The Superannuation Scheme exists in conjunction with other core services. When any funding or service changes occur with respect to gross domestic product, need, demographic pressures or resource restrictions, then this generates inequalities between generations (Koopman-Boyden, 1993, p. 40). The inequalities arise as public investment prior to old age has the potential to reduce poverty during this period. When investments in 'mutually advantageous' services for all generations either contract in the short-term or are short-term, this has long-term implications. This is why the procedural process of distributing resources incorporates ethical considerations like temporal discounting of 'beneficiary universalisms', continuity and change (Mannheim, 1951, pp. 223-226).

Changes to 'beneficiary universalisms' alter the social relations between generations. For this reason, the continual changes to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, although there is no formalisation for generational rights, have undermined its viability. Furthermore, the public responsibility to care for the aged has been undermined along with public consciousness of the fact that most people are unable to earn enough income to save for old age (St John & Willmore, 2001, pp. 1292-1293). Therefore, I would suggest that there is a need for generational concerns to be taken seriously when considering any economic support prior to old age or during old age.

Social inequality reflects the generational outcomes relative to each life phase. These outcomes arise as a consequence of the share of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ that are distributed by institutions and agencies. Intergenerational outcomes are an assessment of different generations at the same developmental phase. They may provide information on how generations are treated relative to each other. Treatment, in other words, is based upon the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ for various public goods and the purposes of these.

The purpose of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is to provide an income for all those people aged sixty-five and over. The amount paid is based on the premise that the aged have few opportunities to generate an income and that they should be provided with enough money to allow them to participate in society. Consequently, few people today in New Zealand experience poverty during old age (MSD, 2006; MSD, 2007). However, a reduction in the poverty levels amongst the aged has contributed to increases in poverty amongst other groups in New Zealand society. According to St John (1993), “poverty among the aged has been largely supplanted by a growing recognition that other groups, especially households with young children, are more likely to be in need” (p. 123).

The payment of a decent income for the aged in New Zealand may be compared with the cost of retaining or increasing the poverty levels among children and young people. This is because “social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged” (Rawls, 1972, p. 266). The cost of having a generation of young people in New Zealand growing up in severe hardship compared to preceding generations during the same life phase has been noted (MSD, 2007). Poverty during the first phase of dependency has lasting effects throughout the lives of those generations that experience this position and this affects the lives of others, especially the aged, who are cared for by them.

Pertinent to intergenerational equality is the arrangement of ‘advantages and disadvantages’. This arrangement arises, in modern times, when generations are born into a nation state and their treatment is determined in part by this circumstance (Thomson, 1991, Chapter Five). If official laws and ‘adjuncts to equality’ lack consideration for

intergenerational equality as a legitimate domain of fairness, the commonalities of dependency shared between them, irrespective of time, remain transitory and ambiguous. Consequently, I want to suggest that intergenerational relations are at the mercy of those social groups that dominate in society in particular historical eras. Thus, during different historical eras and amongst living generations, some generations receive greater benefits than others. Specifically, some generations in New Zealand may receive the Superannuation Benefit plus other services during old age, while, others may not.

2.22 Intergenerational Need

The concept of 'need', in my view, is important for understanding the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations. This concept of 'need' changes in type and form (nature) across space and time. Generational 'needs' refer to what is minimally provided to all those during phases of dependency, how the provision of need is allocated and how 'influencing elements' affect the treatment of dependents. Thus, needs are equivalent for all generations in relation to their life phase and relative to each other. According to Rawls (1971), "human life has a succession of temporal states, including childhood and old age; the kinds of needs and requirements that political justice should take into account, citizens' needs and requirements are sufficiently similar for an index of primary goods to serve as a suitable and fair basis for interpersonal comparison" (p. 170).

The relevance of generational 'need' is, I want to suggest, highlighted by Lumer's (2006) principles: ethical hedonism (welfare orientation) and prioritarianism. Ethical hedonism (welfare orientation) refers to the fact that "the welfare of people's well-being is multiplied with its duration. Welfare carries an intrinsic moral value or moral value in itself and what can be considered as a final moral goal. In other words, ethical hedonism expresses what is really important" (p.39). This definition of Lumer's (2006) reflects my own understanding of the form of welfare state laid out under the central tenet of 'need' in Chapter One. Therefore, Lumer's ethical hedonism fits well with my theory of social justice. In essence, adding generations to the theory of social justice changes the aspect of

social justice so that ‘need’ concerns what is minimally applicable to all generations and identifies what ‘needs’ are really important.

‘Need’ is officially defined in some countries. ‘Need’ may be incorporated into law, the constitution or both. On the other hand, some countries, as in New Zealand’s case, have no official definition for ‘need’. Both the law and the constitution provide people across space and time with minimal entitlements to ensure that certain ‘needs’ are met, irrespective of people’s characteristics. Those countries which use an official definition of ‘need’ can, unlike New Zealand, construct a hierarchical index based upon ‘need’. The index is ordered from the most to the least important, irrespective of moral worth. Rawls (1971) reflects this sentiment when he emphasises that need is very important while moral worth should be ignored (p. 312). Meanwhile, informal notions of need or undefined needs are those that are transitory and lack weight.

In New Zealand, ethical hedonism does not exist. This is because there is no official definition of ‘need’, at the minimal level, that is universally applicable between or within generations. Instead, income insufficiency determines ‘need’, while the definition of ‘everybody’ inadvertently undermines generational relevance. This is outlined under the Social Security Act 1964. The arbitrary index of income may or may not provide for unspecified ‘needs’. Therefore, no person in New Zealand has a right to the fulfilment of some arbitrary and ill defined ‘need’. But ‘everybody’ has a right to some arbitrary level of income according to momentary pretexts. These pretexts are not necessarily applicable across space and time. Income may be provided irrespective of ‘need’ or irrespective of the need addressed by that income. The form of need (welfare orientation) provides some insight into this.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, in my view, represents a ‘social norm of need’. This form of need leads to a social democratic welfare state for the aged. The Scheme provides those people aged sixty-five and over, at a particular point in time, with a decent standard of living (Smith, 1976 cited in Fleischacker, 2004, p. 66). A decent standard of living allows people, who belong to a nation, to maintain customs and to experience a sense of belonging in society. It enables them to participate. The

Superannuation Benefit is adjusted annually according to the Consumer Price Index and it is based upon a percent, set in relation to circumstance, of the average wage after the deduction of standard tax (NZSR Act, 2001, Part 1: S12, S12, S13, S15 & S16). This condition applies to both genders and all ethnic groups. The Scheme entitles all those aged sixty-five to apply and receive transfers that 'advantage' them to a range of benefits, services and reduced prices for facilities. This arrangement is predominantly financed through general taxes. Therefore, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is administered under the auspices of a social democratic welfare state and, as such, attempts to create formal equality and a sense of income protection for people aged sixty-five and over.

The social democratic welfare state does not extend to other dependents (Larsen, 2006, p. 12). Hence, dependents are treated according to characteristics such as age. The type and form of need legally applied to other dependents in New Zealand relates to a neo-liberal welfare state. This means that dependents are prevented from experiencing some arbitrary notion of absolute poverty. Need is targeted by assessing income insufficiency and by assessing a set of characteristics contributing to the position of dependency. The Social Security Act 1964, Section 96A, states hardship criteria as an economic determinant for the assistance of New Zealanders. In other words, 'need' does not determine the type and the form of provision but human characteristics do. Therefore, not all dependents receive assistance. Meanwhile, dependents receiving assistance may or may not have this support tied to some arbitrary notion of 'need'.

The welfare treatment of the 'needs' of various dependents allows for the tracking of generational differences. Differences arise when the approach to defining 'need' changes which, subsequently, alters the form of the welfare state (Lumer, 2006, p. 40). This may disrupt the entire welfare state or lead to a mixed welfare state and may be directed at different generations. As a consequence, the former balance of 'advantages and disadvantages' changes. These processes occur at different life phases for generations which, in turn, produce variable impacts upon their life chances.

A mixed welfare state for dependents that is based upon assessing characteristics makes it impossible to prioritise resources based upon need. This is because the treatment of different dependents may diverge so that need is no longer considered important. It is an indication that 'influencing elements' determine deserving and non-deserving dependents. According to Larsen (2006), a hierarchy of dependents exists and resources are allocated based upon arbitrary scales of deserving and non-deserving citizens (p. 54). This legacy is passed down. The legacy transforms the type and form (nature) of need. The altered form of need subsequently generates a dissimilar set of obligations and responsibilities so that successive generations have incongruous obligations to the preceding generations (Tremmel, 2006, p. 12). In other words, how the needs of successive generations are addressed contribute to the way in which the needs of preceding generations during old age are addressed. Therefore, the reason for having a welfare state can be compromised and prioritarianism becomes ineffective.

Whereas ethical hedonism for Lumer (2006) determines what has intrinsic value, namely welfare, prioritarianism has to do with how welfare is assessed and how the weighting of need is addressed by the welfare state. Irrespective of a person's or a generation's characteristics, the weight of the worse off person receives support. However, this support does not come at the expense of others who are already experiencing some level of need. That is to say, prioritarianism concerns the distribution of resources with respect to need and how this distribution relates to intergenerational justice (Lumer, 2006, pp. 42-43). Rules associated with prioritising needs can be invoked against the backdrop of resource insufficiency (Miller, 2006, pp. 213-214). For example, the criterion of food carries greater weight for all dependents than the criterion of income that enables the aged to participate in society. Given this scenario, a contraction of public resources can temporarily be put in place until sufficient funds become available again and principles of ethical hedonism can be revived. In New Zealand, there is no official process of prioritarianism since there is no definition of need. Rather, a mixed welfare state for dependents shows, I want to suggest, that the needs of the aged carry far greater weight than their situation warrants.

The needs of all generations are about ensuring, preserving and sustaining resources to provide for dependent life phases. These resources are a part of the equation for intergenerational justice. This is because unmet need erodes the ability to preserve the resources necessary for sustaining the needs of dependents across space and time. The critical issue is that generations are united in their moments of need at particular points in their life cycle. The failure to share these burdens is a failure to acknowledge the needs of others and their own pending needs as a consequence of ageing. Therefore, it is my contention that New Zealand requires some formal clarification of need that encompasses all generations. The Superannuation Scheme lacks this formal clarification. It means that the Benefit is safe for today's aged but may not be safe for tomorrow's aged (Haberle, 2006, p. 224).

2.23 Intergenerational Capacity

Generational capacity, in my view, concerns the cultivation of abilities and investment in the members of society by distributing 'advantages and disadvantages' among people. There are different types and forms (nature) of generational capacities. Generational capacity involves what Lumer (2006) calls 'limited commitments' and the 'economy of commitments'. 'Limited commitments' are about reaching "at least a bit beyond" what are "socially valid moral duties, that is moral duties supported by formal or informal sanctions. A further increase of commitment (towards a maximum commitment) is not a moral duty" (p. 43). In other words, 'limited commitments' reinforce 'beneficiary universalisms' by establishing or maintaining structural commitments in the social relations among people and between generations (Lumer, 2006, pp. 43-44).

'Limited commitments' are, I want to suggest, the internal aspects of the adjuncts to equality for the primary services that are legally sanctioned for the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' among people in society. Meanwhile, the 'economy of commitments' concerns the basis of social relations. According to Lumer (2006), the 'economy of commitments' (economy principle) is that "moral commitment should be efficient and employed where the ratio of cost to moral benefit is most favourable" (p. 44). That is to say, social relations are derived from the balance of costs and benefits that

influence commitments (Lumer, 2006, pp. 44-45) transferred from one person to the next and from one generation to the next. I have incorporated Lumer's (2006) principles of commitment into my social justice tenet of capacity via the concepts of opportunity, desert and participation.

In New Zealand, there is no formal 'beneficiary universalism' and there are ambiguous notions of need.⁴³ This means that any sense of 'universal' public support for the aged across space and time exists as an implicit commitment to an ill-defined need from one moment to the next. To illustrate, there is no guarantee that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme will exist tomorrow or in the future, even if there is some sense of an implicit commitment to maintain the Scheme in the short-term. The implicit commitment rests, I would suggest, on the nature of capacities that the current contributors have received during another dependent life phase. Consequently, there are no formal obligations allowing for commitments to balance the ratio of costs and benefits between generations in New Zealand (Lumer, 2006, p. 44).

Generational capacities above limited levels of formalised commitments are similar to informal commitments between generations (Lumer, 2006, p. 43). This is because these commitments may not be transferable and reflect the role social justice plays in society. Consequently, some generations may have their capacities expanded so that the obligations and responsibilities of these generations to previous generations are greater, while other generations may have their capacities contracted. This reduces the obligations, responsibilities and duties to previous generations. Simply put, changes across space and time to capacities alter intergenerational relations.

Generational opportunities are the types and forms (nature) of investment that 'advantage' all generations, irrespective of time. These investments are limited to the set of 'advantages' that provide, protect and maintain the interests of all generations. Types of public investment include: education, health, housing and infrastructure. Meanwhile, the form of public investments include: standards, structures, conditions, purposes and quality. By transferring a minimal level of privileges across time, generations share each

⁴³ Refer above to the section on intergenerational equality and intergenerational need.

others' burdens and successes for their 'mutual advantage' (Tremmel, 2006, p. 3). Old age is one particular phase of dependency during which most people, irrespective of space and time, require economic assistance. The aged will need this support for all or most of their income until their death. Therefore, investing in those things that reduce poverty and protect the aged are vital for all generations. Rawls (1971) reflects this sentiment when he states that "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are attached to offices and positions open to all under the conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (pp. 302-303).

One form of generational opportunity relates to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and retirement savings. The Superannuation Scheme provides 'advantages' to some generations and not others. Those generations who are gifted with a public 'advantage' of protection and security for their old age do not need to save for this event. Meanwhile, some generations may have uncertain 'advantages' for their old age due to the ambiguous state of the Superannuation Scheme and other 'advantages' that may be provided when they reach old age. Even at a limited level, economic support of the aged across time and space is not guaranteed by any provision in New Zealand. According to Butler (2001), "social protection, social security and opportunity to access resources is no longer guaranteed" (p. 547).

Another form of generational opportunity involves public investment in housing. In New Zealand, housing policy exists as a temporary initiative with no commitment to investing, formally or informally, for all generations. This creates a situation where short-term interests dominate investment decisions in public housing, despite the longitudinal benefits for all generations. Consequently, some generations may receive housing 'advantages', while other generations have received little or none. These differences contribute to some generations experiencing greater levels of poverty during old age than others (Thomson, 1991, p. 34; MSD, 2007). A couple owning their own home have between twenty to thirty percent more net disposable income compared to those couples renting (St John, 1993, p. 124). Therefore, public investment in housing protects people, no matter what generational membership they belong to.

Investment in the opportunities of each generation at critical life phases, I want to suggest, develops and establishes the relations between them. It teaches the rules of exchange, responsibility, trust, reciprocity and duties so that ‘mutual advantages’ between generations can exist. This ‘mutual advantage’ means that generations have ‘limited commitments’ to each other by sharing the burdens of old age and by balancing the costs involved in providing this support. In doing so, generations are deserving of fair treatment.

Generational desert is a moral notion regarding what is fair or just. There are multiple types. According to Miller (2003), the plural type of desert includes the criteria, relevance of need and worthiness, as to “what different people deserve” (p. 133). Generational desert outlines the notion of moral worth for generations and for dependents that characterises justice (Fleischacker, 2004, p. 19). These notions influence the actions of basic institutions or agencies. Actions are the performances that entail some assessment process for determining the moral worth of distributing the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ in a particular way among people. These performances provide information about the worth a social group or generation has relative to historical location and to each other (Barry, 2005, p. 17).

During their lives most people will experience some form of need necessitating public support. This event is common among the aged and between generations (Jackson, 1998, p. 78; Johnson, 1999). This is why generations require equivalent levels of moral and ethical worth so that the economy of contributions balances fairly the costs and the benefits of maintaining ‘limited commitments’ (Lumer, 2006, pp. 44-47). ‘Limited commitments’ are those needs and principles that carry greater weight than the dominant interests of any social group for maintaining the social fabric of society. This is so that the needs, the opportunities and the participation of each generation are not discounted for some short-term gain or for some moral devaluation of generational worth (Gardiner, 2006, pp. 159-166). To illustrate, if the legislation for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme existed as a ‘limited commitment’ to the aged across space and time, then the costs associated with this commitment would mean that the disadvantages are mutually shared between generations. This is because each generation would carry similar levels of

moral worth. Where people during old age are equally deserving across generations, Miller (2003) contends that “it is unjust when one receives more benefits and support than another”, without a circumstantial reason for generating this difference (p. 96).

Any benefit or support beyond that required to meet minimal needs, formal ‘limited commitments’ excepted, is in practice a non-deserving element that may not be transferable. This is because ‘norms’ change, given the historical era and according to the resource base of the nation-state. It means that during one period ‘norms of need’ may be applied to caring for the aged, while in others ‘social norms of need’ may be used. These differences are generated by social, environmental, “economic and political conditions that leave lasting marks on those born in different historical periods” (Bengtson, Elder & Putney, 2006, p. 495). One difference arises because ‘limited commitments’ are about the needs of the poor. The poor have a limited right to demand property from those who are not living in some predefined notion of need (Plattner, 1979, p. 12). Therefore, irrespective of age or wealth, the contributions and characteristics of those in need do not determine their deservingness for assistance but need does (Miller, 2006, p. 196). Consequently, a deserving income for the aged is subject to the conditions of others who are in need and the indexation of this need relative to others. For this reason the aged across time and space may implicitly deserve minimal existence but little else.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme attests to a ‘limited commitment’ towards providing today’s aged with economic support. There is an explicit acknowledgement that this economic support may not be transferable between generations and social groups. Hence, the aged may occupy the position of deserving some notion of support today, but this exists as an unsubstantiated long-term commitment that other living generations may not equally or fairly deserve. Therefore, deservingness is not based upon the notion that the aged across space and time are unable to control their neediness, but upon the ‘moral imperatives’ that exist with respect to historical context. There is no ‘limited commitment’ in New Zealand to provide for the needs outlined and activated under the concept of need. Furthermore, there is no ‘economy of commitments’ for fairly distributing ‘advantages and disadvantages’ between generations for some undefined commitment to need. Therefore, the higher the level of need implying the greater worth

of deservingness for receiving economic assistance cannot exist as a basis for equity or fairness between generations in New Zealand society.

In New Zealand, there is no generational desert and little acknowledgement of desert for dependents (Social Security Act, 1964; see also amendments). Hence, the notion of what is fair and what is equitable when distributing ‘advantages and disadvantages’ lacks transparency. If desert is not legitimised, implicit forms become active. Implicit notions of desert are ambiguous with unclear roots for establishing the degree to which ‘influencing elements’ impact on the notion of deservingness and non-deservingness of dependents. When ‘influencing elements’ prevail in constructing moral notions of deservingness, along with the actions of institutions or agencies, a hierarchy of dependents may exist (Larsen, 2006, p. 53). This hierarchy may be structured on the basis that the characteristics of dependents are important and not their needs. If desert is legitimised and is therefore explicit and transparent it must, in my view, include just and equitable criteria. In New Zealand, implicit forms of desert take precedence; so any notion of equity and fair treatment exists in the domain of unsubstantiated moral and ethical imperatives. Generational desert is the moral basis behind why a particular type and form (nature) of social justice is supported in society. It delineates the worth placed on a generation and on dependents. Generational desert influences how ‘advantages and disadvantages are distributed between generations and dependents. The moral principles of deservingness flow on to influence participation.

Participation concerns those actions of involvement that lay the foundations of interaction. These extend from the relationship of giving (disadvantage) and taking (advantage) between two or more people interacting or communicating with one another. In essence, participation is the sum total of the processes involved for developing social relations that extend from the interaction between two or more people to society. There are multiple types and forms of participation. The types of participation are those events, gatherings or occasions to which people belong. Each type of participation entails a set of things that characterises the form of participation. These things are the values, knowledge, experiences, ideologies, interests and essential character (nature) of people. Each carries variable worth which contributes to the form of participation and fosters the

climate for the cultivation of people's well-being in society. Forms of participation correspond to the historical context whereby involvement for people of different social groups reflects the moral and social imperatives that are valued in society. These imperatives characterise people's understanding of exchange, reciprocity, trust, commitment, responsibility, moral consciousness and socialisation.

Generational participation shapes social relations between generations (Davey, Schofield, Keeling and Parsons, 2006, p. 284). It passes down the type and form (nature) of participation that characterises these relations. One type of participation analysed by intergenerational justice theorists relates to commitments (Lumer, 2006, Chapter Two; Birnbacher, 2006, Chapter One, Tremmel, 2006, pp. 205-206). Commitments are the social agreements outlining the social rules for an exchange process. These social agreements may be explicit or implicit. If agreements are explicit, then as soon as a disadvantage arises, this becomes an obligation to give an advantage in return in the short-term, in the medium-term or in the long-term. Social commitments are essential for maintaining the social fabric (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 274). They are obligations to a cause or causes that most people across space and time avoid at their peril. If agreement is implicit, this process is ambiguous. Commitments may or may not be recognised or even exist. In order to establish intergenerational commitments for economically supporting the aged across space and time, investment in those things that establish commitments between generations is necessary.

Investing in commitments requires that the set of things that are important for the type and form (nature) of participation are cultivated for this purpose. Social commitments rely on the foundations established by the family unit. Commitments within the family enable members to extend principles of commitment to social commitments. If the foundations of participation are not learnt, their acquisitions relies on the foundations established by basic institutions. This may enable social commitments to be established but it does not mean that they are fully developed. Without participation, sharing or exchanging could not occur and commitments may exist as an imposition that lacks meaning.

Generational variability in participation is about standard levels of engagement for people to develop moral consciousness, values, fair rules of exchange, knowledge and commitments and to undergo socialisation (Mannheim, 1939, p. 286). These fluctuate according to historical location and, Smith (1976) contends, may even reach the fringes of what is adequately required for society to function (p. 77). On the other hand, high levels of generational participation enable people to foster a sense of belonging beyond and within the family, to undergo socialisation, to improve moral consciousness, to establish fair rules of exchange and to cultivate responsibility (Verba, 2003, p. 676). These strengthen the foundations of society. Therefore, participation concerns the process of engaging in activities that fosters social rules of exchange and reciprocity beyond and within the family (Rousseau, 1952, p. xivi). Essentially, participation allows for generational relations to arise and the nature of these relations is determined in part by this process (Rousseau translated by Hopkins, 1960, pp. 254-256).

In New Zealand, commitments between generations are not formalised. Informal commitments may or may not be evident to subsequent generations. This is because the implicit foundations of participation are not necessarily transferred from one generation to the next. Hence, the level of investment in participation is unstable; it is uncertain whether it has eroded, may not have occurred or has changed. One result is that there is no commitment in New Zealand to the aged across space and time for their prior contributions.

In sum, intergenerational capacity concerns the investment in those public goods that are considered important for solidarity and the development of members in society. These investments entail types and forms that retain some value or worth across generations so that the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' among people is relatively proportional across space and time. I want to suggest that the concepts of opportunity, desert and participation entail 'limited commitments' and 'economy of commitments'. The nature of opportunity, desert and participation prevailing in New Zealand society determine how commitments are transferred from one person to the next and from one generation to the next. In other words, social relations between generations are influenced

by the cultivation of abilities through the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ among people.

Intergenerational justice is concerned about the social relations between generations and how each generation is treated relative to each other. It extends social justice to generations so that the universals among them are fairly treated. These universals allow ‘limited commitments’ and the ‘economy of these commitments’ to be designed for the ‘mutual benefit’ of living generations. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme protects the aged from a universal event across generations by establishing commitment between generations through other avenues of investment. This investment merely influences the type and form (nature) of commitment a generation is obligated to provide a previous generations during old age. In other words, the type and form (nature) of intergenerational justice is guided by the relations passed on from one generation to the next. These relations are manifested in the tenets of social justice (equality, need and capacity) and may reflect whether or not one generation is fairly treated relative to another.

2.3 Influencing Elements

A dependent is a person or a generation requiring support from others to provide for those things to survive, to prevent legal collapse or to develop their capacities. There are different categories of dependents. These categories may be used to treat the circumstances of equal neediness between dependents differently (Rawls, 1996, p. 25; Nussbaum, 2006, pp. 14-16; Larsen, 2006, p. 54). The differences in treating dependents arise as a consequence of human elements. These are the values, ideologies, interests, knowledge, experiences and essential character (nature) that influence justice. If the needs of dependents are the same, these needs may be unjustly and unfairly treated relative to each other (Miller, 2003, pp. 213-214). The differences in treating the needs of dissimilar dependents on the basis of some set of characteristics highlight how ‘influencing elements’ develop and reinforce a hierarchy of dependents. This hierarchy is an organisation of dependents that is arranged in some arbitrary ranking system. This system categorises a dependent using a subset of characteristics, whether fair or unfair,

and may be embodied in basic institutions, such as “denying people benefits to which they have a right” (Barry, 2006, p. 210).

Some generations have greater influence over major institutions in society. These generations are sometimes larger in size, such as the Baby Boomers, than others and are able to use their power to serve their own interests. For example, the Uncertainty and Baby Boom generation have currently greater influence over major institutions in New Zealand, while generations X, Y and Z have less influence. According to Kallen (1989), “unequal group relations are rooted in group level power differentials, giving rise to which different population groups come to occupy unequal ranking based upon their relative degree of political, economic and social power” (p. 3). Generations are non-concrete social groups that have different levels of power. These power differentials influence how dependents are treated relative to each other and which interests relative to age dominate in society.

A generation with greater influence and power may or may not be consciously aware of their status or group ties but may, nevertheless, support mechanisms of social closure to serve their own interests. In this way, a generation enlists characteristics similar to social class. According to Weber (1978), “generations, like social classes, are organized in terms of social closure to maximize access to resources for their members. Social closure is a strategy for controlling resources in a context of competition by defining members by reference to some (arbitrary) principle of inclusion/ exclusion such as skin colour or age” (pp. 341-343, cited in Mannheim, 1997). The magnitude of this generational exclusion when using mechanisms of social closure can lead to generational differences in the treatment of dependents. This leads to socially unjust practices governed by institutions and agencies.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the relationship between generations and social justice. The chapter outlined the foundation of intergenerational relations by identifying that there is a succession of generations alive at any one time that interact with each other in a continual

process of giving and taking. These generations will all experience dependent life phases necessitating public assistance. Old age is a common life phase uniting generations in their need for commitments. These commitments are transferred or not transferred from one generation to the next and are reflected in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' across space and time. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme was identified as one representation of normative intergenerational justice. How various generations are treated differently in New Zealand was considered by exploring the relationship between the Superannuation Scheme and what I deem to be the central tenets of intergenerational justice: equality, need and capacity (opportunity, desert and participation).

Chapter Three

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme

The purpose of Chapter Three is to provide background information about the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This is essential for understanding why the Scheme exists as a manifestation of intergenerational justice and why normative enquiry regarding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may be undertaken. No assessment of the Superannuation Scheme can occur without understanding the Scheme and the role New Zealanders have in contributing to the Scheme. Therefore, the chapter examines the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and its relevance to intergenerational justice. It provides an account of the Superannuation Scheme's historical development.

The title, type and form (nature) of economic support for the aged have frequently changed in New Zealand. These changes have created uncertainty in an environment characterised by increasing population pressures involving the age structure and the dependency ratio. This raises questions, whether real or imagined, about the possibility of maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The Superannuation Scheme generates ambiguity among current contributors about its future, while also generating concern surrounding the political power of the aged. These factors have the potential to create conflict between generations. Hence, there are intergenerational justice issues and 'influencing elements' that may affect the future of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

3.1 History of Economic Support for the Aged

In the late nineteenth century, in New Zealand, the economic support and care for vulnerable groups beyond the church began. It was fuelled by the lack of family support, lack of private pension schemes and the depression in the 1880's (Thomson, 1991, Ch 2). The move from church organisations caring for those in old age was reinforced by the introduction of the Old Age Pensions Act in 1898. This pension system was initially designed for those of non-Asian origin, of good moral character, aged fifty and meeting

residency criteria. It was a non-contributory pension based upon a low flat rate (St John and Willmore, 2001, p. 1292). In other words, a welfare state that provided minimal existence.

The Old Age Pension was means tested so that it provided economic support to those in need and was funded by taxation (Hawke, 2005, p. 39). In 1911, the Pension was extended to Widows and some time later war veterans, miners and the sick (Pensions for the Blind were introduced in 1924). Consequently, the welfare system of New Zealand was established by supporting people who were in old age.

The savings sector for retirement slowly emerged with the help of the nation-state. Tax exemptions for employers and employees in private pension schemes enticed investors. The nation-state also increased the number of people participating in schemes by ensuring that public servants were covered by different private retirement schemes (Atkinson, 2002, P. 12). This involvement enabled the retirement savings sector to develop further and was a move for people to take responsibility for themselves during their own old age. In 1911, the nation state established a National Provident Fund (OCED, 1993, p. 12). This Fund entitled low-income people to access subsidised retirement savings (Age Pension). The contributions to the Age Pension were made by employers, employees or both (Atkinson, 2002, p. 22). The Fund enabled council employees and people working in industry or private companies access to retirement savings. Few changes were made to the National Provident Fund until the Depression.

The Depression wiped out or significantly abridged the retirement savings of people involved in the Fund and precipitated an explosion of welfare services (Thomson, 1998, p. 13). During this time, benefits for deserted wives with children were introduced. The level of need experienced by many led to the 1938 Social Security Act. This Act extended social services to incorporate health care, protection for the unemployed and other important services. These services were funded out of general taxes. In the same year, the Pension Scheme was separated from other forms of welfare.

In 1938, the Pension Scheme utilised a two-tiered system. The first tier was not means tested and provided a low Universal Pension (St John & Ashton, 1993, p. 12). The second tier, known as an Aged Benefit, was income and asset tested. It provided additional funds to those unable to save for their own retirement and was payable from the age of sixty (Hawke, 2005, p. 36). A year later, a social security tax was introduced to finance the resources required by the aged. Although the social security tax was insufficient to sustain the resources required by the aged, it gave the impression that contributions through signalled taxes were payment for the receipt of the Pension (Ashton & St John, 1998, pp. 21-22). In fact, the Universal Pension was a pay-as-you-go-scheme.

The idea behind the Universal Pension and Age Pension (earnings related pension) was to ensure that everyone received some form of economic assistance in old age. The Universal Pension was set at a level considered tenable. It was subsequently raised and, by 1960, the Universal Pension “reached parity with the Age Pension” (St John and Ashton, 1993, p. 13). By international standards the Universal Pension was considered to be generous. Over time, the Pension led to a reduction in other forms of retirement savings. Consequently, people began to rely more on the Universal Pension and this reliance meant that the Pension was progressively being considered as permanent (Koopman-Boyden, 1993, p. 23). This provoked a discussion about the purposes of the Universal Pension and its role in New Zealand.

In 1969, the social security tax used to partially finance the Universal Pension was phased out. The funding for the pay-as-you-go Pension was replaced by general taxation. This change was merely a paper one, as general taxation was already shouldering the major burden of financing the Universal Pension. Further changes were made so that the rates received by the aged were adjusted in accordance with the consumer price index (Else & St John, 1998, pp. 34-35). However, Age Pensions and private retirement schemes experienced an erosion in returns as these were not adjusted to the consumer price index. In addition, the fruits of poor investment decisions were commonly felt and some employees had poor vesting arrangements with their employer-supported schemes. This meant that the retirement savings were often insufficient to maintain living standards.

The direction of economic protection for the aged began to focus on need instead of blanket assistance based upon age alone. Consequently, means testing of other income, apart from the Pension, was mooted. The idea behind this was to make citizens responsible for some of their own provisions. In a sense, the Compulsory Scheme was to supplement the Universal Pension. The two tiered approach proposed was put into legislation a year later and was called the New Zealand Superannuation Act 1974 (Hawke, 2005, p. 40). In 1975, the Scheme came into effect. The contributions were set at four percent of wages for both employers and employees. A total of eight percent of each employee's wages was invested in the Government Superannuation Fund, National Provident Fund or Private Retirement Schemes (Atkinson, 2002, p. 23).

Unpopular, at the time, amongst many New Zealand citizens the Compulsory Contributory Superannuation Scheme was repealed and, in 1977, a National Superannuation Scheme replaced the existing means tested Pension and Compulsory Superannuation Scheme (Koopman-Boyden, 1993, p. 45). Regardless of economic resources everyone received the Superannuation Benefit when they reached the age of sixty-five (Easton, 1981, p. 16). The net payment for a couple at this time was eighty percent of the average wage while single people received sixty percent of the average wage. A few years later the retirement age was reduced to sixty (OCED, 1993, p. 16).

In 1985, the National Superannuation Scheme underwent another change. A Surcharge was brought in and applied to all income received other than the National Superannuation (St John, & Willmore, 2001, p. 1295). This Surcharge acted as a disincentive for retirement savings and was a disincentive for those of age sixty to remain in employment. It mainly affected those who were economically affluent. Two years later, concerns surrounded the viability of the National Superannuation Scheme resurfaced.

The demand for economic support for the ageing population was considered by some as unsustainable (Duncan, 2007, p. 269). This was followed by drastic tax changes whereby the previous sliding tax scales were reduced to three rates and a goods and service tax was introduced (St John & Willmore, 2001, pp. 1292, 1295). In effect, the middle to low-

income earners shouldered a greater tax burden than previously while high-income earners paid less than previously. The change was essentially transferring the cost of services. Meanwhile, the country was in the grips of a recession due to a share market crash and many were unable to maintain private retirement savings, while others lost some or all of their savings in the stock market crash. During this period, the National Provident Fund suffered significant losses and was bailed out by the Government.

In 1990, the National Superannuation Scheme was given the title of Guaranteed Retirement Income. This Retirement Income was split into two components. The first portion gave New Zealanders who were sixty and over a portion of the Retirement Income that was not subjected to means testing (St John & Willmore, 2001, p. 1292). The second portion was subjected to an income test which was more stringent than the Surcharge. These conditions affected a small group of citizens who were economically affluent. The Retirement Income was based at a rate between sixty-five and seventy-two point five percent of the average wage and moved in relation to the consumer price index (MSD, 2007).

Some changes were short lived and by 1992 the name reverted back to National Superannuation. The income test remained for the second portion but the age of eligibility changed. During the next ten years, the age of retirement was to be increased incrementally from sixty to sixty-five (St John & Willmore, 2001, p. 1293). The amount received was reduced to sixty-eight percent of the average wage. These changes were about redirecting citizens to take more responsibility for their own provisions in retirement. The clear message was that private savings would be needed to provide for retirement in the future to maintain living standards. This message, however, was undermined by the losses of the National Provident Fund. The Fund was bailed out a second time and subsequently folded.

In 1993, National Superannuation was renamed as the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Despite minor changes, concerns about the sustainability of the Scheme continued to haunt our public figures. Various ideas were proposed and, in 1997, a Compulsory Super was planned. The New Zealand public had the opportunity to vote on

this scheme. Ninety one point eight percent of the public opposed the Compulsory Super in a referendum and proposals were subsequently dropped (Preston, 2001). A year later the Surcharge was abolished and a Universal Superannuation Scheme came into existence. All New Zealanders of an age to receive the New Zealand Super were treated equally, despite economic circumstances. Subsequent changes were also established with the Universal Super being set at sixty percent of the average wage.

Concerns about the cost of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme remained. All political parties faced challenges when trying to resolve such concerns and few were prepared to compromise their votes. The Government of the day met the challenge by setting up a New Zealand Superannuation Fund (Hawke, 2005, p. 42). This Fund was designed to alleviate the fiscal costs of supporting an ageing population with the Superannuation Benefit from 2010 to 2030 (IMF, 2007, p. 20). In 2000, the investment of general taxes in the Fund began and attempts were made to reduce New Zealand's international debts. During this period, the Superannuation Benefit was raised so that the income of the aged did not fall below sixty-five percent of the average wage (MSD, 2007).

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme came under the New Zealand Superannuation and Retirement Income Act 2001. Subsequent amendments have been made but these have been minor. From 2007, those reaching the age of sixty-five who remain in employment while receiving the Superannuation Scheme, faced new assessment processes. This assessment reduces the benefit by seventy-cents for each dollar earned above the Superannuation Benefit plus eighty dollars. Other wealth assessments were not considered relevant (MSD, 2007). In the same year a non-compulsory Kiwi Saver Scheme came into effect. This Scheme required employers to enrol new employees unless the employees withdraw themselves from the Kiwi Saver Scheme within a small time frame (Kiwi Saver Act, 2007). The Kiwi Saver Scheme revisits the approaches found under the National Provident Fund. The difference between them lies in the lack of security on savings, the approach to enrolment and how the nation-state supports other agencies to manage investments.

The savings of four percent of income begins when a person does not withdraw or sign off from the Scheme when new employment commences. The amount of savings employers contribute is slowly phased in. Eventually, employers will contribute four percent of their employees' earnings to a chosen Superannuation Savings Scheme (Kiwi Saver Act, 2007). Employers are given tax incentives and will contribute a smaller amount than that found in other developed countries (Disney & Johnson, 2001, p. 20). Some of these rules were short lived. In 2008, the Government voted into office reduced the employer contributions, set a new minimum amount for savings at two percent and reduced the Government contributions for the cost of the savings scheme. Officially the Kiwi Saver Scheme is not intended to be a replacement for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, but there is no regulation ensuring this does not occur. Information regarding the agendas and purposes of Governmental and international research is limited in an economically uncertain environment for supporting the aged at present in New Zealand.

The economic turbulence experienced by many during the twentieth century, led to three occasions where retirement savings were wiped out or significantly abridged for those with no security on their investments. Coupled with this are the unpredictable changes and indecisive fiscal policy of the New Zealand nation-state which has meant that economic support for the aged remains in an ambiguous state (St John & Willmore, 2001, p. 1293). Therefore, the economic support for the aged by the nation-state and the role that retirement savings must play are uncertain. However, the economic support for the aged must, in my view, remain so as to ensure that this group does not experience unprecedented levels of poverty in the future.

The dominance of a one-tier pillar of economic support for those aged sixty-five and over is of some concern. This concern relates to demographic, economic, social and environmental pressures placed on the ability to sustain the Superannuation Benefit. These pressures may either reduce the resources available for allocation to the aged or the distribution of the same amount of resources used today for a larger number of older people. The latter may lead to a 'safety net' approach. The introduction of the Kiwi Saver Scheme is an attempt to reduce the threat posed by a one-tier approach. This Scheme may

have little impact upon maintaining the living standards for older age-groups, while it may have some impact on younger age-groups choosing to participate in the Retirement Saving Scheme. The Kiwi Saver was introduced thirteen years prior to the projected increases in taxes that are required to maintain the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. These projected increases rely upon the Superannuation Fund performing to economic expectations with no economic declines in growth (IMF, 2007, p. 20).

It must be noted that New Zealand has already experienced a year and a quarter in recession. This recession and its impacts upon the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme have not been factored into the projections for what is needed to retain the current levels of economic assistance for the aged. Thus, where economic declines occur, such as has occurred over the last year and a quarter, then the need for increasing taxes to serve the economic needs of the aged is more forthcoming. Arguably, this lack of foresight inevitably exacerbates intergenerational injustice as some generations may pay twice or pay more for the same treatment.

3.2 The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme

In principle, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme aims to provide economic protection for the aged. It is a universal entitlement based upon age, living conditions and residency criteria. It is a pay-as-you-go Scheme that is funded out of current taxes. The purpose of a universal Superannuation Scheme is to reduce poverty or hardship for those aged sixty-five and over, protect citizens from market uncertainty (recessions, depressions) and allocate funds according to age based upon the premise that old people need it to ensure a minimum level of income during old age. This is because most people in New Zealand lack the means to resource their own retirement (Else & St John, 1998, p. 10).

At the age of sixty-five, relationship status and living with others or not are important elements of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. It governs the amount received and what forms of additional assistance are available. The lowest level is \$17,505.80 gross for singles living on their own to \$26,592.80 gross for a couple who both qualify

for the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit (MSD, 2007). This rate, for a couple, is based on 65 to 72.5 percent of the average New Zealand income (NZSRI Act 2001: S16).

The residency criteria for receiving the Superannuation Benefit require a resident to live here for ten years after the age of twenty, including at least five years after turning fifty in New Zealand. These conditions apply to most New Zealanders with a few qualifying for special dispensation based upon circumstances laid out in the New Zealand Superannuation and Retirement Income Act 2001. Circumstances are related to providing voluntary services overseas under the auspices of particular organisations or a service provided overseas by the defence force.

3.3 Context of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme

The context in which economic support through public means such as the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is provided for the aged is largely determined by a set of social relations. These relations are embodied in what is called the 'grand plan'. The 'grand plan' has to do with any set of social relations that influence the actions and philosophies of the nation-state. These social relations have patterns. Any patterned set of social relations has its own properties underlying the creation of the kind of society people want or desire in any particular historical era. Currently, New Zealand can be aptly described as a capitalist country with a neo-liberal democratic state. In fact, New Zealand's 'grand plans' during the twentieth century through to the twenty-first century have changed considerably. The changes in the 'grand plans' have essentially involved changes in the kind of democracy prevailing in New Zealand: class, social, egalitarian, liberal and neo-liberal. The development of public provision for the aged in New Zealand is closely related to the ongoing changes in the kind of democracy prevalent in New Zealand.

New Zealand, a capitalist society, prided itself as both a leader in democracy and for the high standard of living provided for its people. However, prior to the 20th century, New Zealand did not have any welfare state provision since this was the role of charitable

organisations such as the Church. New Zealand also had a class kind of democracy⁴⁴ prior to 1930. This soon changed with the evolution of economic assistance for the aged. Economic assistance for the aged at this time was rather limited. This situation remained relatively the same until the Great Depression. At this time, socialist⁴⁵ ideas that had already entered the consciousness of some New Zealanders began to play a role in how New Zealand cared for those people in need. This led to a new kind of democracy, a social democratic form. Social democracy had a major impact on the form of social justice and it this impact which considerably affected the welfare of all people in need. It was during this time, in the 1930s, that the welfare state was established in New Zealand. The 1938 Pension Scheme led to the separation of aged dependents from other kinds of dependents. Interestingly, the notion of need was not explicitly embraced in New Zealand law or policy, but this notion was assumed to be a primary reason for the emergence of a welfare state.

After the 1930's, New Zealand began to focus on egalitarian principles (democratic egalitarianism). These principles extended the socialist doctrine. Although the egalitarian principles were manifest as formal horizontal equality in New Zealand law and policy, the unwritten actions focused upon outcome and the conditions of people. This situation led to the expansion of the Universal part of the Pension Scheme so that the Age Pension (earnings related pension) was no longer desirable. In other words, the Universal part of the Pension Scheme provided the aged with an economically comfortable existence. The non-aged workers' taxes paid for this Scheme. These workers understood or believed that their contributions to the Scheme through taxes meant that they would receive the same kind of economic support from the New Zealand nation-state when they reached old age. However, there was no evidence in New Zealand law or policy to validate such an understanding or belief.

⁴⁴ I understand 'class democracy' as a historical period when urban versus rural politics dominated. People involved in these politics were more likely to share similar social and economic status. Therefore, the end result of politics determined the type and form of social justice in New Zealand society. In other words, politics was a way for certain social classes to serve their own interests.

⁴⁵ The term I have used refers to an economic and political system based upon state ownership, control over the means of production and distribution of resources. It is characterised by the standard of need and equal opportunity. There are different forms of socialism. Egalitarianism and liberalism, it can be argued, are different types of socialism. This is because the core factors remain the same. These are individual versus collective rights, the nature of the common good, liberalism versus consumerism, freedom, equality and the nature of the historical process (Marshall, 1996, p. 469).

After World War Two, liberal ideas took hold in New Zealand. These ideas did not have a considerable impact until the 1970's. Liberal democracy arose to extend egalitarianism. It played a role in the implementation of solo-parent benefits, equal pay reform, individual freedom and tolerance of others. Liberal ideas were based upon a need for distributing wealth more evenly through gradual reform. Part of this reform was to recognise that those social groups stigmatised in society needed to be treated more fairly. However, political leaders in New Zealand began to be concerned about the costs of economically assisting the aged through public avenues and the potential problem of funding for an ageing population in the future.

