Submission on The NZ Productivity Commission Inquiry: A Fair Chance for All

1. Introduction

The Waikato Wellbeing Project is a regional initiative to achieve a more environmentally sustainable, prosperous and inclusive Waikato by 2030. The WWP has a vision for the Waikato that *"our mokopuna are thriving"* and our organisational mission is *"to hear our people and transcend their future through positive impact"*. The project has 5 priority areas and four strategic lenses which we apply to all our initiatives, as shown in the diagram below.

Like the Productivity Commission, the WWP is keen to better understand the root causes of our wellbeing challenges and to highlight potential new innovations which will help to breakthrough and make progress. While the WWP strongly supports traditional/institutional top-down strategy and policy responses to wellbeing challenges (as seen by our priority Tuarima: Waikato), the WWP attempts to view wellbeing through the lens of flax root communities and organisations, empowering communities to identify and implement their own actions to improve wellbeing.

In this respect we have modelled ourselves on Social Impact Labs[1] , and in the New Zealand context have taking our guidance from the work of The Southern and Western Initiatives in Auckland. These models have been extensively commented on in the recent report on the Review into the Future of Local Government in New Zealand.[2] Many of the recommendations and observations in that draft report are applicable to the questions which the Commission is exploring in this inquiry.

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[1] See IDEO and Hassan, Z (2014) The Social Labs Revolution
[2] Home | Review into the Future for Local Government

Our submission provides feedback on some broad themes which emerged from reading the interim report, summarises the recent work we have completed on rangatahi wellbeing in the Waikato region and offers some specific feedback to some (but not all) of the questions posed in the report.

Our feedback is provided in the spirit of supporting the work of the Commission and the considerable effort it has gone to in pulling together this significant piece of work. The Commission has taken on a complex and in some regards controversial issue which is, by many measures, the epitome of a complex and wicked problem. The Commisssion is to be congratulated on this work and we look forward to the final report.

2. Overarching Comments

The report is an extensive and exhaustive review of the factors affecting wellbeing in New Zealand. Having looked over the report, there were a few themes which we would like to note:

- Centralisation and localism
- Complexity and deep uncertainty
- The role of strategy
- Where/when to Intervene; and
- Links to foundational values

2.1 Centralisation and Localism

Our project starts from the belief, based on observation, that the "solutions" to our wellbeing challenges are already in our communities, often operating with insufficient support and frustrated by institutional processes which work often inadvertently against them (for example policy, regulation, bureaucracy, funding processes and political bargaining). Institutional and political systems also tend to become self-justifying- unwilling to acknowledge things aren't working as well as was promised and changing accordingly, even when evidence suggests otherwise. Politically driven processes also have a tendency (to varying degrees) to focus on inputs and at best outputs as evidence of impact, which of course they are not.

The tendency to articulate money set aside and spent as evidence of impact has become endemic, which is something that the Commisssion might like to consider commenting on to their minister wearing his hat as the Minister of Finance and in relation to the central role of the Living Standards Framework when determining priorities. The reasons why this happens most probably reflect the inherent complexity of the human and social systems which we are all trying to change. But rather than claiming to be able to "fix" these issues with single silver bullets as is often the case, governments might be better to acknowledge the uncertainty and messiness of these systems and take a more experimental and emergent approach towards progress- as your report notes is the case in other jurisdictions.

While alive to the risk of cherry-picking, our observations and relationships have tended to confirm that many effective wellbeing programmes have their origins at grassroots levels, especially in terms of their design, delivery and governance. As with enterprises of any nature, at the smaller scale, innovation and experimentation is more fluid and agile, with rapid changes to adapt to new information easier to make. The Commisssion might like to look further at information on social entrepreneurship and innovation, both at the micro and macro scale for models of how to best design and deliver effective social services in New Zealand.

