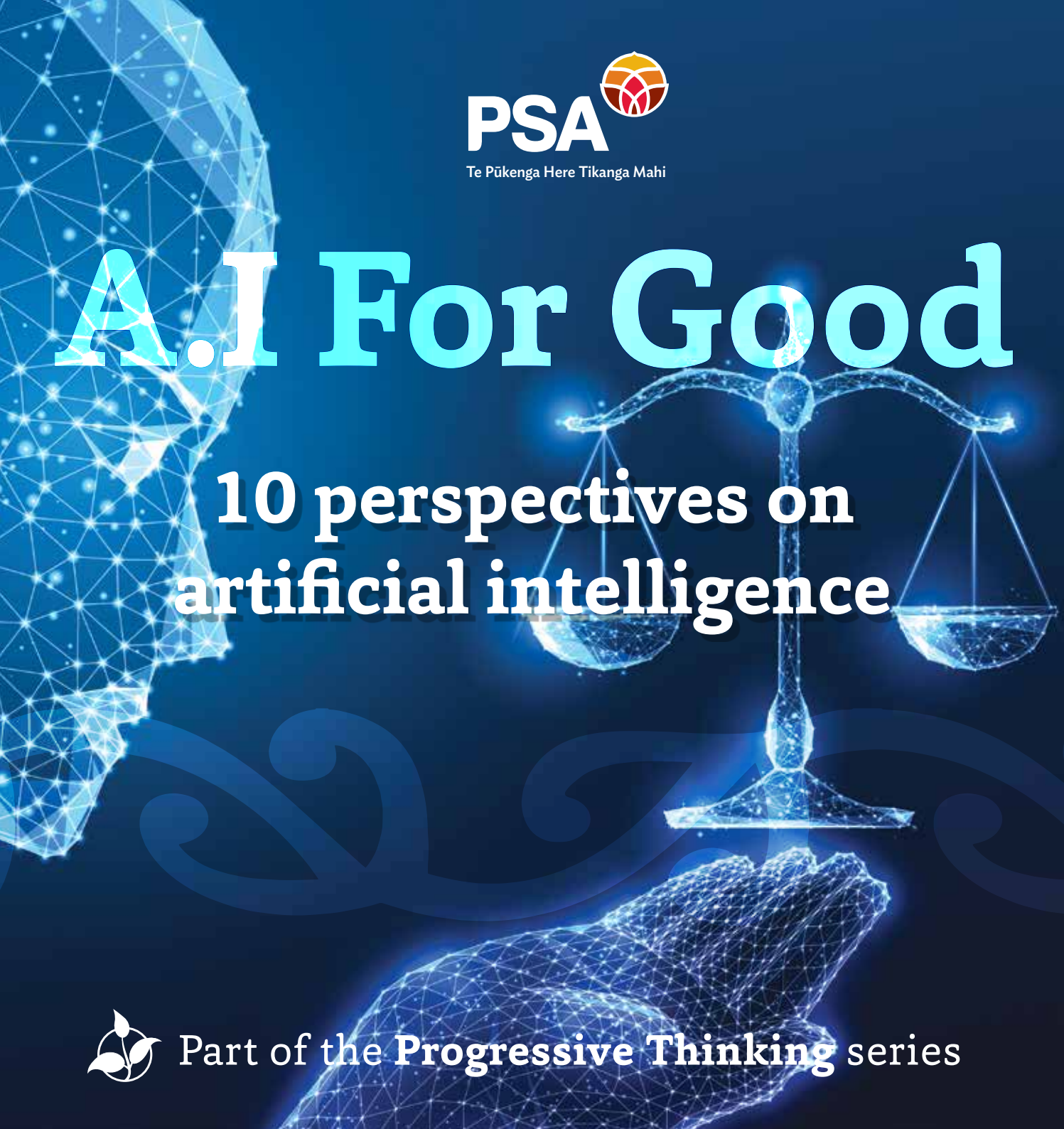
PSA
Te Pūkenga Here Tikanga Mahi

A.I For Good

10 perspectives on artificial intelligence



Part of the **Progressive Thinking** series

Published April 2025

Edited by Kirsten Windelov, Maddi Rowe, and Zoe George

Design and layout by Dan Phillips

Printed by About Print

This resource is also available online at
www.psa.org.nz/resources/progressive-thinking

New Zealand Public Service Association
Te Pūkenga Here Tikanga Mahi
PSA House, 11 Aurora Terrace,
PO Box 3817, Wellington.
Phone **0508 367 772**
Email **enquiries@psa.org.nz**
www.psa.org.nz
ISBN 978-0-908798-21-6

Contents

Foreword

PSA National Secretaries Kerry Davies, Duane Leo and Fleur Fitzsimons.

As the Government considers how to best regulate AI, it is important it listens to perspectives from across our communities and especially listens to workers. This publication presents 10 different perspectives on AI and asks what is needed for AI that is for good in Aotearoa. They make for compelling reading, and we recommend them to you.

We do not yet know whether AI will be a net-positive or net-negative for workers, for public and community services, for our communities or for Aotearoa. What is clear is that this will ultimately be determined by how people choose to develop, utilise and regulate it.

We have an opportunity now to choose a path that will lead to AI being used for good: Including ensuring there is only safe and responsible use of AI in public and community services and that it is used only to create better services and real value for communities and our country, including better jobs and experience of work.

Use of AI in public and community services brings with it particular risks and possible benefits. Our recent survey of AI use by public and community service workers shows uptake of AI technologies varies across these workplaces but it is being widely used, whether or not this has been formally encouraged or mandated. It is clear that the guardrails, training and other supports necessary for safe and effective use of AI are not consistently in place.

While the Government is clear it expects AI use in public and community services to be transformative, many of those who responded to our survey are sceptical AI will deliver promised positive transformation especially given the current extent of underinvestment in IT systems. They say consultation with the public is essential. PSA members support a considered and cautious approach to the use of AI. There is a real risk that private power and control of AI will exacerbate inequities.

If the state cannot or does not use AI for good and its role is further eroded by private interests which hamper its role in the redistribution of resources and private wealth, inequities will grow exponentially.