Liberal democracy prevailed for a short period. By the 1980's neo-liberal⁴⁶ doctrines began to play a considerable role in changing New Zealand society. The neo-liberal emphasis meant that economic growth was of the most importance in a democracy. Hence, the assertion that economic growth was best maintained by free market forces. And minimal government interference was critical. Similarly, social justice in society was also considered by neo-liberals to be best served by market forces. It is against this neo-liberal background that New Zealand underwent continual reform from the 1980s onwards. Areas of reform included: education, health, social services and infrastructure. The purpose of each reform was to make public services economically efficient, cost-effective and profitable.

During this period, the New Zealand neo-liberal nation-state no longer distributed wealth evenly. There were significant cuts to all welfare-state benefits (apart from the aged), user-pay principles were brought in for health and education and there was reduced support for families and children. Neo-liberal democracy, in others words, radically changed social justice through the way in which 'advantages and disadvantages' were distributed in New Zealand. The impacts of neo-liberal reforms since the 1980s have been far-reaching in New Zealand, but have been largely ignored or misunderstood. Impacts include: increases in poverty levels for all people, apart from the aged, decreases

⁴⁶ The term used concerns freedom from governmental control, individual rights, property rights, free market, minimal government welfare and self-interest.

in home ownership, increases in abuse of children, increases in private debt, increases in the erosion of health, significant decreases in infrastructure investment and so on (MSD, 2006; 2007).

The most interesting outcome of the neo-liberal reforms since the 1980s is that there has been little change to how the social democratic form of the welfare state economically assists the aged. Meanwhile, the aged have also had some expansion to other 'advantages' that reinforce the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. In other words, the aged have had their 'advantages' increased, despite the monetary devaluation of the Superannuation Scheme itself, and despite the fact that other kinds of dependents in New Zealand are, in fact, in greater need. This is why intergenerational injustices have occurred in New Zealand since the 1980s.

The current neo-liberal kind of democracy in New Zealand may be in the process of undergoing another significant change. I want to suggest that the neo-liberal approach taken since the 1980s is no longer a viable option, and that the path New Zealand will take in its 'grand plan' is uncertain at this point in time. Hence, the future economic support of the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is to some degree also unknown.

3.4 Age Structure

During the twentieth century, the demographic age structure in New Zealand has undergone major changes (Hawke, 2005, pp. 66-74). It has changed from a predominantly young population to an old population. By 1981, New Zealand was considered an aged population, with nine point eight percent of the population occupying the age of sixty-five and over (O'Neill, Daldy & Hickey, 1985, p.11). The factors contributing to the age structure occurred as a consequence of a decline in mortality, a decline in fertility, increased longevity of citizens, the ratios of immigration and emigration and the ratios of dependents to non-dependents in society (Duncan, 2007, p. 68). The group of those sixty and over has continued to increase relative to other age

groups. This poses social and economic pressures upon the existing levels of support for dependent fractions of society, including the aged.

The change in the age structure has social and economic implications within and between age-groups in New Zealand society. It calls into question the viability of the Superannuation Scheme, be it real or imagined, and the form of intergenerational justice regarding resource distribution. This is because future generations may be undermined at the expense of a few current generations. Generational justice has yet to be considered relevant for New Zealand fiscal policy, but it may determine how the aged will be valued in future. The pressures of an ageing population will grow in the future. This will have major consequences for how the Superannuation Scheme and other mechanisms of support for the aged are tailored to address intergenerational fairness.

3.5 Dependency Ratio

The dependency ratio is an indicator of the population pressures facing New Zealand. It is a measure of residents who are dependant upon others. This dependence is about certain categories of people requiring some form of assistance from benefits, services or relatives (family). Dependency entails age parameters that represent those considered by society to need support. The young, those aged fifteen and under, and the old, those aged sixty-five and over, are two particular age-groups considered as dependent. These age parameters vary according to the historical era. Other dependent groups consist of the sick (mental, physical, social, biological), the disabled (intellectual, physical), the unemployed, the socially discriminated (social background barriers) and the biologically discriminated (female and ethnic minority groups).

The ratio of dependents can take one of two forms. These are either dependents versus non-dependents or the aged versus the working population (non-aged). The latter provides a stilted view because it lacks an appreciation for other dependent groups who are equally needy. The former ratio compares residents who are of working age with those who are considered as dependents. It is a demographic approach based on the level of dependents according to age. The dependency ratio informs researchers of the

potential constraints that can impinge upon social policy. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and other services represent an age based approach to distributing resources to a dependent group and they are affected by the changes that occur in the dependency ratio. Therefore, dependency ratios and their projections are of concern for welfare provision.

In 2006, the old age dependency ratio was twenty percent⁴⁷ of the population (IMF, 2007, p. 18). This group, the aged, received the Superannuation Benefit that costs four percent of gross domestic product, excluding their primary service of health. By 2050, those aged sixty-five and over are projected to reach forty percent of the population (IMF, 2007, p. 18). If the conditions of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are maintained, by 2050 the costs are “projected to reach nine percent of gross domestic product” (IMF, 2007, p. 18). The Scheme would also be affected by the rising cost of supporting health care for the aged. If treatment of the aged remains the same for their health care, the rise relative to gross domestic product would need to be sixteen percent (IMF, 2007, p. 20).

Until 2030, the New Zealand Superannuation Fund is designed to protect services for the aged, given the assumption that it performs to economic expectations. At this point, the future projections and legislation for the Fund assume that no capital will be left in the Fund; it is, subsequently, planned for termination. From 2030, either a major increase in economic resources will be required or drastic spending cuts will be necessary (IMF, 2007, p. 18). The level of the required revenue would need to be six percent of gross domestic product for the Superannuation Scheme or an equivalent cut in the service provision for the aged.

The future of the Superannuation Scheme and other services for the aged are uncertain. This uncertainty has arisen due to unpredictable changes outlined above, lack of concern about intergenerational justice, inability to depoliticise issues surrounding ageing and a lack of long-term approaches to an ongoing issue (Heller, 2003, p. 37). Despite this, New

⁴⁷ Note that the 2006 Census states that this group constitutes 12.3 percent of the population. However, when adding up the age to proportion figures for sex from the 2006 Census, these are in line with the results stated by the IMF. The IMF figures are in part derived from Statistics New Zealand and some are based upon the results of the Census 2006. The irregularities in various statistical results have been noted.

Zealand has stepped towards a two-tiered approach for supporting the aged which was marked by the introduction of Kiwi Saver. This new approach will not have much effect for some years, but it may contribute to a growing conflict between generations in the near future.

3.6 The Superannuation Scheme and Generational Justice

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exists as an implicit notion⁴⁸ of intergenerational justice for some people and not others. This relationship between the Superannuation Scheme, intergenerational justice and people is critical to understanding the position of the aged in their historical context. The following hypothetical scenario reinforces the relationship between the central tenets of intergenerational justice (equality, need and capacity) and economically supporting the aged. Imagine that New Zealand has a minimal commitment to generations across space and time for the economic support of the aged. This ‘beneficial universalism’ is legally sanctioned. It sanctions the type and form (need) of need, welfare orientation for economic support, at some minimal level, along with principles of ‘prioritarianism’. This means that the aged across time and space have a right to some limited level of assistance. This right changes according to the prioritisation of need, irrespective of characteristics, and when resource insufficiency occurs beyond the ambit of human control. To enforce the support of the aged in all generations, laws, principles of need, resources and procedures are required.

Enforcement of support for the aged in all generations necessitates the use of primary institutions [large organisations and basic institutions (such as schools and hospitals)] and agencies (small organisations, charities and individuals). These enable the pay-as-you-go Superannuation Scheme to be fair between generations. Resources are taken from the working generations and given to the dependent generations. However, the primary institutions and agencies are unable to reinforce the universal commitment to equality and need without capacity. Primary institutions and agencies require the training of a group of people to perform roles to maintain commitments. This establishes a principle of ‘limited commitment’ between and within generations. When this principle is absent, there is no

⁴⁸ Refer to Chapter Two, the section on intergenerational equality.

commitment but a false consciousness or a false belief that a commitment between and within generations exists. For example, investing in one generation through public education, means that the generation benefiting from this investment is committed to providing resources to a previous generation. These resources (advantages) provided to a previous generation need to hold some quality and value for there to be an equivalent worth and to be 'relatively proportional' to the prior educational investment. In this regard, the neo-liberal principle of user-pays in education reflects the erosion of one generation's obligation to a previous generation, when the predecessor reaches old age and demands public resources supplied by subsequent generations.

The change in intergenerational obligations in New Zealand society has occurred as 'limited commitments' between generations have altered to reflect the investment received. This is because commitments are determined by the social relations of exchange, trust, duty, and reciprocity that are transferred from one generation to the next. This economic principle of moral commitment maintains the social relations between generations. In a situation where the people who are the worst off in society are unable to participate, due to poverty, a universal commitment to the aged for benefits enabling them access to an extended existence erodes any reason for this level of resources directed at the aged to continue. This is because neo-liberal policies have led to increases in poverty in New Zealand society and the resources directed at the poor have reduced their ability to participate in society. Consequently, the social relations that are affected by the inability to participate flow on to affect intergenerational relations. In turn, economic support for the aged may decline. According to Harootyn and Bengtson (1994), "intergenerational linkages are family relationships, exchanges, community and neighbourhood involvement, and natural or societal-level transfers" (p. 9). These phenomena enable social and moral commitments to be transferred from one generation to the next. Therefore, intergenerational justice reflects the relations between generations and how the central tenets of social justice (equality, need and capacity) characterise social relations between generations.

3.7 The Influencing Element of Age

The impact of age on the short-term interests for maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and other services is important. Age arises as an issue due to the fact that a politically active generation (the Baby Boom) will start to approach the age of sixty-five. This same generation has dominated the political landscape of New Zealand during a period of change from a child welfare state to an ageing welfare state since the 1980s. As a group, it has the power that may lead them to pursue their own interests for greater public resources at the expense of other dependent groups and generations (Larsen, 2006, p. 43). Evidence for this currently exists. It is demonstrated in the mixed welfare-state that provides support for all dependents of equal neediness, the short-term purpose of the Superannuation Fund, the lack of formalised intergenerational agreements for economically supporting the aged and the expansion of services or benefits to the aged, while the neediness of other dependent groups in society has increased (Hawke, 2005, pp. 124-130). Therefore, age is an ‘influencing element’ that may precipitate further generational injustices if the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is maintained in the short-term as a pay-as-you-go Scheme.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme from its inception to the current universal form. This history of continual change to the Superannuation Scheme creates uncertainty in an environment where New Zealand is facing increasing population pressures. These pressures involve the age structure and the dependency ratio. They create doubt, whether real or imagined, concerning the possibility of maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The ‘environmental aspects’ of the Scheme generate ambiguity regarding its future among current contributors, while also generating concern surrounding the political power of the aged. These factors have the potential to create conflict between generations in New Zealand. Hence, there are intergenerational justice issues and ‘influencing elements’ that may affect the future of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

Furthermore, the chapter outlined the demographic pressures in the age structure and the dependency ratio that will contribute to the unfair treatment of the aged across space and time in New Zealand. The Superannuation Scheme is one of many mechanisms that can potentially identify the type and form of intergenerational justice that exists. Thus, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is not an island but is affected by other mechanisms of intergenerational justice and 'influencing elements'. This state of affairs may reflect the power relations of certain generations at the expense of other generations, despite the fact that most people are united in their need for support during old age. Consequently, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme impacts upon all generations.

Chapter Four

The Nature of Social Attitudes

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight that social attitudes are an external agency that exists as a function of normative intergenerational justice. Therefore, understanding the nature of social attitudes is critical when examining the attitude responses of people towards a manifestation of normative intergenerational justice such as the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The chapter considers the nature of social attitudes and their relationship to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The principles relating to social attitudes are explained and the structure of social attitudes is discussed in the tradition of Factor Analysis. This examination allows for welfare attitudes to be understood in the context of social justice.

Welfare attitudes are those attitude responses that occur in reaction to a 'referent'. This 'referent' is linked in some way to social justice. Taking this understanding of social attitudes, I extend Kerlinger's (1984) critical referent theory by not espousing either the idea that behaviour is the basis for social attitudes or the idea that social attitudes are derived solely from beliefs. Instead, I suggest that attitude responses arise from a 'premise of response', a 'premise of the resultant attitude' and the attitude that is underpinned by an attitude lattice structure of constructs. Consequently, parallels between social attitudes and social justice (previously outlined in Chapters One and Two) can be understood. This enables people's attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to be linked with social justice and to be measurable.

4.1 Social Attitudes⁴⁹

An attitude (opinion) is the degree of an outcome in relation to any given 'referent'. This degree arises as a consequence of the fact that each attitude response to a particular 'referent' exists on some scale. A set of attitude responses to the same 'referent' or a set of questions surrounding the same 'referent' may reveal a scale where attitudes are polar opposites, complementary or mixed. The polar opposite of attitudes pertains to the unique outcome that resembles the ends of some scale. This occurs as attitudes are influenced by the interconnectedness of a set of constructs. Attitude constructs contribute along with the 'premise of the resultant attitude' and the 'premise of response' to a 'referent'. These responses may appear to be finite, but they are not predetermined (Jowell, Roberts, Fitzgerald & Eva, 2007, p. 8). This is because outcomes may or may not reflect actual behaviour and are influenced by a series of constructs.

I contend that attitude constructs form a complex lattice of causal factors. These causal factors may be conscious or unconscious, rational or irrational, intuitive or counter intuitive and sense or counter sense. Therefore, 'resultant attitudes' evolve through the interconnected lattice of constructs in response to the causal factors of a particular 'referent' (Kiesler, Collins & Miller, 1969, pp. 1-2). These constructs are either tangible or intangible and hold some social prominence. The prominence of each construct entails its own network of symbols, positions and objects (Summers, 1977, p. 2). In other words, primary constructs entail their own set of secondary constructs. These secondary constructs affect the role that a primary construct has when influencing the resultant attitude and its subsequent response to a particular 'referent'. This network or structure can have multiple levels that sometimes influence behaviour.

Social attitudes evolve through daily "experiences, the influence of others and the emotional reactions" or consequences to an event (Vaughan & Hogg, 1998, p. 399).

⁴⁹ In order to assess opinions (social attitudes), then one must have some understanding about opinions. For completeness, I have outlined the theoretical approach taken for the assessment of opinions that fit with the ability to use statistical theory. Failure to include them may lead to the following problem, how do we measure opinions when we do not know any basis for having them or even their actual existence? Thus, calling into question whether surveys and their corresponding statistical tools are actually measuring what they purport to measure.

Thus, social attitudes are adaptable and fluid (Albarracin, Johnson & Zanna, 2005, p. 6). This is because constructs are a manifestation of temporary states that adapt to the acquisition of information. This information is directed to the relevant construct or constructs. In some cases, an attitude towards a ‘referent’ can appear to be permanent as a period of acquisition strengthens the lattice structure. The process of strengthening provides a foundation that is resistant to change. Change is still possible when evidence becomes overwhelming. Some researchers (Alwin & Krosnick, 1989; Logan & Spitz, 1995) have found that resistance or susceptibility to changes in attitude is sometimes associated with certain age groups.

4.2 Social Attitude Structure

Social attitudes, in my view, are influenced by primary constructs. Primary constructs are laid down during the early phases of life. These initial constructs can alter subsequent information, because information builds upon the previous development of initial constructs. It is my contention that there are six primary constructs. These constructs include: knowledge, experiences, ideologies, values, interests and essential character (nature). Primary constructs intersect. This intersection may cloud the ability to distinguish between constructs. Each primary construct has a charge that is positive, neutral or negative. These charges vary in their magnitude and are related to a particular ‘referent’. Charges exhibited by each primary construct are determined by the process of summing the charges of each secondary construct relevant to that particular primary construct and the ‘referent’. Therefore, ‘attitudes’ are a result of the automatic process of summing the charges carried by an array of constructs.⁵⁰

I suggest that once an ‘attitude’ or opinion is formed, it is subjected to the conditions of the ‘resultant attitudes’. These are some of the causal factors that alter the ‘attitude’ or opinion. The attitude information is subsequently passed on to the ‘premise of response’. This is because resultant attitudes are formed and change relative to the context of the ‘referent’ (Newcomb, 1943, p. 23). According to Thurstone (1928), the measurement

⁵⁰ A diagram of the general attitudinal structure that I designed for this research is located in Appendix F, Diagram C, p. 263.

system for attitudes relies upon the nature of the response (cited in Fazio & Petty, 2007, p. 33). This response, I call, the 'premise of response'. The 'premise of response' is further influenced by action. I use this term, action, to encompass three facets affecting the attitude response. These are: behaviour, declaration and rationale. Behaviour is a physical response to the 'resultant attitude' or to the context of the referent. For this purpose, I separate behaviour as devoid of verbal or written communication since these belong with declaration. The rationale concerns the purpose, circumstances and personal influences that affect the response. Meanwhile, declaration is the statement, written or verbal, that is often perceived as the attitude response. Hence, behaviour may not emulate declaration and declaration may not emulate behaviour. Declaration may or may not mirror rationale and rationale may or may not reflect behaviour. My 'resultant attitude' is derived from the lattice of attitude constructs which, in turn, is subjected to the 'premise of the resultant attitude' and the 'premise of response'. These premises may alter the attitude response but not the actual attitude.

4.3 Welfare Attitudes

Welfare attitudes are the opinions regarding public services and provisions. These services provide assistance, protection and security that improve the conditions in which dependents or those in need are allowed to live. In other words, welfare attitudes of the public play a role in determining how dependents are treated by public services. Welfare attitudes exhibit a particular combination of primary constructs that are not easily transferred to other types of social attitudes (Esping-Andersen, 1990, p. 32). Although primary constructs for welfare attitudes fundamentally remain the same in representing the constructs of knowledge, experiences, ideology, values, interests and essential character (nature), their contributions to the attitude response are different to other social attitudes. This is because primary constructs contribute differently to the 'resultant attitude' and some constructs may take a neutral position. This position makes little, if any, contribution to the attitude response. In my view, welfare attitudes may place greater emphasis on the attitude constructs of ideology, values and interests than other sorts of social attitudes (Day, 1993, p. 279).

Larsen (2006) reflects this by highlighting the results from the World Values Survey, the Eurobarometer and the International Social Survey Programme (p. 90). These results indicate that six factors contribute to the attitude structure. The factors include: interest (temporal discounting, class, demographics); resource distribution (winners and losers) and relationship to dependents (deserving and non-deserving); citizens' attitudes towards welfare (need, political orientation, discourse of individual versus collective); values and norms; public debate and perceptions (reality, poor and unemployed) and beliefs about specific situations and policies. Larsen (2006) links these to Esping-Andersen's (1990) welfare regime (state) structure.

The factors Larsen (2006) derives are comparable to the primary constructs proposed for my approach to social attitudes, the location of attitudes along with feedback systems proposed in the 'structure of justice' and the ideas proposed in the description of social attitudes. Thus, attitude constructs play a role in contributing to the 'resultant attitude'. This is because, in my view, constructs alter in strength and weight in accordance with the welfare 'referent'. This difference in contribution features a different hierarchy of constructs compared to attitudes toward non-welfare 'referents'. In other words, constructs exemplify levels of saliency, orientation and matters of common or personal relevance.

4.4 Primary Constructs and the Survey Questions

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme affects all New Zealanders: those who currently receive the Superannuation Benefit, those who contribute to maintain it and those non-contributors who have less spending on their welfare. All of these groups will experience old age with most requiring economic support through public means for most or all of their income during old age. These groups are past, present and future contributors who experience some 'disadvantage' during one life phase for the exchange of potentially variable receipts for their 'advantage' at another life phase. Therefore, New Zealanders may or may not hold social attitudes concerning the economic support of the aged. If attitudes are held among New Zealanders towards the economic support of the aged, I want to suggest that these attitudes are influenced by their primary constructs. My

primary constructs underlying the attitude are: knowledge, experiences, ideologies, values, interests and essential character (nature). Each of my primary constructs consists of subsidiary constructs (types) and exists in any potential form. I have associated the six primary constructs underlying an attitude with the forms of participation outlined in Chapter One and Chapter Two. This is because without any social interaction there could be no social relations. Subsequently, there could not be knowledge, experiences, ideologies, values and interests.

The construct of knowledge, for my thesis, is the sack of information one possesses. This information consists of facts, truths and principles behind why the aged are economically supported by public provisions. The purpose of having the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is to provide the aged with an income. This support arises due to the fact that in most societies across time, people have had a tendency to experience poverty during old age. In order to assess the knowledge a person has on a given topic, a set of questions is designed to find out their understanding of issues surrounding a particular welfare 'referent' and the facts related to the welfare 'referent'.

Questions may incorporate scales. These scales may consist of aware versus unaware and informed versus uninformed. For example, "how informed are you about the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit?" (AARP, 2005, p.4; Q.1, Appendix A). And, "to what extent do you think that private superannuation (retirement insurance) would provide enough social protection to most people?" (Q.16, Appendix A). Less clear is a set of questions relating to the social facts concerning dependents. This ambiguity arises when the social facts of dependents may not be known. If this is so, a hierarchy of dependents may be present. This means ideology, interest and value cloud people's knowledge so that their attitudes may not reflect social facts or reflect an understanding of need. Consequently, the social attitudes of people may lead to some dependents being treated differently compared with other dependents, irrespective of their equal neediness. The aged represent one form of dependent whereby their treatment may be influenced by the value society places on them.

My construct of experience is made up of the events that are learned through exposure. Exposure may be direct or indirect. The number of exposures or personal experiences increases the awareness of some given thing or event that may affect understanding. According to Alwin (1990), value differences in supporting the aged are linked to the experiences of different generations (p. 21). Therefore, questions may either ask “if some event has been experienced, if some event is of concern, if some event affects people in the practical world, or if some event necessitates public support” (Q.38, Appendix A). The questions often entail some scale measuring the magnitude of control, reality and concern. For example, “how concerned are you about experiencing poverty during old age?” (Q.38, Appendix A). Less clear are the responses to questions that may be shaped by one’s position in the social hierarchy. The social hierarchy relates to the summation of markers that are endogenous (such as gender) or exogenous (such as social class) pertaining to one’s social position.

The presence of people during old age wearing old clothes with holes along with various levels of engagement in society, signals to the rest of the population that the aged are living in some state of ‘need’. Meanwhile, a lack of exposure to the aged living in poverty or the presence of the aged with symbols of economic affluence, signals to the public that the aged are not likely to live in need. If this occurs while other dependents, apart from the aged, are living in need, the exposure affects these dependents but also the people surrounding them. Consequently, support for the aged living in need may incrementally decline relative to exposure of others in need. Silverstein and Parrott (1997) state, “historical factors – corresponding to economic, political and cultural changes may explain why young adults express greater opposition to more generous public policies in old-age support” (p. 121). Subsequently, there may be an equivalent increase in support of other dependents living in need. In other words, the treatment of dependents during one life phase along with its prevalence reflects how the aged are eventually treated. This is because reciprocating what constitutes need changes in line with one’s own experiences and in line with the moral obligations to providing public support for those living in need (Silverstein & Parrott, 1997, p. 110).

The construct of ideology, I use for this research, is the system of factors that shape and form how people understand the world. These are the beliefs, thoughts, ideas and religious notions that people have. These systems of factors alter in their relevance according to the welfare 'referent' (Jacoby, 1994, p. 345). The underlying constructs may include: political ideology, ideology of welfare, ideology of need, ideology of reform and ideology of justice. Questions that elicit a response using a scale often focus on "what services should the public provide?" (Perry, 2005). And, "what nature, social democratic or liberal, of public services do you support for all dependents? "Are you concerned or not concerned about the costs of maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme?" (Q.12, Appendix A), while other questions entail no scale. These are often related to political orientation, myths and responses to a question with a set of fixed answers. For example, "why are there people in New Zealand living in need?" (Perry, 2005; Q.31, Appendix A). And, "do you favour or oppose redistributing income from the rich to the poor?" (Ponza, Duncan, Corcoan & Groskind, 1988, p. 446; Q.36, Appendix A).

The presence of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is based on the belief that old people need economic protection, as they tend to end up poor. Thus, designing a Scheme to serve this purpose entails reasons for why one form or another exists. In other words, the design of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is shaped in part by the ideologies prevalent in society. It contributes to whether the Scheme is universal or targeted, how funding occurs (pay-as-you-go, compulsory, semi-privatised (user-pays) or privatised), potentially who benefits and the criteria involved. To illustrate, sixty-five is the age of eligibility in New Zealand. This eligibility enables a person to apply for and potentially receive the Superannuation Benefit (Klemmack & Roff, 1980, p. 151). The rigid parameter of age is arbitrary in that it is socially constructed, changes according to the historical era, changes according to the ideologies prevalent in society and lacks consideration for social facts. Consequently, ideologies may cloud out the important role that knowledge and experiences have when dealing with the social facts of different social groups. Instead, value, interest and ideologies may dominate in how something is designed. Hence, the design of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may entail discriminatory practices against certain social groups relative to others and may reflect discriminatory structures prevalent in society (Irwin, 1996, p. 69).

My construct of value is the set of internalised principles or practices. They involve ethical conduct, the sense of right or wrong, sense of fairness or unfairness, merit, morals and worth. Values are expressed by the way rewards are constructed, by the quality and quantity of exchange and by the adequacy of need. The value of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme for the aged is that it exists as a separate provision from the provision for other dependents. It reflects the worth of the aged in New Zealand society and the worth of the aged relative to other dependents. Worth is the amount of value placed upon needs, dependents, protection and investments. This worth is the magnitude by which equal neediness is treated between and within all dependents, the level of non-deserving elements of public resources and the poverty levels considered acceptable by society for all dependents. Thus, society's treatment of dependents with equal neediness reflects the value placed upon them (Appendix E, Table K, p. 254). For example, "at the policy level, have some age-groups failed to fulfil their obligations to the next age-group by shifting the welfare state from one that was oriented to programmes benefiting the young to one that favours the elderly?" (Irwin, 1996, p. 70).

New Zealand has a mixed welfare state. The aged are provided for in line with a social democratic approach to welfare, while other dependents are provided for by means of a neo-liberal approach to welfare that is close to minimal existence. This mixed approach to supporting dependents in New Zealand society indicates that there is the potential for a hierarchy of dependents that is influenced to some degree by the value placed upon them. In other words, the aged may be valued more than other dependents. The continual decline in valuing dependents other than the aged eventually erodes the value placed on the aged. Hence, the experiences and the knowledge of social facts relating to different dependents, I suggest, reaches a point that precipitates a value change.

The value placed upon dependents by the public can be measured through indirect methods. One method uses questions that ask whether spending levels are adequate or not, acceptable or not, for meeting needs, and whether spending levels should be increased or not with respect to each type of dependent. Other methods may focus on what needs are important and for whom, rights to access public provisions and

assessment of deservingness. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme places value upon reaching a certain age. This entitles the aged to access non-deserving levels of public support compared to other dependents. The Scheme lacks means testing so that wealthy people are able to receive benefits. This indicates that society places value on rewarding the aged, irrespective of wealth, with little relationship to need and regardless of other dependents who are equally needy. Therefore, elements of interest play a role in how support for the aged occurs in New Zealand society.

The construct of interest, in my view, is the set of factors that influences the degree of altruism. Altruism is an attitude or way of behaving that acknowledges others who require support beyond self or social group. This response is marked by the unselfish concern for others and at times the self-sacrifice of one's own need for another individual or group. Hidden within altruism is the aspect of reciprocity and this is why it is often compared with egocentric (self-interest) attitudes (Rhodebeck, 1993, p. 345). In other words, self-interest is the response that reflects the importance of one's own perceived desires at the expense of supporting mechanisms that may benefit the majority. Interests are influenced by subsidiary constructs of motivation, mental status, demographic parameters, social structures, wants and needs. As stated previously, most people are unable to save enough for their old age, therefore, having a Superannuation Scheme designed to protect people in old age is of interest for all generations in most societies.

The measurement of interest is the attitudinal response that corresponds to a favourable outcome. This outcome is perceived to be 'advantageous' for the respondent that might be short-term or long-term in its focus. It may also reflect the conscious or the unconscious understanding of personal circumstances relative to a given event. Consequently, I contend that the perceived (want) interests of respondents may contradict basic (need) interests. Perceived interests are those things that are wanted which are considered important, while basic interests are those needs that are essential. These basic interests, irrespective of criteria, at some point for most people across space and time are unable to be personally provided for.

When measuring interests, the scales may include collective responsibility versus individual responsibility and important services versus unimportant services. Other measures include: the 'expectation of services, level of tax contributions, whether 'advantages' have been fair, what investments are important to maintain society and who is responsible for providing the needs of dependents. Responses to these sorts of questions often correlate with personal characteristics. For example, "do you think that there are age-groups that will receive more than their fair share of government benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes?" (Q.27, Appendix A). "Do you favour increasing taxes to maintain the existing New Zealand Superannuation Benefit?" (Clark & Ogawa, 1996, p. 446; Q.3, Appendix A).

My last construct is essential character (nature). Essential character (nature) has to do with the physical, biological, chemical and supernatural senses. This is the most difficult construct to understand and its importance in affecting social attitudes. It has never been applied. The construct of essential character (nature) is an outcome of some 'advantage' on the basis of sensing that it is the right or wrong thing, with or without understanding anything about a given referent.

Welfare attitudes are an important domain of social attitudes in general. They entail the same set of constructs and sub-constructs but a particular hierarchy of relevance exists among them. This hierarchy indicates which constructs are important to the public when forming attitudes on welfare and how this influences the role welfare has in New Zealand. These welfare attitudes flow on to play a role in how social justice is structured in society. In other words, welfare attitudes take part in the feedback system involved in the 'structure of social justice'. Therefore, attitudes towards the economic support of the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme reflect the interconnected nature of the attitude structure and the elements of social justice that are prevalent in society.

4.5 Social Attitude Change

A change in attitude is as complex as the definition of social attitudes. Changes may occur at any point within the array of constructs or be external to it in the action of responding to a referent. These changes vary in strength (Fazio & Petty, 2007, p. 9) and direction within and between constructs leading to an attitude modification with respect to a 'referent'. Changes arise due to the assimilation of new information or an altered state or states in relation to a pre-existing construct or constructs. This change or assimilation of new information may relate to any event, object, state, group or individual.

Detecting an attitudinal change over any given time requires the periodic administration of identical surveys. This type of research is longitudinal. The current study is a snap shot of participant attitudes concerning the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Where attitudinal differences among participants arise these may reflect the variation between or within social groups at the same time. Hence, attitudinal changes may be linear in that they follow the natural progression of demographic change, may reflect demographic characteristics that interact with the surroundings or may reflect sudden changes in the surroundings. These changes provide an insight into the 'symbolic relationship' between the nature of attitudes and their interaction with the surroundings. One particular example of attitudinal difference or change relates to age. When an attitude response exhibits any monotonic decrease or increase according to age, it is assumed that this cohort change is based upon replacement.⁵¹

⁵¹ Various hypotheses and generational theories in the area of attitude responses are not discussed. The confines of a Masters thesis prevent this.

4.6 Factor Analysis

The structure of an attitude towards a 'referent' can be formulated by using Factor Analysis. Kerlinger's (1984) research on liberal and conservative attitudes is an ideal example. Factor Analysis allows for the creation of an attitudinal instrument consisting of constructs. These constructs arise as a consequence of the relations between numerous responses to a set of questions with their individual measures. These constructs (factors) represent a detected common theme or similarity among attitudes (Rummel, 1970). A statistical tool like Factor Analysis is able to manage large amounts of data to reveal how an attitude is potentially structured. The current research uses Factor Analysis to reveal how attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and its surroundings are structured. Factor Analysis will be discussed in more detail later.

4.7 Criterial Referent Theory

Criterial referent theory often links the structure of social attitudes derived from the Factor Analysis and the lenses by means of which interpretation of statistical results is used. This theory is a Social Psychological approach to describing attitudes that incorporates behaviour. Hence, Kerlinger's (1984) theory states that social attitudes are "...enduring and organized structures of social beliefs that predispose individuals to think, feel, perceive, and behave selectively towards referents of 'cognitive objects' of attitudes" (p. 5). By 'referent', Kerlinger (1984) refers to a set of beliefs directed at an attitude. This 'referent' may be a question, statement or object. Meanwhile, 'criterial' relates to the relevance of factors that facilitate in formulating a judgement or decision. In other words, some beliefs are more important than others, while some beliefs may be pertinent to the individual or group and others are not.

A 'criterial referent' is "a construct that is the 'object', focus of an attitude, that is significant, salient, and relevant for an individual or for a group of individuals" (Kerlinger, 1984, p. 31). The criterial referents represent a set of factors that may be different between individuals or shared. These factors, according to Kerlinger, are a set of beliefs. In contrast, I do not support the view that a set of beliefs is the only factor behind

the formation of social attitudes. Furthermore, I do not endorse the view that behaviour determines the formation of social attitudes. The definition of 'referent', I use, is similar to Kerlinger's (1984) to the extent that a 'referent' is an object, statement or question that is outlined under the 'premise of response' which helps to elicit some response. The outcome of this response is called the response attitude.

The response attitude is derived from the 'resultant attitude' that is subjected to the 'premise of response'. Meanwhile, the term, 'criterial', is replaced with construct. The attitude construct consists of a set of primary concepts. Constructs represent a set of concepts and are derived from an analysis of attitudinal structures appearing in social science literature. The pattern that emerged from the study of this literature on attitudes has played a role in my development of the attitude structure which consists of constructs. When these primary constructs are summated, they represent the attitude. The difference between Kerlinger's (1984) approach and the one designed for this research is considered to be theoretical and, in my view, does not detract from the notion that Factor Analysis can be used to formulate a possible structure for social attitudes.

Another important idea of Kerlinger's (1984) is duality. He was not satisfied with the tendency of some theorists to use measures that force bipolarity of attitudes or opinions. This device restricts the structure and the nature of social attitudes. Although critical referent theory uses measures that do allow for bipolarity to emerge, it does not force polarity. This means that response attitudes can change, may appear on a continuum and may actually be complementary. If these outcomes are shared, they are positive sentiments towards an attitude referent. Kerlinger calls this the positivity principle. The positivity principle led to the idea of duality. Duality is the situation where the outcome of shared attitude responses to a referent may either be complementary (oblique) or opposed (orthogonal) to each other. Therefore, different groups of individuals may have different constructs that dominate when making an attitude response towards the same 'referent'.

4.8 Attitude Measurement

Social attitudes are the attitude responses in reaction to some 'referent'. The reaction may be a singular response or multiple responses. Each 'referent' is designed with a scale that enables the measurement of an attitude response. I have used a three to ten point scale that facilitates this measurement. For a five point scale, a response of three signifies indifference, a response of five conveys a strongly disagreed or negative sentiment and a response of one indicates a strongly agree or positive sentiment. The employment of scales with more than two alternatives prevents respondents from being forced into one of two potential responses. This scale still allows for bipolarity and when this occurs respondents are divided at the farthest points from indifference. If a response is less than three, it indicates that there is agreement concerning the referent.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that social attitudes are an external agency of normative intergenerational justice. The nature of these social attitudes was outlined so that the attitude responses of people towards a manifestation of intergenerational justice, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, could be understood. The link between social attitudes and intergenerational justice will enable me to find out what people's attitudes are towards any given 'referent'. The 'referent domain' is the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and the attitude responses are relative to the contexts used to cover this referent domain. These attitude responses are of interest in the current research. The responses facilitate in the determination of the attitude structure and whether or not the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is supported.

My consideration of the nature of social attitudes provides a new approach so as to move away from existing theories which base attitudes on beliefs and behaviour. I have developed a structure whereby the attitude response relies upon the premise of response, the 'premise of the resultant attitude' and the attitude derived from a lattice of constructs. This structural approach is my attempt to try and crystallise the idea that social attitudes are made up of six primary constructs along with secondary constructs. These constructs

exist in a flexible lattice. This flexibility allows for attitude change relative to the 'referent' at one point in time or across time. It is this flexibility that pertains to the measurement of intergenerational attitudes on any domain of social justice. Consequently, the investigation of intergenerational attitudes towards economic support for the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a valid mode of enquiry.

Chapter Five

Methodology

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the methodology employed in this study and to discuss the statistical analysis used for investigating attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The survey rationale states the aims, hypothesis and purposes behind this research that led to its subsequent design. The sampling frame, the procedures, the questionnaire and the survey representation are laid out in detail.

5.1 Hypotheses

The rationale for undertaking a survey for this thesis is that a survey is a useful way to find out the structure of social attitudes of New Zealanders towards the economic support of those aged sixty-five plus, and to establish the degree to which the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is supported by different social groups. The nature of this support may correlate with the demographic characteristics of people. A Factor Analysis reduces the set of related question responses to a small set of components that underlie the attitude responses. These components are the constructs (factors) that arise from the intercorrelations between a set of related questions towards the 'referent domain'. These constructs (factors) are then placed into a Regression Analysis to find out if there is a significant difference between or within social groups.

The hypothesis is that New Zealanders are united in their economic support of the aged by means of the current social democratic form of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. It is predicted that the nature (social democratic to neo-liberal democratic welfare-state) of this support with respect to demographic characteristics of age, household income, education and generation changes. In other words, respondents with low household incomes, high levels of education, women and ethnic minorities are more supportive of the social democratic welfare state for the aged. Meanwhile, it is predicted that there will be no age differences in the support for the social democratic form of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

The 'domain referent' is the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This 'referent' embodies a set of dimensions that influence its context. These dimensions relate to dependency, nature (type and form), generations and environment. The role of dependency with respect to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a distributional issue. This distributional issue relates to how equitable the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and other services are for the aged relative to the costs, to the criteria, to other dependent groups in the population and to other generations. New Zealanders are considered to hold social attitudes that have a particular attitudinal structure associated with the dimension of dependents (domain referent). This is because how dependent groups are valued or perceived and the stigma that is associated with the notion of dependency in society influence social attitudes. These attitudes flow on to affect how dependents are perceived with respect to resource distribution between dependent groups.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme for those aged sixty-five and over constitutes a resource distributed to one dependent group. Therefore, it is necessary to understand dependents and how this may influence the type and form (nature) of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The hypothesis is that New Zealanders are divided in their support of dependent groups (equity of dependents) with the aged being valued more than other dependent groups. It is predicted that the support of people from different dependent groups varies according to the demographic characteristics of participants. In other words, participants with the demographic characteristics of high household incomes, low to moderate levels of education, men and older people are more likely to over value the aged as a dependent group compared with other kinds of dependents.

Another dimension that influences the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is the environment or surroundings. The surroundings are the conditions that affect the attitude response. The conditions may relate to stability and security of social policy, intergenerational differences in the treatment of resources and equality. In other words, the perceived ratio between costs relative to benefits in the exchange process may be undermined when there is the potential for change, or where differences have arisen

between social groups. The historical context of changes of treatment in the various dependent groups may undermine the mutual benefit across generations for maintaining the Superannuation Scheme. Therefore, attitudes are influenced in part by the surrounding environment and how these influence responses to the Superannuation Scheme. The hypothesis is that New Zealanders are not divided in their social attitudes regarding the conditions surrounding (environment) the economic support of the aged through the role of exchange. Exchanges concern who is responsible for the economic provision of the aged, who pays for the economic provision of the aged and the returns on prior contributions. It is predicted that this economic support for the aged varies according to demographic characteristics. In other words, participants with high household incomes, who are older in age, who are male and with low to moderate levels of education, support the current approach to exchanges. Hence, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a return upon past contributions and conditions in the environment have remained the same.

5.2 Sampling Frame

The population of interest was all New Zealand adults aged eighteen and over who are registered on the electoral roll. In October 2006, there were 2,858,604 registered adults (Electoral Roll, 2006). Funding constraints limited the sample size. A sample of one thousand one hundred potential participants from the electoral roll was randomly selected. Those currently not living in New Zealand, 1.55 percent, were omitted. This left one thousand and eighty-three potential participants. All these people received a survey pack and some received subsequent material from further mail outs. Those who returned a completed questionnaire were considered to have given their consent. Five hundred and nineteen (50.93 percent of potential participants) people participated. This sample size has a maximum possible standard error of 4.3 percent at the ninety-five percent confidence level.

5.3 Questionnaire Design

The survey developed for this study involved forty-five questions (Appendix A, p. 207). Some of these questions incorporated Likert scales, dipole scales and nominal choices (no scale). The question items for the survey were used and adapted from the research of others and my own ideas. The research of others that played a prominent role in the question design included: Perry (2005), Silverstein and Parrott (1997), Silverstein, Angelelli and Parrott (2001), British Social Attitudes Survey (1982 onwards), New Zealand Census (2006), American Association For Retirement Person's (2005), Ponza, Duncan, Corcoran and Groskind (1988), Clark and Ogawa (1996), Alwin and Krosnick (1991), Irwin (1996), Day (1993) and Klemmack and Roff (1980).

Closed ended questions were used in the survey. These questions focused on the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (Appendix E), dependents (Table K, Appendix E, p. 254) and environmental (Table N, Appendix E, p. 256) aspects of the Superannuation Scheme. The questions regarding the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are influenced to some degree by the American Association For Retirement Persons (2005), Clark and Ogawa (1996), Alwin and Krosnick (1991) and Irwin (1996). The set of questions relevant to the nature of the Superannuation Scheme refers to the scale of support for a neo-liberal welfare state compared to a social democratic welfare state.⁵² This scale provides some insight into the nature of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

The research of Silverstein and Parrott (1997) and Silverstein, Angelelli and Parrott (2001) contributed substantially to the question items on dependents with respect to the public programmes for the aged. Their work provided an insight into the relationship between how dependents are valued by measuring social attitudes and the public resources provided for these dependents (Table K, Appendix E, p. 254). Meanwhile, the set of questions on the environmental aspects surrounding the Superannuation Scheme were influenced by the British Social Attitudes Survey (1982 onwards), Ponza, Duncan, Corcoran and Groskind (1988), Day (1993), Klemmack and Roff (1980) and Rhodebeck

⁵² Refer to Q.2, Q.3, Q.4, Q.6, Q.7, Q.8, Q.10, Q.11, Q.12, Q.13, Q.25, Q.27 and Q.29, Appendix E.

(1993). The environmental aspects of social attitudes relate to the economic, the exchanges and the perceived fairness of exchanges with respect to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (Table N, Appendix E, p. 256). These may influence how New Zealanders support the aged.

The questions relating to endogenous and exogenous demographic characteristics of New Zealanders were sourced from Perry (2005) and the New Zealand Census (2006).⁵³ This enabled the survey to be assessed for the demographic representation of respondents and how this impacts upon applying the survey results to New Zealand society.

The research used a self-administered survey. A pilot study was conducted to facilitate the further development and design of the questionnaire. Snowball sampling was used to find people willing to participate in assessing the questionnaire. Close friends were not involved in the questionnaire assessment, but their contacts were used. This was an attempt to reduce errors that could arise from participants holding similar perspectives to the researcher. Eleven people participated. They were from different cohorts, different ethnicities, different income levels and different educational levels. Snowball sampling is a limited approach to finding willing participants to assess survey questions. However, it is a suitable method for checking question interpretation, word usage and question or word meaning for a survey about the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The participant responses in the pilot study contributed to how questions were designed in the final questionnaire. The final questionnaire⁵⁴ was sent to respondents selected from the New Zealand electoral roll.

5.4 Ethics

This research was undertaken in accordance with the Massey University Code of Human Ethics. The survey was assessed and peer reviewed and was judged to be of low ethical risk. Notification of the research was reported to the Massey University Human Ethics Committee with an acknowledgement letter received on the 2nd of October 2006. Selected

⁵³ Perry (2005) and the New Zealand Census (2006) influence the questions from Q.39.

⁵⁴ A copy of the questionnaire is located in Appendix A, p. 207.

participants for the survey were sent a letter in a questionnaire pack. The letter informed them about the purposes of the study and related information laid out by the ethical code. The selected participants had the choice to complete the questionnaire; therefore, a completed return of the questionnaire implied consent.⁵⁵ The information letter or consent form identified how information was to be gathered and stored during the course of the study. All identifiers, names or other links identifying individual persons were removed after the data entry phase. This ensured anonymity and was made easier by having no identifiers placed on the questionnaires.

5.5 Funding

The costs of undertaking surveys with a large sample size are substantial and can limit the scale of a survey. Contributors included a private donor, a grant from the former School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University, Palmerston North, the author and her family.