While the report focuses on the performance of the "public management system" and explores ways to improve this, throughout the report the value and merit of localism to address wellbeing challenges in our communities is frequently stressed. This appears to include government-mandated programmes such as Whanau Ora, which are developed at the whanau level to better align needs and service delivery. While at-scale government services are legitimate for many bulk and undifferentiated services, the report's narrative point strongly to the need to further localise to succeed.

If highly devolved and community-based interventions are best suited to achieve meaningful results, then those interventions should be supported, even if they are not a part of the traditional public management system.

2.2 Complexity and Uncertainty

The report touches on the extensive literature on complexity and deep uncertainty in public policy and the need to take a more adaptive and learning approach to wicked problems. We wonder whether the report could highlight this literature further so that readers are not inclined to expect technical and linear "solutions" to the challenges outlined in the report. In this respect we would also encourage the Commisssion to explore the work of Zaid Hassan as summarised in his book The Social Labs Revolution, where he comments that a complex social challenge has the following 3 characteristics (a simplification of the original wicked problems framework developed by Rittel & Webber, 1973):

- The situation is emergent
- There is a constant flow of information to negotiate; and
- Actors are constantly adapting their behaviours

In the e-book Wicked Problems in Public Policy[3] Brian Head explored more recent approaches toward complex wicked problems which have emphasised coping strategies as a way forward:

"There will always be political differences between those who demand transformation and those who adopt a goal-directed pragmatism that supports incremental shifts on many fronts towards a new paradigm… The wicked problems literature is gradually recognising that 'coping'…and iterative adaptations to address changing conditions may be useful both for maintaining past achievements and for planning future benefits. Coping can be a valuable and even necessary approach under conditions of adversity and complexity… the rational quest for comprehensively integrated and joined-up approaches for managing wicked problems might not always be feasible and could be unnecessary, in cases where an iterative and decentred approach— with multiple local initiatives and 'small wins'—would suffice to achieve progress…This perspective on small wins is highly relevant for debates about the desirable speed and the multiple levels of reform required to address large and urgent problems." (Head, 2022,80-81)

2.3 The Role of Strategy and Budgets

"BAU responses to complex social challenges start with the formulation of a strategic plan. At the heart of all BAU responses sit experts…and what experts do in response to complex social challenges is formulate plans (which are) …profoundly un-strategic in nature and lead to the creation of strategic vacuums coupled with expensive activity around complex social challenges." (Hassan, 2004 37-38)

The development and publication of "strategy" by public sector organisations has become central to addressing complex social challenges. While being strategic in thinking and execution is essential,

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[3] Head, B (2022) Wicked Problems in Public Policy. Understanding and Responding to Complex Challenges The University of Queensland ISBN 978-3-030-94580-0

that is different to producing strategy as an artifact, which can at times be more akin to a marketing exercise.

When strategy is presented as an artefact without the tools to implement it or the acknowledgement of inherent complexity and uncertainty, it acts more as an advocacy piece, setting out goals and targets over which the strategy has limited direct influence. Unless the strategy is directly linked to execution and resource allocation, it inevitably fails and causes frustration- partly because it could never have affected all the things it addressed, and secondly because the goals stated were unreasonably ambitious and improbably achievable.

This is not to say that governments should not be strategic, rather that the nature of the strategy developed (the process and the product) needs to be less presumptively certain about the results it will achieve, more acknowledging of the complexity of the systems it addresses and more open to an emergent approach towards progress.

Throughout the report, it is clear how much governments rely on the annual budget to signal strategic direction. To the outside observer this appears counterintuitive. A budget would usually represent the turning of strategic thinking into planned expenditure, whereas the government's "budget" seems to signal strategy because of where it allocates resources. Government budgets are produced in a climate of secrecy (with pre-planned early releases and leaks) with no formalised public engagement process to inform or drive their framing and development.

This contrasts with local government, which is required by statute (created paradoxically by central government) to be far clearer about the outcomes sought by their communities, their short- and long-term plans for their district/region, and the budget implications of these, for example in the requirements of the Local Government Act, Resource Management Act and Land Transport Management Act.

