

The good and the bad? Whānau Ora and Income Management policies in New Zealand

Louise Humpage, University of Auckland

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
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Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau
NEW ZEALAND



Australian Government

Australian Research Council

National party-led government 2008-2017

- Driven by neo-conservative agendas in many areas (social security, child welfare, criminal justice, education etc) that have had a negative impact on Māori

BUT

- Also in a supply and confidence agreement with the Māori Party – it is also conservative in many ways but successfully placed focus on:
 - Poverty
 - Māori language development
 - Whānau Ora





Whānau Ora

Whānau:

- Not the same as ‘family’
- Multigenerational
- Lineage traced through both the female and male sides so family members likely to have relationships within and obligations to several whānau groups
- Traditionally seen as the smallest unit in Māori society

Whānau Ora:

- Literally ‘family wellbeing’ BUT
- Refers to the mental, emotional, physical and spiritual state shaped, maintained and contained in the context of whānau relationships
 - when an individual is not well, a whānau is not well and vice versa
 - state of collective wellbeing that is integrated, indivisible, interconnected and whole

(Families Commission 2010: 40)

Whānau Ora strategy

- Negotiated as part of the 2008 supply and confidence agreement between Māori Party and National Party
 - Did not attract intended funding levels BUT did involve a new Ministerial portfolio
- A cross-agency approach from 2010 bringing social and health services together so they are more easily accessed by whānau, especially those in need
 - Focuses on the whānau as a whole rather than on individual family members and their problems
 - Empowers whānau to provide for their own development
 - Focuses on outcomes - whānau will be: **self-managing**; living healthy lifestyles; participating fully in society; confidently participating in te ao Māori (the Māori world); economically secure and successfully involved in wealth creation; and cohesive, resilient and nurturing





Confusion over Whanau Ora

By COLIN ESPINER • 05:00, Feb 16 2010



Prime Minister John Key has been forced to reiterate the Maori Party's flagship Whanau Ora programme will be for all New Zealanders after further dispute over the issue.

Cabinet is putting the final touches to the Whanau Ora programme, under a policy that will see millions of dollars of health and welfare spending devolve from state to community agencies.

However, controversy continues over whether the scheme is only for Maori.

Maori Party co-leader Tariana Turia was quoted by Radio New Zealand yesterday as saying if non-Maori wanted Whanau Ora, they could develop their own version.

She said the Whanau Ora Taskforce report, presented to the Government last week, contained "Maori solutions to Maori problems".

The Government is refusing to make that report public.



Whānau Ora strategy - phase one

- Jointly implemented by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministries of Social Development and Health
- 34 Whānau Ora provider collectives established, representing more than 180 health and social service providers from throughout the country to develop whānau-centred services
- A Whānau Integration, Innovation and Engagement (WIE) fund was made available to whānau to develop and implement whānau plans

Peters slams 'wasteful' Whanau Ora policy

7 Feb, 2012 5:28pm © 2 minutes to read



New Zealand First Party leader Winston Peters. Photo / Mark Mitchell

NZ Herald



New Zealand First leader Winston Peters has laid into the Maori Party and its flagship Whanau Ora policy, describing \$5.4 million in grants awarded to fund stronger whanau connections last year as "a waste of taxpayers' money".

During Parliament's first session of the year today, Mr Peters asked Prime Minister John Key whether he would have confidence in Whanau Ora Minister Tariana Turia "if he found out that the minister is promoting public funding to be diverted from those in genuine need to those who are most certainly are not".

Mr Peters asked Mr Key whether it was appropriate that a person who owned a chain of successful businesses in the Wellington area should have family reunions paid for by the Whanau Integration, Innovation and Engagement Fund.

A whānau has been working on a plan for their whenua, or land, to create future opportunities for the whānau as well as providing benefits to their small, isolated community as a whole. There are 30 participating whānau members and they were able to access the WIIE Fund through their existing whānau trust. The resource has enabled them to actively advance the planning of activities in order to fulfill their collective moemoeā or vision of employment, economic development and utilisation of the whenua. They discuss the whānau outcomes already achieved including the strengthening of whānau connections to each other and to the whenua. In addition, approximately 200 individuals attended a whānau WIIE Fund event that was open to members of the local community.