5.6 Procedure

The survey used three mailings to send information to potential participants. The initial mailing, on Thursday 9th November 2006, sent a survey pack to all potential participants. This pack included a survey, a reply paid envelope and a letter informing selected participants about the study.⁵⁶ By 23rd November 2006, 25.4 percent of the surveys had been returned.

A second mail out occurred on the 24th November 2006; 536 potential participants received a second survey pack, while 277 received a letter.⁵⁷ Financial resources did not allow for every participant to receive a second full survey pack. Participants who received a full survey pack were located on the North Island. The decision to choose the North Island over the South Island was based upon the advice of Dr Paul Perry. He

⁵⁵ This information is located in Appendix B, p. 233.

⁵⁶ The letters are included in Appendix B, pp. 233.

⁵⁷ The letters for the second mailing are included in Appendix B, pp. 235-236.

advised me that prior response rates indicate that the North Island has a tendency to have a lower response rate than the South Island.

The third mail out occurred on 14th of December 2006. This was a post card⁵⁸ that was sent to six hundred and thirty-one participants. As completed questionnaires were received, the responses were entered into software called the Statistical Programme for Social Science (SPSS). The final response rate for the completed questionnaires was 50.93 percent.

5.7 Survey Representation

Selecting a sample from the electoral roll using the technique of simple random sampling without replacement enables the researcher to generalise results. There is always the risk that the selected sample and, particularly those choosing to respond, may not be entirely representative of the population (Lohr, 1999). These flaws arise as certain characteristics are either over or under representative of the population. The 2006 Census provides the best estimates for the demographic characteristics of the New Zealand population. Consequently, comparing the sample results with the Census may indicate how representative the sample is of the New Zealand population and may, further, indicate the potential effect this has on interpreting social attitudes. The demographic characteristics for the survey and the 2006 Census are located in Table 1 below.

⁵⁸ A copy of the post card is included in Appendix B, p. 237.

Table 1: The Demographic Profile of both the Participants Surveyed and the Census, 2006.

Characteristic	N	(Sample) %	Census 2006 ⁵⁹ %
Gender	518		
Male	248	47.9	48.8
Female	270	52.1	51.2
Education	516		
Secondary school or less	261	50.6	70.1
Post secondary school education	206	39.9	29.9
Post graduate education	49	9.5	N/A
Race/ Ethnicity	519		
Maori	33	7.51	14.6
NZ European or Pakeha	401	77.3	67.6
Other European	39	7.5	---
Pacific Islander			6.9
Cook Island Maori	5	1	
Samoan	4	0.8	
Tongan	1	0.2	
Niuean	1	0.2	
Chinese/ Asian	11	2.1	9.2
Indian	6	1.2	---
Other/ NZer	42	8.2	13
Total Yearly Household Income	487		
\$15,000 and below	27	5.5	35
\$15,001 - \$20,000	23	4.7	9
\$20,001 - \$30,000	49	10.1	15
\$30,001 - \$40,000	61	12.5	14
\$40,001 - \$50,000	50	10.3	9
\$50,001 - \$70,000	86	17.7	10
\$70,001 plus	191	39.3	8
Age	516		
18 – 24	36	7	15.29
25 – 34	62	12	16.57
35 – 44	92	17.8	20.65
45 – 54	108	20.9	17.84
55 – 64	10	19.6	14.02
65 plus	117	22.7	12.3

Participants could respond with multiple answers and thus, the percentage may not equate to 100%. In addition, ethnicity is by identity choice and not based upon biological inheritance.

⁵⁹ Census 2006 data of New Zealand population demographics for those eighteen and over.

Table One shows that there are considerable differences in the demographic characteristics of those aged eighteen and above between respondents participating in the survey and the 2006 New Zealand Census. This reveals that caution is required when interpreting responses to single questions and when applying results to New Zealand society. The differences mean that the general results must be viewed with respect to those New Zealanders aged fifty plus and those who live in households with higher incomes.⁶⁰ These New Zealanders reflect social attitudes that are more cognizant of the dominant culture. Understanding this skew is important when interpreting attitude responses. Since questions in the survey relate to the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit this group may have responded in ways that reflect their own interests, that is, being near sixty-five, young-old, mid-old or old-old. International researchers have found age, income and ethnic variability in the support for age related benefits; therefore, care should be exercised when interpreting the results (Silverstein & Parrott, 1997).

5.8 Survey Analysis

The statistical analysis of the survey is experimental⁶¹ in that the statistical tools used enable the attitude responses to be compared with any demographic characteristic. Two sets of questions, each question encompassing a rating scale, are assessed using Factor Analysis. Factor Analysis is used in this research to reduce the data down to a manageable level, while allowing for grouping a set of related questions concerning an

⁶⁰ The household income and age correlation is $r = 0.329$, $p < 0.000$ (1-tailed). This represents a moderate relationship that is statistically significant between household income and age. All questions with likert scales and factors were assessed for the correlation impacts of household income and age. This assessment occurs using a 2-way-ANOVA (Univariate: parametric analysis) and checking the Levene Test. When violated a bivariate analysis (1-way-ANOVA) can reveal which variable age, household income or both violates normality. The Multivariate Analysis of variance can also be used to reinforce this by looking at the Mahalanobis distances (data outliers) and the non-parametric assessments. In most instances, household income could be dropped from the statistical analysis used in later chapters. On the few occasions that household income caused a statistical difference, it was found that age could be dropped from the model. I decided to keep both, age and household income, in the model for all analyses to maintain it to a uniform standard. The interesting thing is that the non-correlated part between age and household income played a greater predictor role in the question response.

⁶¹ I use the term, experimental, as referring to the prediction that attitude responses to particular questions will relate to each other and have some effect upon the outcome by demographic characteristics (Field, 2005, p. 730). Therefore, the statistical tools used are determined by the data and testing of the normative distributive assumptions. Consequently, hypotheses in this study are more general as there is no former survey of attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and the assessment of attitude responses in relation to demographic characteristics.

aspect (nature, dependents, environment) of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Grouping related questions can increase the understanding of social attitudes and can increase the level of understanding for the demographic characteristics of support. This means that the aged may be supported but the demographic characteristics of that support may vary between New Zealanders.

Factor Analysis untangles the interrelationships between the set of questions. The responses to questions in the set are summed and pooled together so as to determine if there is any pattern in the data. If a pattern arises, the number and the nature of constructs underlying the 'referent' of interest can be determined (Field, 2005, p. 619). Therefore, Factor Analysis is a technique to identify relationships between sets of questions and to determine the underlying constructs⁶² (factors) involved. It is the constructs (factors) that relate to the attitude structure of a given 'referent'. Hence, a construct (factor) is assumed to arise when high correlations are shared between some or all of the summed responses in the set (Garson, 1971, p. 201). This shared interdependence among responses tends to cluster around a point in space (Field, 2005, p. 622). There are potentially one or more clusters that are related to some construct (factor).

Different constructs (factors) arise when one cluster with some data regularity is independent of another cluster of data regularity for the same set of questions. These clusters have points in either the same or different spaces (Rummel, 1970, p. 16). This variability between clusters determines whether to extract a construct (factor). If the variability between clusters is tiny, the ability to extract a construct (factor) is restricted. In the event that all the clusters have small differences, the value of undertaking a Factor Analysis is undermined and the results lack meaning. Meanwhile, a large difference in the amount of variation between clusters reflects the dimensions that correspond to the coordination system of axes for the cluster spaces (Rummel, 1970, p. 16). The Factor Analysis attempts to reduce the number of these axes to produce as few constructs (factors) as possible. Consequently, as the number of constructs (factors) increases, the

⁶² I have used the word, construct, as a general term that contains any set of primary attitude constructs relevant to a particular aspect of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. However, when referring to any one of the primary attitude constructs, I attach an identifier to the construct under discussion.

total variance of subsequent factors tends to be minimal and could be discarded in further analyses.

The principle regarding the number of constructs (factors) to retain is reflected in the factor loadings in the correlation matrix (Pearson Product Moment), the Kaiser's criterion, the Scree Plot and the Parallel Analysis. When correlations between the questions are 0.35 or greater, it represents the existence of a moderate to strong relationship for each factor detected with an eigenvalue of greater than one (Kaiser's criterion). The eigenvalue defines the relationship between variables. The larger this value is, the greater the likelihood that there is a relationship. These eigenvalues are then assessed against the percent of variation (Rummel, 1970, p. 351). A small variance for a construct (factor) explains a small amount of the data. Therefore, a four or five percent variance for a factor explains how much it contributes to the common variance of all factors kept in the Factor Analysis (Field, 2005, pp. 651-655).

A Scree Plot can validate our reasons for reducing the number of constructs (factors). The appearance of a clear break in the plot that is automatically produced by running the Factor Analysis reinforces the potential number of constructs (factors). This result is, then, used to compare the resultant eigenvalues with those generated eigenvalues from a random data set of the same size (Parallel Analysis). The resultant eigenvalues that exceed the value of the equivalent randomly generated eigenvalue identify the correct number of constructs (factors) to retain for further analysis. The ultimate goal of this process is to find the simplest attitude structure possible with the smallest number of constructs (factors).

The attitude constructs (factors) retained for further analysis have high factor loadings (eigenvalues) with the first extracted factor (Rummel, 1970, p. 373). This along with the other factor loadings of retained constructs (factors) produces mixed results. These mixed results make it difficult to identify a clear attitudinal structure. By rotating the retained constructs (factors), the relationships are untangled so as to help discriminate between them. There are two primary forms of rotation. These are Oblique and Orthogonal. Oblique rotation moves the clusters around until the underlying constructs (factors)

become correlated. This rotation occurs until a visible structure of constructs (factors) is found to clearly define them (Rummel, 1970, pp. 388-389). Meanwhile, Orthogonal rotation attempts to maintain statistical independence in the variation of constructs (factors). This rotation moves the constructs (factors) around ninety degrees while preserving a fixed axis (Field, 2005, p. 635). When the clusters, sets of responses to questions, are rotated the constructs (factors) represent either a positive or negative sign. This may create a polarisation effect on the retained constructs (factors). The outcome of this rotation is that the attitude structure is identified by its constructs and its associated questions.

The results from the rotated constructs (factors) of the Factor Analysis for each type of 'referent domain' are assessed using a two-way, between-groups Analysis of Variance and a Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis. The first analysis attempts to find out if there are significant differences between groups for the independent variable on the dependent variable (factor). Essentially, the Analysis of Variance compares the factor score of the factor with different groups (generations or household incomes: independent variable) to reveal any major differences between groups. The second analysis attempts to find out which independent variable is contributing to the factor score, and to find out which independent variable is related to response differences when influencing the construct (factors). In other words, each underlying construct (factor) with its subsequent factor score (composite score) for a particular 'referent' is the dependent variable which is compared with independent variables. These independent variables are the demographic characteristics of age, household income and education. In order to assess the internal differences of an independent variable, it is split into nominal categories for both statistical Analyses. These are called dummy variables. A dummy variable is the breaking up of a variable, such as age "into a series of variables all of which are dichotomous" (Field, 2005, p. 729). This enables a comparison of ages with respect to attitude responses to be assessed.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research methodology used and discussed the statistical analysis for establishing the structure of social attitudes. Factor Analysis plays a critical role in identifying the attitude structure for three aspects of the domain referent. The constructs derived from the analysis facilitate in determining the attitude structure. It is this structure that is, then, used to investigate attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme relative to demographic characteristics with Ordinary Least Squares Regression. The discussion of statistical analysis demonstrated that the interpretation of the regression analysis requires caution since the attitudinal results do not entirely represent the general population in New Zealand. Thus, some demographic characteristics are over represented, while others are under represented. It means that some of the attitudinal results found in this research are skewed by the biased representation of demographic characteristics. Consequently, the attitudes assessed in this research require an appreciation for the context in which the results are to be interpreted.

Chapter Six

The Structure of Social Attitudes towards Superannuation

This chapter investigates the structure of three attitude dimensions relevant to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The purpose of these dimensions is to find out the structure of social attitudes for a set of specific questions which are related to different aspects of social justice. These aspects, in turn, play a role in how social attitudes towards a 'referent domain' are structured and may provide some information as to the potential factors that may influence changes to these social attitudes in the future. The attitude dimensions include: the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment of reciprocity for the Superannuation Scheme. Each attitude structure is assessed using Factor Analysis. This Analysis provides an insight into the potential structure of social attitudes that influences the nature of support or lack of support for providing for the aged with the Superannuation Scheme. Each attitude structure is discussed in accordance with the nature of attitudes and the normative theory of social justice.

6.1 Social Attitudes

The attitude structure is the arrangement of attitude responses from a set of questions for a particular 'domain referent'. Attitude responses may not portray the structure of the attitude because attitudes are subjected to the 'premise of response' and the 'premise of the resultant attitude'. Therefore, the constructs (factors) derived from undertaking a Factor Analysis on the attitude responses may provide information about the attitude structure. It is difficult to tease out whether the outcome of the attitude constructs (factors) that come from the Factor Analysis reflects the actual underlying attitude constructs, the attitude that is altered because of the 'premise of response', or reflects the attitude that is altered because of the 'premise of the resultant attitude'.⁶³ Despite this circumstance, Factor Analysis is useful when attempting to understand social attitudes towards a 'referent domain', to understand why social attitudes potentially vary in their

⁶³ Refer to the General Attitude Structure, Diagram C, Appendix F, p. 263.

structure and to understand how social attitudes change relative to demographic characteristics or to historical contexts.

The attitude responses towards the set of questions focusing on the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are important in understanding how attitude responses of the public support a practical representation of distributional justice, and how the nature of this support is structured. The 'referent' domain (type) is the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This domain is the full set of questions that are designed for the topic on social attitudes towards economically assisting the aged with the Superannuation Scheme. This domain (type) has multiple dimensions (forms), these selected dimensions are reflected in the full set of questions. Each dimension consists of splitting the questions into supplementary sets relevant to its focus. Consequently, Factor Analysis may be undertaken multiple times for representing the full set of questions on the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Some dimensions (aspects) may include questions that are relevant to more than one attitude dimension, given that dimensions are not mutually exclusive.⁶⁴

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a practical representation of distributional justice that has a type and form. Its dimension entails a type consisting of a universal pay-as-you-go Scheme. The subsidiary dimensions (form) involve the criteria of the Scheme such as age parameters and residency requirements. The Scheme provides welfare services for the aged that are dependent upon some assumed need that requires public resources. Hence, the treatment of dependents is a dimension type of the Superannuation

⁶⁴ The question overlap between the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and the environment surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme should have not been performed. My attempts to simplify the Factor Analysis by splitting it up so that there were only a few factors of three or less to fit with what the text books said was an error on my part. I have learnt that statistical advice for issues that extend beyond the scope of text books is warranted. However, all the questions were assessed in an overall Factor Analysis that produced statistically valid results for the factors that I found. In other words, the overall Factor Analysis should have been retained as a consequence that the factors were statistically valid according to the Parallel Analysis, the scree plot and the eigenvalues. Even though the two Factor Analyses produced similar factors as the overall Factor Analysis, the difference appears to be small and slight but it did undermine the correlation value between factors. The Analyses are valid but are correlated with each other. This means that my discussion of the factors in this thesis would almost stay the same, whether the overall or the two separate ones were used. However, the separate Factor Analyses do undermine the interactions between factors and the potential of numerical stability.

Scheme. The Scheme plays a role in identifying, using normative assessment procedures, fairness between and within dependents⁶⁵ and generations. This identification of fairness is attached to some assumed notion of need in the assessment procedures across space and time. Therefore, welfare attitudes towards the Superannuation Scheme may be influenced by how the needs of dependents are valued and how the needs of different dependents are perceived to be important.⁶⁶

The Superannuation Scheme exists in a society. Public resources in society are taken from some people at a cost to them for some delayed reward. The distributed reward is based upon the context of fairness and the concept of fair return for contributions relative to other social groups in society. This dimension constitutes the environmental aspect surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The environment is where perceived unfairness, perceived differences in returns for contributions and myths generated by political ideology influence, in part, the social attitudes towards the nature of the Superannuation Scheme.

These three dimensions, as outlined above, concerning attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are investigated using Factor Analysis. These dimensions are the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment for the Superannuation Scheme. The Factor Analysis reduces the data derived from each dimension down further to look at the variation in the attitude responses. If the variation is large, the Factor Analysis will explain most of the

⁶⁵ A normative assessment of fairness within dependents refers to comparing one kind of dependent to find out if there are differences that exist with respect to some notion of need or certain criteria. For example, comparing all people aged sixty-five who are sixty-five plus to find out whether they are living in some kind of poverty, and if this poverty is related to certain characteristics. In addition, who is the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme designed for, the wealthy or the poor?

⁶⁶ The Factor Analysis on dependent equity was kept in order to apply the results to other research. This was less exploratory and ensured that something could be discussed. In hindsight, I should have kept the questions pertaining to the equity of dependents completely separate from the other Factor Analyses. This would avoid any possibility for the case of correlation between the Factor Analyses. The question overlap arises in Q. 11, Q. 8 and Q. 12. These are the correlated variables under the dependent factor, while the other questions are not correlated. Furthermore, specialist advice from a Statistician specialising in Factor Analysis should have been sought earlier as such decisions are left to the judgement of the researcher. These decisions may turn out to be wrong, especially when dealing with issues that extend beyond statistical text books on Factor Analysis. I believe that my decision has been wrong in this instance, even though my results for the equity of dependents are still valid.

variance detected in the set of responses measuring the dimension of the 'referent domain' (Rummel, 1970, pp. 13-14).

The total variance represents the discrepancy accounted for by the factors (constructs) determined by the set of responses. A factor is where responses are highly correlated in some way so that they are assumed to share some common construct (Rummel, 1970, pp. 19-20). These commonalities underlie the responses to the set of questions ascribed to each dimension. In this research, factors are often referred to as constructs of the attitude structure. I use these terms interchangeably. Each factor needs to account for at least five percent of the total variance for the attitude responses in order to be of any value. The uncorrelated version of Factor Analysis presents high factor loadings onto the first factor and declines for each subsequent factor (Field, 2005, p. 634). This is one of many characteristics that can mask the interpretation of the attitude structure. Consequently, factors explaining most of the total variance are used for further analysis, while others are discarded.

The present study used Orthogonal Rotation to further analyse the factors that explain most of the variance among the responses. The purpose of Orthogonal Rotation is to find the simplest structure possible so that there is a clear picture for interpreting factors. This rotational technique maintains independence of the factors while moving them around the axes (Rummel, 1970, p. 170). The rotational movement untangles the relationships between the underlying factors for the criterial 'referent' (dimension of the referent domain). Hence, the relationships between factors are separated so as to establish where the factor divides occur. Factors that account for a large amount of the variance reveal that an underlying construct is important to respondents, while small amounts of variance present a less relevant construct in the respondents' minds (Field, 2005). These factors are, then, combined to formulate the attitude dimension of the 'referent' domain (criterial referent).

6.2 Attitude Factors for the Nature of the Superannuation Scheme

The attitude responses towards the nature of the Superannuation Scheme (criterial referent) are profiled by using Factor Analysis. This analysis examines how responses to a set of questions are structured. Thirteen questions⁶⁷ were designed to assess the criterial 'referent' for the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.⁶⁸ A Principal Components Analysis showed that four factors underlie the set of questions used to assess the social attitude towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The four factors are the common constructs derived from high correlations between attitude responses to a set of questions. Each factor has its own scale that may be positive or negative. A positive scale is often referred to as positive effect with values from zero. Meanwhile, a negative scale is often denoted by negative effect. The numeric value ranges from any negative number to zero for the scale of the underlying factor. This numeric value identifies the summed question responses in relation to the factor. These values are then presented in the Principal Components Analysis.

The Principal Components Analysis revealed four factors with positive effect. These corresponding factors were presented with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 25.63 percent, 11.16 percent, 9.65 percent and 8.1 percent of the variance. A Scree plot and a Parallel Analysis supported these results. All factors were retained for Orthogonal Rotation. The Orthogonal Rotation revealed a clearer attitudinal structure with each of the four factors having strong factor loadings. The rotation of factors is concerned with retaining independence between factors, while transforming the original attitude responses so that the factors account for most or all of the response variance. This rotation generates a new set of factor loadings with corresponding intercorrelations between factors.

Intercorrelations are a measure of the relationship between factors. Relationships span from a negative one to a positive one. A positive relationship between two factors reveals that these factors are related. The higher the numerical value, the greater or lower the

⁶⁷ Refer to Q.2, Q.3, Q.4, Q.6, Q.7, Q.8, Q.10, Q.11, Q.12, Q.13, Q.25 and Q.27, Appendix E, pp. 250-256.

⁶⁸ The Pearson Correlation matrix revealed coefficients of 0.2 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Okin value exceeded the recommended value of 0.6 with 0.782. The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistically significant ($p < 0.0005$), indicating factorability of the correlation matrix.

numeric value, the lesser the strength of the relationship. Conversely, a negative relationship between two factors produces similar results. A positive effect between factors was found while a negative effect arose between factor two (birthright) and four (disquiet).⁶⁹ The four factors are arbitrarily attributed with the expressions of permanency, birthright, awareness and disquiet. Each of these expressions merely represents an arbitrary interpretation of the assumed theme underlying the set of questions. Thus, expressions signify the factors as abstract concepts. These factors represent either primary or secondary constructs of a criterial ‘referent’.⁷⁰

**Table 1 Factor Profile of a Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax⁷¹
Rotation for Nature of Superannuation Scheme**

	Factor 1 (Permanency)	Factor 2 (Birthright)	Factor 3 (Awareness)	Factor 4 (Disquiet)
Q.8 NZSB an earned Right	0.733		0.159	
Q.2 The Government should provide NZSB	0.661		-0.172	0.400
Q.29 All receive the NZSB when turn 65	0.592	0.432		0.155
Q.11 All hurt if NZSB was cut	0.56	0.133	0.288	0.180
Q.6 Expect to receive the NZSB	0.499		0.472	0.201
Q.10 Full-time employ and receive NZSB	0.110	0.859	0.104	
Q.13 Income of \$30,000 plus & NZSB		0.836	0.127	0.161
Q.7 Maintain NZSB residency criteria	0.278	0.175	0.624	
Q.25 65+ pay more for health care costs			0.624	0.107
Q.12 Concern about costs of keeping NZSB		0.156	0.582	0.325
Q.3 Taxes to maintain NZSB	0.209	0.110		0.684
Q.27 Some more benefits compared to taxes	-0.126		0.263	0.633
Q.4 NZSB is a income source	0.351		-0.124	0.558
% Variance Explained	25.63	11.16	9.65	8.1

High factor loadings are shown in bold. The interfactor correlation between factor one and factor two is 0.464, between factor one and factor three is 0.386, between factor one and factor four is 0.424, between factor two and factor three is 0.488, between factor two and factor four is -0.488 and between factor three and factor four is 0.368.

⁶⁹ The results of the factor loadings and the factor intercorrelations for the rotated Varimax solution is located in Table One. Supporting documentation is included in Appendix D, Table B and Table C, pp. 244-245.

⁷⁰ The manifestation of intercorrelations in relating factors is the abstraction of constructs. This is based upon interpretation. The interpretation used to link these is that factors, derived from the set of questions on a given criterial referent, represent primary constructs. Constructs, consequently, contribute to the attitude structure. The term used to represent a factor may hold elements from the concepts of social attitudes employed.

⁷¹ The results of the Orthogonal Varimax solution is the same as the Oblique Direct results.

The strongest factor is attributed with the expression of permanency. This factor represents the attitude construct of value which is related to the adjuncts of equality derived from the concept of equality under normative social justice.

The factor portrays elements of permanency among the set of questions leading to its formation. The trend among the responses reveal that there is some assumed guarantee that the Superannuation Scheme is assured for the future of the aged. In other words, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme entails elements of an age related right to public assistance. If the permanency factor is used in further analyses, it is a measure of this factor against some independent variable or variables. The five questions relating to the permanency factor exhibited high factor loadings of 0.4 and above. These loadings explain 25.6 percent of the variance. This variance reveals that a significant number of people in the population hold some sense of the permanency factor in their attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

The second factor is attributed with the expression of birthright. This birthright factor represents the attitude construct of interest. This construct is associated with the concept of equality (in the form of formative horizontal) in the theory of normative social justice. The birthright factor reveals a theme among responses with respect to some concern for the equal treatment of people when reaching old age, regardless of their circumstances. Hence, all those who are sixty-five who meet the New Zealand residency criteria have a right to receive a Superannuation Benefit. The birthright factor may be assessed against independent variables. This allows for the investigation of potential trends among responses or potential differences in the attitude structure. Three items explained 11.2 percent of the variance and had factor loadings greater than 0.4. This dimension reveals that the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit is considered a birthright by a portion of the population.

The third factor is attributed with the expression of awareness. This factor corresponds to the construct of knowledge in the general attitude structure. It holds elements that are found under the concept of need in normative social justice. The theme among responses that leads to the awareness factor is the understanding of the costs involved in providing

services that are considered to be needed by the aged. In other words, the responses are affected by familiarity with the aged and the realisation that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is relied upon in some way by most people for their old age. Four items influenced the underlying factor of awareness. These items had high factor loadings of 0.4 or greater. The loadings explained 9.7 percent of the response variation.

The last factor attributed to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is the expression of disquiet. The factor of disquiet signifies the primary attitude construct of experience. This construct represents the distributive aspect for the concept of need in normative social justice. The factor for the sign of disquiet presents the theme of exchange; thus, contributory fairness with its relationship to perceived returns of other public advantages and perceived receipts of the Superannuation Scheme over the long term. In other words, the theme of exchange arises from the experience of resource exchanges. When the nature of these exchanges continually change or alter along with the reduction of returns, it influences how the distribution of resources is perceived and the role this plays in providing for the needs of the aged. The factor of disquiet entails four questions with high factor loadings explaining 8.1 percent of the variance.

To summarise, factors for the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme accounted for fifty-four percent of the response variance. The attitude structure for this criterial referent consisted of four factors that are represented by some attitudinal constructs. These constructs reveal that attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are influenced by the permanent worth of recompense for some contribution, by some notion of birthright relative to circumstance, by the awareness of ensuring the convergence of need or costs involved for assisting the aged and by the distributive speculation revealed in the sign of disquiet.

Each of these factors (constructs) has positive and negative correlations with respect to each question included in the set of questions embodied in the criterial referent. These numerical outcomes of factors and their subsequent correlations to questions are used for further analysis. The attitude structure of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme highlights the role social justice plays in treating people fairly. The structure revealed that

the distribution of resources, the perceptions of fair returns for contributions, the perceived obligation to formative equality across space and time and the nature of providing for the needs of the aged, are critical to the attitudinal responses of participants.

6.3 Attitude Factors for Dependent Equity

The second attitude to be profiled is the equity of dependents (dimension). The criterial 'referent' is the equity of the aged with respect to other dependents for the provision of need. This referent is based upon the research of Silverstein, Angelelli and Parrot (2001). Their research involved a set of questions for measuring dependent equity. These questions were tailored to the New Zealand context to elicit an attitude response that had a similar criterial referent. Six questions⁷² were subjected to a Principal Components Analysis using SPSS.⁷³

The Analysis revealed the presence of two underlying factors. These factors explain 30.69 percent and 18.63 percent of the variance respectively.⁷⁴ The Scree Plot revealed a clear break after the second component. It was decided to retain two components for a further analysis using Orthogonal Rotation. This was supported by the results of the Parallel Analysis that showed the components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for the randomly generated data matrix of the same size (6 variables x 513 respondents). The rotated Varimax solution revealed a number of strong loadings and all variables loading substantially on one or the other of the factors. Both factors have a positive scale and are negatively correlated. The factor loadings and the factors intercorrelation are located in Table Two.⁷⁵ The factors are arbitrarily attributed with the expressions of rules related to rights and distribution of resources.

⁷² Refer to Q.8, Q.11, Q.21, Q.25, Q.26 and Q.12, Table K, Appendix E, p. 254.

⁷³ Inspection of the Pearson Correlation matrix revealed the presence of some coefficients of 0.3 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Okline value was 0.646, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6. And the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance ($p < 0.0005$), supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix.

⁷⁴ The factor loadings for the component matrix can be found in Table D of Appendix D, p. 246.

⁷⁵ Supporting documentation is located in Appendix D, Table E, p. 246.

The strongest factor to emerge is ascribed with the expression of rules related to rights. This factor is considered to represent the attitude construct of value for the concept of desert in normative social justice. The factor of rules related to rights conveys the emphasis on exchange whereby compulsory contributions entitle people to a return, irrespective of the presence of the non-aged living in need. In other words, the theme among responses reveals that the protection of the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is linked to contributions and not to the obligation of protecting those in need. Four items with factor loadings of 0.35 or greater explained 28.7 percent of the response variation. This suggests that a significant portion of the general population's rule related attitude construct is linked to their contributions, and the services provided for both the young and the aged are considered a rule that is related to some informal notion of right.

Table 2: Factor Profile of a Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation for Dependent Equity

	Factor 1 (Rules)	Factor 2 (Distribution)
Q.25 65+ pay more of health care costs	0.072	0.735
Q.21 Cut spending on the young	0.673	0.157
Q.12 Concern about the costs of NZSB	0.399	0.375
Q.11 Hurt if NZSB was cut	0.771	0.04
Q.8 NZSB is an earned right	0.714	-0.08
Q.26 Focus on other dependants in need	-0.023	0.723
% variance explained	28.7	20.63

High factor loadings above are shown in bold. Interfactor correlation between entitlement and cost = -0.407.

The other factor to emerge is ascribed with the expression of distribution of resources. It corresponds to the attitude construct of ideology for the concept of need in normative social justice. The theme underlying responses for the distribution of resources factor is the resource distributed among dependents and whether the aged are receiving more than what they are entitled to. In others words, need is undermined by rights generated by the ideologies surrounding the treatment of dependents. Three questions have factor loadings

of 0.35 or more and accounted for 20.6 percent of the variance. The attitude responses indicate that the needs of the aged are not considered the same nor have those needs the same relationship to the needs of other dependents.

In sum, there are two underlying constructs for the criterial referent of dependent equity. These constructs are the rules related to rights and the distribution of resources. Attitude responses reveal that the aged occupy a specific category of dependency. This category the aged occupy is different from other dependents. Consequently, the aged are awarded with different rights compared to other dependents so that their needs are more important. These rights are based on some preconception that the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit and other services for the aged in New Zealand society are earned by their prior contributions. This assumed entity of exchange, according to the responses, is more important than ensuring the needs of all dependents are fairly treated. Hence, a hierarchy of dependents exists among the participant responses that may potentially reflect how the needs of different dependents are treated in New Zealand society.

The presence of a hierarchy of dependents among respondent attitudes indicates that the concept of need is undermined. This response shows that all dependents are not accorded with the right to be fairly treated relative to their needs. Meanwhile, the characteristics and nature of contributions play a role in determining who is deserving of having a right to resources for some notion of need. The injustice inherent in this preoccupation with deservingness, irrespective of the need of dependents, is embedded in the attitudes of New Zealanders. These attitudes reflect how ideologies surrounding the understanding of need and how the treatment of dependents resonate with the development of welfare services for all dependents.

6.4 Attitude Factors for Superannuation Environment

The last attitude to be profiled is the environment for the Superannuation Scheme. Factor Analysis is used for this criterial 'referent' (dimension of the referent domain). Nine

questions⁷⁶ were designed to examine attitude responses of a few aspects in the environment that may have some relationship to the attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (domain of the criterial referent).⁷⁷ A Principal Components Analysis revealed the presence of three factors with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 27.27 percent, 14.97 percent and 12.40 percent of the variance. These results were supported further by a Scree Plot which showed a clear break, and a Parallel Analysis which showed three components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix of the same size (9 variables x 516 respondents). It was decided to retain three factors for performing Orthogonal Rotation.

The rotated Varimax solution showed the presence of a simple structure with the three factors presenting a number of strong loadings.⁷⁸ These factors each entail a subscale of positive effect. This effect is cognizant of the set of questions used for the dimension of the criterial referent domain. The positive scale of the factors remained independent during rotation. Thus, the intercorrelation between the three factors is high. In other words, the strength in the relationship between factors is 0.48 or higher. It signifies the importance of each factor in affecting the attitude outcome of respondents. These three factors are expressed with the terms equality, responsibility and exchange. The results for the factor loadings and factor intercorrelations are located in Table Three.⁷⁹

The strongest factor to appear is expressed by equality. This factor is considered to reflect an aspect of the attitude construct of interest. This aspect of interest corresponds to the concept of equal opportunity. Essentially, it is the interaction of two social justice tenets, equality and capacity. The equality factor focuses on the individual economic interest behind the nature of the Superannuation Scheme. This factor appeals to the collective principles of formative equality of the horizontal form. Consequently, the theme underlying responses has to do with the interests of participants. Their interests are

⁷⁶ Refer to Q.10, Q.13, Q.29, Q.4, Q.6, Q.32, Q.33, Q.3 and Q.27, Table N, Appendix E, p. 256.

⁷⁷ A Pearson Correlation matrix presented coefficients of 0.2 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Okin value was 0.688, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6. The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance ($p < 0.0005$), supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix.

⁷⁸ The results of the Orthogonal Varimax, solution is the same as the Oblique, Direct, results.

⁷⁹ Supporting documentation can be found in Appendix D, Table F and G, p. 247 and p. 248.

involved in how the economic criteria underpinning the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme for the aged across space and time influence how the aged are supported. Three questions with factor loadings of 0.5 and over explain 20.8 percent of the variance. These questions reveal that, regardless of any criteria or contingencies, the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit should be received at sixty-five as it is a birthright.

Table 3: Factor Profile of a Principal Components Factor Analysis with Varimax Rotation for the Superannuation Schemes Environment

	Factor (Equality)	Factor (Responsibility)	Factor (Exchange)
Q.6 Expect to receive the NZSB	0.194	0.626	0.330
Q.13 NZSB be received by those earning \$30,000 +	0.807	-----	0.179
Q.10 Full-time employed and receive NZSB	0.829	-----	0.101
Q.29 All receive NZSB when turn 65	0.585	0.380	-----
Q.4 NZSB be an income source	0.136	-----	0.628
Q.3 Taxes to maintain NZSB	0.121	-----	0.750
Q.36 Income redistribution	-0.198	0.709	0.169
Q.27 Some receive more benefits than amount pa	-----	0.129	0.593
Q.32 Government responsibility to care for the Aged	0.286	0.694	-----
% of variance explained	20.84	17.17	16.64

Factor Loadings above 0.5 are shown in bold. Interfactor correlation between factor one and factor two is 0.538. Meanwhile, interfactor correlation between factor two and factor three is 0.553, while factor three and factor one are 0.481.

The second factor to appear is expressed by responsibility. The responsibility factor concerns the notion of who is accountable in providing a duty of care for the aged. This factor corresponds to an aspect of the attitude construct of ideology and bears some relationship to opportunity in the social justice tenet of capacity. Consequently, the responsibility factor is about the role of the individual versus the collective in ensuring that everyone is provided for when people reach sixty-five with respect to the economic distribution of resources. Three questions with factor loadings of greater than 0.6 explained 17.3 percent of the response variance. This indicates that the attitude responses may or may not reflect the fact that the majority of people in New Zealand need support when they reach old age. The manifestation of this result is, I would suggest, due to the gulf between reality and idealism.

The last factor to appear can be expressed by exchange. This factor represents an aspect of the value concept from the general attitude structure. This is further exemplified by participation in the social justice tenet, capacity. The theme of the exchange factor is that people are not prepared to contribute resources for something that they want. In other words, people want something that is beneficial to them for contributing little. The exchange factor is one that presents contradictions with the previous two factors but is a common feature in questions measuring attitudes towards taxation. Three questions had factor loadings of 0.5 or greater that explained 16.6 percent of the response variation.

In short, there are three underlying constructs (factors) for the criterial 'referent' of the Superannuation Schemes environment. These constructs are equality, responsibility and exchange. The constructs reveal that the role of reciprocity is important to respondents and the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is part of the reward contingency for contributions. Consequently, the environment identifies that the entitlement to the Superannuation Benefit is based upon some ambiguous informal right. This right contains principles of formative equality.

The prominence of equality among the attitude responses overrides the ideological change in the position of accountability for caring for the aged and the value change in the distribution of resources for the mutual benefit of people in New Zealand society. Consequently, conflicts exist with an assumed right to access the Superannuation Scheme during old age, while being ill prepared to support the mechanisms that maintain the Benefit. Hence, the erosion of value in public exchanges and the ideological conviction that most people can care for themselves during old age, without utilising public resources, may lead to changes in social attitudes towards the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the structure and context of three attitude dimensions of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (criterial referent domain). The context of the dimensions reinforced the nature of social attitudes and the tenets of social justice (equality, need and capacity). I attempted to link the results from each Factor Analysis for the structure of social attitudes to the theory of social justice and social attitudes. I did this by stating the relevant central tenet of social justice along with stating the attitude construct for each factor that emerged from the Factor Analysis. The attitude dimensions included the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment of reciprocity in the Scheme. These dimensions contribute in part to how attitudes towards the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are structured. However, the structure provides little information as to why these attitudes are structured in a particular way and the direction of support or lack of support for the Superannuation Scheme.

Chapter Seven

The Correlates of Social Attitudes towards Superannuation

This chapter examines the nature of social attitudes towards support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. It looks at the association between some demographic characteristics (attributes) and the three aspects of social attitudes and their underlying factors that emerged from the Factor Analyses. These criterial ‘referents’ are the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment of reciprocity for the Superannuation Scheme. Each factor (outcome variable Y_{ij}) underlying these criterial ‘referents’ is assessed using a two-way Analysis of Variance and a Ordinary Least Squares Regression model after assessing for correlations and the statistical assumptions.⁸⁰ These factors are the dependent variables that contain a factor scale by means of which a set of dummy variables of two demographic characteristics are related to the factor scores. Generation and household income are used for the analysis. Each factor for an attitude dimension along with its relationship to attitude responses are examined with respect to demographic characteristics.

7.1 Statistical Background

A two-way Analysis of Variance (Univariate Analysis: parametric analysis) is a method for examining if there are differences in the attitude responses of each factor for different generations and household incomes.⁸¹ This analysis tests whether the means are different for the independent variables (generations and household income). The Levene Test checks for homogeneity across the independent variables for the factor. A significant result implies that the factor’s variance across the independent variables is not equal. This means that the independent variables have different distributions around the factor and

⁸⁰ The statistical analyses from the Multiple Regression and the Pearson Correlations are not included in the appendix of this thesis. However, some of the results contributed to the interpretation of and the confirmation of statistical assumptions for the Ordinary Least Squares Regression.

⁸¹ To test all independent variables, a Multivariate Analysis of Variance can be performed. If the Mahalanobis Distance suggests outliers and normality is violated, then either there are outliers or issues of homogeneity.

are different from each other. Consequently, the two-way Analysis of Variance has errors in its output. Therefore, the Analysis of Variance was not assessed.⁸²

A Games Howell GH test is used when there are unequal variances and unequal sample sizes of generations and household incomes. This test attempts to reduce the potential for making a Type One Error when interpreting whether or not the means for the independent variables are different. A Type One Error is where the researcher states that there is a generation or household income difference in the population when none exists. The Games Howell GH is the most powerful procedure and the most effective in controlling the potential for a Type One Error by using a liberal α value⁸³ when a two-way Analysis of Variance has been performed. The results of this procedure may be confusing but it does provide information about where the significant differences lie between generations or household incomes. This difference can also be assessed by the numerical results of the independent variables (frequency tables).

Essentially, the tests are to find out if different generations have unequal variances and means for the questions of an underlying factor. This enables the researcher to comment that the attitude responses of one generation or household income may be different to another. Meanwhile, an insignificant result of the Levene Test implies that the variance of the factor is equal across the independent variables. Further statistical analysis can provide information about the differences for the means of different independent variables and to find out where the impacts of the attitude responses for different independent variables on the factor lies.

An Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis is a method for finding a minimum line of best fit (regression line) for the factor (outcome variable) on the basis of reducing the differences between variables. This means that the least amount of variance between the attitude responses with respect to age (X_{1i}) and household income (X_{2j}), and the factor

⁸² A Bivariate Analysis can help to identify if both or one variable is causing the issue for violating normality. I found issues of homogeneity that was primarily associated with age. These statistical results are not included in the appendix.

⁸³ $\alpha = 0.01$. The alternative hypothesis that there is a difference between the means of generations needs to have a probability value that is less than 0.01 to be accepted.

score for the factor (Y_{ij}) from the attitude dimension is found. In other words, the Regression Analysis searches for linear relationships between the dependent variable (factor or latent variable) and the independent variables.⁸⁴ The direction (positive or negative) and magnitude (predictor value) of these effects are revealed in the standardised Beta scores (β_n).

A positive value indicates a positive effect between the predictor (independent variable) and the factor (outcome variable). In other words, the magnitude of the effect occurs when there is one unit change in the independent variable on the dependent variable. A value of zero reveals that there is no predictor value, while a value of 0.5 or greater indicates a strong unique contribution to the dependent variable (factor), when other independent variables are controlled for. A high negative value indicates a strong contribution by the predictor (independent variable) and the factor (outcome variable). This negative effect may occur where there is a low score (generation of 18 to 21) on one scale and a high score for the factor score on another scale or, conversely, a high score (generation of 62 plus) occurs when there is a low score for the factor score. Therefore, question scales are important when interpreting results of the factor.

The correlates of the independent variables do not imply that a variable predicts another. However, there are a number of cases where variables predict another and the correlates between them are high. In essence, the correlates are a measure of how variables effect each other and how these variables change relative to the factor score. The factor scores for each factor are placed into the Regression Analysis as a dependent variable. Meanwhile, two demographic characteristics, generations and household incomes, were used to represent the independent variables. These independent variables are transformed into dummy variables.

⁸⁴ The equation for the regression model is $Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_{1i} X_{1i} + \beta_{2j} X_{2j} + \varepsilon_{ij}$ where $i = 1..6$ and $j = 1..6$. The unstandardised estimates are used when writing the model out directly.

The dummy variables are binary for each assessed demographic characteristic.⁸⁵ These characteristics are age and household income. The results of the model produce standardised Beta scores that are based upon effects between the independent variable and the dependent variable. For each standardised Beta score, all independent variables, including their dummy categories, are controlled apart from the one in which the Beta score is being calculated for its impact upon the dependent variable (factor or outcome variable).⁸⁶ These Betas are the contributions (regression coefficient) to the prediction of the dependent variable (factor) that indicate the direction (positive or negative) and the magnitude (numeric value) of the effect from demographic characteristics to the factor score for the factor. In other words, regression coefficients (β_n) provide information about how each dummy variable for any demographic characteristic impacts upon the factor score. This impact is a unit change in the independent variable.

7.2 Distribution of Variables

Examining the influence of demographic characteristics in predicting and relating to a dependent variable is prevalent internationally (Silverstein, Angelelli & Parrott, 2001; Rhodebeck, 1993; Ponza, Duncan, Corcoran & Groskind, 1988). Commonly used demographic characteristics include: age, income, gender, race, education, occupation, demographic location, social class and relationship status. The current research placed most of these independent variables along with their corresponding dummy variables into the Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model for predicting the outcome variable (factor). The criteria for retaining particular independent variables were based upon the Backward Elimination Procedure (Milton and Arnold, 2003, pp. 483-484). This procedure requires the researcher to pick an independent variable and eliminate it from the model.

⁸⁵ The conversion of variables enables nominal characteristics to be compared with a factor and continuous attributes can be split up into subcategories; for example, breaking ages up into groups called generations to allow for the assessment of internal responses relative to the factor; and variables that have been converted into logistic scores, such as income, can be related to the factor. Few or many independent variables can be added into the regression model.

⁸⁶ In Multiple Regression, the dummy categories are assessed with the dependent variable in the presence of the other dummy categories. This can cause a result that is in opposition to what is actually occurring. This is one of the reasons for using Ordinary Least Squares Regression.

The elimination of the independent variable changes the mean square error (MSE)⁸⁷ and Multiple R value⁸⁸ for the model. The researcher continues eliminating variables until there is a balance between a small mean square error (MSE) and a reasonably large Multiple R value. However, a large Multiple R eventually produces a large mean square error (MSE) and this is why a balance between these two statistics is necessary. Therefore, independent variables are eliminated until any further deletion of independent variables results in the regression model being rejected. The removal of other demographic characteristics is an attempt to find the best and simplest regression model. This is so that when an Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis is performed a ‘good fit’ is found between the independent variables and dependent variables (Milton and Arnold, 2003, p. 481).