2.4 Where/When to Intervene

The report looks across society in many important respects- culturally, geographically, temporally, politically and economically. Individuals, whanau and communities are moving continuously through these systems, making it impossible to identify just one cohort or issue to focus on to "fix" the many challenges the report notes. The reference to an iceberg as an analogy for the depth and complexity of these issues is right- as is the often also used analogy of issues at either the top or bottom of the metaphorical cliff.

We agree all these factors need to be explored. However, we would urge the Commisssion to consider focusing on those at the beginning of people's lives to place a greater focus on prevention. While complexity still affects outcomes at the start of people's lives, there is obviously greater leverage, more opportunity and less mitigation needed when looking to optimise lives which are just beginning.

As all tamariki and rangatahi depend on and are influenced most by their immediate family, this perspective puts the whanau at the centre of attempts to improve life outcomes. The report does note the important issues facing youth, especially in the first 1000 days of life, which we support, while also noting that research now indicates that peri-natal influences, especially as seen in mental wellbeing issues for mothers also have a major bearing on life outcomes[4].

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[4] Perinatal mental distress: An under-recognised concern - Koi Tū: The Centre for Informed Futures

Our work over the past several years has explored wellbeing for rangatahi (15–24-year-olds) in the Waikato. While the lives of rangatahi are influenced by all those around them and systems which are not directly focused on the early years, in the long run an approach which looks to change for good the prospects of the next generation of adults and leaders may have the greatest potential.

There is a great deal of alignment between the results of our work and the Commission's report, and we thank the Commissioner and his team for sharing their insights with us as we have developed our own. In respects, the interim report is a deeper dive into many of the same factors which we have identified, and through its access to datasets such as the IDI, has allowed the Commisssion to identify causal factors and correlations to a greater degree than we were able to through our own research.

We do hope however that our use of face-to-face empathy interviews with rangatahi, while qualitative and less statistically significant, can help to bolster and support the Commisssion's ultimate advice to its Minister and the government.

2.5 Links to Foundational Values

While the interim report states that constitutional matters are not in its remit, much of the discussion in the report goes to the question of what values we hold true as citizens in New Zealand Aotearoa when it comes to our shared definition of a good society.

The WWP has no mandate to state what these values might be, and we are not in a position either to advance a constitutional discussion, but we do note for example the work of Professor Margaret Mutu - at the University of Auckland. In a 2016 article[5] she articulated a set of values which speak to many of the things addressed in the interim report, and resonated with us at the WWP:

1. **The value of tikanga** – that is the need for a constitution to relate to or incorporate the core ideals and the "ought to be" of living in Aotearoa.
2. **The value of community** – that is the need for a constitution to facilitate the fair representation and good relationships between all peoples.
3. **The value of belonging** – that is the need for a constitution to foster a sense of belonging for everyone in the community.
4. **The value of place** – that is the need for a constitution to promote relationships with and ensure the protection of Papatūānuku.
5.   **The value of balance** – that is the need for a constitution to ensure respect for the authority of rangatiratanga and kāwanatanga within the different and relational spheres of influence.
6. **The value of conciliation** – that is the need for a constitution to have an underlying jurisdictional base and a means of resolution to guarantee a conciliatory and consensual democracy.
7. **The value of structure** – that is the need for a constitution to have structural conventions that promote basic democratic ideals of fair representation, openness and transparency.

Alongside wellbeing frameworks such as He Ara Waiora and Te Whare Tapa Wha, we think these succinctly captures many of the goals which the Commisssion's interim report is also trying to address.

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[5] https://nwo.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/MatikeMaiAotearoa25Jan16.pdf

8. Our Rangatahi Case for Change

As the Commission is aware, the Waikato Wellbeing Project has been exploring rangatahi wellbeing in the Waikato, with a focus on Hamilton | Kirikiriroa for the last 2 years. This area has been of considerable interest to many in the community for a range of reasons, and there are many front-line organisations doing incredible things to support our young people transition to adulthood.