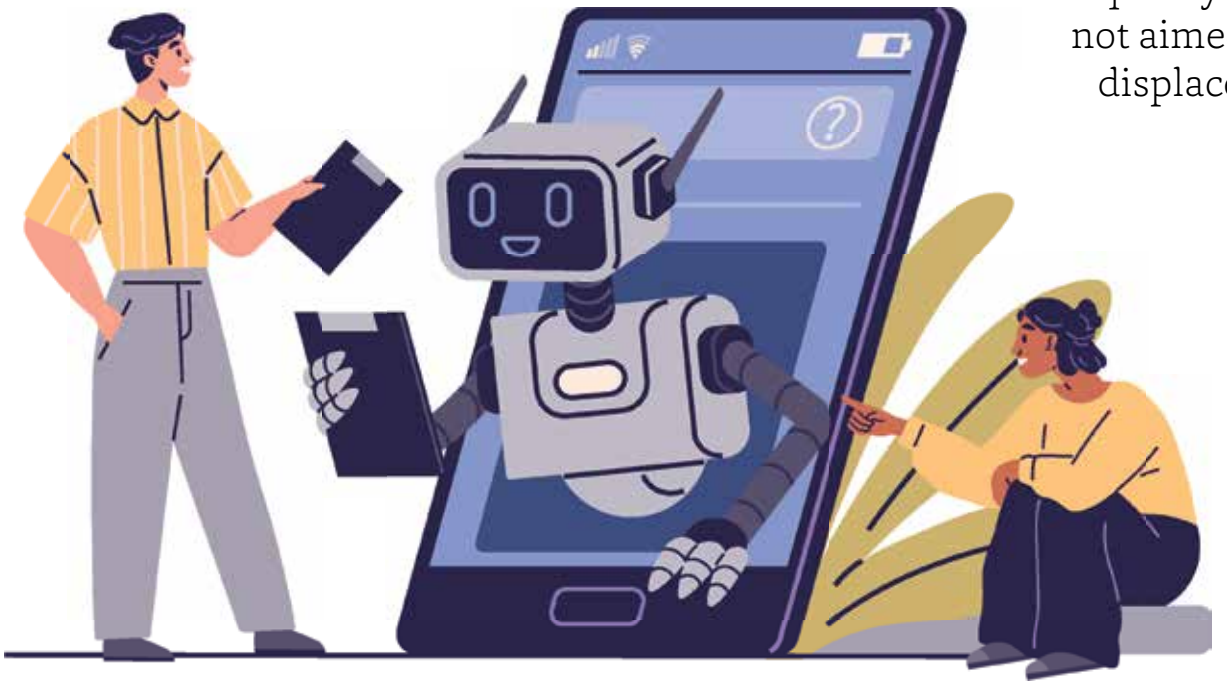
PSA members are clear that Māori should be involved in governing how Māori information is used in AI, and that it is the Government's

responsibility to make sure there are guardrails for AI that minimise harm to individuals and communities. Who controls AI and the impact of inequities in power and control between those using AI and those who own and/or control AI is an issue playing out globally and here in Aotearoa. We are all being impacted by AI and all have an interest in ensuring that AI is used for our collective good and wellbeing.

Centring the voices of workers is key to addressing these concerns and ensuring workers are able to benefit from AI. The use of AI should be aimed at enhancing public and community services and improving the quality of jobs, not aimed at job displacement. It is crucial that any adoption of AI includes proper training and support. It is time for public and community services organisations to lead the way by embedding full engagement with workers in the process of adopting AI and ensuring workers' views are heard.

We are calling on the Government to consult widely on its AI strategy for Aotearoa. This includes engaging with those accessing public and community services – all of us! The PSA, along with our sister unions in the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions, is committed to working with government and workers to achieve AI that is good for Aotearoa. ❖

"The use of AI should be aimed at enhancing public and community services and improving the quality of jobs, not aimed at job displacement."



A Bespoke Approach: Regulating AI in Aotearoa New Zealand

Amanda Turnbull and Nathan Cooper.

Dr. Amanda Turnbull is a lecturer in law at Te Piringa Faculty of Law, School of Law, Politics and Philosophy at the University of Waikato.

Nathan is an Associate Professor at Te Piringa Faculty of Law, University of Waikato.

As investment in generative AI grows globally, New Zealand's government is implementing its use across the public sector and encouraging businesses to embrace the technology's potential.

Like many global regions, the government has taken a "light-touch, proportionate and risk-based approach to AI regulation" through policy guiding best practice principles for AI use. This "light-touch" aims to balance innovation and economic prosperity. However, this method raises concerns about environmental, social, and governance risks, and questions if it is suitable given the country's reliance on its natural environment. Is this approach the best for New Zealand?

AI's global energy use equals that of a small country, expected to double by 2026, with data centres expected to double by 2026, raising significant sustainability concerns. The average data centre uses about 40% of its power for cooling, often relying on local water supplies.

AI also brings social risks to employees and users. Its capabilities may result in job displacement, and the wellbeing of staff who train AI could be affected if they are repeatedly exposed to harmful content. Specific concerns about AI algorithmic bias have also been raised regarding risk to Māori and Pacific Peoples.

AI governance challenges include concerns about data privacy, breaches of copyright laws, and AI hallucinations. The latter refers to outputs that sound right but are incorrect or irrelevant, impacting decision-making.

Like other countries, Aotearoa has begun to embrace generative AI, from business to the courts, education, and the work of government itself. A recent collaboration between Microsoft and Spark Business Group means New Zealand has begun embracing the hyperscale data centre trend. These centres process and store data of big data technologies like generative AI.

New Zealand's AI use relies on overseas data centres, causing significant environmental and social costs, often borne by developing countries, and diverting renewable energy from other priorities, including electrification of public transport.

New Zealand's AI use burdens other countries and may hinder

A Bespoke Approach: Regulating AI in Aotearoa New Zealand

climate goals. Criticised for insufficient emissions targets, New Zealand's increased AI use could further challenge meeting national and international climate commitments, including the Paris Agreement.

To press on with the New Zealand government's objective of using AI to make lives better, and meet our climate change commitments, we need to focus on entangled solutions to deal with the growing environmental, social, and governance costs of generative AI.

"Digital sobriety" is a concept that encourages reduced technology use. It is one approach to tensions between AI use and its impacts and is similar to our approaches to reducing water consumption and waste. It also questions our need for the latest smart device or bigger data plans.

Another potential remedy is to scale down slightly and make use of small language models instead of data-hungrier large language models. These smaller versions use less computational power and are suitable for smaller devices.

Integrating sustainability into AI guardrails would also help balance some of the environmental impacts; filters or rules sitting between inputs and outputs of the AI to reduce the likelihood of errors or bias. Currently, these safeguards are mainly focused on fairness, transparency, accountability, and safety. This is laudable, but there is a discernible need for environmental guardrails.

As the Paris Agreement acknowledges, adopting sustainable consumption plays an important role in addressing climate change. Careful thinking now about how we adopt hyperscale generative AI in New Zealand in sustainable ways could help steer the country towards a more responsible relationship with this powerful and swiftly developing technology. But this will likely require more than a light touch from government.

Bespoke, risk-based AI regulation should focus on protecting those most vulnerable to harm, including specific groups of people and our ecosystem, and should be appropriately robust to ensure that AI in its present and future forms remains a net benefit to the lives of New Zealanders.❖

> "...we need to focus on entangled solutions to deal with the growing environmental, social, and governance costs of generative AI."

Not by Chance; but by Choice

Dr Amanda Reilly and Joshua Fairfield

Amanda is a Senior Lecturer in Commercial Law in Wellington School of Business and Government at Victoria University of Wellington

Joshua is an internationally recognized law and technology scholar, specializing in artificial intelligence, digital property, privacy, and virtual communities.

The field of AI is full of evangelists claiming that AI will usher in prosperity for all, which rests on a well-meaning assumption that humans will use the technology – and want to use the technology – to better humanity. Conversely, people who have been paying attention worry that the profits generated by AI will mostly go to Silicon Valley with scant benefit to the rest of us.

The truth is the financial economy worldwide has increasingly dominated the political economy, and much of the profit associated with new technologies has gone to a very few people with a vested interest in corroding and dismantling the rule of law and the political institutions that can hold them accountable.

The entire edifice of modern economics rests on the principle that trade, either of things for money, or of labour for money, satisfies human preferences and increases human welfare. It loses its legitimacy when it ceases to maximize human well-being. AI developed within the modern framework does not maximize human welfare–but it could. If AI is to deliver on its promises, it is essential to build strong safeguards and accountability into the system, and to generate new frameworks and norms surrounding its development.