As a consequence of the Backward Elimination procedure, two independent variables were retained for all the Analyses of Variances and the Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analyses. Independent variables play a particular role in the welfare attitudes of New Zealanders. These independent variables that predict welfare attitudes are: age and household income. Arguably, the effects of these two independent variables are a consequence of New Zealand’s particular culture. The other demographic characteristics (gender, ethnicity, social class, education and occupation) were excluded from further Analysis.

Each variable (age and household income) was split into dummy variables. The basic statistics for them are located in Table One. The age distribution of respondents resembles a positive skew with the older population being over represented. This means that for each subsequent age-group (generation), from young to old, the number of participants occupying each birth cohort increases. The ages of respondents are split into groups called generations. There are six generations that are split into five dummy

⁸⁷ The mean square error is the mean measure of variability for the model. A small mean square error indicates that the confidence intervals for β_n are narrow and the estimates for β_n are accurate.

⁸⁸ The R^2 value explains the amount of variance in the outcome that is accounted for by the predictors, independent variables, in the model. Meanwhile, the Multiple R value is the sample correlation coefficient that shows how much age and household income play a role in the overall predictor of the dependent variable. In other words, the Multiple R correlation refers to a statistic that is a predictor constant for the overall model.

variables with one generation (those aged 18-21) taking the reference position for the Regression Analysis. The Analysis calculates a Beta score for each generation. These scores are representations of each generation’s effect on the factor score for the factor in the population. Therefore, generations have no effect on the Beta scores of other generations.

The Beta score is not influenced by the distribution of ages and the numbers of participants included in each generational category. This is because the generational categories used in this research satisfy the assumption that the number of participants in each subsidiary sample fulfils the minimum sample size requirements of thirty with no overlap between them (statistical partitioning). In principle, the larger the sample of respondents in each category, the greater the ability of the Regression Analysis to detect the effect of the relationship between the dummy variable and the dependent variable. Consequently, the point estimate of the summed responses from a dummy variable with a larger number of participants makes it easier to detect its position on the factor score compared with a dummy variable that has a smaller number of participants.

Table 1: Dummy Categories for Independent Variables in Regression Analysis

Generation	N = 512	%
18-21	21	4.1
22-31	64	12.5
32-41	82	16
42-51	103	20.1
52-61	103	20.1
62+	139	27.2
Income	N = 487	%
\$0 - \$15,000	27	5.5
\$15,001-\$25,000	62	12.7
\$25,001-\$40,000	71	14.6
\$40,001-\$50,001	50	10.3
\$50,001-\$70,000	86	17.7
\$70,001 plus	191	39.3

The demographic characteristic for household income entails five dummy variables with one reference position. This position is the lowest household income. The distribution of household income among those participating resembles a negative geometric distribution.

This means that participants with high household incomes are over represented, while participants with low to medium household incomes are under represented in the survey. The distribution of household income categories does not influence the Beta scores of other categories, but does play a role in the interpretation process.

7.3 Factor Analysis

In order to examine the outcome of factors (latent variables) by a linear combination of two or more demographic characteristics using two-way Analysis of Variance and Ordinary Least Squares Regression, the factor loadings and the factor scores (composite scores) require clarification. A Principal Components Analysis is a data reduction technique that looks for relationships between attitude responses; it attempts to find out whether there is some commonality. These commonalities are the independent variables called factors or latent variables. Each factor (latent variables) has a factor loading associated with each question. Factor loadings are derived from the correlation coefficients between the responses to each question and the underlying factor. In other words, the loadings represent a linear combination of the proportion of variance that each question contributes to the factor (latent variable).

The rotation of factors changes the pattern of factor loadings without changing the underlying factors. This occurs as the weighting of questions (variables) changes. Weighting is derived from the rotational technique that minimises multicollinearity⁸⁹ between and within factors, while it maximises the multicollinearity within them. This improves the interpretation of factors. The highest loadings in each factor contribute more to the underlying nature of the factor. Meanwhile, low factor loadings play a minor role and are less important in the nature of factors. These factor loadings are not used in further analysis but the nature of factors (latent variables) facilitates in the interpretation process.

⁸⁹ Multicollinearity refers to two or more variables being linearly correlated. This means that variables are dependent. Therefore, the Least Squares Estimators are biased. In this situation, ridge regression or robust regression is used (Field, 2005, p. 738).

Each factor has a scale derived from the data reduction process. This scale is a representation of the set of questions that variably contribute to its measure. The factor scores (composite scores) are the respondents' scores that are comprised of a set of measures contributing to the factor relative to the scale it contains. The scores for the composite variables (factor scores) that make up the uncorrelated factors are combined on the basis of multicollinearity. In other words, a factor score of each respondent to a factor is based upon the scores derived from the constituent responses to the questions. The basis of multicollinearity for dividing one factor from another allows for subsequent analysis using the factor scores.

7.4 The Correlates of Factors for the Nature of Superannuation

The attitude dimension for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme (dimension of the criterial referent) revealed four factors (constructs = latent variables) that contribute to the attitude structure. These factors are arbitrarily attributed with the expressions of permanence, birthright, awareness and disquiet. The factors make known the intrinsic nature of how attitude responses towards the Superannuation Scheme are structured. The structure indicates that the Scheme entails an element of right. This implicit right is related to the Superannuation Scheme being considered as a measure of return for prior contributions. This type of return extends across generations with responsibility residing with the Government to provide a Superannuation Scheme. The implicit right is extended by the appraisal criteria for the economic circumstances of the aged. This right is also related to the expectation of receiving the Superannuation Benefit and the criteria for its provisions. This structure was unable to show the direction of support among responses and the relationship this support has with demographic characteristics. Consequently, further analysis was undertaken.

A two-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)⁹⁰ was performed for each factor to determine if there were generational and household income differences in the attitude responses. The findings revealed that there are significant differences in the variances between

⁹⁰ The results of the two-way Analysis of Variance are not presented here as these are discredited by Levene's Test. A Levene's test uses a α -level of 0.01. All results apart from one had a p-level that was less than 0.0000. The results of these are located in Table I, Appendix E, p. 251.

generations and between household incomes in their attitude responses to the questions that each factor underlies. This result was found by the Levene's Test for all four factors. Consequently, the Games Howell GH was performed for each set of independent variables for the factors.⁹¹ The results are located in Table Two below. These results show that there is a highly significant effect of generations and household incomes on supporting the factor. Thus, attitude responses to questions that each factor underlies differ and this is reflected in the differences in the means between generations and between household incomes.

Table 2: Games Howell GH Tests for Nature of Superannuation Scheme

Games Howell GH = GH (MSE, independ variable) = p = level, H0: $\hat{\mu}$ = means are equal = accept/ reject

Generation

Factor 1 (Permanency): GH (0.845, age) = $p < 0.01$, HO reject

Factor 2 (Birthright): GH (0.860, age) = $0.05 < p > 0.01$, HO accept

Factor 3 (Awareness): GH (0.836, age) = $p < 0.01$, HO reject

Factor 4 (Disquiet): GH (0.795, age) = $p < 0.01$, HO reject

Household Income

Factor 1 (Permanency): GH (0.845, Household income) = $p < 0.01$, HO reject

Factor 2 (Birthright): GH (0.860, Household income) = $p < 0.01$, HO reject

Factor 3 (Awareness): GH (0.836, Household income) = $p > 0.01$, HO accept

Factor 4 (Disquiet): GH (0.795, Household income) = $p > 0.01$, HO accept

In factor two (birthright), there was no significant difference between the generational means. However, the means square error shows that the variability for the distribution of means between generations for factor two reveals a large confidence interval. The means of the youngest generations push the boundaries of one end of the confidence interval and the oldest generation pushes the boundaries of the opposite end with an attenuating pattern for other generations from young to old. Meanwhile, the results for household income showed that there is no significant difference in means of factor three and factor

⁹¹ I checked the statistical results using a more powerful technique. This prevents the potential for emotive responses to the results. In fact, I run more risk of rejection that there is no difference when there is actually one (type 2 error).

four. The distributions of these means are reasonably large so that the point estimates may not be as accurate. Therefore, some caution is necessary when interpreting results.

An Ordinary Least Squares Regression⁹² was undertaken for each factor with its relevant factor scores and the demographic variables. The demographic variables (independent) of age and household income are compared with the factor scores (dependent variables) of a factor. The effects are represented in the standardised Beta scores. Standardised Betas are derived from converting unstandardised betas with different measures into a standard measurement. This conversion enables the magnitude of the effect for different independent variables to be compared. The standardised Betas for the Ordinary Least Squares Regressions is located in Table Three below.⁹³

7.41 Permanency Factor

The Regression Analysis for the dependent factor with the expression of permanency represented a summation of results from five questions. These questions revealed a Multiple R correlation of 0.291 (29.1 percent) between the independent variables and the factor. Furthermore, the independent variables explained 8.47 percent (R^2) of the variability in participant responses for the factor. The predictor value of generation is moderate while household income has little predictor potential. Two significant relationships were found between the factor and the independent variables of age and household income. The Beta scores represent a significant change in the social attitudes of different generations. The generational categories of 18-21, 22-31 and 31-41 have no significant impact upon the permanency factor but the tests associated with the Analysis of Variance show that they have a tendency to contradict the attitude responses of older generational categories (42-51, 52-61, 62+). This is evident in the moderate insignificant negative Beta score.

⁹² The Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model minimises the potential for a Type I Error.

⁹³ Supporting documentation is located in Table J in Appendix E, pp. 252-253.

Table 3: Regression Analysis for Nature of Superannuation Scheme

Independent Variable	<u>Standardised Betas</u>			
	Factor 1 (Permanency)	Factor 2 (Birthright)	Factor 3 (Awareness)	Factor 4 (Disquiet)
Generation^a				
22-31	-0.2895	-0.2923	-0.7236*	-0.2277
32-41	-0.3061	-0.3742*	-0.6855*	-0.2682
42-51	-0.4272*	-0.4848*	-0.8617*	-0.4286*
52-61	-0.4682*	-0.5168*	-0.9534*	-0.4411*
62+	-0.4886*	-0.5992*	-1.0495*	-0.5328*
Household Income^b				
\$15,001-\$25,000	-0.1828*	-0.0071	0.0211	-0.2439*
\$25,001-\$40,000	-0.1840*	-0.1330	-0.0112	-0.2031*
\$40,001-\$50,001	-0.1983*	-0.1455*	-0.0269	-0.2419*
\$50,001-\$70,000	-0.1545	-0.1564	-0.0756	-0.3418*
\$70,001 plus	-0.1320	-0.3161*	-0.0495	-0.3967*
R-squared	0.0847*	0.1033*	0.0844*	0.1017*

a. Reference = Generation Y (18-21). The reference category has a zero position in which other generations can be compared and it allows for finding the mean attitude response for the equation of this regression model.

b. Reference = Household income \$15,000 and downwards.

c. * Refers to $p < 0.05$.

d. Beta scores above plus or minus one in the Ordinary Least Squares Regression Model arise as a consequence of the factor (composite) score of the dependent variable. The scale of each question influencing the underlying factor score leads to this outcome.

Respondents occupying the older generations have stronger ties (effects) to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme existing on the basis of some earned right (Q.8) that will endure for some indefinite future. In other words, almost every attitude response to question eight, two, twenty-nine, eleven and six is affected by those respondents aged forty-two plus and this is reflected in the significance of the high negative Beta scores. The negative Beta scores here shows that a high score (older generations) occurs when there is a low factor score for the factor. The variability in the responses to these questions, meanwhile, resides among the younger generations. The Regression reveals that there is no significant effect in the correlates between the permanency factor and the younger generations. This means that these younger generations are more likely to lack confidence in the durability and the consistency of the Superannuation Scheme. In line

with the responses of the younger generations, those households with higher incomes plus the lowest household income exhibited insignificant Beta scores.

7.42 Birthright Factor

A Least Squares Regression Analysis showed significant differences in the Beta scores for the birthright factor (latent variable) of the Superannuation Scheme. These Beta scores are related to generational categories and household income categories. They explain 10.33 (R^2) percent of the response variability. Both independent variables for generations and household income are predictors for the birthright factor (Multiple R correlation of 32.14 percent). Three questions played a role in the birthright factor. The factor scale for the set of questions at one end (low factor score) is the support for intergenerational equality for the receipt of the Superannuation Benefit (Q.29), for the receipt of Superannuation Benefit while in full-time employment (Q.10) and for the receipt of the Superannuation Benefit while receiving other income worth \$30,000 or more (Q.13). Almost all those aged fifty-one and over supported this position in the three questions.

The confidence of respondents in receiving the Superannuation Benefit once reaching sixty-five, irrespective of economic circumstances, increased according to the significant Beta scores for each subsequent generation with those aged sixty-five and over having the greatest effect. This trend was also found to be a function of household income. As household income increases so does the augmentation of opinion that the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit is a right that has no consideration for economic circumstances. Meanwhile, the youngest generations, 18-21 and 22-31, tended to oppose the attitude responses of other generations to question ten and thirteen. However, they tended to support twenty-nine. The contradictory result among the three questions meant that the generational relationship with the underlying birthright factor contributed to the insignificant Beta scores and this is why the Beta scores -0.1897 and -0.2923 arise.

7.43 Awareness Factor

The factor, expression of awareness, for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme was analysed using Ordinary Least Squares Regression. Generations and household incomes explained 8.44 (R^2) percent of response variability. The predictability of correlates in the regression model is generational (Multiple R correlation = 27.34 percent). The power of this predictability is moderate. The Beta scores of all generations were statistically significant. The awareness factor underlies four questions. The scale of the factor is the summed responses for expecting (Q.6), concern about (Q.12), maintaining criteria (Q.7) and maintaining other services (Q.25) of the Superannuation Scheme. They represent one end of the scale (low factor score). This end of the scale resonates among the attitude responses for generations 42 to 51, 52 to 61 and 61 plus, with a strengthening effect arising for each preceding generation that was statistically significant.

The oldest generation exhibited the strongest effect on the factor with a high negative Beta score. This score has a one to one effect with a low factor score. Meanwhile, moderate negative Beta scores of the youngest generations (18-21, 22-31, 32-41) show an effect that represents a tendency for the opposite end of the factor scale (high factor score). Therefore, younger generations are more likely to not expect, not be concerned about costs of, support increases to the residency criteria and support maintaining the Superannuation Benefit. The factor, expression of awareness, presents the obligatory change in the provision of the Superannuation Scheme that occurs when the future conditions of the Scheme are unknown and reforms are common in welfare services. Hence, there is little reason to be concerned about the costs when there is little expectation of receiving a Benefit during old age.

7.44 Disquiet Factor

A Least Squares Regression Analysis for the relationship between the factor expressed by the label of disquiet and independent variables presented differences (Multiple R correlation = 31.89 percent). These differences, generation and household income, explained 10.17 percent of the variability (R^2). The predictability effect of generations is

moderate. Household income has little predictability effect. This underlying factor is derived from four questions that impact upon its factor scale. The factor scale has at one end (low factor score) the conditions to the questions of: support for increase taxation to maintain Superannuation Benefits (Q.3), support for no generational differences in the distribution of benefits and contributions (Q.27), support for the Superannuation Benefit to remain a major income source (Q.4) and support for the Government to provide the Superannuation Benefit (Q.2). The converse attitude responses to these questions provide the parameters to the alternative end of the factor scale (high factor score).

The Beta scores for the generations 22 to 31 and 32 to 41 are not significant but show a trend in the question responses where there is no support for the mechanisms that maintain the Superannuation Scheme in its current state. The Beta scores from generation 42 to 51 onwards are statistically significant with a moderate to high effect on the factor. In other words, the level of support in the attitude responses of older generations towards mechanisms that maintain the Superannuation Scheme increased by fifty percent with the oldest generation exhibiting the strongest impact on the factor of disquiet.

The responses for the older generations predominantly supported the Government provision of the Superannuation Scheme as a major source of income and that the balance of contributions and receipts were considered as fair. Younger generations (18-21, 22-31 and 32-41) tended to oppose these responses. The variability arises among the older generations in regards to increasing taxes to maintain the Superannuation Scheme. The split corresponded with household incomes of older generations. When these household incomes were high taxation was opposed, while those on moderate to low household incomes supported tax increases to maintain the Superannuation Scheme.

In brief, differences in the factors (latent variables) for the attitude responses towards the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme correspond to generational effects. These generational differences are predictors that contribute to the factors' variability. Therefore, the attitude responses of different generations impact upon the factor scores (composite scores) of the factors. Household income plays a slight role in the attitude responses but is a low predictor. The generational differences in relation to the factors

show that support for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme changes. This change arises as support for the current form (social democratic) of the Superannuation Scheme declines with respect to each subsequent generation, old to young. This decline corresponds to an equivalent increase in the support for a neo-liberal form of the Superannuation Scheme.

7.5 Correlates of Factors for Dependent Equity

The Factor Analysis of attitude responses for the criterial referent of dependent equity revealed a structure of two factors. The structure shows that dependents have different approaches associated with their welfare provisions and services. This is reflected in the existence of a hierarchy in the question strength relative to the rule factor and the lack of presence in the rule factor of all dependents, apart from the aged. Moreover, the lack of presence for the basis of need in receipt of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (Q.23) in the attitude dimension for the equity of dependents, reveals that need plays a lesser role in public resources for the aged. The Levene Tests⁹⁴ from the two-way Analysis of Variance showed that there are significant differences in the variances of the independent variables for one factor, while the other factor had no differences in its variance at $\alpha = 0.01$. These results were further assessed in an attempt to reduce the possibility of making a Type One Error. The results of the Games Howell GH tests are located in Table 4 below. The tests show that generations differ in their responses for factor one but not for factor two and there are no income differences for both factors. The distribution of the means is large which is a reflection of the attitude responses for each generation.

⁹⁴ The Levene Tests are located in Appendix E of Table L, p. 254.

Table 4: Games Howell GH Tests for Dependent Equity

Games Howell GH = GH (MSE, variable) = p = level, H0: $\hat{\mu}$ = means are equal = accept/ reject

2-way ANOVA: F(degrees of freedom for between, degrees of freedom for within, variable) = F-ratio, p, H0
Generation

Factor 1 (Rules): GH (0.831, age) = $p < 0.01$, H0 rejected

Factor 2 (Distribution): F (5, 437, age) = 1.016, $p = 0.408$, H0 accepted

Household Income

Factor 1 (Rules): GH (0.831, Household income) = $p > 0.01$, H0 accepted

Factor 2 (Distribution): F(5, 437, Household income) = 0.636, $P = 0.672$, H0 accepted

An Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis for the equality of dependents provides information about the level of relationship between the dependent (factor) and the independent variables for generations and household incomes. Table Five presents the results of the standardised Beta scores.⁹⁵

7.51 Rules Factor

The Regression Analysis for the factor, expression of rules for dependent equity, explained 10.4 percent of the response variability (R^2). There is a moderate predictability of correlates (Multiple R = 32.24 percent). This predictability is generational, while household incomes were weak predictors for the factor. The Beta scores of household income were small (-0.2786 or less) compared to the generational Beta scores. The factor scale for the underlying factor of rules is established by four questions. A low score composite (factor score) is one part of the scale. The composite consists of strong agreement for the Superannuation Scheme as an earned right (Q. 8), strong agreement for the situation that society would be harmed by cutting funding for the Superannuation Scheme (Q. 11) and for the educational services for young people (Q. 21), and high concern about the costs of maintaining the Superannuation Scheme (Q. 12). Meanwhile, the polar opposite to these four questions are pooled together as a composite to establish the low factor score.

⁹⁵ Supporting documentation for this can be found in Table M of Appendix E, p. 255.

Table 5: Regression Analysis for the Equity of Dependents

Independent Variable	<u>Standardised Betas</u>	
	Factor 1 (Rules)	Factor 2 (Distribution)
Generation ^a		
22-31	-0.5521*	-0.2598
32-41	-0.6225*	-0.1909
42-51	-0.8399*	-0.1889
52-61	-0.8498*	-0.2134
62+	-0.9209*	-0.2717
Income ^b		
\$15,001-\$25,000	-0.1891*	0.0795
\$25,001-\$40,000	-0.2552*	0.0479
\$40,001-\$50,001	-0.2232*	0.0907
\$50,001-\$70,000	-0.2353*	0.0502
\$70,001 plus	-0.2786*	0.1084
R-squared	0.104	0.0158

a. Reference = Generation Y (18-21).

b. Reference = Household income \$15,000 and downwards.

c. * Refers to $p < 0.05$.

The Beta score (-0.2078) for the youngest generation (18 to 21) is significant and shows that the direction of responses is skewed with a small impact on the factor. In other words, the youngest generation lacks concern for the costs of the Superannuation Scheme with weak notions for the earned right to the Superannuation Scheme, while also indicating weak levels of support for funding cuts to the Superannuation Scheme. However, the Beta score for the next generation (22 to 31) suggests that there is a moderate negative effect (-0.5512) of age and the factor of rules. This effect augments for each preceding generation with the oldest (61 plus) exhibiting the largest negative effect of (-0.9209). The variability among responses for the oldest generation arises with the concern about cost (Q 12). There is a tendency for respondents in this category to either respond with really or somewhat concerned about the costs of the Superannuation Scheme. Meanwhile, the other three questions contributing to the underlying factor

demonstrated a one to one effect. This pattern resonated in two other generations (42-51 and 52-61) with the respective Betas of -0.8399 and -0.8498.

7.52 Distribution Factor

The Regression Analysis for the factor, expression of distribution for dependent equity, explained no significant ($R^2 = 1.58$ percent) response variability. There was a low predictability of correlates and no significant effects found in the Beta scores (Multiple R = 12.38 percent). The factor scale for the underlying factor of distribution was established by three questions pooled together to form a low score composite scale. These questions are: disagree with the aged paying for health (Q.26), disagree with assisting with others in need (Q.27) and lack of concern about the costs of the Superannuation Scheme (Q.12). The results reveal that there is insignificant generational relationship to the factor score. This outcome may be associated with the contradictory responses to the questions underlying the factor.

The question responses indicate that older respondents tend to be concerned about the costs of maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, tend to disagree with those aged sixty-five and over paying more for their health care costs than they currently do and tend to lack any support for other dependents in need in favour of focusing on the aged. Meanwhile, responses by younger adults reveal that they are not that concerned about the costs of the Superannuation Benefit, are likely to disagree with making the aged pay more for their health care costs and are likely to express support for other groups in need rather than concentrating solely on the aged. The contradictions inherent in these question responses may have influenced the insignificant effects found. The factor of distribution reveals that there is a slight waning in support for the aged as deserving of public resources without the presence of need.

In sum, the Regression Analyses for the criterial 'referent' of dependent equity indicates a change relative to generational replacement in the hierarchy of dependents. A significant change occurred in the factor of rules while an insignificant change occurred in the factor of distribution. The results from the factors indicate that older generations

have a stronger hierarchy of dependents. This particular hierarchy is more favourable towards the aged and less favourable towards all other kinds of dependents. Their responses further demonstrate that need plays a slight role in the deservingness of the aged. In other words, the attitude responses indicate that the deservingness of the aged is not considered the same nor has it the same relationship to the needs of other dependents. Meanwhile, younger generations appear to have a flatter hierarchy with the presence of need as part of deservingness. Although they support the aged, there is some reduced support in the nature of their deservingness.

7.6 Correlates of Factors for Superannuation Environment

The Factor Analysis of attitude responses for the environment surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme showed a structure of three factors. These underlying factors are arbitrarily ascribed with equality, responsibility and exchange. The structure shows that some economic features play a role in the perceived fairness of the Superannuation Scheme. These economic features influence the role of reciprocity in the receipt of rewards relative to the contingency of contributions. Each factor is assessed further with a two-way Analysis of Variance. The Levene Tests⁹⁶ showed that there are significant differences in the variances of independent variables for the factor. Consequently, the Games Howell GH Tests were performed on each set of independent variables for each factor. These results are located in Table Six below. The results indicate that there are generational and household income differences among the factors. The mean square error for the distributions of means shows that the range of possible means is relatively high.

An Ordinary Least Squares Regression Analysis was performed on each factor. Table Seven presents the results of the standardised Beta scores.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Levene Tests are located in Table O of Appendix E, p. 257.

⁹⁷ Supporting documentation for this is located in Table P of Appendix E, pp. 257.

Table 6: Games Howell GH Tests for The Environment of the Scheme

Games Howell GH = GH (MSE, independent variable) = p = level, H0: $\hat{\mu}$ = means are equal = accept/ reject
 2-way ANOVA: F(degrees of freedom for between, degrees of freedom for within, variable) = F-ratio, p, HO

Generation

Factor 1 (Equality): GH(0.782, age) = p < 0.01, HO reject

Factor 2 (Responsibility): GH (0.745, age) = 0.05 < p > 0.01, HO accept

Factor 3 (Exchange): GH (0.786, age) = p < 0.01, HO reject

Household Income

Factor 1 (Equality): GH (0.782, Household income) = p < 0.01, HO reject

Factor 2 (Responsibility): GH (0.745, Household income) = p < 0.01, HO reject

Factor 3 (Exchange): GH (0.786, Household income) = p > 0.01, HO accept

Table 7: Regression Analysis for the Superannuation Environment

Independent Variable	<u>Standardised Betas</u>		
	Factor (Equality)	Factor (Responsibility)	Factor (Exchange)
Generation ^a			
22-31	-0.5612*	-0.9611*	-0.5609*
32-41	-0.66*	-1.0191*	-0.633*
42-51	-0.8363*	-1.1798*	-0.811*
52-61	-0.833*	-1.1223*	-0.8167*
62+	-0.9601*	-1.244*	-0.9588*
Income ^b			
\$15,001-\$25,000	-0.0562	-0.093	-0.157*
\$25,001-\$40,000	-0.1506*	-0.0368	-0.1618*
\$40,001-\$50,001	-0.168*	-0.072	-0.1769*
\$50,001-\$70,000	-0.1658*	-0.0518	-0.2402*
\$70,001 plus	-0.3333*	0.0652	-0.2718*
R-squared	0.1198	0.0963	0.1048

a. Reference = Generation Y (18-21).

b. Reference = Household income \$15,000 and downwards.

c. * Refers to p < 0.05.

7.61 Equality Factor

The Regression Analysis for the equality factor revealed significant differences in the Beta scores for generations and household incomes. Generations and household incomes explain 11.98 (R^2) percent of the response variability. They are moderate predictors for the equality factor (Multiple R = 34.61). Three questions play a role in the equality factor. The factor scale for the set of questions at one end is the positive support for intergenerational equality for the receipt of the Superannuation Benefit (Q.29), for the receipt of Superannuation Benefit while in full-time employment (Q.10) and for the receipt of the Superannuation Benefit while receiving other income worth \$30,000 or more (Q.13). Almost all participants aged forty-two and over supported this question response, while those aged forty-one down responded contrary to older generations. In addition, household income showed that there was a low effect on the factor. Households with higher incomes were more supportive of equality and preferred retaining the current economic conditions.

7.62 Responsibility Factor

A Regression Analysis showed that there is a moderate relationship between the factor of responsibility and generations (Multiple R = 27.06). This relationship explained 9.63 (R^2) percent of the response variability. Meanwhile, household incomes featured a low insignificant effect with the factor. At one end of the factor scale, the form of three questions underlying the factor are the conditions of: do not support income redistribution (Q.36), expect to receive the Superannuation Benefit (Q.6) and the Government is responsible for the aged (Q.32). The significant Beta scores of moderate effects between generations and the factor score show that older generations support this position. Meanwhile, younger generations decline in their support of the views expressed by older generations with an associated rise in opposing views. However, all generations tend to oppose income redistribution which impacts the most on the factor of responsibility. For this reason, Beta scores for all generations have a significant impact upon the factor score. The generational differences in the Beta scores lie with responses to expectation and responsibility.

The Beta score results for the factor of responsibility reveal that income redistribution lacks support between generations. This opposition occurs despite the Superannuation Scheme's noteworthy connection to the Government redistribution of economic resources. A proportion of these economic resources is derived from redistributing income. The connection occurs by having a pay-as-you-go Superannuation Scheme that provides the aged with an income. The responses of older generations indicate that they want the Government to retain responsibility for providing a Superannuation Scheme, but they are less prepared to support the redistribution of income necessary for it to continue. Meanwhile, younger generations indicate some consistency in their responses for individual responsibility and less income redistribution.

7.63 Exchange Factor

The Regression Analysis for the factor, expression of rules for dependent exchange, explained 10.48 (R^2) percent of the response variability. There is moderate predictability of correlates (Multiple R = 32.36 percent). This predictability is generational, while household incomes contributed to a small predictability and exhibited significant effect between the factor score and household income. These effects were small (-0.2717 or less) compared to the generational Beta scores. The factor scale for the underlying factor of exchange is established by four questions. A low score composite (low factor score) is one part of the scale. The composite consists of agreement for increasing taxes to maintain the Superannuation Scheme (Q.3), the Superannuation Scheme being a major source of income (Q.4) and no differences have occurred between age groups in costs and benefits (Q.27).

The Beta score (-0.9588) for the oldest generation (62 plus) is significant and the high negative effect shows that the aged are strong supporters for the questions at the low end of the composite scale (factor scale). The composite scores (factor scales) decline, from old to young generations, as evident by the trend in Beta scores. The Beta score (-0.5609) for the generation 22 to 31 is significant and the high negative effect shows that young people are supporters of the composite of questions at the high end of the composite

scale. In other words, younger generations tends to oppose tax increases for the purpose of maintaining the Superannuation Scheme (Q.3), to support the Superannuation Scheme as a minor or not a source of income (Q.4) and to support the circumstances that some age-groups have received more than their fair share of Government benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes (Q.27). This declines for each preceding generation with a subsequent increase in support for the opposite end of the low composite scale. The factor of exchange reveals that a slight generational change is occurring in the role of the Superannuation Scheme and the environmental associations with the Scheme.

In addition, respondents with high household incomes tended to oppose tax increases to maintain the Superannuation Scheme, wanted the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to provide a major source of income and opposed the notion that the distribution of resources between age-groups has been different. Therefore, the lens of those people living in households with high incomes has a tendency to want ‘something for nothing’. Furthermore, they are likely to have been affected by the distributional differences between generations as a consequence of their socio-economic position in society.

In brief, the Analyses for the environment of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme indicate a change relative to generational replacement and a minor difference relative to household income in how the purpose of the Scheme is perceived. Most factors revealed significant differences in the Beta Scores with responses to the economic circumstances producing the largest variability between the factor scores and generations. This variability plays a role in how the purpose of the Scheme is understood and how the support for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme differs between generations. These differences indicate that people are less prepared to support the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme when receipts are unknown or eroding relative to contributions.

7.7 Integration of Attitude Dimensions

The results for the relationships between dependent variables (factors) and independent (demographic characteristics) variables demonstrate that, unlike other developed countries, New Zealand has hardly any correlations or predictors for responses to the

criteria 'referents'. This unique outcome is evident when generations and household incomes are the only demographic characteristics that feature in the correlates to the factors in each criteria 'referent'. Moreover, the moderate Multiple R's indicate that some demographic characteristics are powerful explanatory variables. It is worth noting that, separately, the questions for the underlying factors produced generational differences and household income differences with higher explanatory power. In other words, what can be deduced from the results is that there is a progressive change relative to generational replacement, from old to young, and household incomes, from high to low, in the attitude responses towards the criteria 'referents'. This change may be related to generational replacement and the differences between generations may arise as a consequence of historical location. Meanwhile, household income differences and the change that takes place may also be related to the political contexts that are reinforced by people in New Zealand society.

The overall pattern found in the three attitude dimensions shows a slight decline in the economic support for the aged corresponding to generational replacement and household income. This reflects that the nature of support for the Superannuation Scheme is weakly divergent. The pattern arises from introduced notions for a neo-liberal welfare state for the aged, of dependents' circumstances and of reciprocity for distributed 'advantages and disadvantages'. The emergence of these notions appears to depend upon generational and household income differences. Further analysis of those people below forty-two is required to assess whether these generational and household income differences are real or valid. In other words, the attitude responses of younger generations are under represented. Thereby, the fact that the attitude responses of older generations and people from households with high incomes are over represented, may have contributed to a pattern of change with respect to generational replacement and to incremental increases of income.

7.8 Social Attitude Responses

Ninety-three percent of participants support the proposal that the Government should provide a New Zealand Superannuation Benefit for its people.⁹⁸ This support varied according to age and income. Further support is evident from the result that 63 percent of respondents believe that the Superannuation Benefit should be a major source of income and 31.9 percent believe that it should be a minor source of income in retirement. Only 1.8 percent believed a benefit in retirement should not be a source of income. This level of support for the Superannuation Benefit being a major source of income is mirrored by the number of respondents who anticipate relying on the Benefit during old age (83.9 percent). Subsequent sources, in order of support, reveal that other sources of income expected for this age include: other personal savings (62 percent), earnings from employment (29.9 percent) and work place retirement (22.2 percent).⁹⁹

Despite this level of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, 61.6 percent of participants did not support an increase in taxes to maintain the existing system, while 29.9 percent favoured this course. When this question was expanded, respondents lessened their support for increasing taxes to maintain the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit (22.9 %) in favour of changing other eligibility criteria for the aged (32.4 %), increasing corporate taxes (30.8 %) and increasing the age of entitlement (11.4 %). In line with other eligibility criteria, respondents were asked if the residency criterion for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme should remain the same or be changed. The responses showed that 54.6 percent wanted the criterion to remain the same, while 26.9 percent wanted the residency criterion to be increased to twenty years. Other responses resulted in six percent or less support.

7.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined the attitudinal nature of responses towards the criterial 'referents' for the domain of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The demographic

⁹⁸ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q. 2, p. 250.

⁹⁹ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, pp. 250-251; Table K, p. 254; Table N, p. 256 and Table Q, p. 258.

characteristics of respondents lack, in general, any prominent relationship to the criterial 'referents'. Generations and household incomes were related to the factor scores for each criterial 'referent'. This influence ranged from 1 to 12 percent (R^2) of the variance explained by each factor used in the analyses, while the overall predictability ranged from 27 to 35 percent with one instance of 13 percent (Multiple R). The age and household income of respondents may have contributed to the low level of variance in the models for assessing the effects between factors (dependent variables) and generations (independent variables). This means that the uniformity among the responses of a large sample of older generations and of people with high household incomes to the criterial 'referents', may have led to the low variance in the model's overall variance. Consequently, the attitude responses to questions for the underlying factors relative to generation and household income reinforced the results of the Beta scores. The results further suggest that the uniformity in responses erodes slowly over time as cohort replacement occurs. Each criterial 'referent' revealed this erosion relative to age with a subsequent rise in a different form of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

Chapter Eight

Discussion of Social Attitude Responses towards Superannuation

The purpose of this chapter is to merge the different results undertaken in the survey analyses (attitude structure, correlates of social attitudes and general attitude responses) so as to further understand the economic support for the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. In addition, the chapter discusses the social attitude responses of New Zealanders and compares these results with other research. Differences between social attitude responses of New Zealanders and international studies were found. New Zealanders are unique in that age and household income have had some effect on their social attitude responses, while other demographic characteristics (gender, ethnicity and education) have no effect compared with international studies. Three types of attitude dimensions that were assessed are related in some way to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and are used to find out the nature of economic support for the aged. The attitude dimensions include: the nature of the Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment of the Superannuation Scheme. These attitude dimensions are evaluated separately. The dimensions are, then, merged together in order to add depth to the understanding of social attitudes towards economic support of the aged in New Zealand.

8.1 Context of Discussion

Social attitude responses are the attitudes that are subjected to the ‘premise of the resultant attitude’ and the ‘premise of response’. Hence, opinions are those social attitude responses of the general population surveyed. These social attitudes are derived from the attitudes of people and their complex lattice of constructs with respect to the referent domain of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. The ‘referent domain’ for the survey has attached to it factors that influence the resultant attitudes of people. These factors are embodied in the ‘premise of response’ that may alter the resultant attitudes contributing to the attitude responses. Therefore, attitude responses may reflect individual primary constructs, reflect the ‘premise of the resultant attitude’, reflect the ‘premise of

responses' or reflect both of these premises. In other words, attitude responses may not bear any relation to the reality of the circumstances of people when they reach old age and the reality of the context of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. In particular, the results of social attitude responses require appreciation for the situation that participants primarily represent those aged fifty plus and those people who live in households with higher incomes. These factors may alter the resultant attitude and subsequently affect the general attitude responses.

8.2 Demographics

Age is the most significant factor that contributed to predicting approximately thirty percent of the social attitude response variability.¹⁰⁰ Household income did feature to a lesser extent in affecting the attitude responses.¹⁰¹ This demographic result differs from international studies using similar methodologies (AARP, 2005, pp. 3-7; Rhodebeck, 1993, p. 350; Silverstein & Parrott, 1998, p. 120). These studies have found that most demographic characteristics (gender, education, household income, ethnicity, relationship status, social class and religious orientation) can be used to predict how different groups are likely to respond. International studies also suggest that age is one demographic characteristic that can produce little or no result (Day, 1990, p. 291; Logan & Spitze, 1995, pp. 360, 362). In current study, age produced the most significant results which indicated that cohort change is occurring as each cohort is replaced by a successor; but the validity of its representation requires further research. This is evident in the monotonic pattern found in the weakening of economic support for the aged currently provided by the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme as a social democratic welfare state in a predominantly neo-liberal welfare state for non-aged benefits.

¹⁰⁰ An Ordinary Least Squares Analysis undertaken on age produced similar predictor variability to that which was found when household income was included.

¹⁰¹ An Ordinary Least Squares Analysis on household income produced variability that ranged between zero and ten percent. On one occasion it was higher.

8.3 General Discussion

New Zealanders concur with supporting those aged sixty-five and over with the Superannuation Benefit.¹⁰² But questions directly targeted at those mechanisms, taxation or other criteria, that maintain the Superannuation Scheme lack support.¹⁰³ These social attitudes, I would argue, jeopardise the viability of the Superannuation Scheme to continue in its current form. This result corresponds to St John's and Willmore's (2001) findings that most people in New Zealand require a Superannuation Benefit for most of their income during old age (p. 1293). St John's (2001) research also showed that during the period of a surcharge for the Superannuation Benefit a majority of those aged sixty-five plus still required the full amount of economic support (p. 10). The findings in the current research are in line with international research (Disney & Johnson, 2001, p. 23; IRSS, 2005, p. 11).

In 1996, the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit was means tested for those sixty-five and over. Else and St John (1998) identified that those who received the full New Zealand Superannuation Benefit consisted of "72 percent of all women and 54 percent of all men while 2 percent of women and 7 percent of men needed less than a quarter of the benefit" (p. 39). They said, "85 percent of all women and 49 percent of all men could not earn enough income to save for retirement at the most basic level" (p. 10). Furthermore, the level of voter responses, in the 1997 referendum, to means testing the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, reinforced the concern that most New Zealand people have regarding income during old age.

The results, in this research, suggest further that respondents, those participants aged fifty plus, believe the Superannuation Benefit should play a major role in ensuring a retirement income in the future.¹⁰⁴ This is in line with the International Retirement Security Survey (2005) where forty-two percent of respondents across a number of developed countries expect public provision to be a major source of retirement income (p. 11). These findings

¹⁰² Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q. 2, p. 250.

¹⁰³ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, pp. 250-251; Table K, p. 254; Table N, p. 256; Table Q, p. 258.

¹⁰⁴ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q. 4, p. 256.

are reflected in this research whereby respondents are relying upon the Superannuation Benefit as an expected source of income during retirement.¹⁰⁵

A pattern in this study is that these attitude responses are strongest amongst older New Zealanders and strongest amongst New Zealanders with high household incomes.¹⁰⁶ According to Silverstein, Angelelli and Parrot (2001), the attitude responses of those born in 1965 to 1984, Generation X, were less supportive of providing the aged with public provision and were likely to oppose public provision for the aged. They believe that as this generation matures the attitude responses would stabilise so that they would start to support public provision for the aged (pp. S36, S40-41). Their assumption has not been analysed further and does not explain the attitude responses of New Zealanders found in this study. The results, in this study, displayed an attenuating pattern in accordance with generational replacement and did not show a similar polarity to Silverstein, Angelelli and Parrot's (2005) results that they associated with an assumption of attitude responses maturing as people age (p. S42).

Most respondents are relying upon the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit when they turn sixty-five followed by other personal savings, earnings from employment and work place retirement schemes.¹⁰⁷ These results are supported by Kelmmack and Roff's (1983) study and the International Retirement Security Survey (2005) on the role of retirement income and what is the most commonly expected source of income in retirement. Despite the level of support for having the Superannuation Benefit, respondents were less inclined to support those mechanisms that maintain the Superannuation Scheme in its current form.¹⁰⁸ The results, in this study, regarding mechanisms that maintain the Superannuation Scheme for the aged differed from most international studies. International studies indicate that respondents support public provision for assisting the aged and these respondents also support the mechanisms that maintain public provision (IRSS, 2005, p. 104, AARP, 2005, pp. 3-9; Klemmack & Roff, 1983, p. 151). However, the current results were similar to the findings of Silverstein and Parrott (1997, p. 108).

¹⁰⁵ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q.6, p. 256.

¹⁰⁶ Refer to Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

¹⁰⁷ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q.5, p. 250.

¹⁰⁸ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q. 3, p. 250

One mechanism that maintains the Superannuation Scheme is taxation. Most respondents, in the current study, opposed tax increases to maintain the existing Superannuation Scheme for those sixty-five and over. This result differs from that of the International Retirement Security Survey (2005) which found support for tax increases for this purpose (p. 20). However, Day's (1993) research noted that taxes and economic support for the aged are not considered by people to be associated. This study attempted to reduce this deficit by linking taxation with maintaining the Superannuation Scheme. Despite this, the results echo Day's (1993) findings that attitude responses of this nature reflect the notion that 'people want something for nothing' (p. 294).

The lack of support for increasing taxes to maintain the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is also reflected in the choices, by respondents, of suitable changes for ensuring the Scheme is retained. Most respondents preferred to change other criteria, increase corporate taxes and increase the age of entitlement.¹⁰⁹ However, less than a third supported these options and this attitude outcome reflects Preston's (1984) accounts of the aged. He stated that "the elderly are more in favour of increasing current contributions from workers and employees than others" (p. 447). When asked further in this study about changing the criteria, most respondents wanted the criteria to remain the same or for the residency criteria to be increased up to twenty years.¹¹⁰

This result is not surprising and is an indication of the nature of support for the aged. It also reflects the advice provided by international bodies such as the International Monetary Fund (2007). The advice in their reports indicate that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme needs to increase the age of entitlement beyond sixty-five, change residency criteria and focus more on need. This preference to increase the age of entitlement may not cause problems for men or the upper middle class and above. However, it could be argued that it is ethnically discriminatory, gender discriminatory and biased against the middle (middle-middle) to lower classes. In addition, international studies show that using age as a criterion of entitlement for accessing public provision for the aged is increasingly becoming unpopular (IRSS, 2005, p. 20).

¹⁰⁹ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q.9, p. 251.

¹¹⁰ Refer to Appendix E, Table H, Q.7, p. 251.

8.4 Nature of Superannuation

The criterial ‘referent’ for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme can add greater understanding to the finding that the aged are supported. This is because the economic support for assisting the aged may be attached to conditions. The set of questions concerning the nature of the Superannuation Scheme are the conditions attached to how the Scheme currently operates and how it may potentially endure in some other form in the future. The structure of attitude responses to the set of questions on the nature of the Superannuation Schemes pointed to four factors. These factors were labelled permanency, birthright, awareness and disquiet.¹¹¹ They provide information about what features may be important to respondents for supporting the aged.

New Zealanders support different approaches to the Superannuation Scheme.¹¹² As predicted, the nature of support varies according to age and household income. Adults below the age of forty-two are more likely to support a neo-liberal democratic form of Superannuation Scheme, while older respondents support the current social democratic form of the Scheme. Meanwhile, respondents living in households with high incomes support the attitude responses of older respondents on two factors but differed with respect to the factor for awareness and disquiet. In this regard, they were more aligned with younger respondents. In other words, the attitude responses demonstrate that the current nature of the Superannuation Scheme is supported. This support declines in line with generational replacement with older respondents presenting the strongest support for maintaining the Superannuation Scheme.

The permanency factor reveals small significant differences in the variability of attitude responses in accordance with age.¹¹³ This difference occurs as young respondents are starting to exhibit a change in the perception that the Superannuation Scheme will not endure in its current social democratic form. This slight redirection in the attitude responses indicates that the nature of the Superannuation Scheme may be temporary.