A whānau engaged with the WIIE Fund through an NGO service provider after seeking support to gain custody of their mokopuna [grandchildren]. The grandparents have a long history of gang affiliation and they openly share their story, identifying activators of change and reflecting on what has supported them to dispel the stereotypes they faced. Their WIIE Fund plan has a primary focus on the safety and wellbeing of their grandchildren and whānau members have achieved many outcomes so far. In particular, it has been meaningful for them to work through barriers to accessing services as well as actively increasing their engagement in wider society to support their mokopuna. This has included kōhanga reo[Māori language immersion preschools], Grandparents Raising Grandchildren, the local community board and other services.

Extracted from Kōrero Mai e te Whānau (Te Puni Kōkiri 2013).

Whānau Ora strategy - phase one

- Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives report released in 2010
- Jointly implemented by Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministries of Social Development and Health
- 34 Whānau Ora provider collectives established, representing more than 180 health and social service providers from throughout the country to develop whānau-centred services from 2010
- A Whānau Integration, Innovation and Engagement (WIE) fund was made available to whānau to develop and implement whānau plans
- Whānau Ora 'Navigators' were established to assist whānau to develop these plans and to broker access to services -
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VaVQy6veWPQ>



“You can look at the majority of social and health policy in this country and it is just there for the transaction ... Care and protection up until the Oranga Tamariki changes [meant] we will just come in and take the child out, they are safe, job is done. Whānau Ora would say we have to follow where the tamariki, tamaiti [children, child] go – we [also] have to stay here with Mum and Dad because how do we make sure at some stage they are strengthened they are safe for that child to return. What [the child protection system] didn’t do was do any of that healing. They didn’t heal the situation, they just removed the ability to be in an unsafe environment ... Whānau Ora stays and says come on, what are we going to do? Follow the tamariki, tamaiti to make sure they stay connected”

(Participant 1, cited in Moore et al. forthcoming)



Table 2: Whānau Ora outcomes

Intermediary outcomes	% of whānau indicating improvement	Higher-level outcomes	% of whānau indicating improvement
access to services	71	safety	76
happiness	71	education/training	61
motivation	69	early education use	53
positive whānau relationships	69	housing situation healthy	48
mutual respect	69	eating/exercise	46
parenting/caregiving confidence	64	income	44
skills	62	employment	38
cultural confidence	54	reduced smoking	33
whakapapa knowledge	47		

On average, whānau experienced more than seven intermediary gains

On average, whānau experienced more than three higher-level gains in wellbeing

The strongest, statistically significant correlations found between intermediary and higher-level goals were:

- feelings of connectedness and education and training
- parenting confidence and early childhood use
- knowledge of whakapapa and reduced smoking

- feelings of connectedness and service worker supporting whānau in achieving goals
- new skills and service worker supporting whānau to make appointments

Note: Findings drawn from TPK’s (2015) analysis of provider reporting and 895 whānau surveys.

Collated from <https://yournz.org/2016/07/02/evidence-of-outcomes-on-whanau-ora/>



Whānau Ora strategy - phase two

- Auditor-General's (2015) review of Whānau Ora's first four years found:
 - Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Health showed no signs of changing existing funding models
 - Te Puni Kokiri's leadership of the strategy (rather than an independent board as planned) meant conventional funding and accountability structures rather than the innovative arrangements recommended by the Taskforce
 - Providers still working to set of discrete and finite series of contracts rather than high-trust, integrated, results-focused contracts
 - Over one-third of funding was utilised for administration (including research and evaluation) = more 'provider ora' than Whānau ora' (Moore 2014)
- In 2014, funding was devolved to three non-governmental commissioning agencies who contract for outcomes with Māori and Pacific-led organisations outside of the public service (not just Whānau Ora provider collectives)
- Strategic leadership provided by the Whānau Ora Partnership Group of six Ministers of the Crown and six iwi [tribal] members nominated by the Iwi Chairs forum



Table Two: Summary of Whānau Ora Commissioning Agencies' Organisational Arrangements