AI at work

"AI" began life as an imprecise marketing term, but Article 3 of European Union's Artificial Intelligence Act provides a useful working definition:

[An] 'AI system' means a machine-based system that is designed to operate with varying levels of autonomy and that may exhibit adaptiveness after deployment, and that, for explicit or implicit objectives, infers, from the input it receives, how to generate outputs such as predictions, content, recommendations, or decisions that can influence physical or virtual environments.

Many systems meeting these criteria are deployed at work including in recruitment, training, algorithmic management of workflow, performance and scheduling.

Undoubtedly, AI can provide concrete benefits for workers, e.g., ergonomic AI can make work safer and less damaging to the human body. However, technology amplifies intention, and AI solely designed to maximize productivity and employer profits, or to put money in the pockets of Silicon Valley grifters, is harmful to workers and debases working life.

It all comes down to choices around the input and prompts

the AI receives. AI can focus on optimizing workflow for productivity, resulting in harmful work intensification (Amazon's warehouses are notorious for this). However, the AI is not sentient, it is not choosing to do this. It is human beings who could, instead, decide that workflow should be optimized for worker well-being. Similarly, automated scheduling can either be configured to maximise productivity and profit, treating the worker as a mere cog in a machine; or, it can be beneficially optimised to take account of workers' needs for rest and leisure.

Human-Centered AI

The benefits of AI will only be realized if AI is trained to deliver them. For this to happen, the producers, i.e. the people who make AI products, and deployers of AI, i.e. employers who buy it, must commit to centering human well being and not just profit. Involving the people affected, the workers, in determining the inputs at both the production and deployment stages will help to effect this shift to human centered AI.

If the producers and deployers do not choose the pathway of human-centered AI they must be required to follow it. Governments can help by setting and enforcing standards and imposing penalties. Organised labour can play a part in helping to spread the benefits of AI as well as in holding the powerful to account. This involvement should go beyond participating in tick box consultation exercises and extend to active social pressure, such as naming and shaming the producers of bad AI. Conversely, good AI could receive union endorsement.

AI intentionally aimed at undermining organised labour and worker voice must be prohibited and both the producers and deployers of such products should be penalised. The EU AI Act which prohibits biometric categorisation systems inferring sensitive attributes, including trade union membership, sets a good precedent of how this might be addressed.

In the end, for good or bad, a Butlerian Jihad is unlikely and we will have to adapt to AI. Whether the accomodation we reach is closer to the evangelist's utopia, or a workers' dystopia, depends on the normative commitments we make to each other as humans. AI for good doesn't depend on AI. It depends on us to make it good.❖

> "However, technology amplifies intention, and AI solely designed to maximize productivity and employer profits... is harmful to workers and debases working life."

AI in the Australian Public Service

By Melissa Donnelly

CPSU (Community and Public Sector Union) National Secretary

Artificial Intelligence (AI) has the potential to benefit public services, workers, and workplaces by offering greater efficiencies and freeing workers to undertake more complex tasks. However, AI's best strength is the human who double-checks it, as seen in the AI-generated image of 'salmon in a river.'

The uptake of AI technology is happening now, and its use in the Australian Public Service (APS) varies from agency to agency. Despite the absence of training and safeguards, AI is being used, and the APS must catch up.

A recent survey by the Community and Public Sector Union (CPSU) found over 40% of respondents are aware of AI use in their workplace, and 12% use it in their day-to-day job. It found 68% report AI saves them time, and 72% agree it helps them do their job more effectively.

The challenge now is managing and mitigating the risks. We must harness AI's potential in a way that fosters accountability, transparency, and serves the public interest and workers. This involves putting people at the centre of decision-making, consulting workers and their representatives, providing training and support, and reviewing systems with the people using them.

If we're using AI with the goal of improving services for the Australian public and APS employees, we're staying on solid ground. However, using AI to cut corners and costs is risky. AI and automation technologies should amplify human intelligence and productivity, not replace it. Any savings from increased productivity should be reinvested into delivering quality public services for every Australian.

The CPSU AI survey, involving almost 2,000 APS workers across nearly 90 agencies, provides a comprehensive snapshot of AI in the public service. It highlights the prevalence of the technology, its influence, and worker concerns about consultation, training, and governance.

97% of respondents agree workers should be consulted on implementing emerging technologies, but only 20% were consulted before its introduction. Concerningly, 92% have not received any training on AI use at work, and almost half rated their understanding of AI as poor.

There is a clear need for increased training on both the ethics and use of AI tools. APS workers must be better equipped to use the technology and identify issues such as errors and biases, to mitigate risks.

The technology is already being

used in APS recruitment processes, raising significant concerns about upholding merit principles, built-in selection biases, and accessibility challenges. This technology compromises APS recruitment practices, and its use in this area must be reconsidered.

As we grapple with ethics and frameworks for the safe and responsible adoption of AI, the government and APS must be brave enough to identify when AI use isn't appropriate and rule it out if necessary. Without the necessary frameworks to manage and mitigate risk, we must proceed with caution.

The word "Robodebt" springs to mind.

Robodebt, an automated debt recovery system, started in 2015 and was wrapped up almost five years ago, but its devastating impact is still felt today. Driven by the goal to cut costs and speed up processes, it bulldozed through without human oversight, resulting in a catastrophic failure of governance that caused immense harm to millions of Australians and eroded public trust in government services.

It is not a coincidence that the CPSU AI survey found almost 80% of respondents were concerned that AI use in the public service could erode public trust. Government decisions on social security, migration, or the NDIS significantly impact people's lives, and we must ensure accountability and human involvement in these processes.

In Services Australia, for example, staff use their experience, expertise, and humanity to assess risk and support individuals before making decisions that affect them. This is something AI or automated decision-making processes cannot do.

But lip service about retaining human oversight isn't enough. The public should have confidence that the final decision will always sit with an APS employee. We want the government to mandate this protection in the public sector.

Australia's public sector can lead in the ethical and responsible AI adoption, serving both the public and public sector workers. To do that, our approach must prioritise people, not technology. The government must be led by workers who are closely consulted, upskilled, retrained, and supported to use AI to better serve Australians.❖

"97% of respondents agree workers should be consulted on implementing emerging technologies, but only 20% were consulted before its introduction."

Get with the program

David Glover

David Glover is co-author of "Don't worry about the robots: how to survive and thrive in the new world of work."

Since the Industrial Revolution, technology has been highly disruptive to society but over time created more new jobs and occupations than it has destroyed. It remains to be seen whether that will be true of generative artificial intelligence.

The ubiquitous availability of a web connection and smart phones brought those who can afford it a new digital world of thousands of applications designed to make our lives easier. The new alliance of chatbots with artificial intelligence is pushing the possibilities even further.

AI has been with us since at least 1997, when IBM's supercomputer Deep Blue beat the reigning world chess champion, Garry Kasparov. What is new is the speed, scale and availability of the new forms of Generative AI heralded by the launch of OpenAI in November 2022. Suddenly many activities (and jobs) that previously required a decent knowledge of computer programming can be actioned by anyone able to write plain language prompts.

There is no doubt that work practices, whole industries and job categories are already being transformed. The International Monetary Fund forecasts that up to 60% of employment in advanced economies is exposed to AI. Early automation replaced predominantly manual roles, from clothes washing to car assembly to food production. Now the jobs under threat are also those held by white collar "knowledge-workers", people who work with complex concepts and have specialised expertise built over years (e.g. educators, creatives, lawyers and doctors).