¹¹¹ Refer to Ch 6, Table 1.

¹¹² Refer to Ch 7, Table 2 and Table 3.

¹¹³ Refer to Ch 6.

These respondents think that they will be less likely to receive an aged benefit when reaching sixty-five, and since they have been informed that the social democratic form may not exist in future, they are of the view that the reductions to the Superannuation Scheme would not harm the aged or society.¹¹⁴ According to Silverstein and Parrot (1997), the perception of some generations shows that they consider themselves less likely to inherit the current form of economic assistance during old age and this perception is rooted in their prior treatment during critical life phases (p. 129). It is this that generates a weakening in support for the aged. The converse was supported by older respondents and suggests that they, in the current study, believe that the Superannuation Scheme for the aged will endure in its current form. In other words, the confidence in the Superannuation Scheme's durability lessens in line with generational replacement and this is indicated by the factor of permanency.

The second most important factor for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme is birthright. This factor represents the economic purpose of the Superannuation Scheme. Significant differences regarding the economic purpose of the Superannuation Scheme were found among social attitude responses in accordance with age and household income¹¹⁵. Older respondents supported the aged receiving the Superannuation Benefit, irrespective of their economic circumstances.¹¹⁶ Younger respondents, however, tend to oppose this dual situation. This difference appeared in Silverstein and Parrott's (1997) findings for generation X compared with other generations (p. 108). On the other hand, Klemmack and Roff (1980) showed that all respondents, irrespective of age, preferred targeted benefits for the aged whereby eligibility criteria encompass economic and need assessments (p. 151). Furthermore, the attitude responses for the birthright factor in this study also indicate that generational uniformity across space and time in relation to the economic criteria for the Superannuation Scheme is important to all generations and demonstrates that respondents support generations economically being treated the same.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ Refer to Appendix E, Table K, Q. 8, Q. 2, Q. 29, Q. 11, Q. 6; p. 254

¹¹⁵ Refer to Ch 6.

¹¹⁶ Refer to Appendix E, Table K, Q.10 & Q. 13, p. 254.

¹¹⁷ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q. 29, p. 256.

The third factor for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme is awareness. This factor represents the knowledge of the position of the aged and of some important features involved in providing the Superannuation Scheme. The social attitude responses of New Zealanders show that there is a significant difference between generations regarding the awareness of the Scheme.¹¹⁸ This difference is a pattern that monotonically decreases from old to young generations. Older respondents expressed concern about the costs of maintaining the Scheme, preferred to increase taxes and opposed any reform to the current Superannuation Scheme.¹¹⁹

The attitude responses of older generations, according to Preston (1984), occur because “most programs for the elderly are to some extent perceived as a social contract whereby we transfer resources to ourselves over the life cycle” (p. 446) with the aid of the Government. Meanwhile, younger generations in this study were more likely to oppose this. They preferred to reform the Superannuation Scheme (by increasing the residency criteria to twenty years, changing the source of funding by increasing corporate taxes, changing the age of entitlement, changing other eligibility criteria and reducing services for the aged), if the costs were unmanageable. This is further evidence that younger generations may have been influenced by the continual neo-liberal reforms to the welfare state in New Zealand since the 1980s, thereby responding in ways that reflect the form of assistance for need provision of the aged.

The last factor for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme is disquiet. This factor represents the hidden features in supporting the aged that may not be understood as linked to the Superannuation Scheme, or that may be linked to the Scheme but not discussed. Significant differences were found between generations regarding the factor of disquiet for the type of assistance provided to the aged.¹²⁰ Older respondents preferred the Government to remain responsible for providing a major source of income to the aged, while upholding the view that different generations do not receive variable levels of resources distributed in comparison to others.¹²¹ The support for these results erodes in

¹¹⁸ Refer to Ch 6, Table 1.

¹¹⁹ Refer to Appendix E, Table K and Table N, Q. 6, Q. 12, Q. 7 & Q. 25, p. 254 and p. 256 respectively.

¹²⁰ Refer to Ch 6, Table 1.

¹²¹ Refer to Appendix E, Table H and Table N, Q. 3, Q. 27, Q. 4 & Q. 32, p. 250 and p. 256 respectively.

accordance with generational replacement with the youngest generation exhibiting a tendency to support the converse in all respects. Silverstein and Parrott (1997) also found this result and noted that the perception regarding the unfair treatment of resource distribution altered obligations between generations (p. 129). These altered obligations meant that the balances of exchange in the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ had changed. These changes in the balances of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ have destabilised policies that are designed for economically supporting the aged.

In sum, the social democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme is supported by older generations. They are less prepared to support those mechanisms that are essential to maintaining the Scheme. As generational replacement occurs, the support for the current form of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme slowly erodes with an equivalent increase in support for a neo-liberal democratic form of Superannuation. This is further reflected in how the essential resources for economically assisting the aged such as taxation are supported in order to maintain or reduce the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. These generational differences are carried through to the difference in the economic purpose of the Scheme, the durability of the nature of the Scheme and the criteria of the Scheme. This indicates that the attitude responses towards the economic support of the aged may be starting to change. Therefore, all generations in this study support the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme for the aged but the nature of this support for the Scheme varies between generations.

8.5 Dependent Equity

The criterial ‘referent’ for dependent equity is related to the Superannuation Scheme. This Scheme is designed to provide for one kind of dependent, those who are no longer able to economically support themselves during old age. The Scheme can be compared with the Schemes for other dependents to indicate how different dependents are treated. This is because the ‘aged’ are viewed as needing economic assistance and the possibility of the aged being poor is partly rooted in their prior experiences. The effects of prior experiences of poverty prior to old age are not recognised or acknowledged in New Zealand. This is why there are considerable differences in the treatment of the aged

(social democratic welfare-state) in New Zealand compared with the treatment of other kinds of dependents (neo-liberal democratic welfare-state) (Irwin, 1996, pp. 77-78). The attitude dimension, dependent equity, provides an insight into the understanding of how the attitude responses towards the treatment of dependents are structured and related to the desert. In other words, the set of questions attached to dependent equity include primary (benefits) and secondary (public services) resources required by dependents, along with how needs play a role in the treatment of dependents. The structure of attitude responses revealed that dependent equity is made up of two factors.¹²² These factors were labelled with the expression of rules related to rights and distribution of resources.

New Zealanders support different approaches to dependents.¹²³ These differences in approaches are related to generational membership and household income. As predicted, most respondents believe that the aged are more deserving of public assistance than other dependents. This result is supported by Larsen (2006, p. 32) and Perry (2005). However, the level of support for providing public assistance for the aged was greater amongst the aged than young people in this study and greater for higher than for lower household incomes. Other dependents (unemployed, children, disabled) who were living in need were deemed to be less deserving. This is evident in the lack of concern for the needs of some dependents expressed in the attitude responses of participants. Therefore, as predicted, a hierarchy of dependents exists and this is influenced by age and household income. According to Jacoby (1994), public provision for dependents varies according to the values and the perceptions that influence opinions on specific welfare policies (p. 357).

The factor of 'rules related to rights' indicated that the aged and the education of young adults are accorded with special rights. Rights override need and appear to be viewed differently from the rights of other dependents (Rhodebeck, 1993, p. 352; Ward, 2001, p. 205). Rights, according to respondents in the survey, are an important rule of exchange that is valued more than the obligation to educate young people and to provide public

¹²² Refer to Ch 6, Table 2.

¹²³ Refer to Ch 7, Table 4 and Table 5.

resources for dependents who are more likely to be living in need.¹²⁴ Klemmack and Roff (1980) corroborate this notion of rights when they state, “Society has the responsibility to assist the elderly to secure certain basic human rights and the elderly as a class are in need of special governmental treatment by virtue of their relatively disadvantaged position in society” (p. 148).

Older generations and people with high household incomes surveyed in this study are in agreement with the views of Klemmack and Roff (1980). On the other hand, younger generations surveyed would reduce their support for the aged having special rights that accord them with privileges. They, younger generations, showed that assisting the aged with the Superannuation Scheme is increasingly being considered on some basis of need. This slight age change in the hierarchy of dependents may be an indication that the Superannuation Scheme in future may move towards a less generous one. Silverstein, Parrott and Angelelli (2001) also found similar results among generation X (p. S38). They held that these changes were related to the link between contributions and receipts, the political direction of attitudes towards supporting dependents and the value attributed to dependents.

The factor of resource distribution showed in the survey that those who live in need, other than the aged, are considered less deserving. In other words, there is a lack of support for other dependents.¹²⁵ Young generations were less inclined to demand that the aged contribute more for their health care costs and were less concerned about the costs of the Superannuation Scheme. Meanwhile, older generations were concerned about the costs, were supportive of the aged not contributing more for health care costs and did not support others in need. These differences are apparent when the generations are examined with respect to the individual question. Although New Zealanders are sympathetic towards the aged, this support is declining among younger generations, given that the aged are increasingly being considered as no different to other kinds of dependents living in need.

¹²⁴ Refer to Appendix E, Table K (Q. 8, Q. 11, Q. 21 & Q. 12), p. 254.

¹²⁵ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q. 26, Q. 27 & Q. 12, p. 256.

The New Zealand hierarchy of dependents among respondents places the aged first with the highest value for receiving public goods. Hence, rights are not equally accorded to other dependents and support for the aged by means of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is aligned with the obligation to provide education and programmes for young people. Therefore, the assignment of value correlates with the level of support for the aged and support for the consignment of public resources follows in succession. However, the hierarchy of dependents may be starting to change in the attitudes of New Zealanders, with the need of dependents playing a greater role than the characteristics of who is assumed to be in need. But it does not mean that the hierarchy of how dependents are treated may change in line with this as younger generations currently lack the numbers compared with those aged fifty and above to bring about such a change.

8.6 Superannuation Environment

The attitude dimension for the environment of the Superannuation Scheme can shed light on what is considered important by respondents. This dimension focuses on some economic features that either reinforce or undermine the ability to maintain the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. These economic features play a role in reciprocity between generations and how exchanges are understood as a reason for having a Superannuation Scheme. Thus, any indication of support eroding for economically assisting the aged is an indication that reciprocity has changed to reflect experiences of ‘advantages’. Hence, social relations between members in society have broken down so that something of ‘mutual advantage’ ceases to be an ‘advantage’ for some social groups.

According to George (1998), “unless all parties (people and social groups) in a relationship realise reasonable levels of benefits over time the relationship will not last. Parties may not realise the benefits in every transaction, but a satisfactory balance must be sustained over time. In this sense, reciprocity is a matter of self-interest – one must give in order to get” (p. 34). The structure for the environment of the Superannuation Scheme was found to be comprised of three factors. These factors are labelled with

equality, responsibility and exchange.¹²⁶ These factors represent some features that may be important to New Zealanders in exerting an influence on the provision of support for the aged.

New Zealanders support different features in the environment surrounding the Superannuation Scheme. As predicted, support for the environmental surroundings of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme changes with the variations of age and household income.¹²⁷ Older generations, those aged fifty plus, support the continuation of the current conditions of the Superannuation Scheme, while not being prepared to support the mechanisms that maintain the Scheme. Meanwhile, younger generations, those forty-one and below, demonstrated a decline in their support for the current conditions of the Superannuation Scheme, and they are not supportive of mechanisms that maintain the Scheme. Their attitude responses to the two features are consistent with each other, while older generations present contradictory results in their support for the nature of the Superannuation Scheme.

The equality factor indicates significant differences in the variability of the attitude responses between generations.¹²⁸ These generational differences arise because the economic purposes of the Superannuation Scheme and the perceived future support of the aged are considered to be subject to change. Thus, generations perceive that they will not be treated the same with respect to their personal receipts from the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme when they reach old age. Generations and household incomes vary regarding the purpose of the Scheme and the economic incentives of the Scheme.¹²⁹ Older generations in the survey support the aged receiving the Superannuation Scheme, irrespective of their economic circumstances, while younger generations demonstrate a decline in their support for this with a subsequent increase in the Superannuation Scheme having criteria to assess the economic circumstances of the aged for receiving the Superannuation Benefit. Despite this difference, all generations surveyed support equality of treatment across space and time.

¹²⁶ Refer to Ch 6, Table 3.

¹²⁷ Refer to Ch 7, Table 6 and Table 7.

¹²⁸ Refer to Ch 7, Table 7.

¹²⁹ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q.13, Q. 10 & Q. 29, p. 256.

The responsibility factor pointed to significant generational differences concerning who is accountable for most of the economic resources for the aged.¹³⁰ New Zealanders agree in their opposition to income redistribution and disagree on the accountability of who is responsible for the aged.¹³¹ This result is unique to New Zealand as attitude responses contradict each other according to age. On the other hand, international research shows a uniform response to the support of income redistribution and government accountability for the aged being important (AARP, 2005, p, 6; IRSS, 2006, p. 104). According to Blekesaune and Quandagno (2003), egalitarian attitudes on similar questions to those used in this study have been found to correlate with support for income redistribution (p. 333). This is because income redistribution is one part of the process for transferring resources from the working population to the non-working population.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and other services for the aged rely on income redistribution to retain provisions for the aged. Older generations in the survey supported the Government remaining responsible for most of the economic resources for the aged, while younger generations supported individuals being responsible for most of their economic resources during old age.¹³² However, for most people the ability to save for retirement is beyond their reach (Else & St John, 1998, p. 20). This means that, by default, the responsibility falls on either the Government or the individual experiences poverty during old age. In the latter case, the plight of the aged will occur in substantially large numbers in the future in New Zealand.

Those aged fifty and above surveyed indicated that they wanted the best of both worlds. They support income inequality and support Government responsibility. This finding is consistent with Jacoby's (1994) but inconsistent with Silverstein and Parrott's (1997). According to Jacoby (1994), social security and caring for the aged are important but resistance to contributing more funds to retain these features is a characteristic of public attitudes (p. 345). This position is indicative of their expectation to receive the Benefit,

¹³⁰ Refer to Ch7, Table 6 and Table 7.

¹³¹ Refer to Appendix E, Table Q, Q. 36, p. 258.

¹³² Refer to Appendix E, Table N and Table Q, Q. 6 & Q.32, p. 256 and p. 258 respectfully.

placement of responsibility on the nation state to care for the aged and the promotion of greater income inequality. This means that Aged Benefits are perceived as not overly generous but a right that the Government is responsible for. Younger generations appear to hold less contradictory attitude responses.

The exchange factor conveyed that contributions and receipts play a considerable role in the social relations between generations.¹³³ These relations feature with respect to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme since this Scheme may be considered as a return for prior contributions. Some of these exchanges occur as a consequence of the contributions made through taxation and the return of public benefits. When exchanges, contributions and receipts change in relative proportion to the historical era, differences arise with respect to investments and returns on these. Differences may be manifest at an institutional level and in the attitude responses of generations. Generational differences were found in the attitude responses to the questions contributing to the factor of exchange.¹³⁴

Older generations are more likely to support increased taxation as a source of income to maintain the Superannuation Scheme so that benefits provide for most of the resources for the aged, and they disagree that some age groups have received more than they contribute.¹³⁵ Meanwhile, younger generations oppose tax increases to maintain the Superannuation Scheme because they prefer it to be a minor source of income for the aged. They expressed concern that the returns would be lesser than previous generations, with some generations receiving more than they have contributed. This reflects the findings of Silverstein and Parrott (1997). They found a similar relationship between the perception of generational inequalities in resource distribution and the decline in the form of support for economic provision for the aged (p. 109). In other words, when public resources and the quality and quantity of these resources are perceived to contract, whether actual or not for services relatively proportional to similar life phases of other

¹³³ Refer to Ch 6, Table 3.

¹³⁴ Refer to Ch 7, Table 6 and 7.

¹³⁵ Refer to Appendix E, Table N, Q.3, Q.4 & Q. 27, p. 256.

generations, the moral duty owed to the aged, then, is deemed to be protection from poverty and perhaps little else. Thomson (1989) reflects this sentiment by stating:

the welfare generations have been prime beneficiaries of the welfare state through their adult lives. As they have aged the welfare state shifted from one that was oriented to programmes benefiting to the young to one that favours the elderly. By cutting welfare expenditures to the young in the 1970s and 1980s, the nation state has undermined the incentive to maintain the implicit social contract between generations on which the welfare system largely depends, since welfare insurance is underwritten by an intergenerational contract in which current pensions are financed by current employee taxes. Why, should today's young people honour a welfare contract that has not benefited them and which will require them increasingly to subsidise the 'welfare generations' in its old age? (cited in Irwin, 1996, p. 79).

International research contravenes this New Zealand finding in that respondents from developed countries support both increasing taxation for public benefits for the aged, and that these benefits should be a major source of income (Klemmack & Roff, 1983, p. 316). The survey findings of Klemmack and Roff (1983) also showed that there were no age differences in the attitude responses. Only older respondents, in this study, reinforced this international sentiment. Furthermore, these older respondents indicated that no differences have occurred between generations with respect to resource distribution. This means that the older adults surveyed believed that the aged are owed protection and security during old age and, thus, increasing the resource base is necessary for maintaining the Scheme.

Arguably, the environment surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme presents issues regarding its nature. This is because, as shown in the survey, people are less prepared to contribute resources for something they want or for something that they may not similarly receive in future (see also Day, 1993, p. 283; George, 1998, p. 34). Consequently, the issue of responsibility and understanding of exchanges between generations suggest that New Zealanders are undermining the Superannuation Scheme. Older generations undermine the economic features for maintaining the social democratic

form of the Superannuation Scheme, and they believe that reciprocity of exchanges and economic factors are not an issue. Meanwhile, for younger generations reciprocity is becoming of concern, and it is emerging as an issue for them as exchanges are increasingly regarded as being unfair between generations. They respond to the environment surrounding the Scheme by tending to support those issues in line with a neo-liberal democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme. However, they concede that a minor form of income provided by the nation state is necessary for the aged. The decline in support for public provision for the aged occurs with respect to generational replacement and may be due to the environment of change that has occurred in New Zealand over the past few decades.

8.7 Summation of Attitude Responses

Each attitude dimension reinforces each other. The support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme across all ages is evident in the survey but the nature of this support differs slightly. Older generations support a social democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme that diminishes according to age with an equivalent rise in younger generations' support for a neo-liberal form of the Superannuation Scheme. This pattern of attitude change was reflected in the treatment of dependents by each age group. Hence, older adult respondents consistently treated the aged as superior to all other dependents by according them with rights that are not equivalent to those of other dependents. This entails a stronger hierarchy of dependents with the aged showing the strongest support for receiving a social democratic form of Superannuation Benefit across time.

Younger generations surveyed are less supportive of the social democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme, presented a flatter hierarchy of dependents with some favouring the treatment of dependents based upon need. Therefore, how dependents are perceived contributes to the form of the Superannuation Scheme that is supported, and this relationship changes in accordance with age. This result was reinforced by the survey findings found in the attitude dimension that focused on the environment of the Superannuation Scheme. Some of the factors that were found to influence the change in

the value of dependents among respondents related to the lack of transferability of special rights for the aged across time and space, lack of implicit or explicit arrangements for returns on tax investments, lack of equitable treatment at prominent life phases, lack of fairness employed when distributing resources to various generations and lack of economic assessments. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that environmental factors influence the attitude responses of different generations regarding how dependents are treated. This treatment is modelled on how each generation is treated by their predecessors. In other words, the decline in the nature of economic support for the aged, as indicated in this study, is related to how other dependents are treated.

The emergence of negative monotonic patterns in the attitude responses reinforces the role that public investments and laws play, in both the public and the private domains of social life, in each historical era. These can be identified by the attitudinal differences between age groups. This demonstrates how important relationships between generations are when providing those public services that are ‘mutually advantageous’ for all generations. This is so that when generations reach old age and beyond, they have received an equivalent level of public provision during their life spans and have similar probabilities of experiencing poverty during old age.

8.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the results of the survey questionnaire, Factor Analysis and Regression Analysis. These indicate that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is supported, but that the characteristics of that support vary. Unlike other developed countries, New Zealanders’ attitudes towards the Superannuation Scheme have few demographic predictors and relationships. Generations and household incomes were the only demographic characteristics that had any predictor value and correlation value to the attitude responses. The generational differences arise from the results that show a monotonic trend of decline from old to young generations in how support for the aged is typified. This pattern flowed throughout the three social attitude dimensions; each shows that there is some evidence of change in the attitude responses of New Zealanders. The pattern of social attitude responses for each generation towards the nature of the

Superannuation Scheme, the equity of dependents and the environment of the Superannuation Scheme reinforced each other.

The attitude responses of all generations support the Superannuation Scheme for the aged but vary regarding the form of this support. Older generations, those aged fifty plus, support a social democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme, support the aged as a special group of dependents whose rights to rewards are more important than the needs of other dependents and support the current economic environment surrounding the Scheme. This support declines with generational replacement. What emerges is support, by younger generations, for a neo-liberal democratic form of the Superannuation Scheme, support for the role of need in public provision for dependents, including the aged, and support for changes to the economic environment surrounding the Scheme. These slight differences, along with demographic pressures, necessitate, I would suggest, further research and some public discussion in New Zealand to decide upon a fair approach to assisting those who are old and in need of economic support across space and time.

Chapter Nine

Social Attitude Responses and Intergenerational Justice

The purpose of this chapter is to consider, against the backdrop of the theory of normative intergenerational justice, the survey results relating to New Zealanders' social attitudes towards the economic support for the aged provided by the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Hence, it adds depth to the results by explaining why attitudinal change is occurring, in accordance with generational replacement, and how attitude dimensions harbour some elements of intergenerational justice. However, social attitude responses may not necessarily reflect the reality that most of the aged will require financial assistance for most of their income during old age in New Zealand. This result arises as a consequence of 'influencing elements' affecting social attitudes, and it also provides an insight into the role of 'influencing elements' that flow on to impact upon the form of social justice in New Zealand.

In this chapter, I discuss generations with respect to the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' and how these differences in distribution are related to the changes in the 'grand plan' for New Zealand society. These differences in distribution correspond to the changes in the New Zealand 'grand plan' for the set of social relations passed between generations. These relations coincide with the social attitude responses of different generations. In addition, I highlight in this chapter the importance of social attitudes and the relationship between social attitudes and social justice. This approach enables social attitude responses towards the economic support of the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to be examined.

9.1 Generations

Historical context plays a considerable role in determining the prospects of each generation in a society. Each generation experiences variable economic, social and environmental conditions that contribute to determining the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' allocated to them (Strauss and Howe, 1991, p. 57). In other words,

this distribution is influenced by preceding generations and the political forces that contributed to developing the kind of society these preceding generations wanted to create and pass on to successive generations (Kallen, 1989, p. 6; Mannheim, 1997, p. 292). The outcome of the development of society may be quite different to what people wanted or expected when social relations within¹³⁶ and between generations have been misunderstood. In New Zealand, from the twentieth to the twenty-first century, the philosophy of the 'grand plan' moved from class democracy to neo-liberal democracy (Esping-Andersen, 1996, pp. 56-60).¹³⁷

Each form of the 'grand plan' in New Zealand entails a different set of distributive principles. It is these principles that determine the 'advantages and disadvantages' awarded to living generations (Thomson, 1991, pp. 11-14). The transition process from one 'grand plan' to another means that a generation's previous position of 'advantage' may become a 'disadvantage'. Moreover, a generation may retain 'advantages' or it may have increased 'advantages' for the same life phase in comparison to other generations. The converse is also applicable. Transitions that downgrade or exacerbate a 'disadvantaged' position may leave a generation worse off. When this occurs, the central tenets grounding normative social justice (equality, need and capacity) can be employed to examine the effects of these changes and determine how a generation is fairing at each life phase compared to other generations.

The transition in the 'grand plan' from class democracy (society type: capitalism and form: class democracy – prior to the 1925) to neo-liberal democracy (society type:

¹³⁶ 'Within' refers to what is occurring inside a social group or generation. In other words, looking to establish what is going on inside the social group and why there are differences between the members in a social group.

¹³⁷ I want to suggest that a cycle has occurred in New Zealand. This is because class democracy and neo-liberal democracy are more similar than dissimilar. The similarities include: elitist power, social class reinforcement, importance of economic growth, social justice maintained by minimal government interference and free market forces. Meanwhile, dissimilarities include: minimal welfare state versus none and minimal opportunities versus none. In other words, what I mean is that normative social justice has its own cycle of manifestation in society. This cycle of social justice has crests and troughs that are similar to the rise and fall of the waves at sea (Sine curve in Mathematics). This continuous rise and fall has varying lengths and sizes across time. A horizontal line placed across the cycle (wave) is where the nature of social justice is the same at different points in history. However, normative social justice can never be absolutely the same at these points. Therefore, the cycle (wave) contains a sub-cycle. The sub-cycle is like a spring with the coils having different lengths and sizes. Where the horizontal line crosses the cycle (wave) with its sub-cycle, is the point that represents normative social justice in society as having its elements more similar to another corresponding point in time than dissimilar. In this way, I am able to link class democracy to neo-liberal democracy. Hence, I view the nature of normative social justice as having infinite possibilities.

capitalism and form: neo-liberal democracy – since 1980) in New Zealand means that some generations are burdened by an accumulation of ‘disadvantages’, while other generations are fortunate to have experienced an accumulation of ‘advantages’ (Thompson, 1991, p. 189). That is to say, different generations in New Zealand have experienced a mixture of varying degrees of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ during their life span (Edmunds & Turner, 2002, p. 10). The differences in the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ indicate that the type and form of social justice has changed according to the ‘grand plan’ prevailing in a particular historical period in New Zealand.

Differences in the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are evident among the social attitudes of respondents in the survey results. These differences in social attitudes reflect the change in the form of the ‘grand plan’. Hence, most younger respondents in the survey, those below forty-two who are from non-welfare dependent generations (Generation X, Generation Y), were inclined to think that some generations have received more than their fair share of Government benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes. Meanwhile, older respondents, those aged fifty plus who are from the two welfare dependent generations (Uncertainty and Baby Boom) in New Zealand, were less inclined to this way of thinking. These varying viewpoints concerning the considerable differences in treatment by institutions and agencies in New Zealand may add, I want to suggest, to the pressures of an ageing population and may surface as a major issue in the near future.

The core foundations of attitude structure are laid down during the first twenty-five years of life.¹³⁸ During this period, social attitudes tend to be adaptable and fluid because the acquisition of social information takes time. This means that the type and form of social justice a generation experiences in a particular historical period, is a consequence of the

¹³⁸ I use the age of twenty-five as differentiating the point at which I consider that the adult brain is fully developed in most people. Moreover, I think that the development in human understanding of the social world occurs later in life. That is to say, egotism (self-interest) is to some degree shredded in order to understand the social world. However, it does not necessarily mean that individuals fully develop an understanding of the social world. I synthesise parts from Erickson’s theory, Piaget’s theory, Buhler’s theory, Maslow’s theory, Kohlberg’s theory and my own ideas. To understand more about these theorists, refer to Peterson (1996) and Carlson, Buskist and Martin (2000). It must be noted that brain development research on this very issue is an emerging field. The research areas of brain development are: Cognitive Developmental theories, Psychobiology and Neuroscience.

social interactions and social relations influencing the foundations anchoring the attitude lattice of constructs. Hence, social attitude responses to criterial referents focussing on the welfare state may take longer to form or may never be properly formed in the lattice of constructs in some people. This is because people reach different developmental stages.¹³⁹ Furthermore, any set of social relations, for example the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ existing at any time in New Zealand society, adds to the complexity when attempting to understand society, its various structures, functions and social attitudes.

It is not surprising, then, that social attitudes may not necessarily reflect actual generational differences in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’. Rather, they may reflect the philosophy underlying the ‘grand plan’ via the mode of thought, the experiences and the actions of the generation of which a person is a member (Mannheim, 1997, p. 291). In other words, generational characteristics may reflect the values, ideologies, knowledge, experiences, interests and essential character (nature) that are passed down from one generation to the next. Generational traits reflect how individual destinies or life chances are related to historical contexts. Sometimes, generational differences are revealed in social attitude responses (Alwin, Cohen & Newcomb, 1991, p. 230). Unlike research carried out in other First World countries, this study found generational differences relating to generational replacement in the social attitude responses of New Zealanders towards the economic support for the aged through the Superannuation Scheme. This generational outcome is unique to New Zealand and requires further research, given that social attitude responses of other developed countries are not predictable for age, where as all other demographic characteristics are. These other demographic characteristics, apart from household income, were not predictable in New Zealand.

¹³⁹ I contend that people occupy different developmental Stages. There are eleven stages of development whereby most people are unable to reach the last three stages. In other words, most people are unable to develop beyond either a teenage mentality or a young person mentality. This situation arises when people are unable to continue the path of moral development, expansion of knowledge and understanding of the social world for some reason or another. Moreover, “wisdom is not assumed to come automatically with increasing age. Personal factors are involved, too. A man, or woman, who by middle life has achieved a reputation for incompetence or foolishness is not normally expected to improve as he (sic) grows older” (Berndt cited in Peterson, 1996, p. 9). Therefore, the latter parts of the eleven stages are not necessarily related to age-grading. A fuller picture of the developmental stages falls outside the scope of this thesis.

9.2 Intergenerational Justice

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, in my view, is a public good that provides 'advantages' to one kind of dependent on the basis of 'influencing elements' that are present in society at a given historical period. This means that there is no limited 'beneficiary universalism' (Lumer, 2006, pp. 40-41, 430-44) regarding 'need' and 'capacity' that is applicable to all living generations across space and time. The mere fact that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exists creates 'disadvantages' among the non-aged who contribute and who may receive fewer returns 'relatively proportional' to the present aged (Thompson, 1991, p. 189; Schulz, 2006, p. 32; Haberle, 2006, p. 224). This situation regarding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, I would suggest, is why intergenerational justice is important. Generations are interdependent and most generations rely upon other generations for investment and for protection from poverty during phases of dependency (Else & St John, 1998, p. 41; Ryder, 1965, p. 846).

Intergenerational justice is the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations that determine their life chances and their probability of experiencing poverty during old age (Rawls, 1971, p.7; Mannheim, 1951, p. 113; Thomson, 1991, p. 13). The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a manifestation of social justice that is attached in some way to intergenerational relations. This allows for the possibility of strengthening the connections between generations. Moreover, it provides the potential for generations to share the burdens of dependency and share the benefits during dependency (Wallack, 2006, p. 90). In other words, it creates a situation whereby generations are 'mutually advantaged' by supporting the aged across space and time. The survey results suggest that some respondents who are from certain generations are acutely aware that considerable differences have occurred in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations in New Zealand. This awareness flows on to affect the social relations between generations, support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and recognition of the importance of public provision for dependents (Mannheim, 1951, p. 112).

9.21 Intergenerational Equality

In New Zealand, the modern shape of equality for economically assisting the aged for all generations with the Superannuation Scheme is momentary formative horizontal equality. Hence, all generations do not have the same rights. The Superannuation Fund is a prime example of different generations having different rights. Therefore, any notions of rights that people have regarding the actions of institutions or agencies relies upon their 'influencing elements' (Haberle, 2006, p. 224). These 'influencing elements' are a result of people's social relations and why they may act in certain ways. Generations have, of course, different social relations as a consequence of what previous generations pass on and what the historical contexts are for each generation. Therefore, any sense of rights is implicit as these rights are transferred from one generation to the next through implicit need and capacity investment (Ederer, Schullarr & Willms, 2006, p. 129). These investments are identified through the practical actions arising from the manifestation of social relations between generations.

The practical actions reinforce those things considered important by a generation to bequeath to subsequent generations. There are no formal intergenerational rights for the aged in New Zealand. It comes as no surprise, then, that the informal compulsion to economically support the aged, according to the social attitude responses elicited in the survey, erodes in line with generational replacement (Kohl, 2005, p. 520). This pattern of social attitude responses reflects the continual changes that have occurred in the New Zealand welfare state since the 1900's, the current situation being a neo-liberal democratic welfare state. According to Thomson (1991), the rights that do exist in New Zealand may reveal whose rights are important with respect to generational membership (p. 216). It is my contention that desert plays a considerable role in defining the moral worth of generations and dependents under the ambit of normative equality in New Zealand.

The Superannuation Scheme plays an important role in New Zealand society. This is evident in the level of support for the Government to provide a Superannuation Scheme across all generations, and the acknowledgement by respondents in the survey that the

aged require some assistance. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exists in a momentary state of formalisation and, hence, the attitude responses reveal that this Scheme exists, in some sense, as an informal 'beneficiary universalism' that relies upon informal social relations between generations. The presence of an informal 'beneficiary universalism' means that the Superannuation Scheme contains elements of intergenerational equality (Lumer, 2006, pp. 40-41). There is some acknowledgement that all generations should be equal beneficiaries of economic assistance prior to and during old age. This excludes temporal discounting so that there is a minor consideration for the fate of future generations among the social attitude responses in the survey. However, in practice, generations are not accorded with an equivalent 'beneficiary universalism' prior to and during old age (Else & St John, 1998, pp. 41-42, p. 10; Duncan, 2007, pp. 269, 68; Hawke, 2005, pp. 34-43, 66-74). Therefore, the mere presence of the Superannuation Scheme may, in my view, exacerbate differences between generations that could lead to future conflicts.

A core principle underlying my research on intergenerational equality is that the minimal basis (limited commitment) for caring for the aged across space and time should be relatively proportional between generations (Lumer, 2006, p. 45). However, the survey shows that respondents from younger generations support a low level of economic provision for the aged that is based upon need [mixture of both formative (universal) and substantive (targeted) types of equality at a mixed level of horizontal and vertical form of equality], while respondents from older generations surveyed support an extensive level of economic provision for the aged that is based upon their moral worth, irrespective of wealth and of the needs of others (formative horizontal = universal benefit).

The survey results further showed that both younger and older generations supported their favoured approach, the neo-liberal democratic or social democratic welfare state, respectfully, to remain relatively the same when economically supporting the aged across space and time. In other words, no matter what generation an old person is from, they should be given a similar proportion of resources relative to other eras. Hence, the laws that govern the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme should remain unchanged across space and time. Therefore, the survey results suggest that the minimal

basis for dealing with the situation that most people from all generations in New Zealand have a risk of experiencing poverty during old age varies for different generations as a consequence of different 'moral imperatives' and 'influencing elements'. These generational differences regarding the treatment of the aged evolve due to the changes in the social relations between generations that are also influenced by the 'grand plan' of different historical periods.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is an adjunct to equality for the aged. This Scheme, at the elementary level of treating generations across space and time, provides a set of 'advantages' for the aged with respect to historical context. The purpose of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is to prevent poverty on some momentary basis. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is successful in achieving this for those aged sixty-five plus who have considerably lower levels of poverty compared to the non-aged population (MSD, 2006, p. 65). The Scheme's success is further enhanced by the amount of prior 'advantages' distributed to the aged (Uncertainty generation) and to those who are about to enter old age (Baby Boom generation). Their position (welfare dependent generation one and two) of being a net gainer from the social democratic form of the welfare state at all critical life phases has provided them with certain 'advantages' that can further reduce the probability of them, in higher proportions than in the past, experiencing poverty during old age (Duncan, 2007, pp. 271-272).

In New Zealand, there has been no subsequent welfare dependent generation as the 'influencing elements' for investing in children, quality and quantity of education, families and home ownership have changed in line with each reform since the 1970s in order to establish a neo-liberal welfare state. This means that subsequent generations may have reduced 'advantages' for acquiring resources that are known to reduce their probability of experiencing poverty in old age. The position that all the aged across space and time are unequal benefactors implies, I would argue, that caring for the aged is not deemed to be a common good worthy of public investment in New Zealand (MSD, 2006; MSD, 2007; Duncan, 2007, Ch 9). Jackson (2006) demonstrates this predicament when he states,

as the pay-as-you-go schemes 'mature', moreover, the deal they offer deteriorates. Early cohorts of retirees can receive benefits far in excess of the market value of their lifetime contributions – all paid for by latter cohorts of retirees, who necessarily become market losers. By the time today's college graduates, these market losers, retire the return will be lower than investing their taxes in risk free Treasury bonds (pp. 329-330).

New Zealand faces issues of resource contraction and this position is borne out by the concern beginning to surface among researchers such as St John (1999), Hawke (2007) and Duncan (2007). The social attitude responses in the survey indicate that Generation X and those subsequent generations perceive that differences have occurred in the elementary treatment of generations. This perception is inversely proportional to the age of the generation. Meanwhile, the two welfare dependent generations do not agree that differences have occurred between generations. These attitude responses show, I would suggest, that conflicts concerning how institutions and agencies have distributed 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations may play a role in the future make up of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Consequently, more research on generational attitudes towards the services of the aged is required.

The social attitude responses in the survey indicate that the future make up of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may take a targeted form, pay-as-you-go approach, reducing the 'advantages' distributed to the aged so as to limit commitments to them. Most respondents surveyed do not support increasing taxes to maintain the social democratic form of the welfare state for the aged. Generations also diverge slightly in their attitudes by supporting different types and forms of the welfare state. To illustrate, younger generations in the survey support a Superannuation Scheme that provides a minor income source to the aged that is not necessarily earned, while older generations support a Superannuation Scheme as a major income source since it has been earned through their contributions. Therefore, what is clear, in the survey results, is that the rules of exchange and the rules of benefits for the aged are attached in some way to the perceived performance of how institutions and agencies have distributed 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations (Miller, 2003, p. 139). In addition, the survey results indicate how institutions and agencies have treated generations differently, without

consideration for balancing the ‘advantages and disadvantages’ distributed to them. According to Thompson (1991), “our future lies in learning to manage collective exchanges between generations more consistently and equivalently, not in trying to do away with them so as to exacerbate social injustices” (p. 206).

It is worth noting that the lack of generational consciousness in New Zealand may not be intentional and, hence, the lack of appreciation for any generational consideration in the short-term and long-term focus of institutions or agencies may not be deliberate. I attempted in this thesis to widen the scope of institutions and agencies by introducing generations as an important consideration for dealing with the future role of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in New Zealand society. This is so that institutions and agencies might begin to consider the reality that all generations face similar issues of ‘need’ and ‘poverty’ during old age and, further, consider that all generations need to be treated similarly with respect to their balances of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ when undertaking changes to any process of resource exchange. This means that some generations may receive compensation for experiencing a reduction to their ‘advantages’ during one critical life phase, while other generations may receive a reduction of ‘advantages’ during their old age because they have already received their ‘advantages’.

At some point, the current younger generations may receive the attention they deserve. Moreover, these younger generations may receive recognition from previous older generations regarding how ‘advantages and disadvantages’ have been distributed to them, hindering their life chances in New Zealand society. This means that preparation and planning for all generations become paramount. I want to suggest that doing so would stop the historical tendency for sudden or hidden political changes that have plagued the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme over the last hundred years in favour of a system for the ‘mutual advantage’ of all generations. If this were to happen, all generations would be able to prepare for their old age and would experience some sense of fairness in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ in New Zealand. Furthermore, the creation of a welfare system for ‘mutual advantage’ would allow all generations to share the benefits and burdens of having a New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Therefore,

the serendipitous nature of outcomes between generations would be less likely to continue (St John & Willmore, 2001, p. 1293).

I would argue that the outcome of intergenerational equality is serendipitous. This is because equality of outcome prior to old age and during old age reflects the shares of 'advantages and disadvantages' that are distributed to different generations by institutions and agencies in society. The outcome for each generation, at the same developmental phase, enables generational comparisons and reflects how historical location contributes to dealing with equality, need and capacity. The attitude responses in the survey indicate that similar outcomes among the aged across space and time are important. However, the survey results show that different generations have different ideas about what approach is best for achieving this and there are uncontrollable factors such as the viability of the economy between generations that alter the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. Whether these differences are beyond what is morally sanctioned for poverty protection during old age and for maintaining social integration is determined largely by the outlays of social justice. Simply put, the roots of generational justice and their activation contribute to how different generations will fair during old age.

It is worth noting that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme acts as a buffer for prior 'disadvantage' that does not entirely wipe out the prior accumulation of 'disadvantage'. But it is effective at preventing poverty amongst almost all the aged (MSD, 2006). This is testament to the intrinsic moral value the aged have in New Zealand society. It is also why respondents in the survey believe that no matter what generation an adult belongs to, they should all receive some given level of a Superannuation Benefit during old age. However, the existence of such a Scheme does not necessarily mean that other generations during different dependent phases are privy to similar 'advantages' of poverty protection or investment (Thompson, 1991, p. 216). By default, different generations have serendipitous shares of 'advantages and disadvantages' with respect to receiving economic support during old age. This highlights that equality of outcome is problematic. It is problematic in that any analysis of generational outcomes that are then compared against other generations may precipitate disagreement or unsubstantiated claims by various generations. However, in reality, there is no formal obligation for

generations to provide economic support to the aged, because there is no actual intergenerational contract in New Zealand society.

9.22 Intergenerational need

Generational needs are those needs necessary for basic functioning that are shared across space and time (Fleischacker, 2004, pp. 28-29). Generations share predetermined periods of dependency that many are unable to control, no matter what the societal ‘grand plan’ is (Rawls, 1971 cited in Nussbaum, 2006, p. 14; Hume, translated by Barker, 1960, p. 209). This dependency unifies generations in a way that allows them to act for the ‘mutual advantage’ of all living generations. In New Zealand, generational acts for ‘mutual advantage’ have considerably eroded as the ‘grand plan’ for society in relation to the idea of ‘need’ has changed. What this means is that a ‘Gray Peril’¹⁴⁰, focused social policy has developed. Consequently, the definition of need for each generation catered for in New Zealand society has varied substantially. This is why the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may take on a neo-liberal form in the welfare state for all aged dependents in the near future. The Superannuation Scheme is one of the last welfare benefits that has yet to be subjected to the neo-liberal reforms which have been taking place in the New Zealand welfare state since the 1980’s.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is designed for one dependent social group but lacks any substantial definition of need. What is more, there is no formal acknowledgement of the needs of living generations when they reach old age. According to Miller (2003), social justice without need as a fundamental component has no reason to exist (pp. 203-239). However, when social justice does not have need (taking a neutral position where it contributes nothing to social justice) as an essential tenet it is, in my view, one potential shape which social justice could take. The neutral position (lack of need) that need occupies occurs when the needs of humankind are misunderstood. One

¹⁴⁰ ‘Gray Peril’ refers to social policy that has moved its focus from a child welfare state to an aged welfare state that lacks support for the non-aged welfare recipients. This change is evident in political behaviour, institutional and agency behaviour, public policy and legal frameworks. The change in the form of the welfare state coincides with chronological age. Social scientists refer to this as the Gray Peril hypothesis. The Gray Peril theory was primarily developed by American social scientists.

could argue that the type and form of social justice in New Zealand has equality and capacity as central tenets. This being the case, the needs of the aged in New Zealand are based on 'influencing elements' and 'moral imperatives', as is the case for other kinds of dependents. My survey did not define need, since New Zealand has neither an actual definition of need nor any basis for need. Hence, prioritarianism of all dependents in need can exist. This being so, questions surrounding the type and form of need were developed. The survey results showed that all generations acknowledge that the aged require some economic support, but the nature of this support varies for different generations.

The current type of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is extended existence (social norm of need) and it takes a social democratic form in the welfare state. This was supported by older generations surveyed, those respondents aged fifty plus, and those respondents who lived in households with high incomes. These older generations opposed any potential for change in the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, even if it meant that others who are in greater need go without. This is because the older generations surveyed consider the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit as a right given in return for past contributions. They consider this return to be more important than the needs of other dependents. These:

spurious rights (right of return for contributions) do not give the flow of resources from one generation to another some higher moral basis, so much as strip it of much of its moral pretension. It says that there has been no lasting contract of exchange, or consistency, or reciprocity. The welfare state was really intended as a one generation phenomenon, not a lasting endeavour. Each generation is on its own, out for what it can get, and the claiming of rights is simply part of that struggle (Thompson, 1991, p. 216).

Respondents also indicated that the aged are not considered the same as other kinds of dependents and, therefore, they require different treatment. It is reasonable to suggest that this may be why New Zealand has currently a mixed welfare state.