The WWP has been keen to understand better the root causes of wellbeing for rangatahi, using our approach of combining excellent data with the lived experiences of rangatahi in their own words and te ao Māori. Our Case for Change, recently released and currently open for feedback, captures our insights and can be viewed here:

[Waikato Rangatahi Opportunity Case for Change | Waikato Wellbeing Project](#)

While our two projects were commissioned independently and following different developmental paths, we are delighted and excited by the alignment between the two interim reports. In summary the case for change sets out the following emerging insights from our one-on-one interviews with rangatahi and youth advisors in the Waikato:

- The lives of rangatahi are enhanced when a kaiārahi supports them to navigate life, not just as a one-off but along the journey
- Rangatahi want to give back to their whanau, community and future generations
- Rangatahi feel unprepared when leaving school
- Rangatahi need a strong sense of belonging to thrive
- Rangatahi want their strengths and cultural identity to be recognised and supported
- Rangatahi need more support for their emotional and mental wellbeing; and
- Rangatahi experience barriers because of the effects of structural inequities

The case for change provides more detail on each of these factors, which we think is fully supportive of many of the matters raised in your interim report. In terms of what actions to take, we have sent out some potential areas for action in the Case for Change, while being mindful of some of the factors we have noted above. For example, because of the deep complexity of the issues explored, we do not claim to have predictive ability and are wary of suggesting that more strategy is needed.

While preferring to address root cause issues, we are mindful that this will always take time as systems change, however in the meantime today's rangatahi need everybody's support and assistance. Our report categorises actions into (a) the here and now and (b) creating transformation for the future. The key actions noted under these headings are:

The Here and Now

- Including the voice of rangatahi and lived experience of whanau rangatahi and employers
- Addressing equity in education
- Partnering with Māori at all levels of decision making
- Supporting and scaling programmes that provide access to coaching and mentoring for young people

Creating Transformation for the Future

- Improving access to holistic services that focus on enhancing mental and emotional wellbeing for rangatahi
- Re-imagining the funding model to encourage collaboration

- Supporting innovation across schools, businesses and the community to support rangatahi and their wellbeing

The WWP is now working with leaders in the Waikato youth system to support services and system changes which will address the opportunities identified in our case for change. Our aim is to support front-line organisations and leaders to deliver value to rangatahi by helping them to access the resources they need. Our case for change acts as a strategic case for these organisations, saving them the time and expense needed to produce their own background research and justification when preparing funding applications.

4. Specific Comments

Commonly Used Terms

To help with clarity, there are frequently used words and phrases in the report which are not defined in the definitions section. This may reflect the Commisssion's view that these are part of the common lexicon and need no further explanation, however some are central to the concepts presented in the report, and so deserve definition. Many are also contested in their meaning, so the Commisssion should be clear what meaning they are being used with. These include:

- Colonisation
- Equity
- Racism
- Deprivation
- Identity
- Public value
- Economic inclusion
- Social mobility
- Te Tiriti (o Waitangi), especially to the extent it has a meaning distinctive to the Treaty of Waitangi
- Whanau
- Neo-classical

Overview

We broadly support this section and congratulate the Commission on the adoption of He Ara Wairoa. As noted above, the concept of equity is central to this model and throughout the report, so we would urge the Commisssion to provide a working definition of equity in the final report. This is also important as the definition of equity does appear to be confused amongst different commentators.

We would also note that in addition to the government and the public service- there are many other important players who can "unlock opportunities for those living in persistent disadvantage". This includes business, iwi, faith-based organisations, civil society, philanthropic organisations, as well as the important role which whanau (however defined) and people themselves have. As already mentioned, the report needs to be mindful not to lock in an impression that the pathway to the removal of disadvantage only involves the government and its machinery or that it is always best suited to do so. This impression seems to conflict with the support for subsidiarity and localism explored elsewhere in the report.