The advance of AI also raises complex legal and ethical issues. While we have already shared a lot of our personal information and preferences in exchange for more tailored technology and services, to what degree are we willing to let AI-powered cars, cameras, refrigerators and a host of internet-connected machines freely exchange sensitive data about us?

This is not all a one-way street. The rise of AI and other digitally-enabled work tools (next up: quantum computing) will lead to the creation of new roles and opportunities. While there are some industry sectors and specific jobs that it would be foolish to invest in over the long term, there are others that are growing and have long-term potential. As Microsoft Chief Executive Officer Satya Nadella observes, 'The beauty of machines and humans working in tandem gets lost in the discussion about whether AI is a good thing or a bad thing.'

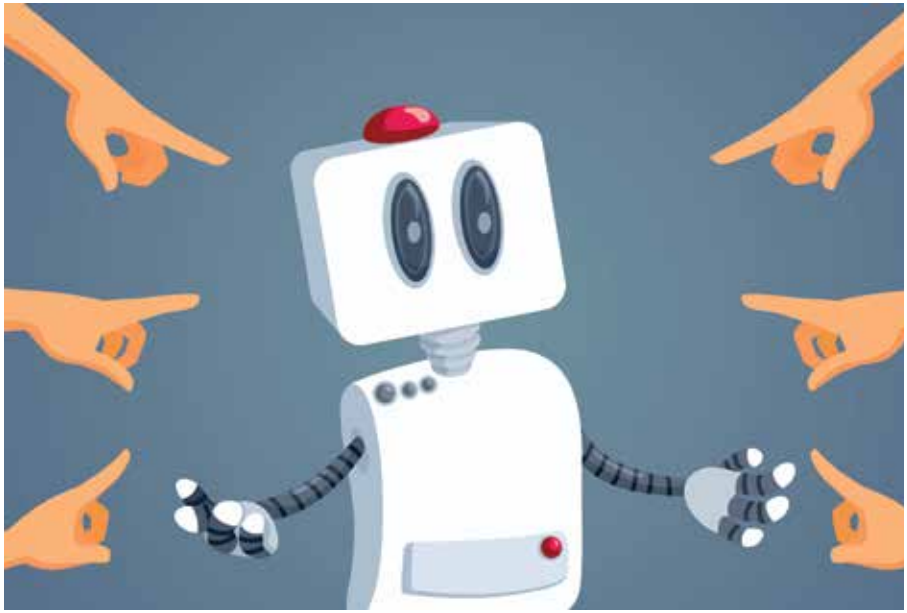
Get with the program

Whatever field of work you are currently in, or aspire to, you should assume that AI is going to change what you do in some way, sooner rather than later. It's time to get with the program and find out how using AI tools can make you a more skilled, productive and valued worker. Most of them are free in some form to trial online and operate with plain language so it's easy to make a start. Whatever your personal or professional interests – visual design, music, business strategy, manufacturing, research, health, or more – there is likely already an app out there for you to play with. If there isn't one, here's your chance to be an entrepreneur and join the party!

As Harvard Professor Karim Lakhani observed: 'AI won't replace humans, but humans with AI will replace humans without AI.'

Since the Industrial Revolution we have seen technology change jobs many times before – think cars replacing horses, desktop publishing disrupting design, drones replacing sheepdogs. It is the drivers, designers and farmers who embraced the new tools available that made the successful step into the future. Now it's your turn.

David Glover is co-author of "Don't worry about the robots: how to survive and thrive in the new world of work."❖



"It is the drivers, designers and farmers who embraced the new tools available that made the successful step into the future. Now it's your turn."

Centring the Humans in AI

Joy Liddicoat,
Research Affiliate

Joy is a Research Affiliate at the Centre for Law and Emerging Technology at the University of Otago.

As AI adoption accelerates, complex privacy questions arise.

Despite its ubiquity, the term artificial intelligence is somewhat of a misnomer; there is little artificial or intelligent about machine learning tools. Whether you know it or not, you are almost certainly using or training at least one AI tool: a voice-operated Internet search engine, a customer service chatbot, the navigation tools in a mapping application, or one of many assisted driving functions in a car. AI tools in home appliances, CCTV, and many other places are constantly "learning" from data collected about everyday actions.

In contrast to the early Internet - imbued with a spirit of openness and freedom - the public discourse on emergent AI is characterised by fear. A 2023 Verion poll showed more than two-thirds of New Zealanders were concerned AI could be used for malicious purposes, have unintended consequences, or cause harm. Yet as Professor David Kaye points out, "humans always determine the application and use of AI outputs, including the extent to which they complement or replace human decision-making" (Kaye, 2021). It's humans across all sectors that are wrestling with the complexities of rapid AI deployment, particularly to simplify business rules and services.

Globally, particularly in Europe, there have been strong criticisms of privacy and data protection laws during AI deployment. Privacy experts are concerned about the collection, use, storage, security, and correction of personal information and data sets used to train AI tools. The lack of transparency about the use of personal information by AI tools makes it problematic to challenge the outcomes or decisions of those tools.

Calls for algorithmic transparency often go unanswered, as even developers may not know how an AI tool determined its output. Another concern is the lack of a clear purpose when an AI tool collects and uses personal information, without consent. Finally, a blurring of the lines between personal and non-personal information - a fundamental distinction in privacy and data protection laws - is causing headaches for regulators.

Within this rapid expansion and deployment of AI tools, a full array of regulatory approaches is available: from hands-off permissionless innovation (no new regulation) to the precautionary approach (intervene to mitigate harms), technological determinism (let the technologists decide what's best), or dividend distribution (intervention to ensure the benefits of AI are distributed

fairly). But weighing up new regulatory interventions means looking at the sufficiency of current laws.

New forms of privacy rights are emerging in response to the dangers posed by big data analytics. For example, algorithmic processes can result in the creation of new groups of people based on characteristics that are not protected by existing human rights law (Mittlestadt, 2017). These algorithmically assembled groups might include collectives, such as patient advocacy groups, or time and purpose groups, such as market segments or profile groups. There have been calls for new forms of privacy rights for such groups, along with requirements for fresh transparency on group categorisation and membership. Some have argued for the right to an explanation for decisions and a right to reasonable inferences, given individuals have little control or oversight of how AI tools are used, and evidence that AI tools may make confident yet counterintuitive inferences or adverse predictions about a person's behaviours, preferences, or private life (Wachter and Mittlestadt, 2017).

The challenge for policymakers is having the confidence to make decisions, including weighing benefits and risks, without clear scientific evidence or while facing rapidly changing evidence. Until now, the government has taken a proactive approach, seeking to navigate broad support and increased public sector uptake of AI tools to get the benefits and mitigate the risks. Unlike the Internet, which was designed for sharing - to be an ever-expanding, open, free network - AI tools are not, for the most part, being designed as a global public resource that will be openly available to all. Open AI initiatives remain a very small proportion of AI development.

For now, a light-touch regulatory approach is sensible, but it must be accompanied by strong early warning systems when action is needed. New Zealand seems well-placed to develop such systems through cross-sector initiatives such as the AI Forum, the Digital Regulators Forum, and the Cross-Party AI Caucus. Citizens must also have easy and clear ways to share their experiences of AI tools - good, bad, ugly, or indifferent.

No one can solve all problems of AI tools nor discover new opportunities and ensure their uptake on their own. With humans at the centre of all stages of the design, deployment, and implementation of AI, and with new privacy issues emerging, the democratisation of access to and participation in shaping AI policy and use is imperative. ❖

> “Unlike the Internet, which was designed for sharing... AI tools are not, for the most part, being designed as a global public resource that will be openly available to all.”