	Te Pou Matakana	Te Pūtahitanga o Te Waipounamu	Pasifika Futures
Geographic area	North Island	South Island	New Zealand-wide
Population focus	All New Zealanders	All New Zealanders	Pasifika families
Organisational history	Leveraged the expertise and experience of backbone partner Te Whānau o Waipareira	A newly formed organisation; partnership of nine iwi of Te Waipounamu	Built on 20-year history of the Pasifika Medical Association, delivering health services
Organisational form	New Zealand limited company with charitable status	New Zealand limited company and limited partnership	New Zealand limited company with charitable status
Current directors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Tatiana Greening ▪ Robin Hapi ▪ Tureia Moxon ▪ Merepeka Raukawa-Tait ▪ Suzanne Snively ▪ Pahia Turia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Donovan Clarke ▪ Glenice Paine ▪ Trevor Taylor ▪ Lisa Tumahai¹² 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Francis Agnew ▪ Michael Niko Jones ▪ Tearikivao Maoate ▪ Siniva Sinclair
Ownership¹³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ National Urban Māori Authority (88%) ▪ Te Whānau o Waipareira (9%) ▪ Manukau Urban Māori Authority (3%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ngāti Apa ki te Rā Tō Charitable Trust ▪ Ngāti Koata Trust ▪ Kaikaiwaro Charitable Trust Board ▪ Ngāti Rārua Iwi Trust ▪ Te Rūnanga a Rangitāne o Wairau Inc ▪ Ngāti Tama ki Te Waipounamu Trust ▪ Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira Inc ▪ Ngai Tahu Development Corp Ltd ▪ Te Ātiawa o Te-Waka-a-Māui Ltd (11.11% each) 	<p>Pasifika Medical Association Ltd (100%)</p> <p>Three individual shareholders, each holding one-third</p>
Contract funding 2018–19	\$44,192,751	\$12,684,498	\$16,602,892
Appropriated funding¹⁴	\$42,841,000	\$12,037,000	\$16,603,000

Whānau Ora strategy - phase two

- Commissioning agencies devolves greater decision-making power to Māori leadership with some excellent outcomes being reported:
 - Productivity Commission (2015: 1) said: “The organisational culture within the commissioning agencies appears to be significantly different to the culture within government purchasers, particularly with regards to their attitudes on what can be done, how soon it can be done, how it can be done and how measurable the outcomes would be. This is likely to make the commissioning agencies more responsive than the average government purchaser”

AND

- “Several providers have worked hard to build models of whānau change that link observable behaviours to identifiable progress along a pathway towards whānau wellbeing. These models are a way of translating tacit knowledge into something measurable and reportable. This kind of developmental work holds much promise”

Whānau Ora needs reviewing before more money is thrown at it – Shane Jones

Jo Moir • 13:09, May 18 2018



CHRIS SKELTON/STUFF

Senior Cabinet Minister and NZ First MP Shane Jones says Whānau Ora needs to be reviewed but his party's influence isn't to blame for the programme not receiving any new funding on Budget day.

<https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/104015411/whnau-ora-needs-reviewing-before-more-money-is-thrown-at-it-shane-jones>

Whānau Ora surplus questions raised at TPK review

4:41pm, Wednesday 5 December 2018. By Talisa Kupenga



≡+ Add to...

Te Puni Kōkiri appeared before the Māori Affairs Select Committee today for its annual review where questions were raised about the allocation of surplus funds under the Whānau Ora scheme.

Money and where it did not go dominated discussions, with answers sought about the \$600,000 surplus National's Jo Hayes says went back to shareholders and not to families.

Te Puni Kōkiri chief executive Michelle Hippolite says, "it is not the intended purpose that there is a drive to deliver cash back to the owners of the entities that have been set up."

Hayes says "if you have a surplus- I've been a Māori provider with government contracts- if you cannot spend it you must reinvest it."

<https://www.maoritelevision.com/news/politics/whanau-ora-surplus-questions-raised-tpk-review>

Whānau Ora strategy - phase two

- Labour-led government elected in 2017 provided no new funding in 2018 Budget (despite promises of \$20m over 4 years - cf \$29m in 2010 to \$75m in 2017 under National)
- Initiated 2018 Whānau Ora Review BUT this recommended investing and extending the strategy based on evidence of short-term outcomes and potential for long-term sustainable outcomes
 - Lots of youth/adult leadership and capability development programmes which likely to have long-term impact
 - Mostly improved relationships between providers with less competition and more collaboration/cooperation
 - Flexibility in funding enables more holistic, localised approach
 - Suggests embedding whānau-centred approaches in Living Standards Framework including 2019 wellbeing budget etc