On the other hand, the survey results show that the type of Superannuation Scheme supported by younger generations, those respondents below the age of forty-two, is relative existence with its form residing in a neo-liberal welfare state (Larsen, 2006, p. 12). The survey, further, demonstrates that support for a neo-liberal form of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme strengthens with each subsequent replacement generation. Put another way, support for the current social democratic shape of the Superannuation Scheme attenuates with each subsequent generation with an equivalent increase in support for a neo-liberal welfare state. This suggests, in my view, that the notion of need is changing for the aged among respondents with respect to age. This change is more in line with the notion of need applied to other welfare dependents in New Zealand (Esping-Andersten, 1990, p. 59). The attitude responses in the survey also indicate that a notion of need rather than the current implicit (understood but not stated) right of return for the aged at a rate considerably higher than that enjoyed by other dependents or will be enjoyed by other generations when they reach old age, may determine the nature and purpose of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in future.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is not underpinned by ethical hedonism. This is because generations across space and time in New Zealand do not have any rights to welfare when they reach old age. The welfare provided is of the most minimal kind: shelter and minimal food. Anything above this reflects 'influencing elements' [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics and the current dominance of the wealthy] relevant to the historical context and the fact that current contributors may not be obligated to provide resources to the aged above what the unemployed receive. According to Lumer (2006), ethical hedonism concerns basic needs, whatever these are, which are increased in their coverage the longer they are present (pp. 39-40). However, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exists as a momentary pretext that is not transferable from one day to the next, even if one is receiving the 'advantages' from benefits. Those aged only have claims that are relevant to the day the momentary law exists (Pierson & Castles, 2006, pp. 50-61). In other words, ethical hedonism is non-existent.

The income level the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme provides has gradually reduced as the proportion of income to the average wage has reduced (Hawke, 2005, pp. 39-44; St John & Ashton, 1993, pp. 12-23; Koopman-Boyden, 1993, pp. 20-26; Else & St John, 1998, pp. 34-35). The generational differences in the attitude responses of New Zealanders surveyed, may reflect the changes in the 'influencing elements' relevant to historical contexts. This, however, does not mean that the elderly of the future will have even the most minimal provision for their old age. Given that the evolution of social welfare in New Zealand started with the aged, the neo-liberalisation of the welfare state may end with the neo-liberalisation of the welfare state for the aged (Thompson, 1998, p. 13).

It is my contention that the recognition of generational needs in the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme for the aged is an issue. More fundamentally, New Zealand requires a considerable focus on need and its relevance as a tenet of social justice. A proper definition of need and a set of weighted needs according to their importance, irrespective of any characteristics of dependents, allows for the prioritisation of need (Miller, 2003, p. 207). Under temporary conditions of resource scarcity, this prioritisation of need would ensure that all dependents have the most basic needs critical for survival provided for. Because of the absence of recognition of need in the current New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, this may create a considerable contraction in the resources for the provision of need for the aged in the future. Consequently, it is my contention that uncritical preferentialism occurs in New Zealand (Lumer, 2006, p. 42).

Uncritical preferentialism is the orientation of welfare that gives some 'advantages' or priorities to a particular group (Lumer, 2006, p. 40). These 'advantages' are given without analysing or questioning the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' involved, and without identifying what 'needs' are important for all generations in society (Miller, 2003, pp. 205-208). It means that the orientation of welfare is subjected to the momentary pretexts of subjective opinion (social attitudes). In other words, the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exists in a temporal state that relies upon the opinion of social groups to impose preferential circumstances for the aged (Thompson, 1991, p. 216). Consequently, New Zealand has a mixed welfare state for

dependents that gives some social groups and some generations greater 'advantages' than others when experiencing some ambiguous notion of need. It is this situation that, I would suggest, may lead to conflicts between generations or dependents when a crisis arises in New Zealand society.

The fact that need exists in an ambiguous state for generations' in New Zealand welfare state policy is a cause for concern. It suggests that in New Zealand society, like many other societies, generational needs are not shared and that generations do not experience predetermined periods of dependency. This situation is contrary to the reality that generations exist and they share 'needs' of dependency. These shared periods of dependency necessitating provision for need require some appreciation for ethical hedonism (Lumer, 2006, pp. 39-40). This is so that generational needs have some moral value reflecting the shared vulnerabilities of all generations during particular life phases.

9.23 Intergenerational Capacity

Intergenerational capacities concern the moral and social principles for developing social relations through the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one mechanism that plays an implicit role (no official recognition of intergenerational equality) in acknowledging the importance of social relations between generations for protecting the aged. This is because the Superannuation Scheme relies upon working generations to provide resources for preceding generations who have reached old age. These resources supplied by working generations for the aged can only be bestowed from the moment resources are collected and allocated to the Superannuation Scheme (adjunct to equality: allocation of resources at the elementary level). In addition, any commitment by subsequent generations to preceding generations in old age relies upon the type and form of 'advantages' that have been given to subsequent generations. The commitments of subsequent generations to preceding generations, then, adapt to reflect these 'advantages' distributed to them during other phases of dependency (Barry, 2005, p. 17; Lumer, 2006, pp. 44-47; Gardiner, 2006, pp. 159-166). Consequently, the likelihood of poverty being experienced during old age across space and time is determined partly by the distribution of 'advantages and

disadvantages' during phases of dependency and by the character (type, form, quality and quantity) of these 'advantages and disadvantage'.

The capacity to reduce the possibility of poverty being experienced by the aged is dependent upon the set of 'advantages' and their attached character (type and form). When these 'advantages' remain 'relatively proportional' between generations, the moral commitments to supporting the aged remains unchanged (Tremmel, 2006, p. 3). The 'advantages' are manifest in the opportunities, desert and participation that are passed down from one generation to the next. This handing down of 'advantages' establishes social relations between generations. The social relations are derived from extending exchanges between two people to the wider society. Therefore, as capacities change according to the 'grand plan' prevailing in New Zealand society, the commitments attached to exchanges change. The 'advantages and disadvantages' distributed to different generations in New Zealand reflect the changes from class democracy to neo-liberal democracy, so that opportunities have varied between generations (Butler, 2001, p. 547). This means that the 'advantage' of having the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in its current form for the aged generations may, in fact, be a 'disadvantage' for later generations, given that they may contribute twice for limited economic support. On the other hand, the current aged have only contributed once for extensive economic support during old age.

An opportunity is a set of 'advantages' designed for some given purpose to 'mutually advantage' people across space and time. This 'mutual advantage' is about providing some given thing that most are unable to get on their own for some negative event that most will experience without it (Tremmel, 2006, p. 3). All opportunities extend the lowest level of relative existence in accordance with what institutions and agencies regard as important. In New Zealand, these opportunities in turn play a considerable role in reinforcing the kind of society people want or desire. The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one type of 'advantage' for the aged that provides for extended existence (form). This Superannuation Scheme is linked to other types of 'advantages'. These 'advantages' include prior investments in old age and other benefits and services

specifically for the aged (MSD, 2006; Goodman, 1966, p. 36). These reduce the probability of the aged experiencing poverty.

The 'advantage' of having the current type of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to create a more favourable position for the aged is changing as indicated in the social attitude responses surveyed. This arises as the 'advantages' designed for the purposes of preventing poverty in old age increasingly lose support with respect to generational replacement. The attitude responses of the younger generations surveyed showed that they no longer supported providing the aged with 'advantages' above need. These social attitudes, while concerning, are related, in my view, to the perception that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is increasingly considered as being less expected by younger generations when they retire and, consequently, these younger generations surveyed favour individual responsibility and no income redistribution. These survey results suggest that the commitment to care for the aged in New Zealand is changing in line with the move towards neo-liberalism. Hence, the 'advantage' of having the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may be viewed as a waste of resources in that some generations may see that they will be overburdened by the costs associated with protecting the aged from poverty. In other words, the opportunities in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' for preventing poverty among the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme may be considered by younger generations as a resource inefficiency. An inefficiency that some generations may be regarded as gaining at the expense of subsequent generations. Miller (2003) contends that this position is 'unjust' because some generations may have received more than other generations, leading to the differences in social attitude responses (p. 96).

On the other hand, the older generations surveyed support the opportunities provided to the aged and their special position, but they are less prepared to pay for maintaining the Scheme. They are committed to caring for the aged but not committed to economically supporting the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. However, all generations surveyed agree that the aged should be treated the same, irrespective of their generational membership. This is apparent among respondents in that the right to receive the Superannuation Scheme is declining, while the converse pattern of supporting wealth

assessments is increasing among younger generations. Hence, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is considered by younger generations surveyed on the basis of some limited commitment to need that does not require the additional opportunities the Superannuation Scheme currently provides and its attached 'advantages' (Lumer, 2006, pp. 44-47). Those respondents aged fifty and above tended to support retaining the opportunities that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme provides, but also support the continual reform of the set of 'advantages' distributed to subsequent generations (Gardiner, 2006, p. 162). It is this situation that leads these subsequent generations to be less committed to treating older generations more favourably than other dependent groups like children in New Zealand society.

Intergenerational opportunities provided to the aged are not transferable unless they are formalised. Informal but implicit social relations can only exist between generations through what is passed down from one generation to another. The 'advantages' vary with respect to what is passed down and experienced by each generation. 'Advantages' also vary with respect to 'influencing elements'. These 'influencing elements' are any human element that is used to affect social justice and some favoured 'grand plan' in New Zealand society in a particular historical period. This state of affairs creates some controllable and uncontrollable differences in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations (Bengtson, Elder & Putney, 2006, p. 496). The contraction in the set of 'advantages' in New Zealand has corresponded with the generational replacement known as the 'Gray Peril'. Differences in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' have weakened the commitments of subsequent generations to preceding generations in old age. According to Miller (2003), the neo-liberal notion of need is that "people should be held responsible for the choices they make, in like, so there is no demands of justice that stem from choices" (p. 209). In other words, commitments to exchanges and the perceived honouring of commitments in the opportunities distributed for those exchanges, may determine in part the social attitudes of New Zealanders.

Intergenerational desert, of the plural form, is the moral worth of dependents and generations relative to 'advantages and disadvantages' considered for distribution and the

role of need in society. Desert is strengthened when the set of opportunities (advantages) reflects the moral value of dependents and generations in society (Miller, 2003, p. 145). Sometimes influencing variables affect the decision making process so that some social groups are rewarded more than others. Hence, “all that is left to talk about is people deserving moral praise or blame for deciding to act rightly or wrongly” in their own interests (Miller, 2006, p. 195). These perceived temporal self-interests may not necessarily reflect what one would assume to be self-interest. For the temporal kind of self-interest may, in fact, produce far greater negative effects than is understood by people and, in New Zealand’s case, may play a role in how dependents and generations are valued. The performance of institutions and agencies reinforces whose needs are important, whose life chances are important and the public provisions that require consideration. The assessment of desert by these institutions and agencies involves a focus on who are the architects (planners, politicians, policy analysts, researchers and lawyers), the powerful, the receivers of ‘advantages’ and the receivers of ‘disadvantages’.

In New Zealand, the aged deserve to receive the Superannuation Benefit on the basis of reaching a given age and for contributing to society prior to this age. What the aged have done is live in a nation that demands what they must do (performances) with respect to the “way of sanctifying what is in fact largely a moral and arbitrary distribution of society’s resources” (Miller, 2006, p. 187, 190). Therefore, desert is a way of confirming why ‘advantages and disadvantages’ are distributed in a particular way to serve some given purpose that is subsequently acted upon in the actions of institutions and agencies (Casal, 2006, p. 254). My survey focused primarily on dependents because there is no actual definition of generations and no formal acknowledgement of generations in New Zealand social policy. However, “all one needs to know is that age cannot be grounds” for making claims asserting unjust benefits for one age-group at the expense of another, if it falls outside the ambit of some predefined need (Miller, 2003, p. 151). This means that the ‘advantages’ distributed above need determine, in part, the commitments for the nature of deservingness, and these ‘advantages’ are contingent upon institutions, agencies and social attitudes.

The social attitude responses of New Zealanders surveyed showed that the worthiness of dependents varies between generations and on the basis of household incomes. All generations surveyed support the deserving status of the aged receiving 'advantages' greater than other dependents, but differed in the magnitude of deservingness. This difference occurred as the hierarchy of dependents supported by different generations changed. Older generations surveyed supported the deservingness of the aged, irrespective of need, while not supporting the deservingness of all other dependents in having their basic needs met. This position eroded with the replacement of each subsequent generation. An equivalent rise in supporting need as determining 'deservingness' for the 'advantages' distributed to the aged was evident in the survey results. In other words, the hierarchy of dependents is flattening over time (Larsen, 2006, p. 53). However, according to the respondents surveyed, the aged are still placed in a slightly more deserving position for receiving public 'advantages'.

It could be argued that the generational differences in the role of desert for 'advantages' distributed to the aged may be related to the actions of institutions [international organisations, continental institutions, basic institutions (such as schools and hospitals), large organisations that are influential in New Zealand such as Telecom and the banks] and various agencies (small organisations, companies, social groups, charities and individuals). These actions establish and reinforce the kind of commitments people have to one another in society. This is because the desert of dependents depends to some extent on how institutions and agencies facilitate the kind of commitments that are passed on, so that over time the treatment of dependents converges to reflect commitments (Barry, 2005, pp. 16-17). In New Zealand society, it is worth noting that desert for dependents relies upon 'influencing elements' [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests and the current dominance of the wealthy] that determine deserving and non-deserving dependents on the basis of characteristics (gender, age, ethnicity, household income and so on).¹⁴¹ Meanwhile, the desert for generations to be treated fairly with respect to 'advantages' in old age is present among the survey responses. However, these implicit

¹⁴¹ Refer to Social Security Act 1964 plus amendments, New Zealand Superannuation [and Retirement Income] Act 2001 plus amendments.

notions of generational fairness in deservingness conveyed in the survey results, are in opposition to the actions of institutions and agencies in New Zealand society. That is to say, there is no attempt made by institutions and agencies to balance the 'advantages and disadvantages' of all generations so that each generation is treated fairly with respect to their needs and in relation to each other.

Generational participation concerns how social relations between different ages are characterised on the basis of the types and forms of participation found in society (Davey, Schofield, Keeling and Parsons, 2006, p. 284). The foundations of these types and forms of participation are established early in life. These foundations are established by the active engagement of individuals interacting with others. It is how values, knowledge, experiences, ideologies, interests and essential character (nature) emerge and develop. These are extended beyond the family through events, gatherings or occasions where people may have a sense of belonging. In other words, for any social attitude to develop in any individual requires participation. This means that individuals must engage in social interaction in society. The influences exerted on individuals in social interaction flow on to partly affect the social attitudes (opinions) of these individuals and their understanding of society. Social attitudes are also partly influenced by the developmental stages of individuals. Consequently, the social attitudes of individuals or social groups may not resonate with what occurs in the social world.

My survey did not really focus on participation but on aspects of the element of commitment. This is because each central tenet of social justice is considerably affected by the building blocks of participation that are essential for social relations. These relations are then extended to generations. That is to say, how do we know what is moral, social and ethical without it being passed down or developed in subsequent generations? In this regard, I do not find the assumption that people are born with an innate moral, social and ethical sense for the collective good convincing. I am more convinced that people are born amoral, self-interested and antisocial. It is the social relations which are transferred from one person to the next and from one generation to the next that determine, in part, the development of morality and, more particularly, how the aged are treated, and, thereby, how the aged treat subsequent generations.

The pay-as-you-go Superannuation Scheme is entrusted to the non-aged to provide contributions to the aged. The commitment to the aged, the receivers of the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, however, is laid down by how the social relations between generations are reinforced. This reinforcement is shown through the participatory actions of receivers, the aged, who were past contributors to the Superannuation Scheme and who were contributors to the nature of and approach to investment for subsequent generations. These actions characterise the experiences, interactions, obligations, commitments, involvements and life chances in society for subsequent generations. These subsequent generations then reciprocate, to some extent, what preceding generations have supported through government and individual investments for passing down to subsequent generations.

The survey responses of younger generations indicate that they are not committed to providing any deserving 'advantages', such as a deserving income, for the aged as a consequence of the relationships that have been established between generations. In addition, the social attitudes of younger generations surveyed point to the signs of economic affluence of the aged in society. Hence, these younger generations supported the idea of reducing the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit since the aged, in their view, would not be harmed by such an action. This is, I would suggest, because there has been no formal agreement outlining any fair exchange between generations in New Zealand society. Furthermore, little value has been placed on the participation of other dependents and of some generations in New Zealand society. And a final reason for younger generations' support for the reduction of the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, relates to the neo-liberalisation of the New Zealand welfare state since the 1980s.

I contend that older generations in New Zealand and the New Zealand nation state did not understand or were too self-interested to perform actions that were necessary for establishing and maintaining commitments between generations. Consequently, the survey responses of older generations indicated contradictory elements such as supporting the current social democratic form of the welfare state for the aged, while supporting a neo-liberal form of the welfare state for other dependents. Older generations

also tended to want the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, irrespective of the costs placed upon subsequent generations.

Intergenerational participation concerns the maintenance or reinforcement of some array of social relations for some 'mutual advantage' between generations (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 274). Social relations are not possible without people participating through their interactions with each other. These instances of social interaction are based upon the perceived non-calculated balance between 'advantages and disadvantages' that acknowledge the worth of the social relations between generations. When the exchange of 'advantages and disadvantages' becomes unbalanced and people become aware of these imbalances, this awareness will be present partly in their social attitude responses. In addition, the 'advantages and disadvantages' will be partly recognised in the attachment to opportunities and desert.

Each aspect of intergenerational capacity (opportunity, desert and participation) facilitates an understanding of the role of social relations in the distribution, purpose and shares of 'advantages and disadvantages' in various historical contexts. Opportunity, desert and participation enable us to analyse the nature of intergenerational justice in society. In regard to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the importance of the three tenets of intergenerational justice (equality, need and capacity) has yet to be acknowledged in New Zealand society.

Intergenerational justice is an emerging idea that has not been as yet understood by most people and social groups in New Zealand society. It is absent in welfare state policy and, thus, there is no Government acknowledgement. Instead, New Zealand takes a momentary approach to social justice. However, New Zealanders do acknowledge that there is some sense of justice for generations, since generations compare each other with respect to the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages'. The social attitude responses in the survey also indicate that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one of many public resources that play a considerable role in the social relations between generations, and in how the social mechanisms of exchange reinforce intergenerational social relations. One dominant feature, amongst the social attitude responses surveyed, is

that changes to social relations between generations are affected by the perceived differences in ‘advantages and disadvantages’ and the expected differences in the balance of ‘advantages and disadvantages’. Furthermore, social relations between generations are affected by changes in the ‘grand plan’ dominant in New Zealand society which, in turn, influences social attitudes. Consequently, the commitments between generations alter to reflect changes to the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’.

In New Zealand, the dominant nature of social justice reflects: a capitalist society (type), a neo-liberal democracy (form), a society with formal horizontal equality (type and form) and a society with the tendency for ‘influencing elements’ [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests, the current dominance of the wealthy, the age structure and so on] to preside over normative social justice. The prevailing nature of social justice in New Zealand is characterised by a neutral position in relation to the tenet of need (lacks any acknowledgment of need), while ‘influencing elements’ tend to dominate in determining the deservingness of people and generations under the tenet of capacity. These ‘influencing elements’ filter through to permeate the whole nature of normative social justice present in New Zealand. However, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme still takes a social democratic form in providing for the aged and is one of the few manifestations of social justice that is at present in opposition to the prevailing neo-liberal nature of normative social justice in New Zealand society. In other words, ‘influencing elements’ [knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature), the current dominance of economics, social group interests, the current dominance of wealth, age structure and so on] in New Zealand have allowed for the moral value of the aged to fall out of step with the predominant nature of normative social justice in contemporary New Zealand society.

9.3 Influencing Elements

It is my contention that one of the most destructive types and forms of social justice concerns ‘influencing elements’. When these ‘influencing elements’ are representative of any social group with power, they may be used to bring about a type and form of social

justice that is favourable to them (Fleischacker, 2004, p. 61). If this position occurs, it will be evident in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ in society. Social groups that are able to hold some sway over the central tenets¹⁴² of social justice are able to maintain or reinforce their social position and dominance in society (Rousseau, 1952, p. 147). Hence, social justice becomes a tool to serve some social groups at the expense of others, no matter how unjust or no matter how destructive the outcome may eventually be in society.

The survey responses showed that economic provision for the aged in New Zealand is subject to the interference of ‘influencing elements’. This is evident in the dominance of certain social groups that can destabilise efforts to establish a fair basis for social justice. To illustrate, New Zealand has an ageing population where the aged hold political power to bring about conditions favourable to them, no matter how detrimental this is for the non-aged population, and even when some of the non-aged are already overburdened by ‘disadvantage’ (MSD, 2006; MSD, 2007; St John & Willmore, 2001, pp. 1292-1295). The attitude responses of older generations in the survey, I suggest, indicate that the ‘influencing element’ of the moral worth of the aged supersedes any neo-liberal notion regarding the provision of resources for the aged.

In addition, self-interest is evident in the support for the aged maintaining a special status, making them worthy to be treated differently to other dependents. This ‘influencing element’ will remain as long as those nearing old age and those currently in old age hold political power in New Zealand. In other words, what I am suggesting is that any social group such as the aged can act like a social class, leading to the weight of their social position being over valued with respect to other dependents and generations. This is a momentary state in New Zealand where ‘influencing elements’ determine the value of the aged. Consequently, the aged may be supported by means of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme that provides economic support (extensive existence) at present. On the other hand, the non-aged in contemporary New Zealand society are overburdened

¹⁴² The influence over the central tenets of social justice may occur directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, rationally or irrationally, intuitively or counter intuitively, and sense or counter sense (any thing that falls outside the ambit of the previous items in the list and each thing found has an opposite case).

by ‘disadvantages’, and their lack of political power may lead them to be also ‘disadvantaged’ during old age (Haberle, 2006, pp. 224-225).

An influencing element affecting the attitude responses of younger generations in the survey relates to the ideological perspective that everyone should be responsible for providing their own economic resources in old age. This suggests that respondents from younger generations consider that most people are able to earn enough during their working lives to support themselves in retirement. Underpinning this is the idea that individuals are in control of their own life chances and of determining how they will fare during old age. This ideological perspective has been reinforced by Government policy since the 1970’s, historical experiences regarding the treatment of dependents in need and the view often conveyed in various media that most people earn enough to support themselves during old age. This ideological perspective, I would suggest, is becoming more pervasive and, hence, the future of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme cannot be known.

Any additional ‘advantages’ for the aged come at the expense of increasing ‘disadvantages’ for the non-aged (St John, 1993, p. 123). This is because there is no reason to prevent an increase in the ‘disadvantages’ of any social group which is already ‘disadvantaged’ by another social group which is already ‘advantaged’ (Miller, 2006, pp. 221-226). Essentially, New Zealand’s mosaic of social justice is strongly subjected to ‘influencing elements’. This situation will exacerbate, in my view, intergenerational differences in the distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ prior to old age. Furthermore, the political power of the aged will increase in the near future and so will their demands for a greater expansion to their ‘advantages’ on some temporary basis. As a result, it is reasonable to suggest that conflicts between generations may occur in New Zealand. The outcome of such conflict or the continuance of social group dominance may determine how the aged are economically supported by means of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. However, ‘influencing elements’ make it difficult to determine what the nature of this Scheme will be and what different generations should do at the present time in preparation for old age.

9.4 Social Attitudes

Despite the fact that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a manifestation of intergenerational justice, it does not necessarily mean that social attitudes reflect this situation. These attitudes may not necessarily reflect reality and they may not necessarily reflect intergenerational justice. As already indicated, the social relations between generations necessary to maintain the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme exist either implicitly or not at all. This is because the Scheme exists as a momentary pretext that relies upon the transmission of exchanges between people and not upon the transmission of implicit exchanges at the level of the nation-state. Therefore, New Zealanders' attitudes may not consciously relate to the notion of intergenerational justice when dealing with the issue of economic support for the aged across space and time.

Social attitudes that are unconscious, irrational¹⁴³ and counterintuitive undermine other critical issues that play a considerable role in both the financial and the non-financial position of the aged. The questions that arise are: how can one person or generation know what they do not know? And, how can one individual or generation know how to act or distribute 'advantages and disadvantages' fairly between generations, when intergenerational justice has not entered their consciousness, or has not been acted upon when in their consciousness? Hence, caution is required to ensure that the incorrect implications are not drawn from the survey results. Meanwhile, the important issue, I would suggest, is that participation is the key to action and performance, given that the cultivation of social attitudes is determined in part by the actions of institutions (international organisations, continental institutions, basic institutions such as schools and hospitals, large organisations that are influential in New Zealand such as Telecom and the banks) and agencies (small organisations, companies, social groups, charities and individuals) (Mannheim, 1939, p. 286; Verba, 2003, p. 676).

Participation allows for the transmission of morals, socialisation, knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology, essential character (nature) and so on that people consider

¹⁴³ Irrational is the opposite of rational. In other words, irrational is about following no logical path of reasoning. The irrational approach may not hold up to scrutiny and may not reflect long-term interests.

important for creating the kind of society people want to have and to pass on to successive generations (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 274). From one individual to the next and from one generation to the next it is the transmission of knowledge, experiences, ideologies, values, interests and essential character (nature) that influences the arrangement of social attitudes regarding the economic and non-economic support of the aged across space and time. Therefore, what I am suggesting is that it is the notion of social justice, incorporating intergenerational justice, that is transmitted from preceding generations to successive generations that influences the social attitudes of those successive generations towards the economic support of the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

9. 5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to consider the social attitude responses with respect to the normative theory of intergenerational justice. By doing this, the link between social attitudes and social justice (the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is one manifestation of intergenerational justice) could be understood. Some elements of social justice in the survey were assessed by a set of questions, that is, attitude dimensions, to understand the nature of the Superannuation Scheme supported (entrenched in equality and capacity), the moral value of the aged in New Zealand society (desert) and the conditions that affect each generation's commitment to each other by economically assisting the aged (opportunity). These attitude dimensions also added depth to the elements of social justice so that different forms could arise in the social attitude responses to reflect changes in the 'grand plan' of New Zealand society.

New Zealanders' social attitude responses in the survey showed that there were differences between generations in the economic support for the aged with the Superannuation Scheme. The monotonic trend to these response differences revealed that the nature of support reflected the pattern of generational replacement. As already discussed, this same pattern flows into how generational differences concerning 'advantages and disadvantages', distributed during critical life phases, have affected social attitude responses. In other words, what I have been arguing is that changes to the

distribution of ‘advantages and disadvantages’ that each generation receives for the same life phase, alter the social relations between them. These changes, in turn, coincide with the differences found in the survey results for each generation’s social attitude responses.

In New Zealand, some people understand intergenerational justice but this understanding is not documented anywhere in the laws and policies of the New Zealand nation state. This is because New Zealand has a momentary formal approach to social justice that excludes the tenet of need and excludes any reference to generations. In New Zealand, the approach to social justice has moved from a social democratic form (1930’s) to a neo-liberal democratic form (1980’s onwards). This change of form is apparent in how the welfare state has altered, in particular, since the 1980’s. Hence, there are younger generations whose social attitude responses in the survey reflect the neo-liberal form of the welfare state for economically supporting the aged. In addition, the momentary basis of social justice shows that ‘influencing elements’ play a considerable role in determining the form of social justice from one historical era to the next. The momentary approach to social justice in New Zealand, I suggest, indicates that dominant social group interests in New Zealand society have affected how the aged are treated and this is why they are treated differently to other kinds of dependents.

Social attitudes in society are temporary, they can easily change the fate of the aged. The survey results demonstrated that social attitude responses of younger generations overestimate the abilities of most people to be able to resource their own old age, while older generations have a tendency to both underestimate the importance of investing in subsequent generations for short-term gains, and the importance of treating fairly other dependents in society. Hence, the underestimation by respondents from older generations poses, in my view, risks to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, making it more likely to take on a neo-liberal form in the future. The social democratic form of the welfare state in New Zealand currently catering for the aged may end with the neo-liberalisation of the welfare state for the aged. This cycle is the result of the choices made by the two welfare dependent generations (Uncertainty and Baby Boom Generations) in New Zealand. They made choices to support the break down of the social relations between generations in order to serve their own short-term interests, while

simultaneously protecting their long-term interests by maintaining the social democratic ethos of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

Conclusion

My purpose in writing this thesis has been to highlight the lack of concern for intergenerational justice in New Zealand society. Intergenerational injustices are brought about by institutions, agencies (organisations, companies, social groups, charities and individuals) and the policies of the New Zealand Government. Therefore, I have attempted to explore normative intergenerational justice in the course of analysing the social attitudes of New Zealanders towards a manifestation of social justice, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This Scheme influences the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' that affect the life chances of different generations and how these different generations fare during old age. In New Zealand, there have also been considerable changes in the 'grand plan' that have filtered down to affect the type and form of social justice manifested in society.

The change from a class democracy to a neo-liberal democracy in New Zealand, from the 20th Century through to the 21st Century, has meant that a contraction in the 'advantages' and an expansion of the 'disadvantages' distributed to people with respect to generational location has occurred. The consequences of this change are in some cases already evident. I suggested that the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a prime example of intergenerational differences, since the momentary pretexts for its current social democratic form are at any given moment determined by the political opinion (attitudes) of New Zealanders. The Scheme is also influenced by other conditions. For example, how other non-aged dependents are treated, how some generations in future may not be economically supported during old age and how our current mode of thought fails to recognise long-term solutions to problems that are intergenerational. In other words, short-term momentary solutions to problems of predetermined periods of dependency such as old age that affect all generations across space and time, fail to respect the worth of all generations in the long-term.

The current New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is a manifestation of normative social justice that caters for the aged on the basis that they are assumed to occupy some given condition of 'neediness' or 'poverty' only at one point in history. However, most New

Zealanders, approximately ninety-five percent of the aged after ten years of retirement across space and time, will require full economic assistance from somewhere like the welfare state. Meanwhile, the number of these aged dependents who will rely fully on the welfare state and who will still experience poverty, is determined by how the nation-state has distributed 'advantages and disadvantages' in society prior to their old (young-old) age.

Unfortunately, the momentary pretexts underpinning the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme are not transferable across space and time. Therefore, the Scheme may be here today but gone tomorrow with no reason for anyone to provide any economic support for the aged above what other dependents receive. Given that all generations in New Zealand, whatever the prevailing type and form of nation or society, will be faced with similar fates of 'neediness' and experiencing 'poverty' during old age, it makes little sense, in my view, that the aged from some generations receive public assistance when other generations are not attributed with similar levels of moral worth. In other words, the contributions from some younger generations (Generation X, Generation Y and Generation Z) to support the aged mean that these younger generations may not receive economic support or similar levels of returns on their investments, compared with the Uncertainty and Baby Boom generations when they reach old age, even though they face the same social fate of dependency. Hence, the contributions of generations X, Y and Z have been and are being misappropriated. This is because the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is pay-as-you-go with further misdirected contributions placed in the Superannuation Fund and other services for the aged.

The New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is dependent upon the non-aged generations taking on 'disadvantages' in order to provide the aged with non-transferable 'advantages'. Therefore, the age structure of society is critical in influencing how the imbalances between generations in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' arise. When age based pressures are added to significant shifts in the form of social justice prevalent in society, this may add to the intergenerational injustices already evident in New Zealand. In order to address serious concerns surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and intergenerational justice, I used and extended Fleischacker's (2002), Miller's (2003), Larsen's (2006) and Esping-Anderson's (1990)

ideas to help develop my own theory of social justice. At the core of my theory is the structural, functional and post-modern basis to social justice. This means that there are many possible types and forms (nature) of social justice that may be found in different societies in different historical periods. Linking these many possible types and forms (nature) are the central tenets of social justice (equality, need and capacity) that overlap. The central tenets of social justice are always present but their nature may change depending on both the historical contexts and the aspect of social justice prevailing. The aspect of social justice that I focused on involved generations in New Zealand. Against the backdrop of social justice, I carried out my own understanding of intergenerational justice and applied the ideals of Tremmel (2006) and Lumer (2006) to the areas I considered relevant in my theoretical approach to social justice.

Intergenerational justice is an emerging field of enquiry. I have attempted to build on the foundation of social justice I developed in Chapter One. This was done so that I could link generations (aspect) and their social attitudes (internal and external link) to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme (normative manifestation of social justice). My theory of social justice is made up of primary axioms incorporating the concepts of nation and society. The social relations that underlie nation (external link) and society (external link) help to establish the tenets (internal links) of social justice: equality, need and capacity (opportunity, desert and participation). The approach I have taken means that social justice consists of internal links and external links and influencing elements. One particular link is social attitudes (opinions). Social attitudes are internally linked to social justice through the concept of participation which is under the central tenet of capacity. Furthermore, social attitudes are externally linked to social justice through being an external agency of social justice. This external agency can be affected by 'influencing elements' that alter social attitudes or it can be affected by our own manifestation of social attitudes. This theoretical approach enabled me to examine New Zealanders' social attitudes (opinions) towards a normative manifestation of social justice, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. In addition, I highlighted that the theory of social justice has to do with the commonalities of humankind, such as need and differences in ability. The fact that these commonalities extend across space and time, for example, periods of dependency in the life cycle, makes the theory of intergenerational justice pertinent.

After outlining my theory of social justice and its corresponding normative manifestation in Chapter One, I carved out a particular concept of generations, using the idea of birth cohort and a set of birth cohorts, in Chapter Two. By merging social justice and generations in Chapter Two, I was able to focus on what I call an aspect of social justice. This aspect is called generational justice which contains a subcategory called intergenerational justice. I used the normative intergenerational justice theoretical framework to reinforce critical principles relevant to the economic assistance for the aged in New Zealand. In addition, I applied the ideas of Tremmel (2006) and Lumer (2006) to my understanding of intergenerational justice. The five principles of Lumer (2006) that I considered important to the field of intergenerational justice helped to differentiate generational justice from the overall theory of social justice. This is because an aspect of social justice is about focusing upon a part of the whole theory.

Furthermore, I suggested that ‘mutual advantage’ is about providing something all generations need but which they are predominantly unable to meet themselves. In New Zealand, all generations are unable to provide for all their needs during phases of dependency and, therefore, generations need to work together for ‘mutual advantage’. This being the case, the momentary pretexts underpinning the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme work in opposition to this ‘mutual advantage’. Instead, the momentary pretexts favour a ‘few generations’ at the expense of other generations. These ‘few generations’ are the Uncertainty Generation and the Baby Boom Generation.

Chapter Three highlighted the relationship between New Zealand’s ‘grand plans’ from the 20th Century through to the 21st Century and the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. I commenced with an historical account focusing on the rise of the welfare state providing support for the aged in New Zealand. During this period, economic assistance for the aged changed considerably and has led to inconsistencies in the treatment of different generations when they reach old age. Interestingly, the changes in the ‘advantages’ for the aged have to some degree coincided with the changes to the ‘grand plan’ prevailing in New Zealand society. However, from the 1970s onwards, the welfare state for the aged has followed a considerably different path.

The path followed meant that the political environment and political attitudes had a major impact on how dependents were treated in New Zealand. This political dominance allowed for the aged to maintain their high moral worth, while the moral worth of other dependents declined considerably. However, the challenge faced, given this political dominance, is that the 'advantages and disadvantages' that are distributed tend to be based upon temporal discounting of the future (short-sighted self-interests) in order to gain a small reward now. These actions, by their very nature, are subject to change at any moment. Consequently, the high moral worth of the aged is subject to change. In New Zealand, two rather large generations (Uncertainty and Baby Boom) are currently politically dominant. They have also benefited from a child welfare state based on social democratic forms of welfare and they did not participate in World War One and Two. The Uncertainty and Baby Boom generations have and will also benefit from an aged welfare state based on social democratic forms of welfare. And they have benefited from neo-liberal changes to public services, meaning they contributed less during their working lives compared with their public returns. In other words, New Zealand society will undergo pressures from an increasing number of people entering old age who hold a temporary politically dominant position.

The history in New Zealand of continual reform and change in policies relating to the aged, has shown that the future economic assistance of the aged is vulnerable during a period when the number of people entering old age is increasing. The Baby Boomers represent one generation who may experience dramatic change when reaching mid-old or old-old age. Meanwhile, for Generation X and below, there is already some sense, given the survey responses, of an inevitable contraction in the 'advantages' of the aged when they reach old age. This is why, I would argue, there is a need for the assessment of New Zealanders' social attitudes towards the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

The study of social attitudes is critical to find out if there are any signs of change in relation to the support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. Chapter Four acknowledges the role that social attitudes have in affecting the way in which the aged

are economically supported with the Superannuation Scheme. Dissatisfied with other theories of social attitudes, I developed my own theory in order to link social attitudes to social justice, while simultaneously confronting the tendency of other researchers to base attitudes upon beliefs, behaviour or both. Therefore, my approach to social attitudes encompasses a clear process for the investigation of attitude responses. This process involves a premise of response, the context of the resultant attitude and an attitude presiding over a lattice of six underlying elements: knowledge, experience, interest, values, ideology and essential character (nature). I discussed these elements. I, then, applied some of the questions that were developed for the survey on the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to the elements. By doing this, I highlighted how social attitudes are linked to any modulus (area) of enquiry.

In order to measure social attitudes, I considered the methodological approach in Chapter Five. This approach is critical so that incorrect imputations are not drawn from the survey results. I emphasised the importance of having a representative sample from the New Zealand population and assessing the representativeness of demographic characteristics in the survey. This representativeness ensured that the survey results were not generalised to the New Zealand population at large when, in fact, these results reflect the specific lens of a social group in the population. I found that if I wanted to generalise the frequency and percentage of attitude responses from the survey questions, the responses had to be interpreted so as to reflect the attitudes of New Zealanders from the dominant culture who live in households with high incomes and who are aged fifty plus.

Further statistical analysis of social attitudes was undertaken so that their structure could be understood. It was anticipated that understanding the structure of social attitudes would help unravel the underlying attitude responses. Chapter Six examined the social attitude structure for three sets of questions which are related to aspects of social justice. The three attitude structures investigated the welfare nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, the equity or moral worth of dependents and some environmental factors surrounding the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. By using Factor Analysis, I found that the aged are valued higher than other dependents by respondents, and that there is some evidence of an age related right to public assistance

across space and time. This right to public assistance is considered as the Government's responsibility. However, to understand the relevance of social attitude structures and social attitude responses with respect to demographic variables, I undertook further statistical analysis.

This analysis, in Chapter Seven, focused on the demographic characteristics of social attitudes behind the nature of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. I statistically assessed a set of demographic characteristics, and I found that age and household income were the only factors that hold any predictability and any relationship to the attitude responses. Age resulted in the strongest predictability with the strongest relationship to the attitude responses. By splitting ages up to coincide with sub-generational groupings, I found that these age groupings meet statistical assumptions so that generations could be compared with respect to their attitudinal responses. This enabled me to use Ordinary Least Squares Regression to find out if a pattern existed in the attitude responses for each of the three attitude structures.

The overall pattern showed that the uniformity in responses erodes slowly over time as cohort replacement occurs. It means that social attitudes among respondents are slowly changing over time. Respondents who belonged to the older generations favour the social democratic approach to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, favour significantly the aged over other dependents in need and favour the purpose of exchange underlying the Scheme. Meanwhile, respondents belonging to the younger generations are more in favour of a neo-liberal approach to the Superannuation Scheme. Their support has a tendency to be aligned with how other dependents are treated and this, further, coincides with the erosion in the value of the aged. Furthermore, younger generations also reduced their support for the purpose of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This arose because they are not prepared to support something like the Superannuation Scheme when returns upon contributions are unknown, returns are perceived to erode compared with previous generations and unfairness is deemed to have occurred in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' between generations.

In Chapter Eight, I related the statistical results from the attitude structure, attitude nature and general attitude responses so as to improve understanding regarding the economic support for the aged with the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. What I found was that the generational differences in social attitudes reinforced each other (attitude structure, attitude nature and general attitude response to separate questions). However, those respondents surveyed with high household incomes exhibited contradictory social attitudes. In other words, older generations and people living in households with high incomes exhibited signs of self-interest and of not wanting to contribute more, while wanting the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme to remain the same. Furthermore, I found that New Zealand is unique compared with other developed countries in that the predictor and correlation value of most demographic characteristics did not occur. Moreover, the attitude responses in the survey to similar questions in international research were considerably different. Arguably, this may be a consequence of the fact that New Zealand as a country has continually postponed public debate concerning the economic support of the aged.

I want to suggest that a debate on the following issues in New Zealand society is necessary: (1) What kind of welfare state is fair for all the aged across space and time? (2) What is the importance of need for all dependents, irrespective of their characteristics in playing a greater role in the design of the welfare state? (3) What are the differences in the treatment between and within dependents by the welfare state and why do they exist? (4) What prioritisation principles should be used to increase any 'advantages' to particular groups of dependents and the trade off for increasing 'advantages' to the aged at the expense of other social groups such as children?

In Chapter Nine, I considered the survey results against the backdrop of the theory of normative intergenerational justice. This added depth to the analysis of social attitudes by linking people to external institutions and agencies that are also connected to social justice. I also found in Chapter Nine that 'influencing elements' impact more upon social attitudes, as opposed to the principles of social justice. Therefore, some of the attitudes may not necessarily reflect the reality that most of the aged from all generations in New Zealand will require financial assistance for most of their income in old age, and that

generations need to work for the 'mutual advantage' of supporting the aged. This lack of understanding for the needs of the aged is partly because social relations are often misunderstood and those who need help, apart from the aged, are undervalued. This lack of value for other dependents eventually spreads to the aged as is evident in the survey responses. Despite the differences in the nature of support for the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme and other services for the aged, all respondents acknowledge that the aged require some public assistance.

An important issue underlying New Zealand's ageing population, in my view, is that the country could have built and invested heavily in preparation for withstanding the pressures of an increased dependency ratio. If this had occurred, then subsequent generations would have been obligated to fulfil their duty to the previous generations by maintaining the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in its social democratic form, along with other services for the aged. Instead, subsequent generations will be obligated to protect the aged from poverty just like the unemployed and little more. To demand anything above this is to reinforce how self-interested some generations have been. The daunting task now is to avoid conflict among generations. The answer lies, I would suggest, in the theory of social (and intergenerational) justice.

I have suggested that the prevailing nature of social justice in New Zealand society is unusual: it does not have any explicit tenet of need but it does have a limited implicit concept of participation (under the tenet of capacity) and it does have an explicit concept of procedural desert (under the tenet of capacity). In effect, social justice in New Zealand is reliant upon short-term 'influencing elements' in a capitalist society characterised by a neo-liberal democratic ethos. In New Zealand, the possibility for the last vestige of a social democratic form of welfare state supporting the aged to be reformed, has yet to take place. However, it is reasonable to suggest that change will occur once the generational forces of the aged no longer have the power to support conditions favourable to them. Until that change, changing social attitudes towards the aged are of considerable concern for the future economic support of the aged by means of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

I acknowledge that there is a considerable need for my theoretical approach to social justice to be further developed. What is more, the normative side of social justice (assessment, monitoring, statistical measures, non-measurable aspects) needs to be further developed. By focusing in this thesis upon one manifestation of social justice, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme, I hope that the intergenerational injustices prevalent in New Zealand will begin to be acknowledged, addressed and considered when distributing 'advantages and disadvantages' in society. It is reasonable to argue that New Zealand as a country can no longer continue to postpone consideration of the serious issue of overvaluing the aged when an ever-increasing number of people are entering old age. What this overvaluing of the aged does is add to the injustices already handed down to other generations and add to the numbers of other kinds of dependents who are already more in need than the aged in New Zealand society.

What New Zealanders need to recognise is that the political dominance of the aged, as evident in an ageing population and in the self-interests of those predominately nearing old age who are from a few welfare dependent generations, may override any sense of fairness between generations and lead to increasing intergenerational injustices. This situation has major implications for New Zealand society. Although I do appreciate that most people from all generations require economic support during old age, what is important is to re-establish the social relations between generations so that they are designed for the 'mutual advantage' of all generations. As evident in those surveyed in this study, the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme is considered as one of the many public resources that play a considerable role in how the social relations between generations are reinforced.

In sum, intergenerational injustices of the past, present and future may play a role in characterising the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme. This is because any change in the distribution of 'advantages and disadvantages' affects the social relations between generations. It is these factors that may contribute to the nature of the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme in the future and whether intergenerational relations are acknowledged or not. What is clear is that each generation is subject to conditions beyond their control in a dependent phase when most people will require

public assistance. This universal condition of dependency for most of the aged across space and time, remains as a momentary pretext in New Zealand society, given that there is little conception of need. This makes planning for retirement difficult and fairness unachievable within and between generations. Therefore, intergenerational injustices are inevitable. However, whether these intergenerational injustices are legitimate or not and whether they need to be extreme, are fundamental questions that may arise in New Zealand society as the ageing population continues to increase and, consequently the costs of supporting it increases. The solution to our pending woes lies, I believe, with the central tenet of need.