Working through the AI revolution

James Maclaurin

James Maclaurin is an Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka | The University of Otago, a member of the Health Research Council, and Director of Otago's Centre for Artificial Intelligence and Public Policy.

ChatGPT launched in 2022. By some measures it was the fastest growing commercialisation of technology in history, reaching 100 million users in just two months (Hu 2023). For those who research AI, it pointed toward three important trends: commercialisation, automation, and progress toward Artificial General Intelligence.

Commercialisation

This new "generative" AI has commercialised at breakneck speed. AI models much more powerful than the original ChatGPT are now free. Many of the most powerful "frontier" AI models are available for the price of a streaming service. This is good, but surprising, as generative AI is expensive to make. Companies like OpenAI, Google, Anthropic, Meta and XAI will each spend tens of billions of dollars in 2025 just to stay in the race to build exponentially more capable AI models.

At the same time AI "training" is becoming more efficient. It would cost much less and use less power to recreate last year's models using this year's technology. Even so New Zealand will likely be an importer not a maker of frontier models (Gavaghan et al. 2021). These will still be a significant driver of economic activity, but if we don't make frontier models here, we will have limited say in the standards used in their construction.

Automation

In the last three years it has become obvious that AI will be used to automate many work tasks. Overseas, AI-powered chatbots have replaced phone support workers at an effective hourly rate of well under a cent (Marks 2024). This story will be repeated for many types of tasks in many industries including high value knowledge work like medical diagnosis (Lee et al. 2023).

This will not just affect knowledge work. Generative AI is also powering humanoid robots. Dozens of companies are flooding the internet with videos of their robots making coffees, folding shirts, and even doing factor work, so thee will likely be more automation of work tasks.

However, we should remember that technological unemployment has historically been transitory. While automation has caused displacement of workers and disruption of industries, it has ultimately made people more productive, resulting in higher standards of living (Autor 2015). Will it be the same with AI?

Working through the AI revolution

Erik Brynjolfsson (2022) argues that, perhaps unfortunately, the most successful AI science has turned out to be technology that simulates human reasoning. This, of course, seems likely to displace workers but such AI can also work alongside humans helping with complex decision-making, so we need strong signals from communities, iwi, and government encouraging employers to deploy AI in a way that benefits both productivity and employees.

Artificial general intelligence

Artificial General Intelligence (AGI) has been defined as AI capable of performing all economically valuable work. A decade ago, experts estimated that AGI would be decades away (Bostrom 2014). A decade later, and many experts and AI makers estimate that AGI will arrive before 2030 (Klein 2025). Such estimates are difficult to evaluate but we must take them seriously. AGI comes with significant risks to privacy, human autonomy (Bostrom 2014), geopolitics (Hendrycks et al. 2025) and much else besides.

But the seriousness of the risks must be weighed against potentially remarkable benefits such as rapidly accelerating progress in research solving major problems like climate change, poverty, and disease (Amodei 2024). Anyone who uses generative AI regularly knows how extraordinarily helpful it can be in everyday life.

The AI revolution

But what about work? Satya Nadella, CEO of Microsoft, claims that AI will lower barriers to entry for desirable high value occupations allowing more people to do work that is more fulfilling and better paid. Some argue that if AGI can displace humans from

> “We need strong signals from communities, iwi, and government encouraging employers to deploy AI in a way that benefits both productivity and employees.”

Working through the AI revolution

most forms of work it will lead to massive cost declines in the prices of goods and services (Dorr 2025). In such an "abundance" scenario, humans own robots and AIs which do the work. Meanwhile humans lead lives of leisure. Such positive outcomes are not guaranteed. While Nadella sees the value of human labour rising, in Dorr's scenario it drops away quickly. The risks of many people being left behind in such an AI revolution cannot be overstated (Stiefenhofer 2025).

Thankfully, large scale technological transitions don't happen overnight. It took about 15 years for cars to replace horses and the horses couldn't vote. So we have some time. We don't know how much. The message for Aotearoa couldn't be clearer. We must start a national conversation on how we can all benefit from AI and how we can measure and mitigate the risks.❖

"The message for Aotearoa couldn't be clearer. We must start a national conversation on how we can all benefit from AI and how we can measure and mitigate the risks."

References

Amodei, D. (2024) *"Machines of Loving Grace"*, paper available from https://darioamodei.com/machines-of-loving-grace#5-work-and-meaning

Autor, D.H. (2015) *Why Are There Still So Many Jobs? The History and Future of Workplace Automation.* Journal of Economic Perspectives. 29(3): 3–30.

Bostrom, N. (2014) *Superintelligence: Paths, Dangers, Strategies*, Oxford University Press.

Brynjolfsson, E. (2022) *"The Turing Trap: The Promise & Peril of Human-Like Artificial Intelligence"*, Arxiv, available from https://arxiv.org/abs/2201.04200

Dorr, A. (2025) *"The painful truth about AI and robotics"*, Rethink X, available from https://www.rethinkx.com/blog/rethinkx/the-painful-truth-about-ai-and-robotics

Gavaghan, C., Knott, A., Maclaurin, J. (2021) *The Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Jobs and Work in New Zealand*. New Zealand Law Foundation.

Hendrycks, D., Schmidt, E. & A. Wang (2025) *Superintelligence Strategy*, available at https://www.nationalsecurity.ai

Hu, K. (2023) *"ChatGPT sets record for fastest-growing user base"*, Reuters, retrieved from https://www.reuters.com/technology/chatgpt-sets-record-fastest-growing-user-base-analyst-note-2023-02-01/

Klein, E. (2025) *"The government knows AGI is coming"* The Ezra Klein Show: New York Times Podcast, available from https://podcasts.apple.com/nz/podcast/the-ezra-klein-show/id1548604447?i=1000697606428

Lee, P., Goldberg, C. & I. Kohane (2023) The AI revolution in medicine: GPT-4 and beyond, Pearson.

Marks, G. (2024) *"Klarna's New AI Tool Does The Work Of 700 Customer Service Reps"* Forbes, available from https://www.forbes.com/sites/quickerbettertech/2024/03/13/klarnas-new-ai-tool-does-the-work-of-700-customer-service-reps/

Stiefenhofer, P. (2025) *"Artificial General Intelligence and the End of Human Employment: The Need to Renegotiate the Social Contract."* Arxiv, available from https://arxiv.org/abs/2502.07050

Facial Recognition Technology is Not Good for Māori.

The idea that artificial intelligence (AI) is "for good" is often taken for granted. Governments and corporations frame AI as a tool for efficiency, safety, and progress while capitalising on its commercial value. But who actually benefits? And who bears the risks? Facial recognition technology (FRT) significantly expands the power of these institutions to surveil, target and control groups based on race,[1] religion, political affiliation, or speech.[2] Although everybody's rights are vulnerable to AI and FRT, it is racialised and Indigenous communities who suffer the most when biased technologies intersect with systemic racism. In New Zealand, these harms are not hypothetical - they are already happening. From supermarket trials to police surveillance, FRT reinforces racial inequalities and undermines Māori rights, echoing the colonial face-stealing practices of the 19th century.

Good for whom?