Whānau Ora strategy

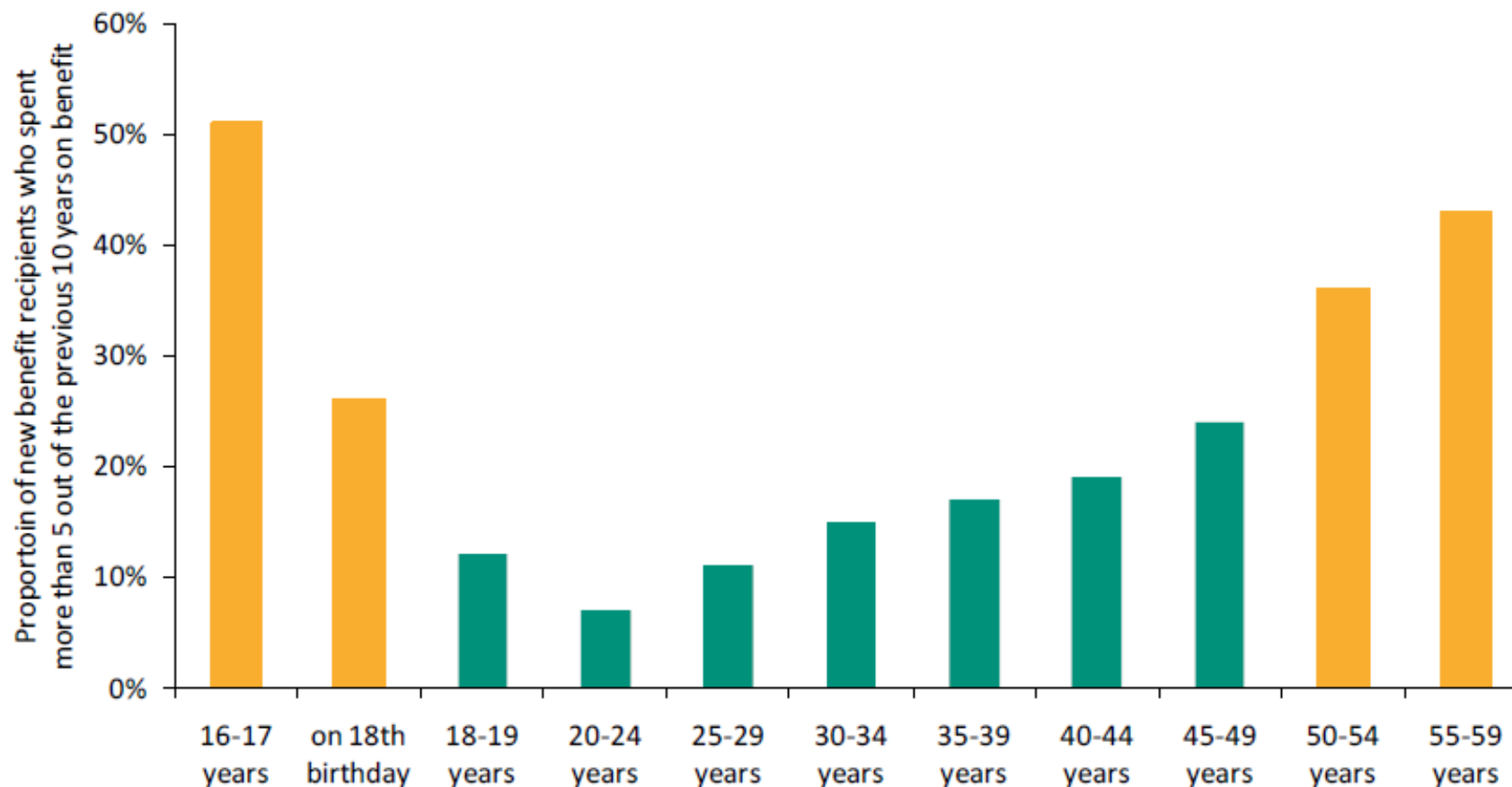
BUT

- Te Puni Kōkiri AND three commissioning agencies AND a provider now ‘clip the ticket’ before funding reaches whānau
 - Each commissioning agency own admin arrangements but could co-invest to share
 - Lack of co-design – commissioning agencies replacing government NOT challenging norms
 - Accountability and transparency good but focused on process not outcomes AND reporting tools for commissioning agencies too onerous/not fit for purpose eg not account for time taken to build relationships before outcomes can be achieved
 - Lack of clarity about role of provider collectives since commissioning agencies do not have to fund services provided by them – and integrated contracts not necessarily provided more flexibility
- Geographic spread of commissioning agencies too wide – more localised approach needed in rural areas
- Demand outstrips supply - often focused on crisis not capacity building AND (poorly paid) navigators often doing/expected to do mainstream agency jobs
- WO Partnership group includes only Ministers of Crown and representatives of Iwi Leaders Group – no Pasifika presence

“Communities have been asked to do a huge thing, turn around years of being delivered to without having any voice and we’re asking, in a very short space of time, for that system to be flipped on its head and then immediately see outcomes from that. I think that’s naïve to think that will happen [in a short space of time] and I think it’s naïve to think that will happen without commitment at all levels of government, from all sectors of government.”

(Amohia Boulton, <http://whanauoraresearch.co.nz/researcher-stories/>)

Figure 3.2: Those most at risk of staying a long time when they enter the system, June 1999-June 2009



Source: Ministry of Social Development Dynamics Dataset.

Sourced from Welfare Working Group (2011: 14)
Long-term benefit dependency: The issues



Income Management

- Youth Service was established in 2012 – targets resources at 16 to 17-year-olds who are or at risk of not being in employment, education or training (NEET) using an actuarial risk or risk-focused ‘forward liability’ model
- Unique in NZ because:
 - non-government providers receive *performance payments* for supporting young people to: enrol; meet educational, parenting and budgeting outcomes; gain educational qualifications; and/or remain off a main benefit and out of prison for three months after exiting the service
 - first time any agency other than Work and Income has administered benefit entitlements
 - those receiving Youth Payment (16-17 year olds with family breakdown) and Young Parent Payment (16-19 year olds with dependent children) are placed under **compulsory income management** =
 - Rent/utilities paid directly by contracted provider
 - In-Hand Allowance of up to \$50pw
 - Rest of benefit goes on an electronic Payment Card to use at approved shops – cannot buy alcohol, cigarettes, electronic goods or receive cash



Income Management

- **Incentives** = \$10pw each for 'successfully' being in full time education, training or work-based learning for 6 months; completing budgeting programme and having regular budget talks; completing parenting programme and meeting social obligations – NOT subject to income management
- **Sanctions** = 1st or 2nd failure suspends In-Hand Allowance/incentive payments & if not re comply within 4 weeks, recipient must reapply for benefit; 3rd failure, YP cancelled with 13-week non-eligibility period while 50% of YPP cancelled but sole parents keep full Accommodation Supplement and Temporary Assistance Support
- **No exemptions** = release only possible if provider indicates met all conditions ('demonstrated financial competence', complied with all obligations, earned all incentives) – intentionally set high

Indigenous perspectives on Income Management

- 1680 on Youth Payment/Young Parent Payment in Dec 2018
 - c. 51% are Māori (who constitute roughly 15% of the total population and 25% of under 18 year olds)
 - c. 89% female
- Led by Minister of Social Development, Paula Bennett (a Māori women who had previously received a sole parent benefit!) but Youth Service policy documents barely acknowledged that Māori women (and their children), would be disproportionately subject to Income Management
 - There appears to have been no specific consideration of Māori needs/world views in policy/practice development (although Te Puni Kōkiri was consulted)
 - Māori Party made no explicit comment about Income Management
- Many Youth Service providers *are* Māori non-government social service organisations or at least cater for Māori clientele/have Māori staff BUT



<https://www.parliament.nz/en/mps-and-electors/members-of-parliament/bennett-paula/>



Indigenous perspectives on Income Management

- Providers reported that compliance focus of Youth Service reporting can sometimes make it difficult to offer a culturally-specific service and existing budgeting/parenting courses neither youth nor Māori-specific
 - Most noticeable when Youth Service situated within broader organisation offering culturally-specific, holistic services
 - Sits in tension with other policy initiatives, such as Whānau Ora, that do attempt to offer holistic services
- Discretion allowed in making recommendations about incentives/sanctions/obligations means culturally-specific knowledge/issues can be accounted for – but these are recommendations only and final decision made by Youth Service Support Unit (and providers often lack knowledge of full entitlements)
- There is some evidence of Income Management making it difficult to meet cultural obligations. Egs:
 - Attending tangi (funerals) at short notice because Payment Card cannot be used for petrol/pay for shared ride
 - Contributing koha (gifts) at family gatherings/cultural events, leading to shame and embarrassment

Indigenous perspectives on Income Management

- Some evidence of sharing income within family but this seems common across young participants from all ethnic groups, not Māori – notably only some Pasifika peoples *appreciated* Income Management because it made it difficult or impossible for family to assume control of their income
- Some evidence that young people previously in the care of Oranga Tamariki (67% of children currently in care are Māori, increasing since 2013):
 - Wish to reconnect with their whānau (extended family), even if this sometimes led them to engaging in the kinds of behaviours that Income Management aims to discourage – often end up dropping out of Youth Service because they are not meeting obligations etc
 - If no longer welcome in foster home, many young people end up homeless (living in cars, couch-surfing etc) even if receiving YP – makes it difficult to meet compliance measures so at risk of being financially penalised
 - Income Management penalises young people for the actions of their parents

- **Interviewee:** see the government - not just the government, but a lot of people in general - they put a stigma on the youth in this generation, but it's just according to their studies and their statistics from the previous things that have happened. They'll look at all the benefits, all the crime rates or whatever, and then [laughs] - if you were to be honest about it, that's the older generation. All of that statistics is from the older generation, and they're implanting that on the younger generation, or us, and then making it seem like we're the bad guys, but it's just like bro, the adults are shit. They couldn't even teach us..... We make things happen for ourselves because at the end of the day, with our parents and our loved ones, they love us and care about us, [but] they don't give a shit about where we were going in our life, and neither do a lot of other people and we're the ones that are still trying to go through it whilst dealing with the previous generation's fuck ups realistically.
- **Facilitator:** So you feel that you're being punished for the previous generation, rather than supported?
- **Interviewee:** Well, yeah we're the ones on the Money Management, why didn't they experience it?

(19 year old Māori YPP recipient, caring for her 10 month old baby and her 12 year old sister)

Indigenous perspectives on Income Management

- Some evidence Income Management may increase the level of stigma/economic marginalisation that young Māori already face
 - Payment Card identifies them clearly as a benefit recipient



<https://www.workandincome.govt.nz/on-a-benefit/payments/payment-cards.html>

- Payment Card is extremely insecure (signature and PIN on the card), making young people vulnerable to exploitation
 - Some suppliers will provide cash on Payment Card but give less than taken out
 - Redirections mean *landlords* have more security of income than young people
- Young parents are treated differently than Sole Parent Support recipients, who do not have full-time work obligations until child turns 3 (or 1 if have baby while receiving benefit) ... YPP recipients must be in full-time education/training when child aged 6 months if teen parent unit is available or 1 year if not available

Conclusion

- New policies under the National-led government 2008-2017 have had a big impact on Māori, even if this was not always clear
- Both the Youth Service and Whānau Ora have experimented with:
 - Devolving responsibility to non-government providers/commissioning agencies
 - Using performance payments to improve social outcomes

= represent a further 'privatisation' of the welfare state - given the failures of the past, this has provided some positive opportunities BUT also shifts political accountability

- Whānau Ora contrasts with Income Management in that it:
 - Is largely Māori-led
 - Does not involve a compliance regime
 - Has had more positive than negative outcomes at the ground level ... hmmm, perhaps Whānau Ora should be adopted for young people!!

Follow up reading

- Humpage, L. (2016) 'Income management in New Zealand and Australia: Differently framed but similarly problematic for indigenous peoples', *Critical Social Policy* 36(4): 1-21.
- Humpage, L. (2018) *Youth Service and Money Management: Preliminary findings*, my university website
- Humpage, L. (2017) 'Does having an indigenous political party in government make a difference to social policy? The Māori Party in New Zealand', *Journal of Social Policy*, 46(3): 475-494.
- Humpage, L. (2018) 'Indigenous peoples embedded in neoliberal governance: Has the Māori Party achieved its social policy goals in New Zealand?'. In D. Howard-Wagner, M. Bargh & I. Altamirano-Jiménez (eds.) *The Neoliberal State, Recognition and Indigenous Rights: New Paternalism to New Imaginings*. CAEPR Research Monograph No. 40. Canberra: Imprint: ANU Press: 257-272.
- Whānau Ora Review Panel (2018) *Whānau Ora Review* at <https://www.tpk.govt.nz/docs/tpk-wo-review-2019.pdf>