Appendix A

Questionnaire

**THE NEW ZEALAND STUDY OF ECONOMIC
SUPPORT FOR AN AGEING POPULATION**

(Blue Background)

(Pictures)

**The School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work
Massey University**

(Blue Background)

How to fill out the questionnaire

To answer the questions, you need to tick (✓) a box or boxes, or write in the space provided. After each question, there is an instruction in **bold type** explaining what to do. Please tick the answer that applies to you. When you have done this, move onto the next question.

The survey asks about your views on pensions, the retired, government entitlements and so on. The survey also seeks your opinions on important moral, political, social and economic issues.

The survey has a number of questions that I think you will find interesting and enjoyable to answer. If any knowledge is required then the information is provided. What I would like to know is *your own personal opinions*.

Your participation in this survey is **completely voluntary**. Please be assured that I am very grateful for your help. All the information that is collected is **completely confidential**.

Returning the questionnaire

When you have completed the questionnaire, please post it back in the reply paid envelope **as soon as you can**.

Enjoy the questionnaire, and thank you for your help.

New Zealand Superannuation Benefit

1. How **informed** do you feel you are about the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit?

Please tick one only

- (√)
- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Extremely well informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Well informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither well nor not well informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Not well informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Not at all informed | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

2. **Should** the Government **provide** a New Zealand Superannuation Benefit?

Please tick one only

- (√)
- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither agree nor disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

3. Do you favour increasing taxes to **maintain** the existing New Zealand Superannuation Benefit?

Please tick one only

- (√)
- | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---|
| Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

4. Should the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit be a major, minor or not a **source of income** for people 65 and over?

Please tick one only

- (v)
- Major source 1
- Minor source 2
- Not a source 3
- Don't know 9

5. What sources of income do you **expect to have** when you retire?

Please tick all that apply

- (v)
- New Zealand Superannuation 1
- Employer-provided pension 1
- Earnings from employment 1
- Work place retirement savings 1
- Other personal savings 1
- Inheritance 1
- Economic support from your family 1
- Other _____ 1
- Don't know 1

6. Do you expect or not expect to **receive** a New Zealand Superannuation Benefit when you reach 65?

Please tick one only

(✓)

Strongly expect	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
More or less expect	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither expect nor not expect	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
More or less do not expect	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly do not expect	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

New Zealand Superannuation Benefit

The New Zealand Superannuation Benefit is designed to provide an income to New Zealanders who are 65 years old and over. The amount of this benefit is between 65% and 72.5% of the net average weekly wage after tax. To receive the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit, a person needs to be at least 65 and be a New Zealand resident. A resident is required to have lived here for at least five years after turning 50 and to have had lived in New Zealand for 10 years after turning 20.

7. Would you keep the **residency criteria** for the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit the same or change it?

Please tick one only

(✓)

Decrease the criteria to less than ten years	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Keep the criteria the same	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Increase criteria to 20 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Increase criteria to 30 or more years	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Another possibility	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

8. Do you agree or disagree that the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit for people 65 and over is an **earned right** (an entitlement gained by living in N.Z.)?

Please tick one only

(v)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

Our population in New Zealand is ageing. This means that the number of people and the percentage of people aged 65 and over will increase. It also means that the demand for resources such as the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit and health services will increase. To maintain the current level of resources, given to those 65 and over, the Government will need to increase spending.

9. To **maintain** the existing New Zealand Superannuation Benefit what would you do? Would you:

Please tick all that apply

(v)

Increase the minimum age of entitlement	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Increase taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Reduce benefits for the 65 plus	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Change other eligibility criteria	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Increase corporate taxes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	1

10. Should the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit be received by those people who are at least 65 and who remain in **full-time employment** (30 hours or more a week)?

Please tick one only

(v)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

11. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: we would all be **hurt** if the Government **cut spending** on the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit for people 65 and over?

Please tick one only

(v)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

12. How concerned are you about the **costs** of keeping the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit at current levels?

Please tick one only
(√)

Really concerned	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Somewhat concerned	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither concerned nor not concerned	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Not concerned	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Not really concerned	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

13. Should the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit be received by those people who are at least 65 and over who have an **income** that is more than the average New Zealand wage (\$30,000)?

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

14. Do you believe that the money a person currently receives on the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit is enough to **allow** them to:

Please tick all that apply

	(√)	
Buy groceries	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Go to the doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Go to the dentist	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Do everyday activities that people their age usually do	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Communicate, mix with others or socialise	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Care for a friend or family member	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Do voluntary work	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Upskill or gain more education	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Do all the above	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	1

Contributory Retirement Schemes

15. How **informed** do you feel you are about the Government's contributory retirement scheme, Kiwi Saver, being introduced next year?

Please tick one only

	(√)	
Extremely well informed	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Well informed	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither well nor not well informed	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Not well informed	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Not at all informed	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

16. If we did not have a government funded pension, to what extent do you think that private superannuation (retirement insurance) would provide enough social protection to **most** people?

Please tick one only
(√)

Always	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Most times	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Sometimes	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Hardly ever	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Never	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

Kiwi Saver Scheme

Next year the Government's contributory retirement scheme, Kiwi Saver, will be introduced. The purpose of the scheme is to get New Zealanders to save for their retirement. The Kiwi Saver is a voluntary scheme that is designed to supplement the existing New Zealand Superannuation Benefit. If you change employment then you are automatically enrolled in Kiwi Saver but you can opt out during the first 8 weeks. If you are in this scheme, you have a choice of saving 4% or 8% of your income before tax, and these payments are made from your salary at the time tax is taken out. The IRD then passes on your savings to your chosen private provider.

17. Do you support or oppose the proposed **Kiwi Saver** Scheme?

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly support	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Support	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither support nor oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

18. Do you support or oppose the Government's **involvement** in retirement savings like the Kiwi Saver?

Please tick one only
(v)

Strongly support	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Support	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither support nor oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly oppose	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

19. If the Government was involved in retirement savings then who should **manage** these saving schemes?

Please tick one only
(v)

Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Private companies	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Both Government and private companies	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

20. Should the Government provide **security** to the savings in Kiwi Saver schemes?

Please tick one only
(v)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

Issues Related To Supporting The Aged

21. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: we would all be **hurt** if the Government **cut spending** on education and programs for young people.

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

22. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: differences in the amount of money spent to support people is justified only if it helps the **most disadvantaged**.

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

23. The **criteria** for receiving public funds other than the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit should be based upon need.

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

24. Do you think that it is fair or unfair that the Government provides additional assistance to **disadvantaged groups** because they live in need?

Please tick one only
(√)

Definitely fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Fair	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither fair nor unfair	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Unfair	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Definitely unfair	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

25. Should all people 65 and over **pay a larger share** of their health care costs than they do today?

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

26. Should the Government **focus** greater attention on meeting the needs of children, low income workers and other non-retired New Zealanders compared to the needs of the aged?

Please tick one only
(√)

Strongly agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither agree nor disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Strongly disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

27. Do you think that there are **age-groups** that will receive more than their fair share of government benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes?

Please tick one only
(√)

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

28. Is it fair or unfair that individuals should be put at a **disadvantage** by circumstances beyond their control for which they cannot be held responsible?

Please tick one only

- (√)
- | | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Definitely fair | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Fair | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither fair nor unfair | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Unfair | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Definitely unfair | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

29. Today, people who are 65 and over receive the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit. Do you agree or disagree that all adults **should** in the future receive the New Zealand Superannuation Benefit when they turn 65?

Please tick one only

- (√)
- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither agree nor disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

Political Outlook

30. If there was an election tomorrow, which party would you vote for? And which party would be your second choice?

	First Choice Please tick one only	Second choice Please tick one only
	(v)	(v)
Act	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Christian Heritage	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Greens	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Labour	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
The Maori Party	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
National	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
New Zealand First	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Progressive Coalition	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
United Future	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Other _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/> 99	<input type="checkbox"/> 99

31. Why, in your opinion, are there people in this country who live in need?

	Please tick one only
	(v)
They are poor because of laziness and lack of will power	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
They are poor because society treats them unfairly	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/> 9

32. Now I would like to know your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? "1" means you agree completely with the statement on the left; "10" means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can **choose any number** in between.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
The Government should take responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for							People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves			Don't know

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard to develop new ideas							Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people			Don't know

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Hard work always pays off - success is not a matter of luck or connections							Hard work does not generally bring success - it is more a matter of luck and connections			Don't know

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
People can only become rich at the expense of others							Wealth can grow so there's wealth for everyone			Don't know

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	99
Incomes should be made more equal							We need larger income differences as incentives for individual effort			Don't know

33. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, middle class, upper class or lower class. Would you describe yourself as **belonging to** the:

Please tick one only
(v)

Upper class	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Upper middle class	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Lower middle class	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Working class	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Lower class	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

Economic Outlook

34. How satisfied are you with your **current** financial situation?

Please tick one only
(v)

Very satisfied	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Satisfied	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Dissatisfied	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Very dissatisfied	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Don't know	<input type="checkbox"/>	9

35. Do you expect your financial situation in the **next few years** to improve or worsen?

Please tick one only

- (v)
- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---|
| Greatly improve | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Improve | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Remain the same | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Worsen | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Greatly worsen | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

36. Do you agree or disagree with **redistributing** income from the rich to the poor?

Please tick one only

- (v)
- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither agree nor disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

37. Do you agree or disagree that all age-groups currently **have** the **same chance** to do better financially than their parents?

Please tick one only

- (v)
- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Strongly agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Agree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Neither agree nor disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Strongly disagree | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |

38. How concerned are you about **personally** experiencing the following at some stage during your life?

	Highly concerned	Somewhat concerned	Not concerned	Not at all concerned	Don't know
Eroding employment conditions (√)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Low wages (√)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Poverty (√)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Unemployment (√)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Sick with no money for important health needs (√)	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 9

About Yourself

39. Are you?

Male 1

Female 2

40. What year were you born?

Year 19

41. Which one of these categories **best** describes your **highest** level of formal education?

Please tick one only

(v)

No formal schooling	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Kura Kaupapa/ primary school (including intermediate)	<input type="checkbox"/>	2
Secondary school for up to 3 years	<input type="checkbox"/>	3
Secondary school for 4 years or more	<input type="checkbox"/>	4
Some university, wananga, polytechnic or other tertiary	<input type="checkbox"/>	5
Completed university or polytechnic degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Completed postgraduate study at university	<input type="checkbox"/>	7

42. Which of the following categories best describes your **ethnic origin**?

Please tick as many boxes as you need to show which ethnic group(s) you belong to:

(v)

N.Z. Maori	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
N.Z. European or Pakeha	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Other European	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Cook Island Maori	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Samoan	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Tongan	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Niuean	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Indian	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Other _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	1

43. In which profession or occupation do you or did you work? If you have more than one job, tell me about the **main job**.

Please tick one only

- (v)
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----|
| Employer/ Manager of establishment with 10 or more employees | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Employer/ Manager of establishment with less than 10 employees | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| Professional worker, lawyer, accountant, teacher, etc. | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| Supervisory - office worker: supervises others | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| Non-manual - office worker: non-supervisory | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| Foreman or supervisor | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |
| Skilled manual worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 |
| Semiskilled manual worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8 |
| Unskilled manual worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |
| Farmer: has own farm | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |
| Agricultural worker | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |
| Member of armed forces, security personnel | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 |
| Never had a job | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13 |

44. From which of the following **sources** do you receive **income**?

Mark as many spaces as you need

- (v)
- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|
| Wages, salary, commissions, bonuses, etc., paid by employer | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Student Loan | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Self-employment, own a business that you work in | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Interest, dividends, rent, other investments | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Regular payments from ACC or a private work accident insurer | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| New Zealand Superannuation or Veterans Pension | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Other superannuation, pensions or annuities (other than NZ Superannuation, Veterans Pension or war pensions) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Working for Families Benefit | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Paid Parental leave | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Government Benefit (Unemployment, Sickness, Invalids, Domestic Purposes, Student Allowance benefits, etc.) | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| Other sources of income, counting support payments from people who do not live in your household | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| No source of income | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |

45. Which of the following categories best describes the total yearly income of everyone in your household from all sources before tax?

Please tick one only

- (v)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|----|
| Under \$ 5,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| \$5,001 - \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| \$10,001 - \$15,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 3 |
| \$15,001 - \$ 20,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 4 |
| \$ 20,001 - \$ 25,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 5 |
| \$25,001 - \$ 30,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 6 |
| \$ 30,001 - \$ 35,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 7 |
| \$ 35,001 - \$ 40,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 8 |
| \$ 40,001 - \$ 50,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 9 |
| \$ 50,001 - \$ 70,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 10 |
| \$70,001 - \$ 100,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 11 |
| \$100,001 - \$150,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> | 12 |
| \$150,001 and over | <input type="checkbox"/> | 13 |

Appendix B

Covering Letters, Post Card and Ethics

Initial Letter for Survey Pack

Massey Logo
9 November 2006

Massey Address

Participant Address

Dear participant name,

The New Zealand Study Of Economic Support For An Ageing Population

I invite you to complete the enclosed questionnaire and become part of the New Zealand study of economic support for those aged sixty-five and over. This study is part of a Masters degree in Sociology at Massey University. Dr Paul Perry and Dr Catherine Brennan of the Sociology Programme at Massey University are my supervisors.

You are one of 1,000 New Zealanders, randomly selected from the electoral roll, who are being asked to help me by filling in the questionnaire. It asks your views about issues that are related to providing economic support to those aged sixty-five and over.

This information will help me to understand how New Zealanders feel about supporting the growing number of people aged sixty-five and over. It will also help me to see how New Zealanders' attitudes compare to people from other countries.

In order to have an accurate picture of New Zealanders' attitudes on this issue, it is important that as many people as possible complete the questionnaire. **Your participation is completely voluntary. However, your views are very important to me** and it is hoped that you will share some of your time and fill out the questionnaire. You have the right to decline to answer any question.

Your completion and return of this questionnaire implies consent. Please return it in the reply paid envelope provided. The number on the front of the reply envelope is to identify your reply so that reminders are not sent to those who have already taken part. Please be assured that **all of the information you supply is completely confidential.**

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor Sylvia Rumball, Assistant to the Vice-Chancellor (Ethics & Equity), telephone (06) 350-5249, e-mail humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz.

If you have any questions about the items in the questionnaire or how to fill it out, please contact Melodie Gribben on (04) ----- or email: -----.

I thank you for your help without which my research could not take place.

Yours sincerely,

Melodie Gribben,
Post Graduate Student.

Letter Two for Survey Pack

Massey Logo

Massey Address

23 November 2006

Participant Address

Dear participant name,

The New Zealand Study Of Economic Support For An Ageing Population.

Recently, I sent you a questionnaire from the New Zealand Study of Economic Support For An Ageing Population, but so far I have not received a reply. I am writing again to ask for your help. This survey is an essential part of my Masters thesis. It is very important to have the widest possible range of opinions. I have enclosed a new copy of the questionnaire, which I invite you to complete.

In this survey I want to find out what New Zealanders think about providing economic support for those aged sixty-five and over. The survey seeks your opinion on these issues and some related matters. As the population of New Zealand grows older on average, such information is extremely important for the future of our country.

In order to do this research I need your help. While your participation is completely voluntary, only a small number of people were selected to take part in this study. It is very important to get a completed questionnaire from you. All the answers that you supply are completely confidential. The number on the envelope allows me to cross your name off the list once you have returned the questionnaire, so I will not send you another reminder. Your questionnaire will be separated from the envelope so that you cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time and consideration. It is only with the generous help of people like you that my research can be successful.

Yours Sincerely,

Melodie Gribben,
Post Graduate Student,

P.S. Thank you, if your return has been posted in the last few days. Please accept my apologies for troubling you, there is always a few that pass each other in the post. If you have any questions about the survey, please call me at ----- or email me at -----

Letter Two for Participants without Survey Pack

Massey Logo

Massey Address

23 November 2006

Participant Address

Dear participant name,

The New Zealand Study Of Economic Support For An Ageing Population.

Recently, I sent you a questionnaire from the New Zealand Study of Economic Support For An Ageing Population, but so far I have not received a reply. I am writing again to ask for your help. This survey is an essential part of my Masters thesis. It is very important to have the widest possible range of opinions. I would be grateful if you could please complete the survey I previously sent you in the reply envelope.

In this survey I want to find out what New Zealanders think about providing economic support for those aged sixty-five and over. The survey seeks your opinion on these issues and some related matters. As the population of New Zealand grows older on average, such information is extremely important for the future of our country.

In order to do this research I need your help. While your participation is completely voluntary, only a small number of people were selected to take part in this study. It is very important to get a completed questionnaire from you. All the answers that you supply are completely confidential. The number on the envelope allows me to cross your name off the list once you have returned the questionnaire, so I will not send you another reminder. Your questionnaire will be separated from the envelope so that you cannot be identified.

Thank you for your time and consideration. It is only with the generous help of people like you that my research can be successful.

Yours Sincerely,

Melodie Gribben,
Post Graduate Student,

P.S. Thank you, if your return has been posted in the last few days. Please accept my apologies for troubling you, there is always a few that pass each other in the post. If you have any questions about the survey, please call me at ----- or email me at -----

Post Card (front)

Massey Logo	Post Mark
Massey Address	Participant Address

Post Card (back)

Dear participant name,

THE NZ STUDY OF ECONOMIC SUPPORT FOR AN AGEING POPULATION

In November I sent you a questionnaire seeking your views on support for people aged 65 or more. *It is a survey seeking the views of all New Zealanders no matter what their age*, and is part of my Masters degree in Sociology at Massey University.

For survey results to be statistically acceptable a certain percentage of the posted questionnaires must be completed and returned. So far the returns are close to that level, but at least another 50 surveys are needed.

If you have already returned your survey, my sincere thanks for your help. I am sorry that I troubled you again. If you still have the questionnaire, I would be most grateful if you would complete it and post it back. If you are willing to help but no longer have the questionnaire, please contact me and I will post you a new one.

Yours Sincerely,

Melodie Gribben, Postgraduate Student in Sociology at Massey University
Contact details

Massey University Logo

Melodie Gribben
Address

Mr _____,
Customer Services Co-ordinator,
Electoral Enrolment Centre,
P.O. Box 190,
Wellington.

Date

RE: Application for a Disc Version of the Current Electoral Roll.

Dear Mr _____,

Enclosed is an application form with the appropriate attachments. This is for an assessment of my suitability to access the most recent disk version of the electoral roll for the purposes of research.

If you require further information, please contact me at the above address or e-mail

Yours sincerely,

Melodie Gribben.

Massey University Logo

Customer Services Co-ordinator,
Systems Section,
Electoral Enrolment Centre,
P.O. Box 190,
Wellington.

STATEMENT OF THE INTENDED USE OF ELECTORAL ROLL DATA FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH PURPOSES

Electoral Roll information is sought to support the Study of New Zealand Attitudes Towards Financially Supporting Those Aged Sixty-Five And Over.

This is a social science survey of a representative sample of adult New Zealanders, to be carried out in 2006. The survey asks a variety of questions with respect to attitudes on social investment, financial support of the aged, issues related to supporting those over sixty-five, economic outlook, politics and education. The demographic questions are essentially the same questions as those found in the New Zealand Values Survey. Meanwhile, some of the other questions are found in academic literature.

This project is funded by Massey University and Melodie Gribben. It is part of a Masters of Philosophy in Sociology that she is currently undertaking at Massey University in the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work. She is supervised by Dr Paul Perry and Dr Catherine Brennan.

Melodie Gribben
Address

Professor John O'Neill,
Chairperson,
Research Ethics Office,
Old Main Building PN221,
Massey University,
Private Bag 11 222,
Palmerston North.

27 September 2006

RE: Low Risk Application for Ethics Application

Dear Professor John O'Neill,

Enclosed is a Low Risk application with the appropriate attachments. This is for an assessment of its ethical suitability for the proposed research.

Could you please provide a Massey University Human Ethics Committee Number (MUHEC) for this project.

If you require further information, please contact me at the above address or e-mail -----

Yours sincerely,

Melodie Gribben.

Appendix C

Demographic Data

Table A: The Demographic Profile of the Participants Surveyed.

Characteristic	N	Survey %
Political preference 1 st choice	501	
Act	6	1.2
Christian Heritage	4	0.8
Greens	27	5.4
Labour	159	31.7
The Maori Party	8	1.6
National	204	40.7
New Zealand First	9	1.8
Progressive Coalition	1	0.2
United Future	7	1.4
Other	5	1
Do not know	71	14.2
Class	499	
Upper class	5	1
Upper middle class	146	29.3
Lower middle class	159	31.9
Working class	152	30.5
Lower class	12	2.4
Do not know	25	5
Occupation	505	
Manager 10+ employees	34	6.7
Manager 9- employees	55	10.9
Professional	141	27.9
Supervisory (office)	37	7.3
Non-manual (office worker)	57	11.3
Foreman or supervisor	23	4.6
Skilled manual worker	68	13.5
Semi-skilled manual worker	37	7.3
Unskilled manual worker	13	2.6
Farmer (own farm)	22	4.4
Agricultural worker	6	1.2
Armed forces/ security	6	1.2
Never had a job	6	1.2

Appendix D

Factor Analysis Data For Attitude Dimensions

Table B: A Principal Component Analysis of Factor Loadings for the Nature of Superannuation

	F1	F2	F3	F4
	Permant	Birth	Aware	Disquiet
Taxes to maintain NZSB	0.48	-0.35	0.13	0.39
NZSB is a income source	0.45	-0.43		0.24
The Government should provide NZSB	0.51	-0.6	-0.14	
Expect to receive the NZSB	0.65		0.22	-0.24
Maintain the NZSB residency criteria	0.51	0.31	0.28	-0.26
NZSB an earned Right	0.62	-0.18	-0.14	-0.37
Full-time employment and receive the NZSB	0.54	0.51	-0.36	0.30
Income of \$30,000 or more plus NZSB	0.57	0.46	-0.29	0.37
All hurt if NZSB was cut	0.63			-0.21
Concern about the costs of keeping NZSB	0.46	0.21	0.46	
65+ pay more of their health care costs	0.14	0.35	0.45	-0.24
Some receive more benefits compared to taxes	0.3	-0.12	0.45	0.43
All adults receive the NZSB when they turn 65	0.51		-0.5	-0.23
% Variance Explained	25.63	11.16	9.65	8.1

Table C: A Pearson Correlation Matrix for Relationships between Variables Contained by the Nature of Superannuation

	Sb1	Sb2	Sb3	Sb4	Sb5	Sb6	Sb7	Sb8	Sb9	Sb10	Sb11	Sb12	Sb13
Sb 1(Taxes to maintain the existing NZSB)	1.0	0.29**	0.32**	0.21**	0.12**	0.15**	0.14**	0.28**	0.17**	0.17**	0.02	0.19**	0.12**
Sb 2 (NZSB be a source of income)		1.0	0.34**	0.21**	0.09**	0.21**	0.13**	0.21**	0.12**	0.13**	-0.015	0.13**	0.15**
Sb 3 (The Government provide NZSB)			1.0	0.24**	0.051	0.40**	0.054	0.31**	0.08*	0.10**	-0.059	0.10**	0.20**
Sb 4 (Expect to receive the NZSB)				1.0	0.35**	0.37**	0.16**	0.33**	0.30**	0.25**	0.09*	0.2**	0.27**
Sb 5 (Keep the NZSB residency criteria the same or change it)					1.0	0.24**	0.24**	0.30**	0.23**	0.22**	0.16**	0.12**	0.15**
Sb 6 (NZSB an earned right)						1.0	0.21**	0.31**	0.17**	0.20**	0.04	0.12**	0.34**
Sb 7 (Full-time employment and receive the NZSB)							1.0	0.23**	0.18**	0.58**	0.08*	0.05	0.31**
Sb 8 (All be hurt if the NZSB was cut)								1.0	0.25**	0.21**	0.07*	0.07*	0.26**
Sb 9 (Concerned about the costs of keeping NZSB)									1.0	0.23**	0.15**	0.17**	0.05
Sb 10 (NZSB be received by those people with an income greater than the average NZ wage of \$30,000)										1.0	0.06	0.11**	0.29**
Sb 11 (All people 65 plus should pay a larger share of their health care costs)											1.0	0.04	0.01
Sb 12 (Are there age-groups that will receive more than their fair share of govt benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes)												1.0	0.01
Sb 13 (Should all adults receive the NZSB when they turn 64)													1.0

If $P \leq 0.01$ then the symbol ** is used. If $0.01 < P \leq 0.05$ then the symbol * is used.

Determinant = 0.110

Table D: A Principal Component Analysis of Factor Loadings for Dependent Equity

	Factor Rules	Factor Distribution
65 plus pay more of health care costs	0.364	0.643
Cut spending on the young	0.678	-0.130
Concern about the costs of NZSB	0.517	0.180
Hurt if NZSB was cut	0.723	-0.272
NZSB is an earned right	0.620	-0.364
Focus on other dependants in need	0.273	0.670
% of Variance Explained	30.69	18.63

High factor loadings are in bold.

Table E: A Pearson Correlation Matrix for the Relationship between Variables of Dependent Equity

	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6
Equity 1 (65 plus pay more of health care costs)	1.0					
Equity 2 (Cut spending on the youth)	0.16**	1.0				
Equity 3 (Concern about the costs of NZSB)	0.15**	0.10**	1.0			
Equity 4 (Hurt if the NZSB was cut)	0.07*	0.36**	0.25**	1.0		
Equity 5 (NZSB is an earned right)	0.04	0.28**	0.17**	0.31**	1.0	
Equity 6 (Focus on other dependants in need)	0.16**	0.1*	0.1*	0.05	0.03	1.0

The symbol ** indicates $P \leq 0.01$ and the symbol * indicates $0.01 < P \leq 0.05$. Determinant = 0.650.

Table F: A Principal Component Analysis of Factor Loadings for the Superannuation Environment

	F1 Birthright	F2 Responsible	F3 Exchange
Expect to receive the NZSB	0.63	0.31	-0.21
NZSB be received by those earning \$30,000 plus	0.66	-0.47	0.17
Full-time employed and receive NZSB	0.62	-0.54	0.15
All receive NZSB when turn 65	0.59	-0.29	-0.26
NZSB be an income source	0.44	0.29	0.38
Taxes to maintain NZSB	0.45	0.33	0.51
Income redistribution	0.33	0.54	-0.42
Some receive more benefits than amount pa	0.32	0.42	0.30
Government responsibility to care for the Aged	0.54	-----	-0.53
% Variance Explained	27.27	14.97	12.40

Appendix E

Data for Attitude Responses and Statistical Analyses

Table H: Attitude Responses to the New Zealand Superannuation Scheme.

Characteristic	N	%
Q.1 How informed do you feel you are about the Superannuation Benefit?		
	518	
Informed	157	30.3
Neither	124	23.9
Not informed	226	43.6
Do not know	11	2.1
Q.2 Should the Government provide a Superannuation Benefit?		
	519	
Agree	485	93.4
Neither	22	4.2
Disagree	6	1.2
Do not know	6	1.2
Q.3 Do you favour increasing taxes to maintain the existing Superannuation Benefit?		
	518	
Yes	155	29.9
No	319	61.6
Do not know	44	8.5
Q.4 Should the Superannuation Benefit be a source of income for people 65 and over?		
	508	
Major	320	63
Minor	162	31.9
Not a source	9	1.8
Do not know	17	3.3
Q.5 What sources of income do you expect to have when you retire? (Respondents could choose more than one option so the results will not round to one hundred percent)		
	519	
NZSB	434	83.9
Employer paid pension	62	11.9
Earnings from employment	155	29.9
Work place retirement	115	22.2
Other personal savings	322	62
Inheritance	59	11.4
Family economic support	17	3.3
Other	49	9.4
Don't know	15	2.9

Table H: Continued

Characteristic	N	%
Q. 7 Would you keep the residency criteria for the Superannuation Benefit the same or change it?		
	510	
Decrease criteria to 10 yrs	24	4.7
Keep the same	278	54.6
Increase to 20 yrs	137	26.9
Increase to 30 or more yrs	30	5.9
Another possibility	23	4.5
Do not know	18	3.5
Q. 9 To maintain the existing Superannuation Benefit what would you do? (Respondents could choose more than one option so the results will not round to one hundred percent)		
	519	
Increase age of entitlement	59	11.4
Increase taxes	11.9	22.9
Reduce benefits for 65+	32	6.2
Change other aged criteria	168	32.4
Increase corporate taxes	160	30.8
Don't know	93	17.9

Table I: Levene Tests for the Nature of Superannuation.

	Levene Statistic	Degree of Freedom 1	Degree of Freedom 2	Significant Significant
Factor 1 (Permanence)	3.555	33	416	0.0000
Factor 2 (Birthright)	1.921	33	416	0.002
Factor 3 (Awareness)	2.782	33	416	0.0000
Factor 4 (Disquiet)	2.287	33	416	0.0000

Table J: Background Data for Unstandardised Estimates for the Nature of Superannuation.

	Factor 1 Permanence			Factor 2 Birthright		
	SE	B	T	SE	B	T
Generation						
22-31	0.5076	-0.8405	-1.656	0.499	-0.843	-1.689
32-41	0.5065	-0.8509	-1.680	0.498	-1.0335	-2.075*
42-51	0.5012	-1.0172	-2.033*	0.4919	-1.1464	-2.331*
52-61	0.5012	-1.1343	-2.263*	0.4927	-1.2437	-2.524*
62+	0.4963	-1.134	-2.280*	0.4889	-1.3814	-2.826*
Income						
\$15,001-\$25,000	0.2470	-0.6318	-2.558*	0.2428	0.0245	-0.101
\$25,001-\$40,000	0.2395	-0.5894	-2.461*	0.2354	-0.4231	-1.797
\$40,001-\$50,000	0.2431	-0.6587	-2.796*	0.239	-0.4799	-2.009*
\$50,001-\$70,000	0.2245	-0.4033	-1.796	0.2207	-0.4055	-1.838
\$70,001 plus	0.2142	-0.2700	-1.261	0.2106	-0.642	-3.049*
F (degrees of freedom, standard error ¹⁴⁴) = F – stat F (12, 0.961) = 3.5681*				F(12, 0.9447) = 4.4431*		

* refers to $p < 0.05$

¹³³ A low standard error indicates that the sample is “similar to the population mean so that the sample is likely to be an accurate reflection of the population” (Field, 2005, p. 17).

Table J: Continued

	Factor 3 Awareness			Factor 4 Disquiet		
	SE	B	T	SE	B	T
Generation						
22-31	0.497	-2.056	-4.139*	0.5022	-0.6604	-1.315
32-41	0.496	-1.865	-3.762*	0.5011	-0.7448	-1.486
42-51	0.49	-2.009	-4.1*	0.495	-1.0191	-2.059*
52-61	0.491	-2.261	-4.608*	0.4959	-1.0674	-2.153*
62+	0.487	-2.384	-4.898*	0.492	-1.2351	-2.510*
Income						
\$15,001-\$25,000	0.2418	0.071	0.294	0.2444	-0.8417	-3.444*
\$25,001-\$40,000	0.234	-0.0349	-1.149	0.2369	-0.6495	-2.741*
\$40,001-\$50,000	0.2379	-0.0873	-0.367	0.2405	-0.8022	-3.336*
\$50,001-\$70,000	0.2197	-0.1933	-0.880	0.2221	-0.8911	-4.012*
\$70,001 plus	0.2096	-0.099	-0.472	0.2119	-0.8101	-3.823*

F (degrees of freedom, standard error) = F – stat

F (12, 0.9406) = 3.557*

F (12, 0.9507) = 4.3672*

* refers to $p < 0.05$.

Table K: Univariate Attitude Responses for the Set of Questions on Dependent Equity

Percent Indicated	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	Don't Know (9)
Q.8 Do you agree that the Superannuation Benefit is an earned right?						
N = 512	53.32	34.57	7.03	2.93	1.17	0.98
Q.11 Do you agree that we would all be hurt if the Superannuation Benefit was cut?						
N = 512	44.34	36.33	7.62	7.42	1.17	3.13
Q.21 Do you agree that we would all be hurt if education and services were cut for young people?						
N = 510	56.86	32.55	4.31	4.51	0.78	0.98
Q. 25 Should the aged pay a larger share of their health care costs than they do today?						
N = 514	2.14	4.28	10.31	47.86	32.3	3.11
Q. 26 Should Government focus greater attention on meeting the needs of other dependents other than the aged?						
N = 516	3.37	13.86	31.88	37.43	13.47	1.75
Q.12 How concerned are you about the costs of keeping Superannuation at current levels?						
	Really Concerned (1)				Not really Concerned (5)	Don't Know (9)
N = 512	20.31	45.51	16.02	11.92	3.32	3.32

Note: The statistics above exclude missing data.

Table L: Levene Tests for Dependent Equity.

	Levene Statistic	Degree of Freedom 1	Degree of Freedom 2	Significant Significant
Factor 1 (Rules)	3.467	33	416	0.0000
Factor 2 (Distribution)	1.511	33	416	0.037 (Accept the variances are the same)

Table M: Background Data for Unstandardised Estimates for Dependent Equity

	Factor 1 Rules			Factor 2 Distribution		
	SE	Beta	T	SE	Beta	T
Generation						
22-31	0.5646	-1.598	-2.831*	0.5959	-0.7573	-1.271
32-41	0.5639	-1.729	-3.066*	0.5952	-0.5338	-0.897
42-51	0.5593	-2.012	-3.598*	0.5904	-0.4559	-0.772
52-61	0.5597	-2.072	-3.702*	0.5907	-0.5241	-0.887
62+	0.5559	-2.070	-3.724*	0.5868	-0.6152	-1.048
Income						
\$15,001-\$25,000	0.2265	-0.627	-2.768*	0.2391	0.2656	1.111
\$25,001-\$40,000	0.2218	-0.798	-3.598*	0.2341	0.1566	0.669
\$40,001-\$50,000	0.2277	-0.740	-3.251*	0.2404	0.3031	1.261
\$50,001-\$70,000	0.211	-0.621	-2.944*	0.2225	0.1333	0.599
\$70,001 plus	0.199	-0.5682	-2.847*	0.2107	0.2227	1.057

F (degrees of freedom, standard error) = F – stat

F (12, 0.9457) = 4.7089*

F (12, 0.9982) = 0.6524

* refers to $p < 0.05$.

Table N: Univariates of Attitude Responses to the Set of Questions for Superannuation Environment

Percent Indicated	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	Don't Know (9)				
Q. 10 Should Superannuation be received by those who remain in full-time employment?										
N = 510	24.51	25.88	11.18	29.12	7.45	1.96				
Q.13 Should Superannuation be received by those who have an income greater than \$30,000?										
N = 513	21.05	35.23	11.31	23.39	6.82	2.14				
Q.29 Do you agree than all adults in the future should receive Superannuation when they turn sixty-five?										
N = 513	38.21	40.74	7.02	11.31	1.56	1.17				
Q.4 Should the Superannuation Benefit be a major, minor or not a source of income for the aged?										
	Major Source (1)	Minor Source (2)	Not a Source (3)	Don't know (9)						
N = 505	63.37	31.68	1.781	3.17						
Q.6 Do you expect or not expect to receive a Superannuation Benefit when you reach sixty-five?										
	Strongly Expect (1)	Expect (2)	Neither Expect nor Not Expect (3)	Do Not Expect (4)	Strongly Do Not Expect (5)	Don't Know				
N = 500	58.6	24.6	6.2	5.4	2.6	2.6				
Q.32 Who is responsible for those sixty-five and over? (Government =1, Individual =10)										
N = 476	11.55	2.7	3.57	6.51	12.6	10.92	14.5	18.07	5.04	13.87
Q.32 Should incomes be made more equal or unequal? (Equal = 1, Unequal = 10)										
N = 482	7.68	3.94	6.22	6.43	18.05	8.51	15.35	15.56	3.73	11.62
Q. 3 Do you favour increasing taxes to maintain the existing Superannuation Benefit?										
	Yes (1)		No (2)		Don't Know (9)					
N = 515	30.1		61.75		8.16					
Q.27 Do you think that there are age-groups that will receive more than their fair share of government benefits compared to the amount they have paid in taxes?										
N = 510	62.16		18.04		19.8					

Table O: Levene Tests for the Superannuation Environment.

	Levene Statistic	Degree of Freedom 1	Degree of Freedom 2	Significant Significant
Factor 1 (Birthright)	2.369	33	390	0.0000
Factor 2 (Responsibility)	6.090	33	390	0.0000
Factor 3 (Exchange)	2.563	33	390	0.0000

Table P: Background Data for Unstandardised Estimates of the Superannuation Environment

	Factor 1 Birthright			Factor 2 Responsibility			Factor 3 Exchange		
	SE	B	T	SE	B	T	SE	B	T
Generation									
22-31	0.5748	-1.603	-2.79*	0.5615	-2.6483	-4.716*	0.5773	-1.5965	-2.766*
32-41	0.5737	-1.7706	-3.086*	0.5608	-2.6377	-4.703*	0.5765	-1.6921	-2.935*
42-51	0.5672	-1.9683	-3.470*	0.5544	-2.6789	-4.832*	0.5699	-1.902	-3.337*
52-61	0.5695	-2.0634	-3.623*	0.5567	-2.6818	-4.817*	0.5723	-2.0158	-3.522*
62+	0.5646	-2.207	-3.909*	0.5519	-2.7587	-4.999*	0.5673	-2.1961	-3.871*
Income									
\$15,001-\$25,000	0.2612	-0.193	-0.739	0.2553	-0.3081	-1.206	0.2625	-0.5374	-2.047*
\$25,001-\$40,000	0.2539	-0.4858	-1.913	0.2482	-0.1144	-0.461	0.2551	-0.5201	-2.038*
\$40,001-\$50,000	0.2551	-0.5529	-2.167*	0.2494	-0.2287	-0.917	0.2564	-0.5801	-2.263*
\$50,001-\$70,000	0.2379	-0.4221	-1.774	0.2326	-0.1272	-0.547	0.2391	-0.6093	-2.548*
\$70,001 plus	0.2271	-0.6732	-2.965*	0.222	-0.1269	0.572	0.2282	-0.5469	-2.397*
F(degrees of freedom, standard error) =F-stat									
F(12, 0.9354) = 4.898*			F(12, 0.9144) = 3.837*			F(12, 0.94) = 4.2117*			

* refers to $p < 0.05$.

Table Q: Univariates of Attitude Responses

Percent Indicated	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	Don't Know (9)				
Q. 36 Do you agree or not agree with redistributing income from rich to poor?										
N = 516	6	17.6	24.8	32.9	14.3	4.3				
Q. 37 Do all age-groups currently have the same chance to do better financially than their parents?										
N = 517	13	48.5	18.4	14.1	2.7	3.3				
Q.32 In your view is competition good or harmful? (good = 1, harmful = 10)										
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
N = 482	29.7	15.6	20.5	10	9.8	5	3.1	2.3	0.8	1.9
Q.32 In your view does hard work always pays off or is success a matter of luck or connections? (hard work = 1, connections = 10)										
N = 480	15.2	14.8	15	13.8	14.8	7.3	7.3	6.3	1.3	2.7
Q.32 In your view can people become rich at the expense of others or can wealth grow so there's wealth for everyone? (expense =1, grow =10)										
N = 480	4.8	1.9	6.9	6.7	11.7	13.5	14.4	16.3	7.7	13.3
Q.31 Why are there people in this country who live in need?										
	Individual laziness (1)		Society treats people unfairly (2)		Don't know (9)					
N = 466	53.2		16.3		30.5					
Q.33 What social class would you describe yourself as belonging to?										
	Upper Class (1)	Upper middle Class (2)	Lower middle Class (3)	Working Class (4)	Lower Class (5)	Don't Know (9)				
N =499	1	29.3	31.9	30.5	2.4	5				
Q.34 How satisfied are you with your current financial situation?										
	Very Satisfied (1)	Satisfied (2)	Neither Satisfied Nor Dissatisfied (3)	Dissatisfied (4)	Very Dissatisfied (5)	Don't Know (9)				
N = 519	6.6	40.3	28.1	18.7	5.2	0.8				
Q.35 Do you expect your financial situation in the next few years to improve or worsen?										
	Greatly Improve		Remain the same		Greatly Worsen		Don't Know			
N = 519	7.1	41.2	33.7	14.1	0.6	2.7				

Table Q: Continued.

Percent Indicated	Really Concerned (1)			Not really Concerned (5)	Don't Know (9)
<hr/>					
Q. 38 How concerned are you a out personally experiencing the following at some stage during your life?					
Eroding employment conditions					
N = 478	16.9	38.9	28.2	12.3	3.6
Low wages					
N = 479	22.1	36.7	27.8	11.7	1.7
Poverty					
N = 476	20.8	22.7	33	20.4	3.2
Unemployment					
N = 474	20	28.3	29.5	19	3.2
Sick with no resources for health					
N = 495	33.9	33.1	22.8	8.1	2.0

Appendix F

Outline of Generations, Diagrams of Social Justice and Diagrams Related to Social Justice

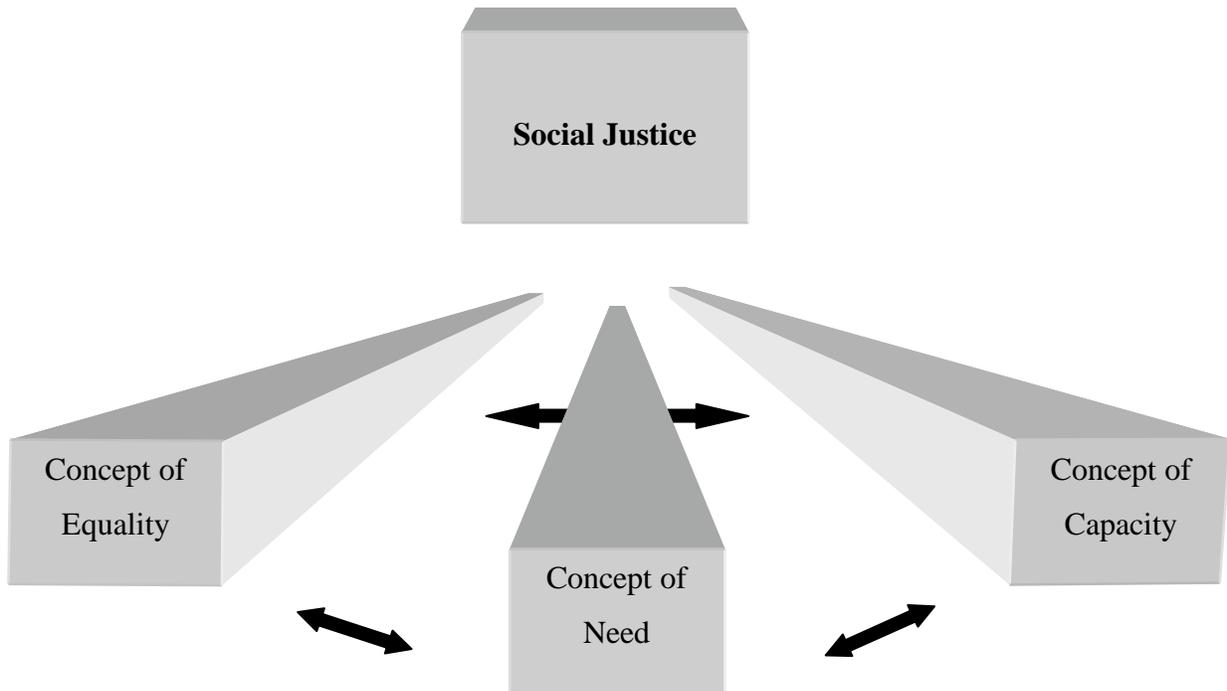
Table R: Generational Categories

Generation	Birth period	2008 age span
Traditionalists a) Events generation b) Greatest generation	1905 to 1924 a) 1905 to 1914 b) 1915 to 1924	103 to 84 a) 103-94 b) 93-84
Uncertainty¹³⁴ a) Silent generation b) WWII generation	1925 to 1944 a) 1925 to 1934 b) 1935 to 1944	83 to 64 a) 83-74 b) 73-64
Baby Boom¹³⁵ a) Traditionalist b) Jones	1945 to 1964 a) 1945 to 1954 b) 1955 to 1964	63 to 44 a) 63-54 b) 53-44
Generation X a) Lost generation b) Bust Generation	1965 to 1984 a) 1965 to 1974 b) 1975 to 1984	43 to 24 a) 43-34 b) 33-24
Generation Y a) Echo Boom Generation b) Tech Generation	1985 to 2004 a) 1985 to 1994 b) 1995 to 2004	23 to 4 a) 23-14 b) 13-4
Generation Z	2005 to 2025	3 to 0

¹³⁴ The Uncertainty Generation was the first welfare dependent generation. All, apart from one cohort, were too young to participate in World War Two. They benefited from the social policies stemming from the Depression. The Uncertainty Generation have been the net gainers from the welfare state.