Throughout the report and raised firstly in this section is the mention of 3 dominant factors which disproportionately affect disadvantage. These are:

1. Sole parents (especially mothers) from families with no high school qualification
2. Māori and Pacific peoples
3. Disabled people

While it is the confluence of these factors which create disadvantage, the report places an appropriate focus on factor 2- cultural and identity, however less attention is paid to factors 1 and 3. There is an interesting intersection between the reference to under-qualified sole parents and the frequent references throughout the report to the importance of whanau as the environment for positive development pathways for tamariki and rangatahi. The absence of a whanua-based environment for a sole parent would seem to be a major factor deserving greater recognition from the Commission, working with others who have expertise in this area.

The commendable support of Whanau Ora is the best example of this in the report. This raises questions about causation in this area. What is the connection between solo parenting and under-education? If it is correct, why are Māori and Pasifika people and the disabled correlated with sole parents? In which direction does causation flow amongst these factors?

Measuring Persistent Disadvantage in Aotearoa New Zealand

We congratulate the Commission on presenting an impressive collection of data and insight into disadvantage in this section. We agree that the government should commit to a long term approach to measuring income poverty and disadvantage, so that the direction of travel can be communicated, independent of political preferences. As mentioned also, getting closer to understanding underlying causes and interrelationships is vitally important so that policy is well informed.

We were very interested in Box 4.3 which concludes that mothers' education, more than any other measure, tends to cluster with indicators of disadvantage. The data mentioned bears this out. While not a New Zealand study, US research by Sawhill, Winship, and Grannis[6] illustrated the impact of accumulating life course events as a cascade, with achievement of each of the above success factors determining the probability of achievement of the next.

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[6] [0920-pathways-middle-class-sawhill-winship.pdf (brookings.edu)](#)
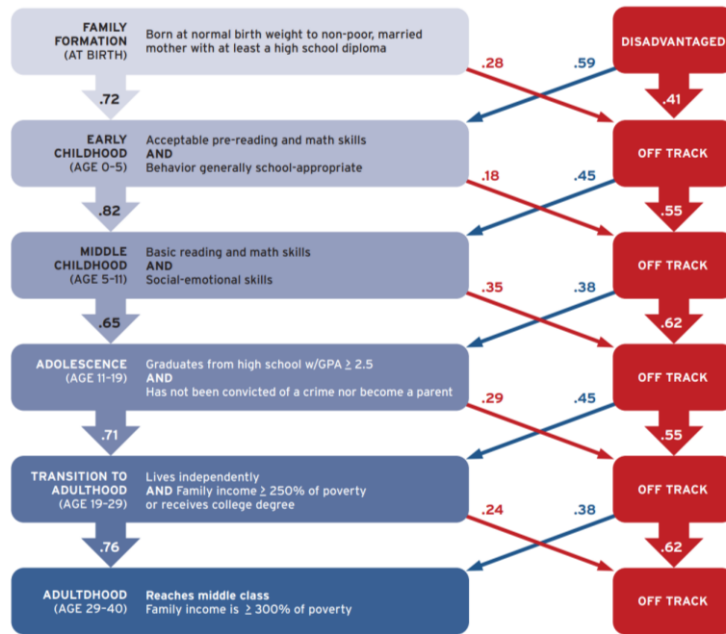
In New Zealand, the Growing up in New Zealand Study[7] the Dunedin Study[8] and the work of Koi Tū[9] at the University of Auckland provide excellent sources of data and insights on life course outcomes in New Zealand which have already been useful inputs to the Commisssion's work and can continue to inform policy development, funding and interventions in New Zealand.

Barriers in Our Public Management System

We acknowledge the analysis in this section and agree with the role of:

1. Power imbalances
2. Discrimination and the ongoing impacts of colonisation (although this would benefit from greater exposition to ensure all readers understand what is meant by this)
3. Siloed and fragmented government; and
4. Short termism and the status quo bias

We note the exploration of issues in the section and examples given- for example the devastating impacts of state care institutions on the lives of many tamariki and rangatahi- impacts which stay with people for their entire lives. The report notes how state institutions have caused considerable harm to young people, as is set out in Box 5.1. We would note that these abuses were taking place a long time before economic paradigms of the 1980's onward, and so the correlation between some of these adverse impacts, neo-classical economics (depending on how that is defined) and a focus on economic growth is perhaps less straight forward than the report implies.

We suggest that there is an opportunity to link these insights back to the dominant drivers identified earlier in the report, to aid with focusing the conclusions and recommendations of the inquiry. For example:

- how have factors 1-4 above influenced the prevalence of solo parenting and low educational outcomes, especially amongst Māori and Pasifika communities?

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[7] Home | Growing Up in New Zealand
[8] The Dunedin Study - Dunedin Multidisciplinary Health & Development Research Unit (otago.ac.nz)
[9] Home - Koi Tū: The Centre for Informed Futures

- For these factors, which of them does the public management system have the greatest influence over- and how can it improve those influences?
- What are the most common types of disability which impede people's life course outcomes- what are the causes of these (for example environmental or genetic) and are there examples of effective intervention or support to mitigate their effects?
- What is the direction of correlation? - for example is the coincidence of solo parenting and limited educational achievement due to young mothers being forced to leave school education early to raise children? If so- what are the factors which cause this- what role do fathers and wider family dynamics play in this- both in terms of early pregnancy and the role of fathers and other caregivers?

While it is not the role of the Commisssion to create policy, looking at the data presented and the literature from New Zealand and internationally, one could say that an overwhelming wellbeing priority for New Zealand is to ensure that children, especially Māori and Pasifika are raised in families[10] where ideally both parents, and especially the mother, have graduated from secondary school. Achieving that is inevitably a joint responsibility of not only the machinery of government but all of society.

The System Shifts Needed

It is beyond our expertise to comment in detail on how government might best reorganise itself to address the 4 issues above, and others noted in the report. We do agree with the 4 shifts noted:

- Re-think overall systems settings to prioritise equity, wellbeing and social inclusion
- Refocus public accountability settings to activate a wellbeing approach
- Broaden and embed a wellbeing approach across policymaking and funding frameworks
- Enable system learning and improvements through monitoring and evaluation

We suggest that Commisssion in its advice to the government, also consider the following:

- How is complexity and uncertainty included in the government's model of strategy, decision making, delivery and funding? This includes how wellbeing leaders frame and communicate solutions to complex issues, to the way in which government agencies and actors are expected to deliver against expected outcomes
- How might government redesign wellbeing support services from centralisation to one of subsidiarity- at the lowest possible level and in ways which retain autonomy at the whanau and community level?
- How could government strategy development and prioritisation processes be more transparent and open to citizen voice? Could central government adopt some of the community engagement processes it requires of local government, with far higher levels of up-front input from the community into desired outcomes, strategy, prioritisation and delivery?
- How could government institutions, strategy and budgeting processes structure themselves so that there are far clearer drivers and owners in the civil service and in cabinet for outcomes (as defined by the community), encouraging functional entities to integrate and collaborate across bureaucratic silos to better focus the inputs and outputs? For example, instead of a horizontal set of government siloes (some focused on outcomes, some on

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[10] We are not suggesting a traditional nuclear family is the best environment to raise children- only that the evidence presented by the Commission would suggest that solo parenting, in combination with other factors as per Table 3.3 presents risk.

functions), could government explore a matrix model where functions are organised horizontally with a focus on service delivery and effectiveness, and outcomes vertically with a focus on outcomes and community wellbeing.

This chapter explores the extent to which wellbeing has been a central concept for public policy in New Zealand. While it is true that at the "all of government" level, the work of The Treasury and the Minister of Finance to include wellbeing into the budget and the Living Standards Framework is recent, the concept of wellbeing has been present in government legislation, especially as it applies to local governance for some time, for example:

- Resource Management Act 1991- Section 5(2)
- Local Government Act 2002- Section 3(d)

Similar references to wellbeing or "welfare" were also in long-repealed legislation for example the Town and Country Planning Act 1953 and 1977. These earlier acts of Parliament preceded the reforms of the 1980-90s, showing that at least in relation to the lower levels of government in New Zealand, wellbeing has been a concept that has long guided policy, budgeting and service delivery. It appears the government has, until recently, exempted itself from this sort of an approach.

Lastly, we agree with the exploration of the benefits of both the current government's wellbeing approach (with strong elements of He Ara Wairoa and Te Whare Tapa Wha) with the previous government's social investment approach. While social investment became viewed as a big data exercise in fiscal risk management, the approach showed that very well designed and targeted social services, supported by excellent analytics can help to address the root cause of persistent disadvantage without leakage due to poor targeting and design.

We broadly support the shifts proposed and make the following limited comments:

Re-think our macro-level settings to better prioritise equity, wellbeing and social inclusion

We support the idea of holding national conversations about the assumptions underlying the public management system. As mentioned, this should not only be about the machinery of how wellbeing is delivered but also what wellbeing is, the priorities to be invested in, and not assuming that the 3-yearly electoral cycle is sufficient mandate on its own. These conversations should not be 1-offs, but an ongoing series of regular check-ins with the community about what matters to them and how they would like to see services and wellbeing delivered to them.

Refocus public accountability settings to activate a wellbeing approach

Again, we agree with this point and note the above comments and suggestions. We are unsure whether a single lead role around public accountability would make a difference- as this sounds like a silver bullet, and there are already similar roles such as the office of the Auditor General and the Ombudsman. The bigger issue may be what systems of accountability and openness to input in the development of strategy, budgeting and implementation the government sets and holds itself accountable for. The matrix approach mentioned above could be a way to advance this.

Broaden and embed a wellbeing approach across policymaking and funding frameworks

We agree with the discussion provided in this section but note that the framing of the discussion is very much around spending. Our observation is that whether it is funding, spending, or marginal spending, a focus on the inputs to wellbeing encourages a transactional and siloed approach towards wellbeing governance and keeps these concepts at the front of the conversation with the New Zealand public. It might be better to rebalance this discussion around the input costs, alongside

discussions about the value which New Zealanders can expect to pull from the government- whether that be measured by way of outcomes/impacts or value for money.

Again we note the opportunity to better define the difference between operational/budget focused discussions and those focused on outcomes and real-world impacts. The idea of pooling funds across agencies may be a good way to further advance this concept- as has been explored. The report notes that this approach has met with resistance and some frustration. What that points to is the need to change the incentive and approval structures around government programmes and resources to require and reward cross-departmental and integrated programme developments, which produce more value at the front line for real people.

Enable system learning and improvement through monitoring and evaluation

We support the thrust of this section. There is a need to make sure that government agencies and political actors do not cherry pick and use data to present only the positive results or report only inputs/spend. The process adapted from Soren Haldrup is strongly supported. A key success factor for this sort of approach is how it is received and supported at political levels. If an adaptive approach is met with political focus on budget inputs, demands for (false) certainty, and intolerance of emergence and ambiguity and short-termism, it will not survive. This is not to say that accountability, transparency and measurability need to be set aside- in fact they are needed more than ever to ensure that the public can fully trust a more dynamic learning process. We suggest that the Commisssion review the reasons why SUPERU was dis-established and urge the government to consider re-commissioning it.

Inspiration for the way forward

Our only observation in this section is that if Whanau Ora is a programme with wide political support and is creating impact, then that might be an area where the Commisssion and the government further focuses their effort. Whanau Ora's core concepts align strongly with many of the observations we made in our rangatahi opportunity Case for Change (for example the need for Kaiarahi), it is whanau led and operates at the level nearest to those who it creates value for. When something like this already exists and is understood, it might be far easier to support and scale this process up from the flax roots, than try to reinvent it under multiple different names, government departments and budgets.

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