FRT is often marketed as 'race-neutral' and 'objective', yet assertions of colour-blindness are mythical.[3] Studies show that FRT amplifies discriminatory profiling against Black, Indigenous, and people of colour, with racialised women being especially affected.[4,5] While concerns about racial bias are often attributed to biased and non-representative datasets, the issue runs deeper.

These datasets don't just reflect bias - they reflect the realities of the environments where the technology is used. Legal scholar Sara Yates[6] argues that the problem lies not only

Rebekah Bowling

Rebekah Bowling (she/her/ia), an uri of Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, and Waitaha, is a second-year PhD candidate in criminology at Victoria University.

1 Bhuiyan, J. (2021). 'There's cameras everywhere': testimonies detail far-reaching surveillance of Uyghurs in China. The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/sep/30/uyghur-tribunal-testimony-surveillance-china

2 Roy, K. E. (2022). Defrosting the Chill: How Facial Recognition Technology Threatens Free Speech. Roger Williams University Law Review, 27(1), 185-210. https://docs.rwu.edu/rwu_LR/vol27/iss1/9

3 Ugwudike, P. (2020). Digital prediction technologies in the justice system: The implications of a 'race-neutral' agenda. Theoretical Criminology, 24(3), 482–501. https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480619896006

4 Johnson, T. L., Johnson, N. N., McCurdy, D., & Olajide, M. S. (2022). Facial recognition systems in policing and racial disparities in arrests. Government Information Quarterly, 39(4), 101753–. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.giq.2022.101753

5 Buolamwini, J., & Gebru, T. (2018). Gender Shades: Intersectional Accuracy Disparities in Commercial Gender Classification. Proceedings of Machine Learning Research, 81, 1–15. https://proceedings.mlr.press/v81/buolamwini18a/buolamwini18a.pdf

6 Yates, S. E. (2021). The digitization of the carceral state: The troubling narrative around police usage of facial recognition technology. Colorado Technology Law Journal, 19, 483-508. https://ctlj.colorado.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/The-Digitization-of-the-Carceral-State-The-Troubling-

Facial Recognition Technology is Not Good for Māori.

> “Automated systems amplify entrenched bias, with FRT decisions reflecting societal stereotypes of who’s deemed ‘suspicious’.”

in the data o technology but also in the broader social and political context of racially biased policing and incarceration, which shapes both the adoption of FRT and how it is applied. Efforts to incorporate more ‘racially representative’ datasets operate to enhance state and corporations’ ability to track, monitor and control racialised communities, reinforcing white supremacist systems of power. These communities not only receive no financial benefit from the billion-dollar industry that exploits their faces without consent, but are also actively harmed by algorithmic surveillance, which reinforces their over-policing and hyper-incarceration. Why does this matter in New Zealand?

It’s already happening.

For Māori, the harms of FRT are not abstract theories. Te Ani Solomon’s wrongful removal from a Rotorua supermarket due to FRT isidentification exposes how corporate interests prevail over the well-being of those most vulnerable to racial profiling, particularly wāhine Māori.[7] Despite verifying her identity, Te Ani was still removed, exemplifying how racial bias in FRT stems not just from flawed technology but from the prejudices of those who use it. Automated systems amplify entrenched bias, with FRT decisions reflecting societal stereotypes of who’s deemed ‘suspicious’.

The New Zealand police’s unlawful collection of thousands of photos of rangatahi Māori heightens concerns about FRT-enabled racial surveillance.[8,9] The 2024 *Understanding Police Delivery*[10] independent report highlighted how systemic racism operates within policing in New Zealand, with Māori disproportionately stopped, prosecuted, and subjected to excessive force, such as tasering. Complaints of racial profiling are

Narrative-Around-Police-Usage-Of-Facial-Recognition-Technology.pdf

7 Pennington, P. (2024a). Woman wrongly kicked out over Foodstuffs facial recognition fail says she’ll keep fighting. RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/535871/woman-wrongly-kicked-out-over-foodstuffs-facial-recognition-fail-says-she-ll-keep-fighting

8 Pennington, P. (2024b). Police miss deadline to delete unlawfully gathered photos of young Māori. RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/522681/police-miss-deadline-to-delete-unlawfully-gathered-photos-of-young-maori

9 Cardwell, H. (2022). Police illegally photographing youth, Māori a ‘widespread practice’, investigation finds. RNZ. https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/474366/police-illegally-photographing-youth-maori-a-widespread-practice-investigation-finds

10 Understanding Police Delivery: Executive Summary. (2024). https://www.police.govt.nz/sites/default/files/publications/upd-independent-panel-report-one-executive-summary.pdf

Facial Recognition Technology is Not Good for Māori.

common, with Māori reporting targeting based on skin colour or socioeconomic status. Integrating FRT into this system risks automating these discriminatory practices, further embedding racial bias into policing algorithms and in turn further entrenching the criminalisation of Māori.

A history repeated.

Though FRT is new, Māori faces have long been surveilled, controlled, and commodified by colonial states and corporations. The extraction of Māori biometric data has been compared to the theft of mokomokai (preserved Māori heads), which were stolen, traded, and exhibited for profit from the 19th century.[11] Many of these taonga remain stolen to this day. Both involve the taking of Māori faces without consent for state and commercial gain. Under tikanga Māori, the head is tapu, carrying intrinsic sacredness, making the forced capture, storage, and analysis of Māori faces through FRT a violation of this principle. FRT is not merely an issue of privacy or data protection (themselves Western concepts), but a form of cultural desecration. The state's failure to meaningfully consult Māori before deploying these technologies reflects a continued disregard for Māori sovereignty over our bodies, identities, and data.

Instead of reinforcing colonial structures and targeting marginalised communities, true safety and justice lie in addressing systemic racism. To align with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, we must consider whether AI is truly "for good", and *for whom?*, prioritising the empowerment of communities over corporations and state institutions while dismantling neo-colonial technologies and social structures.❖

"Though FRT is new, Māori faces have long been surveilled, controlled, and commodified by colonial states and corporations."

11 Taiuru, K. (2020). Māori Cultural considerations with Facial Recognition Technology in New Zealand. https://www.taiuru.co.nz/maori-cultural-considerations-with-facial-recognition-technology-in-new-zealand/

From an Ever-scrolling Young Person: A curious and cautious consideration of an AI future

Melissa Oliver

Melissa Oliver (Ngāti Porou) is a writer, book reviewer, and bookseller currently living in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

I work in an industry I love. Working in bookselling in central Wellington means I get to talk about books all day long, to a diverse and deeply interesting array of people. The kind of books I sell are ink-on-paper, and seeing people from across Wellington and the public services visit us – and still invest in physical books – makes me hopeful.

It feels like AI arrived all of a sudden and now overnight it's everywhere. As an ever-scrolling young person, it is everywhere; in Tik Tok filters, or the "AI Overview" Google produces when you search a question. I still feel like I am getting used to grasping the fullness of what AI is, and what it could be. Despite feeling like an overnight change, Google's Gemini tells me that modern AI "gained significant momentum in the 2010s and continues to accelerate". The irony of consulting the very AI I'm assessing doesn't escape me.

When I think about what AI could mean for the two facets of my industry, retail and bookselling, my initial response is panic. Perhaps I've read too much Science Fiction, or perhaps my corner of the internet is only telling me the AI will steal my art. But I'm wary, I'm scared.

And really how could I not be? AI books are reportedly already making their way into libraries in the USA (and undoubtedly in Aotearoa too).

My friends and Jesse Eisenberg are asking ChatGPT how to understand their anxiety. Christie's "Augmented Intelligence" auction featured art exclusively created using AI. Something about removing the human aspect in art making and mental wellbeing sits with me in a strange kind of way. At the same time, I am also curious of what it could mean for my future and my industry. An industry that is so bound in creating and art making.

I can easily see how tasks like data entry, paying invoices, responding to enquiries via email and social platforms can be streamlined with AI. I could imagine a world where once all the "boring stuff" is automated, this leaves free reign, more time, not less, for creation and expression.

I understand AI could optimize inventory management. AI could pick up and analyse trends and could identify markets and customers I couldn't before I could notice them. These could work to elevate the experience of labour for all levels of staff and enhance what they could do for their place of work. In bookselling, being able to notice trends and growing customer groups to manage what kind of books we stock means we'd be able to anticipate the needs of those diverse and interesting people who visit us daily.

From an Ever-scrolling Young Person: A curious and cautious consideration of an AI future

The creative elements of the job and the human interactions of retail and bookselling are the parts most important to me. I know that AI is capable of giving book recommendations. In fact, customers have already brought in lists of books recommended to them by ChatGPT. But the lists have all been out-dated, with books often not easily available or out of print. I think this is where I see AI working in tandem with booksellers. If these lists also told people if the book was in print or not, or even if it could see if there was stock in distribution warehouses, it could streamline a long process of figuring if a book published in 1998 is still available.

All of this is good for business and for the efficiency of retail and bookselling- and keeping bookselling alive is close to my heart. I just think that the vision requires a pivot from what appears to me tobe current trajectory of bookselling.- away from AI art, AI books, AI music, and towards more repetitive tasks and pattern recognition instead.

I have to be optimistic about what the advancements in AI will mean for retail, bookselling and the people who work in these industries because AI is growing and advancing every day. It is going to become an integrated part of our working lives more and more. I just hope that this doesn't mean the loss of jobs but means we can find other ways to alter our work in retail to optimize and provide good customer services and book recommendations.❖

> “The creative elements of the job and the human interactions of retail and bookselling are the parts most important to me.”

Navigating the risks and benefits for Māori of AI

Dr Karaitiana Taiuru

Dr. Taiuru specializes in areas such as Māori cultural considerations in AI, data ethics, intellectual property, and critical indigenous research.

(Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Toa)

I often address Artificial Intelligence (AI) risks and opportunities with the analogy that Māori are at a crossroads with AI and other emerging tech; we can turn right and embrace the technology to empower and decolonise ourselves, or turn left, choose to ignore it, thereby risking exacerbation of existing issues such as inequality and racism through AI proliferation which relies on current bias data.

Māori have for decades been overrepresented in the digital inequities in the digital divide and are disproportionately victims of online abuse. Despite this, the new evolution of AI has everyone on an equal footing, primarily as AI consumers. Māori have the unique opportunity to take up this challenge as individuals, hapū, marae, iwi and businesses and carve out new opportunities for today, while preparing for our future generations, by being AI leaders and AI adapters. But it is up to Māori individuals and collectives to take the lead now, as presently there are no clear pathways provided by education providers, businesses and government.

Currently, New Zealand society, government, and businesses possess limited opportunities for innovation with AI. Relying heavily on American tech conglomerates to allow us to use their tech that is inherently American, while New Zealand lags behind other developed countries that regulate AI to mitigate harm and maximise societal benefits.

Recently, Chinese AI systems such as Deep Seek have emerged at a fraction of the cost compared to American offerings. This has set a precedent for many countries, including Aotearoa New Zealand, that each country should reclaim their own sovereignty and create their own AI systems. Local experts estimate the creation of a sovereign Aotearoa New Zealand AI could cost approximately $40 million. This initiative represents an opportunity for te ao Māori to ensure AI aligns with Te Tiriti and human rights legislation, prioritising Māori values and safeguarding New Zealand data privacy. Such a sovereign AI would foster trust, AI leadership and wide spread adoption among hapū, iwi, marae, and Māori organisations.

A sovereign Aotearoa New Zealand AI could serve as a national innovation tool, effectively addressing biases and racism within systems such as healthcare, the judiciary, and law enforcement while also deterring governments from enacting systemic changes based on racial ideologies rather than facts.

It could also offer promising avenues for the preservation and revitalisation of Te Reo Māori and tikanga if lead by Māori, countering decades of cultural erosion due to systematic government policies.

Navigating the risks and benefits for Māori of AI

This ensures that cultural heritage is transmitted across generations within a digitally evolving society, with Māori serving as guardians of their taonga.

Nonetheless, careful management of AI deployment and regulation is essential. Māori voices and perspectives (and all other parts of our society) must be integral to every stage of AI development and implementation, while advocating for robust regulatory frameworks that protect and promote Māori interests.

NZ could become a knowledge economy creating multiple new employment opportunities that are inspired and guided by Te Tiriti and tikanga Māori and for new opportunities to create environmentally sustainable solutions to combat the extensive power usage of AI systems, taking advantage of our small land mass that is surrounded by wind and oceans and iwi owned geothermal resources, also noting that many Iwi and marae are situation on their own lands next to the oceans.

In conclusion, to overcome societal deficits and achieve true intergenerational health and wealth, Māori must emerge as AI leaders and adapters, proactively seeking opportunities rather than awaiting them and lobby and participate in AI regulation. The Māori education system must evolve, developing and deploying resources to enhance skills, while Māori businesses should integrate AI into their operations and stay informed about technological advancements. Iwi and hapū need to seize this global digital evolution, utilising their economic and political influence to lobby for regulation, create learning and investment opportunities in AI for their communities and for their commercial entities for Māori to maximise the benefits of the AI revolution.

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tou ao, ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō te tinana, ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a o tipuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō mahuna, a ko tō wairua ki to Ātua nana nei ngā mea kātoa. Āpirana Ngata (1949). ❖

> “NZ could become a knowledge economy creating multiple new employment opportunities that are inspired and guided by Te Tiriti and tikanga Māori...”

Think not what we can do for AI, but what AI can do for us

Jack Foster

New Zealand Council of Trade Unions
Te Kauae Kaimahi

There is considerable debate about the impacts AI may have on employment. Some argue AI provides an opportunity to increase supply of good jobs and lift productivity and wages. Others fear it will create large-scale unemployment and increase automated surveillance of workers.

These debates are rooted in speculations on AI's future capability. Modern economic development has been characterised by technological disruptions, often accompanied by both utopian and dystopian predictions about the future of work. The spectre of mass unemployment has been a recurring theme in commentary on technological change throughout modern history[1].

The impact AI has on workers will be determined by the collective decisions we make on its development, use, and regulation. In this context, trade unions are grappling with several key challenges.

The first challenge is ensuring AI technologies improve, or at least do not diminish, job quality. Research from the OECD finds that most workers who use AI feel it has improved their performance and job satisfaction[2]. However, workers managed by AI often report negative experiences, such as intensified work pace, decreased human contact, and reduced autonomy.

The second challenge is protecting workers' fundamental rights. Some uses of AI are proving harmful to workers. AI-assisted surveillance technologies – like AI-assisted video, biometric wearables or keystroke tracking software – undermine workers' rights to privacy and dignity[3]. Racial bias and discrimination have also been identified as risks with some AI technologies. More broadly, the data-intensive nature of AI poses threats to workers' data sovereignty, particularly for kaimahi Māori, who may view their personal data as taonga.

The third challenge is managing AI-related job loss. Recent research indicates AI is not yet displacing many jobs, but job loss may accelerate if AI becomes more reliable and widely used[4]. A 2023 New Zealand survey found that

1 Aaron Benanav, 'Automation and the Future of Work', New Left Review, 2019.

2 OECD, OECD Employment Outlook 2023: Artificial Intelligence and the Labour Market, 2023, chapter 4; Verian, Future of Jobs Report Part 2: The Worker Survey, 2024.

3 K. Ball, Electronic Monitoring and Surveillance in the Workplace, European Commission, 2021; T. Kalischko and R. Riedl, 'On the Consequences of Electronic Performance Monitoring in Organizations: Theory and Evidence', Digital Transformation and Society, 2024.

4 OECD, OECD Employment Outlook 2023: Artificial Intelligence and the Labour Market, 2023, chapter 3.

Think not what we can do for AI, but what AI can do for us

60% of large employers expect AI to destroy more jobs than it creates[5]. And a 2024 survey found less than half of workers trust their employer to minimise job loss when implementing AI[6].

In response to these challenges, the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions aims to create outcomes that maximise the benefits of AI for workers while preventing negative impacts.

To achieve this, worker voice must be prominent in shaping AI use in the workplace. Workers and their representatives in trade unions must be actively engaged by employers in decisions on AI – commitments should be secured in collective agreements to ensure workers have a say.

Technically relevant education and training of the workforce will also be essential. Currently, many workers and employers have a limited understanding of AI and its potential implications for their industries and jobs. This knowledge gap increases the risk that AI technologies will be used in ways that reduce job quality. And when combined with alarmist headlines about AI, this lack of knowledge can also generate excessive anxiety and fear about technological change. Employers, trade unions, and government have a joint responsibility to ensure that New Zealand workers understand how to use AI technologies productively and safely.

Regulatory safeguards also need to be updated to protect workers' rights. There are several principles that are particularly relevant to AI that could be embedded in regulation. First, the principle of human in command, which holds that humans must retain responsibility for all consequential decisions. Second, the principle of data sovereignty, which recognises that workers are the ultimate owners of data about themselves. Third, the right to disconnect (recently enshrined in Australian law) which recognises workers' right to establish clear work/home boundaries. Regulatory settings also need to reflect the specific interests and concerns of kaimahi Māori, such as the potential risk of racial bias and discrimination in some AI technologies.

Finally, the concept of the just transition should be used to guide responses to AI-related job loss. A just transition means government working together with

> "Workers and their representatives in trade unions must be actively engaged by employers in decisions on AI."

5 Kantar Public, 2023 Future of Jobs Survey: Topline Findings from a Survey of Large Employers, 2023.

6 Verian, Future of Jobs Report Part 2: The Worker Survey, 2024.

social partners to support workers through AI-related change in their industry or occupation. Nation-wide institutional supports, such as an income insurance system, are one way of supporting just transitions.

By providing displaced workers with income protection, they give them time to retrain or upskill. Targeted support for industries and occupational groups heavily impacted by AI may also be required.

Trade unions have a major role to play in ensuring workers are at the centre of decision-making about AI and benefit from its use. Ultimately, this means recognising that while technological change may be inevitable, it is up to us to determine what that change looks like and how it affects working people.❖

“Trade unions have a major role to play in ensuring workers are at the centre of decision-making about AI and benefit from its use.”

Our contributors

Dr. Amanda Turnbull

Dr. Amanda Turnbull is a lecturer in law at Te Piringa Faculty of Law, School of Law, Politics and Philosophy at the University of Waikato. Her main research interest focuses on law and technology, specifically how we are adapting to the "Algorithmic Turn" in society.

Dr Nathan John Cooper

Nathan is an Associate Professor at Te Piringa Faculty of Law, University of Waikato. He is particularly interested in how climate change and other ecological crises are challenging some of law's most deeply held assumptions and how this offers opportunity to reimagine more just and more sustainable legal futures.

Dr Amanda Reilly

Amanda is a Senior Lecturer in Commercial Law in Wellington School of Business and Government at Victoria University of Wellington. Her main research interest is in the regulation of work with a particular focus on the protection of workers' human rights and dignity.

amanda.reilly@vuw.ac.nz

Joshua Fairfield

Joshua is an internationally recognized law and technology scholar, specializing in artificial intelligence, digital property, privacy, and virtual communities. He is the author of two books, *OWNED: Property, Privacy, and the New Digital Serfdom*, and *Runaway Technology: Can Law Keep Up?* from Cambridge University Press.

fairfieldJ@wlu.edu

Our contributors

Melissa Donnelly

Melissa Donnelly is the CPSU's youngest ever National Secretary, as well as the third woman and the first working mother to hold the role. Melissa was admitted to practice law in New South Wales in 2006 and has degrees in Social Science and Law from Macquarie University.

David Glover

David Glover is co-author of "Don't worry about the robots: how to survive and thrive in the new world of work."

Joy Liddicoat, Research Affiliate

Joy is a Research Affiliate at the Centre for Law and Emerging Technology at the University of Otago. She is a former Assistant Privacy Commissioner with twenty years' experience working on the right to privacy and Internet technologies in New Zealand and overseas.

James Maclaurin

James Maclaurin is an Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka | The University of Otago, a member of the Health Research Council, and Director of Otago's Centre for Artificial Intelligence and Public Policy.

Our contributors

Rebekah Bowling

Rebekah Bowling (she/her/ia), an uri of Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, and Waitaha, is a second-year PhD candidate in criminology at Victoria University. Her project critically examines the intersection of facial recognition technology with tikanga, tapu, and Māori data sovereignty through discussions with Māori professionals, researchers, and/or advocates in related fields.

Melissa Oliver

Melissa Oliver (Ngāti Porou) is a writer, book reviewer, and bookseller currently living in Te-Whanganui-a-Tara.

Dr Karaitiana Taiuru

With over 30 years of experience, Dr. Taiuru specializes in areas such as Māori cultural considerations in AI, data ethics, intellectual property, and critical indigenous research. A leading voice in advocating for the ethical use of technology to benefit New Zealand Māori communities, combining Western ethical frameworks with mātauranga and tikanga.

(Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Toa)

Jack Foster

Policy analyst at the New Zealand Council of Trade Unions Te Kauae Kaimahi.

Jack completed a doctorate in sociology at Victoria University of Wellington.

PSA

Te Pūkenga Here Tikanga Mahi

The PSA is New Zealand's largest union, representing over 96,000 workers in central government, state-owned enterprises, local councils, Te Whatu Ora and community organisations.

We're proud of our history of sponsoring and publishing writing and thinking on the role and health of the state. Over the past decade this has included:

- *Rethinking the State Sector Act* (published in 2014 in collaboration with the New Zealand Fabian Society)
- *Progressive thinking: ten perspectives on tax*.(published in 2017)
- *Progressive Thinking: ten perspectives on housing*.(published in 2017)
- *Progressive Thinking: ten perspectives on the future of work*. (published in 2018)
- *Progressive Thinking: ten perspectives on possible futures for public and community services* (published in 2020)

Join the PSA, the union that cares about public and community services and the people who work in them. www.psa.org.nz/join

For a better working life
Public Service Association
Te Pūkenga Here Tikanga Mahi

Freephone: 0508 367 772
E-mail: enquiries@psa.org.nz
Postal Address: PSA,
PO Box 3817, Wellington 6140
Website: www.psa.org.nz