¹³⁵ The Baby Boom generation is the second welfare dependent generation that benefited from a child welfare state. The Baby Boomers are net gainers from the welfare state. There have been no subsequent welfare dependent generations due to the neo-liberal reforms in New Zealand. Consequently, some of these non-welfare dependent generations may be net losers, thereby contributing more than they receive. However, the Baby Boomers may have the numbers to potentially exacerbate the position of net loss by subsequent generations by ensuring that the past grey peril of social policy retains the value of public economic support for the aged. In other words, power of some degree is held by the aged that does not reduce until Generation X has reached young old and mid-old age.

Diagram A: Structure of Social Justice



**Diagram B: Venn Diagram for the Central Tenet Overlaps of Social Justice
(Based upon Moral Philosophy)**

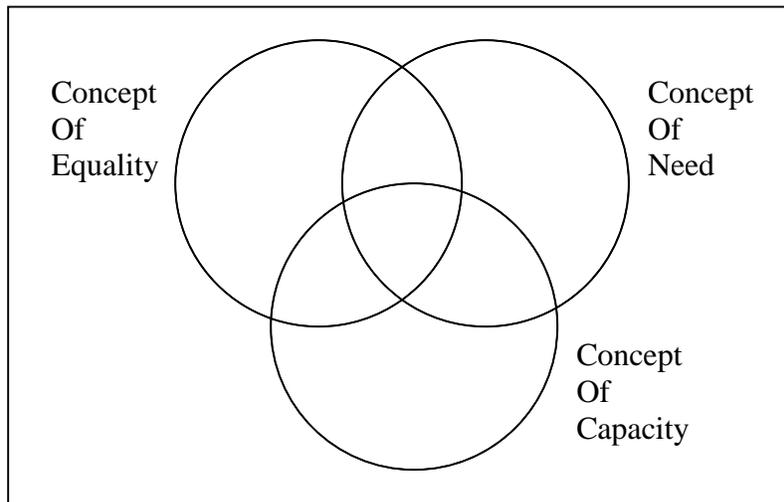


Diagram C: General Attitude Structure

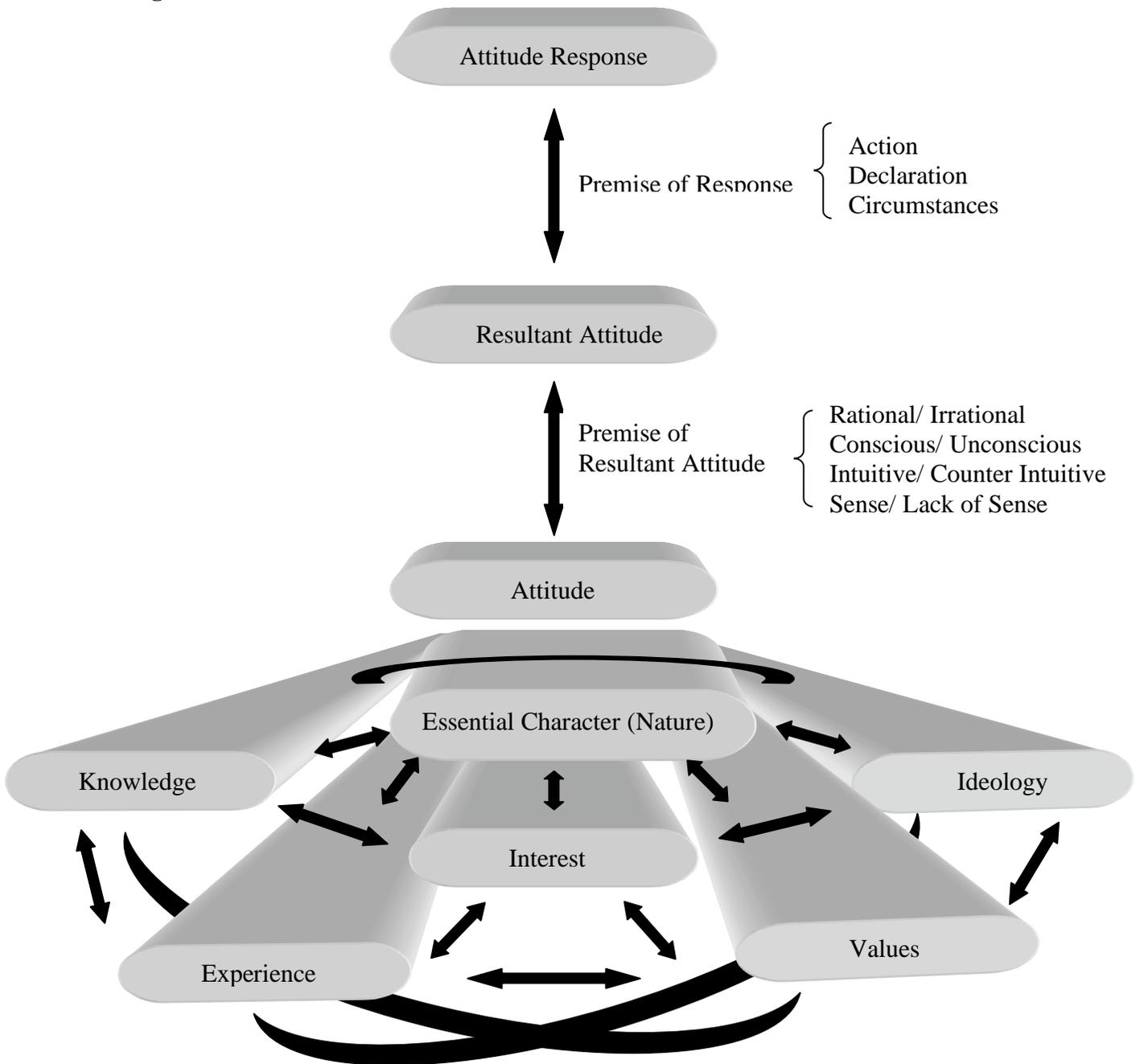


Diagram D: The Role of Institutions in Influencing the Type and Form of Social Justice

Identifiable institutions and agencies influence the type and form of social justice. These institutions and agencies hold variable levels of relevance, weight, saliency, strength and orientation. Institutional and agency variability arises as a consequence of the change within them and the changes between them. The changes may occur in response to tangible and intangible, conscious and unconscious relations that influence the type of social justice across time. This type of social justice flows on to affect the form of social justice. Potentially, there are infinitely many types and forms of social justice. Institutions or agencies and one particular set of their relations that influence social justice can be identified in Diagram D.

Diagram D: The Link between Social Justice and Institutions or Structures

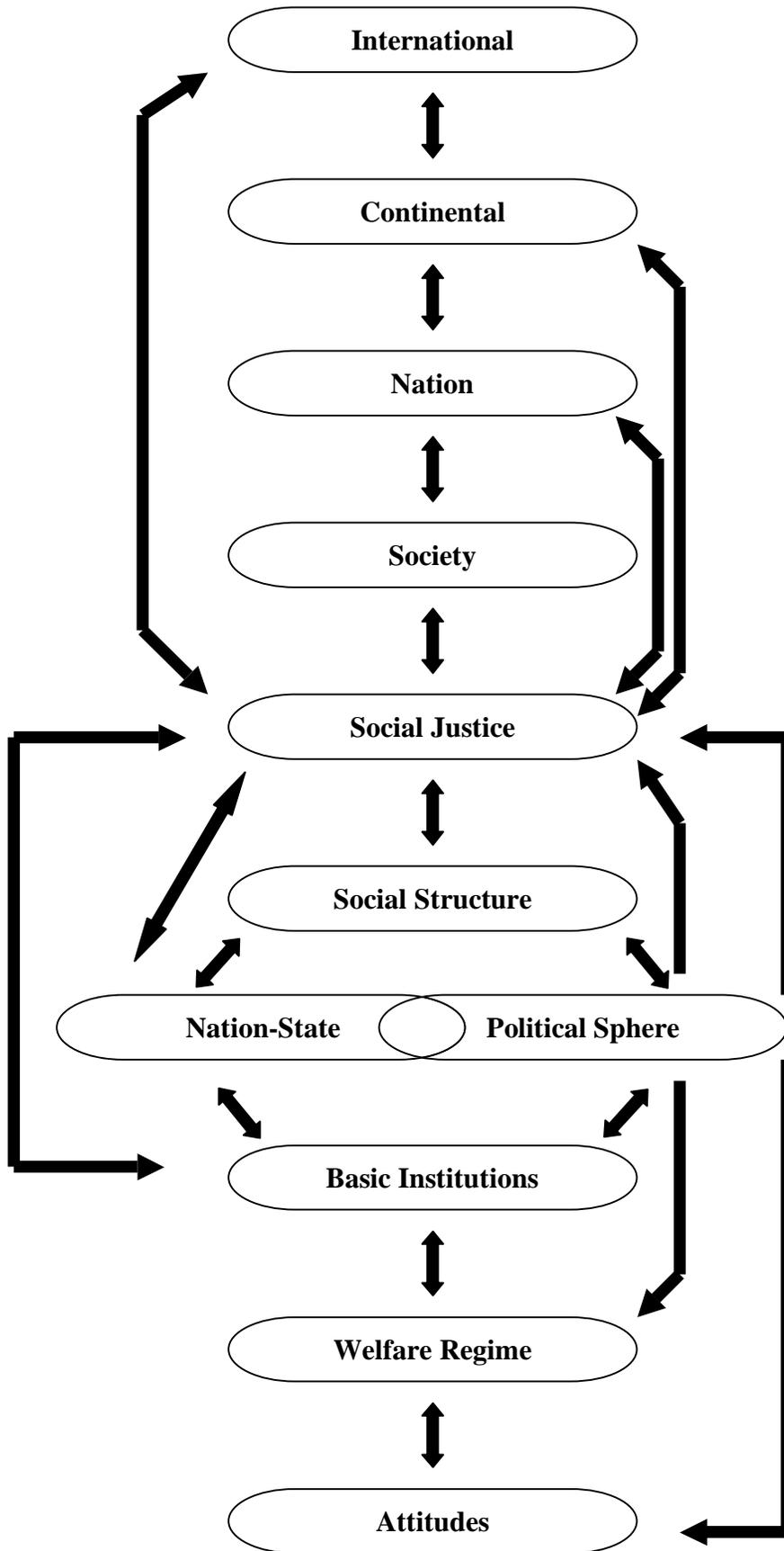


Diagram E: Theory and Normative Facets of Social Justice

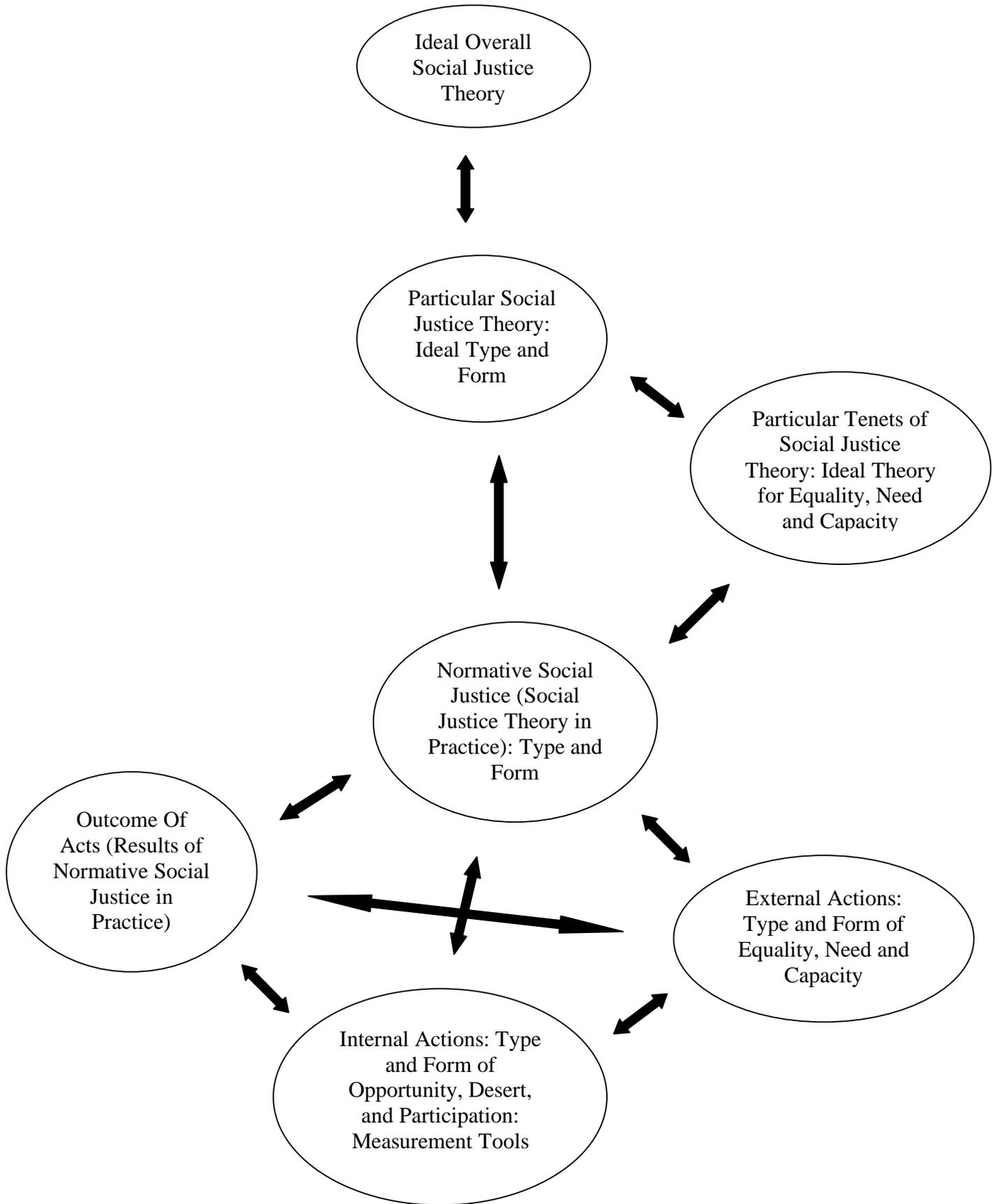
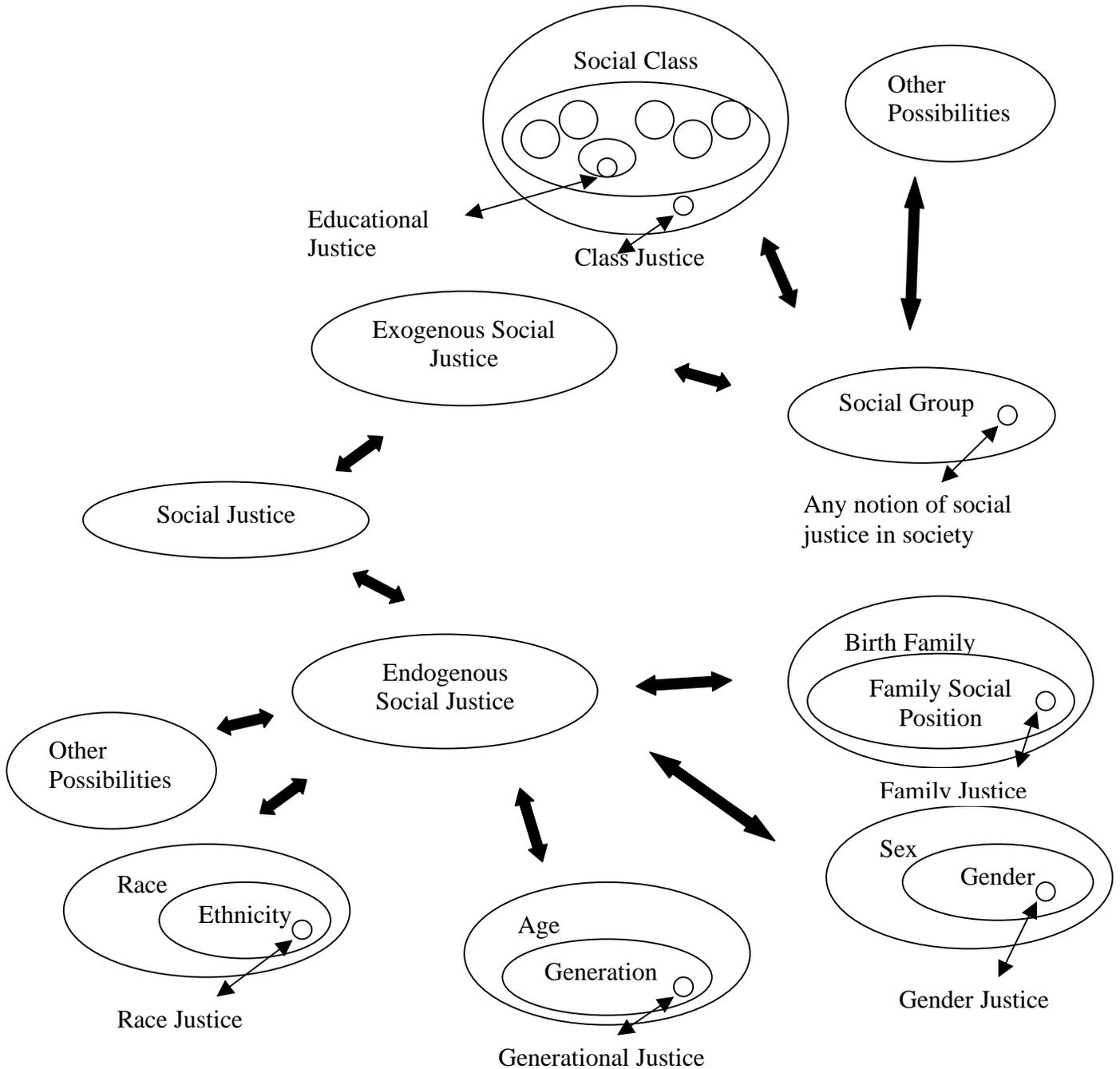


Diagram E attempts to show that social justice theory and normative social justice are linked. The overall theory represents the best type and form that social justice can take. In addition, an overall theory provides a basis for infinitely many possibilities that social justice theory may take with respect to an irregular (asymmetrical size) oscillating (swing between two points) spring (looks like a coil) of time. In other words, social justice moves with time and changes between two extreme points. These extreme points are where no social justice exists in society to the best possible (ideal) type and form of social justice. However, the extreme points of social justice may never be reached in reality.

Diagram F: The Exogenous and Endogenous Aspects of Social Justice



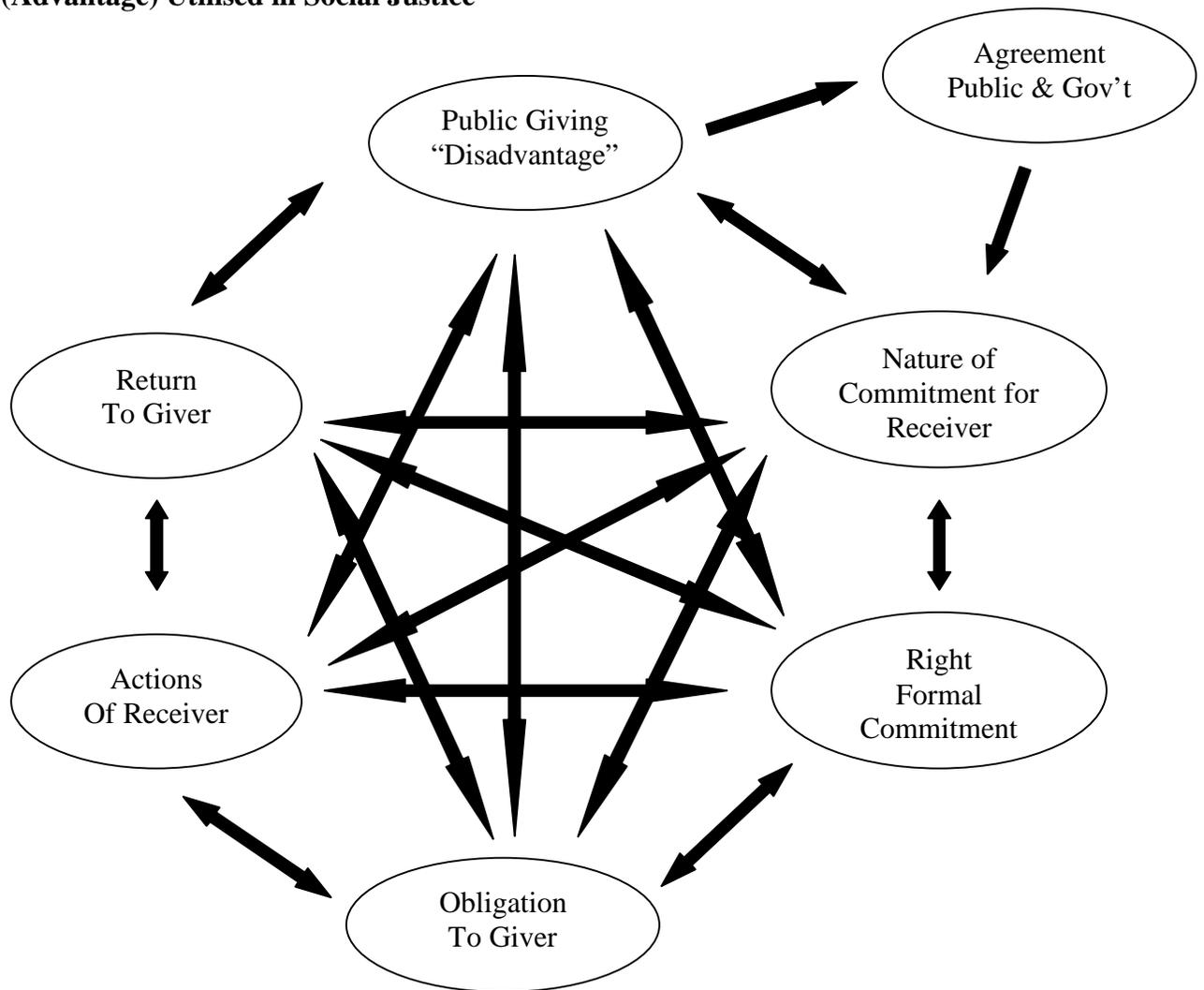
As shown in Diagram F, the route through which social relations flow on to affect the manifestation of social justice refers to the situation of exogenous¹⁴⁵ or endogenous¹⁴⁶ elements. Exogenous social justice depends upon any external elements that are unrelated

¹³⁶ Exogenous refers to any element that humankind creates such as social class and educational groupings.

¹³⁷ Endogenous refers to any element that originates from within humankind. In other words, elements that have an internal bases such as sex, race and age.

to the internal characteristics of people. These external elements are the human created social structures and social groupings. Thus, social relations play an essential role in creating different sorts of social groups that influence where people are placed in society. These social groups flow on to help distinguish one aspect of social justice from another. On the other hand, endogenous social justice depends upon the internal elements of people's characteristics. These elements are concrete and unchangeable. Some of the internal elements include: age, race and sex. Elements allow for a certain set of social relations to arise. For instance, people are born in some given year and this fact cannot be changed. Given a person's age group, social relations arise and are arranged in a particular way in a particular historical context across space and time. These social relations that are linked to age can be conceptualised in terms of generations. One facet of this concept of generations is generational justice.

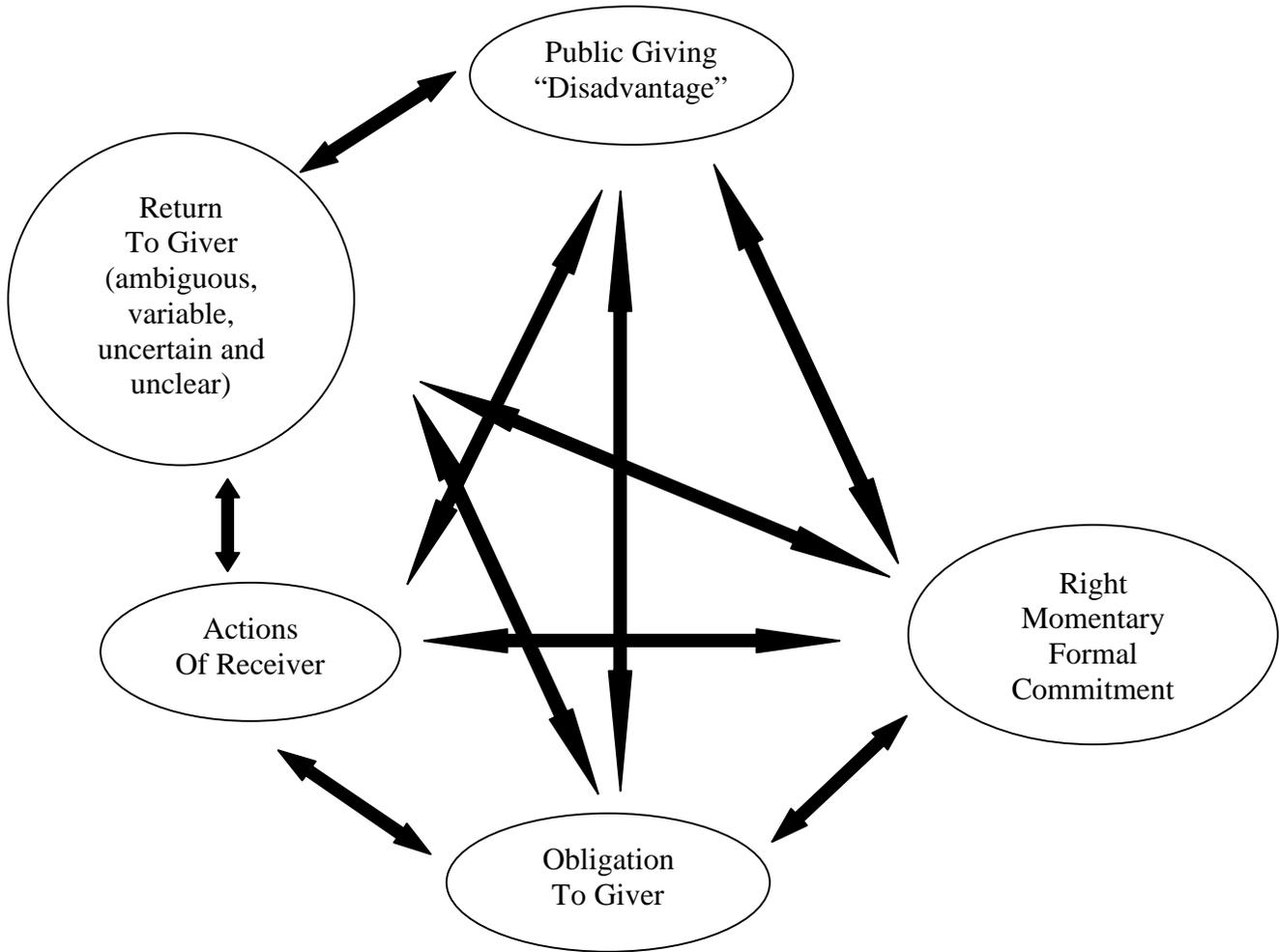
Diagram G: Exchange Process for ‘Giving’ (Disadvantage) and ‘Taking’ (Advantage) Utilised in Social Justice



As shown in Diagram G, the path for the exchange process, giving and taking, and the nature of each concept relevant to that path, are critical for establishing social relations between people. These social relations, along with the exchanges, are an essential component of social justice. Therefore, the path of exchange reveals what kind of social justice exists in any given society. To illustrate, New Zealand’s path of exchange between generations entails giving through living and contributions. There is a momentary formal commitment so that uncertainty surrounds any implicit notion of obligation for some unknown provision of need or return for those contributions in the future. However, the actions of any nation state and its basic institutions indicate which generations are treated better than others, and this subsequently leads to variable returns

relative to contributions between generations. An outline of New Zealand's path for exchange is located in Diagram H.

Diagram H: New Zealand's Path of Exchange



Bibliography

Albarracin, D., Johnson, B. & Zanna, M. (2005). *The Handbook of Attitudes*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey.

Alwin, D. & Krosnick, J. (1991). Aging, Cohorts, and the Stability of Sociopolitical Orientations Over the Life Span. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 97 (1), pp. 169-195.

Alwin, D., Cohen, R. & Newcomb, T. (1991). *Political Attitudes Over the Life Span: The Bennington Women after Fifty Years*. University of Wisconsin Press, Oshkosh.

American Association of Retired Persons (AARP). (2005). *International Retirement Security Survey*. www.intlaffairs@aarp.org. Retrieved 24/03/06.

Anderson, E. (2006). Against Luck Egalitarianism: What is the Point of Equality? In *Social Justice*, Edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams. Blackwell, Oxford.

Ashton, T. & St John, S. (1993). *Private Pensions in New Zealand: Can They Avert The 'Crisis'?* The Printing Press, Wellington.

Baker, B. (1999). Generational Accounting in New Zealand. In *Generational Accounting Around the World*. National Bureau of Economic Research. University of Chicago Press, London.

Barker, E. (1960). *Social Contract: Essays by Locke, Hume and Rousseau*. Oxford University Press, London.

Barry, B. (2005). *Why Social Justice Matters*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Beckerman, W. (2006). The Impossibility of a Theory of Intergenerational Justice. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Bengtson, V. and Harootyan, R. (1994). *Intergenerational Linkages: Hidden Connections in American Society*. Springer Publishing Company Inc, New York.

Bengtson, V., Elder, G. & Putney, N. (2006). The Lifecourse Perspective on Aging: Linked Lives, Timing and History. In *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*. Edited by R. Binstock & L. George. Sixth Edition. Academic Press, Amsterdam and Boston.

Binstock, R. & George, L. (2001). *Handbook of Ageing and the Social Sciences*. Academic Press, San Diego, California and London.

Birnbacher, D. (2006). Responsibility for Future Generations – Scope and Limits. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

British Social Attitudes Survey (BSA). (1982 - 1998). *Social and Community Planning Research*. Dartmouth, London.

Butler, R. (2005). Do Longevity and Health Generate Wealth? In *Handbook of Ageing and the Social Sciences*. Edited by R. Binstock & D. Dannefer. Fifth Edition. Academic Press, Amsterdam and Boston.

Carlson, N., Buskist, W. & Martin, N. (2000). *Psychology: The Science of Behaviour*. Allyn and Becon, Massachusetts.

Casal, P. (2006). Justice across Cultures: Animals and Accommodation. In *Social Justice*. Edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams. Blackwell, Oxford.

Casswell, S., Rose, E. & Haukau, J. (2005). *Taxation: A Report from Economic Values Part of the New Zealand Values Study 2005*. Massey University Press, Palmerston North and Auckland.

Clark, R. & Ogawa, N. (1996). Public Attitudes and Concerns about Population Ageing in Japan. *Journal of Ageing and Society*, Vol 16, pp. 443 - 465.

Cohen, G. (2006). Against Equality of Resources: Relocating Dworkin's Cut. In *Social Justice*. Edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams. Blackwell, Oxford.

Cohen, G. (2006). The Market: On the Site of Distributive Justice. In *Social Justice*. Edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams. Blackwell, Oxford.

Day, C. (1993). Public Opinion Towards the Costs and Benefits of Social Security and Medicare. *Research on Aging*, Vol 15 (3), pp. 279-298.

Dierksmeier, C. (2006). John Rawls on the Rights of Future Generations. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Disney, R. & Johnson, P. (2001). *Pension System and Retirement Incomes Across OECD Countries*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Duncan, G. (2007). *Society and Politics: New Zealand Social Policy*. Second Edition. Pearson Education, Auckland.

Easterlin, R. (1987). *Birth and Fortune: The Impact of Numbers on Personal Welfare*. Second Edition. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Easton, B. (1980). *Social Policy and the Welfare State in New Zealand*. George Allen and Unwin, Auckland.

Easton, B. (1981). *Economics for New Zealand Social Democrats*. McInloe, Dunedin.

Ederer, P., Schuller, P. & Willms, S. (2006). The Economic Sustainability Indicator. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Edmunds, J. & Turner, B. (2002). *Generations, Culture and Society*. Open University Press, Buckingham.

Edmunds, J. & Turner, B. (2005). Global Generations. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 56 (4), pp. 556-577.

Eggebeen, D. (1992). Family Structure and Intergenerational Exchanges. *Research on Aging*, Vol 14 (4), pp. 427-447.

Eisenstadt, S. (1956). *From Generation To Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure*. Free Press, New York.

Else, A. & St. John, S. (1998). *A Super Future: The Price of Growing Older in New Zealand*. Tandem Press, Auckland.

Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Eyerman, R. and Turner, B. (1998). Outline of a Theory of Generations. *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol 1 (1), pp. 91-106.

Fazio, R. & Petty, R. (2007). *Attitudes: Their Structure, Function and Consequences*. Key Readings in Social Psychology. Psychology Press, New York.

Field, A. (2005). *Discovering Statistics Using SPSS*. Second Edition. Sage, London.

Fleischacker, S. (2004). *A Short History of Distributive Justice*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Gardiner, S. (2006). Protecting Future Generations: Intergenerational Buck-Passing, Theoretical Ineptitude and a Brief for a Global Precautionary Principle. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Garson, G. (1971). *Handbook of Political Science Methods*. Holbrook Press, Boston.

George, L. (1998). Rational Choice Theories. *Journal of American Society*, Vol 52 (5), pp. 32-45.

Goodman, L. (1966). *Economic Progress and Social Welfare*. Published for the National Conference on Social Welfare by Columbia University Press, New York and London.

Guillemard, A. (1999). Equity and Redistribution between Generations: A Challenge for the Future of Pensions and all Social Protection Schemes. *International Social Security Review*, Vol 52, pp. 3-99.

Haberle, P. (2006). A Constitutional Law for Future Generations - The 'Other' Form of the Social Contract: the Generation Contract. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Hawke, R. (2005). *Retirement Income Provision in New Zealand: A Way Forward*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.

Heller, S. (2003). *Who Will Pay?: Coping with Aging Societies, Climate Change, and Other Long-Term Fiscal Challenges*. International Monetary Fund, Washington.

Hendricks, J. (2006). Moral Economy of Ageing. In *Handbook of Ageing and the Social Sciences*. Edited by R. Binstock & L. George. Sixth Edition. Academic Press, Amsterdam and Boston.

Hume, D. (1998). *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. Edited by Tom Beauchamp. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

International Monetary Fund (2007). *New Zealand: 2007 Article IV Consultation – Staff Report, Public Information Notices, and Statement by Executive Director for New Zealand on the Executive Board Discussion*. Country Report No. 07/150.

Irwin, S. (1996). Age Related Distributive Justice and Claims on Resources. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 47 (1), pp. 68-92.

Irwin, S. (1998). Age, Generation and Inequality: A Reply to the Reply. *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 49 (2), pp. 305-310.

Jackson, W. (1998). *The Political Economy of Population Ageing*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Jacoby, W. (1984). Public Attitudes toward Government Spending. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38 (2), pp. 336-361.

Johnson, P. (1999). Interdependency and the Generational Compact. In *Critical Gerontology: Perspectives from Political and Moral Economy*. Policy, Politics, Health and Medicine Series. Edited by M. Minkler & C. Estes. Baywood Publishing, Amityville, New York.

Jowell, R., Roberts, C., Fitzgerald, R. & Eva, G. (2007). *Measuring Attitudes Cross-Nationally: Lessons from the European Social Survey*. Sage, London.

Kallen, E. (1989). *Social Inequality and Social Injustice: A Human Rights Perspective*. Palgrave, Basingstoke.

Kerlinger, F. (1984). *Liberalism and Conservatism: The Nature and Structure of Social Attitudes*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, New Jersey.

Kiesler, C., Collins, B. & Miller, N. (1969). *Attitude Change: A Critical Analysis of Theoretical Approaches*. Series in Psychology. John Wiley & Sons, New York.

Kingson, E. (1988). Generational Equity: An Unexpected Opportunity to Broaden the Politics of Ageing. *The Gerontological Society of America*, Vol 28 (6), pp. 765-772.

Klemmack, D. & Roff, L. (1980). Public Support for Age as an Eligibility Criterion for Programs for Older Persons. *The Gerontologist*, Vol 20 (2), pp. 148-153.

Kohli, M. (2005). Generational Changes and Generational Equity. In *Handbook of Ageing and the Social Sciences*. Edited by R. Binstock & L. George. Sixth Edition. Academic Press, Amsterdam and Boston.

Koopman-Boyden, P. (1993). *New Zealand's Ageing Society: The Implications*. Daphne Brasell Associates, Wellington.

Larsen, C. (2006). *The Institutional Logic of Welfare Attitudes: How Welfare Regimes Influenced Public Support*. Ashgate, Aldershot.

Lee, D. (1974). *Plato: The Republic*. Penguin Books, London.

Leyden, W. (1985). *Aristotle on Equality and Justice: His Political Argument*. MacMillan Press, London.

Lipset, S. (1992). *Reexamining Democracy: Essays in Honor of Seymour Martin Lipset*. Edited by G. Marks and L. Diamond. Sage, Newbury Park, California.

Logan, J. & Spitze, G. (1995). Self-Interest and Altruism in Intergenerational Relations. *Demography*, Vol 32 (3), pp. 353-364.

Longman, P. (1987). *Born to Pay*. Houghton Mifflin, Boston.

Lumer, C. (2006). Principles of Generational Justice. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Luth, E. (2001). *Private Intergenerational Transfers and Population Ageing. The German Case*. Physica-Verlag, Heidelberg.

Mannheim, K. (1951). *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Mannheim, K. (1952). *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.

Mannheim, K. (1997). *The Problem of Generations. Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*. Third Edition. Routledge & Kegan, London.

Marshall, G. (1996). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York.

Michalski, J. (2003). Financial Altruism or Unilateral Resource Exchanges. *Journal of Sociological Theory*, Vol 21 (4), pp. 341-358.

Miller, D. (2003). *Principles of Social Justice*. Harvard University Press, London.

Miller, D. (2006). The Concept of Desert. In *Social Justice*. Edited by M. Clayton and A. Williams. Blackwell, Oxford.

Ministry of Social Development (MSD). (2006). *New Zealand Living Standards Report 2004*. Wellington.

Ministry of Social Development (MSD). (2007). *New Zealand Superannuation: Financial Assistance When You Are 65 Years or More*. Retrieved 24/04/07.

<http://www.govt.nz/record?tid=1&treeid=780&recordid=660>

Mutran, E., Reitzes, D. & Fernandez, M. (1997). Factors that Influence Attitudes Towards Retirement. *Research on Aging*, Vol 19 (3), pp. 251-273.

Nussbaum, M. (2004). Care, Dependency and Social Justice: A Challenge to Conventional Ideas of the Social Contract. In *Living Longer: Ageing Development and Social Protection*. Edited by P. Lloyd-Sherlock. Zed Books, London.

Nussbaum, M. (2006). *Frontiers of Justice. Disability, Nationality, Species Membership*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, London.

O'Neill, J., Daldy, B. & Hickey, F. (1985). *The National Superannuation Scheme: Economic and Demographic Considerations and Options for Reform*. Population Studies Centre, Hamilton.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (1993). *Private Pensions in OCED Countries – New Zealand*. Social Policy Studies No 11, Paris.

Perry, P. (2005). *The New Zealand Study of Values: Part of the World Values Survey 2004*. School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Peterson, C. (1996). *Looking Forward Through the Lifespan: Developmental Psychology*. Third Edition, Printice Hall, Sydney.

Pierson, C. & Castles, F. (2006). *The Welfare State Reader*. Second Edition. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Plattner, M. (1979). *Rousseau's State Of Nature: An Interpretation of the Discourse on Inequality*. Northern Illinois University Press, DeKalb.

Ponza, M., Duncan, G., Corcoran, M. & Groskind, F. (1988). The Guns of Autumn?: Age Differences in Support for Income Transfers to the Young and Old. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol 52 (4), pp. 441-466.

Preston, D. (1999). *Retirement Income in New Zealand: The Historical Context*. Office of the Retirement Commissioner, Wellington.

Preston, S. (1984). Children and the Elderly: Divergent Paths for America's Dependents. *Demography*, Vol 21 (4), pp. 435-457.

Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard University Press. London.

Rhodebeck, L. (1993). The Politics of Greed? Political Preferences among the Elderly. *Journal of Politics*, Vol 55 (2), pp. 342-364.

Rummel, R. (1970). *Applied Factor Analysis*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston.

Ryder, N. (1965). The Cohort as a Concept in the Study of Social Change. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol 30, pp. 843-861.

Rousseau, J. (1952). *The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right*. Robert Cunningham and Sons, Oxford.

Schulz, J. (2006). The Evolving Concept of 'Retirement': Looking Forward to the Year 2050. In *The Welfare State Reader*. Second Edition. Edited by C. Pierson & F. Castles. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Silverstein, M. & Parrott, T. (1997). Attitudes toward Public Support of the Elderly: Does Early Involvement with Grandparents Moderate Generational Tensions? *Research on Aging*, Vol 19 (1), pp. 108-132.

Silverstein, M., Angelelli, J. & Parrott, T. (2001). Changing Attitudes toward Aging Policy in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s: A Cohort Analysis. *Journal of Gerontology Series B – Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, Vol 56 (1), pp. S36-S43.

Smith, A. (1976). *An Inquire into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. Edited by R. Campbell, A. Skinner & W. Todd. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

St John, S. (1993). *Private Pensions in OECD Countries*. Organisation for Economic Development. Paris.

St. John, S. & Ashton, T. (1993). *Private Pensions in New Zealand: Can They Avert the 'Crisis'?* Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington.

St. John, S. & Willmore, L. (2001). Two Legs are Better than Three: New Zealand as a Model for Old Age Pensions. *World Development*, Vol 29 (8), pp. 1291-1305.

St. John, S. & Wynd, D. (2008). *Left Behind. How Social and Income Inequalities Damage New Zealand Children*. Child Poverty Action Group, Auckland.

Statistics New Zealand (StatNZ). (2006). *Census Highlights*.

<http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/default.htm>. Retrieved 24/04/08.

Statistics New Zealand (StatNZ). (2006). *New Zealand 2006 Census*, Wellington.

Statistics New Zealand (StatNZ). (2004). *Demographic Trends 2003*. Statistics New Zealand, Wellington.

Strauss, W., & Howe, N. (1991). *Generations: The History of America's Future*. Morrow, New York.

Summers, G. (1977). *Attitude Measurement*. Kershaw Publishing Company, London.

Thomson, D. (1989). *Workers Versus Pensioners: Intergenerational Justice in an Ageing World*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.

Thomson, D. (1991). *Selfish Generations? The Ageing of New Zealand's Welfare State*. Bridget Williams, Wellington.

Thomson, D. (1998). *Cohort Fortunes and Demographic Change in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Cambridge.

Thompson, J. (2002). *Taking Responsibility for the Past: Reparation and Historical Justice*. Blackwell, Cambridge.

Tremmel, J. (2006). Establishing Intergenerational Justice in National Constitutions. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.

Vaughan, G. & Hogg, M. (1998). *Introduction to Social Psychology*. Second Edition. Prentice Hall, Sydney.

Verba, S. (2003) Would the Dream of Political Equality Turn out to Be a Nightmare? *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol 1 (4), pp. 663-679.

Walker, A. (2005). Towards an International Political Economy of Ageing. *Journal of Ageing and Society*, Vol 25 (6), pp. 815-839.

Walker, A. (1990). The Economic 'Burden' of Ageing and the Prospect of Intergenerational Conflict. *Journal of Ageing and Society*, Vol 10 (4), pp. 377-396.

Wallack, M. (2006). Justice Between Generations: The Limits of Procedural Justice. In *Handbook of Intergenerational Justice*. Edited by J. Tremmel. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham.