MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
TE MANATŪ WHAKAHIATO ORA

15 MAR 2019

[redacted]

Dear [redacted]

On 17 January 2019, you emailed the Ministry requesting, under the Official Information Act 1982, the following information:

- *All reports and assessments of the MSD's seven 'Start at Home' pilots, part of the New Zealand Police led Gangs Action Plan.*

As discussed with you on 31 January 2019, the documents provided in this response relate specifically to the Ministry's evaluation of the Gangs Action Plan (GAP) "Start at Home" community action pilots (Start at Home). Documents that relate to the GAP outside of the Ministry's evaluation of the pilots will be provided at a later date.

The GAP is a whole of Government response to gangs, led by New Zealand Police. The over-arching long term aims of the GAP are to:

- reduce the participation of gang affiliated whānau in welfare dependence, serious crime, drug offences, family violence, child abuse and harm caused by alcohol and drugs
- increase the participation of gang affiliated whānau in sustainable employment, education or training and community participation.

As an agency participating in the GAP the Ministry provides information to the Police-led Gangs Intelligence Centre (GIC). The Ministry's primary contribution to the GAP was to support and fund 'Start at Home'.

The objective of 'Start at Home' is to provide interventions that effectively engage gang members and their whānau to reduce social harm. 'Start at Home' was delivered in seven locations/pilot sites across New Zealand: West Auckland, Flaxmere, Gisborne, Whakatane, Porirua, Rotorua and Whanganui. Each pilot was unique and took into account the specific needs of the local population.

A developmental and outcomes evaluation of four of the pilot sites was completed by Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation in September 2017. The developmental evaluation sought to identify lessons that could inform the implementation of whānau-centric responsiveness models in other parts of New Zealand. The outcome evaluation looked at the attainment of

National Office, Aurora Centre / 56 The Terrace (off Aurora Tce) / Wellington 6011
56 The Terrace, Aurora Tce / Wellington 6011 / New Zealand
Fax: +64 4 918 3100 / **www.msd.govt.nz**

short-term outcomes that are expected to directly contribute to the overarching long-term aims of the GAP.

A further evaluation was completed by Waiohiki Community Trust in December 2018 to provide an 'inside' perspective of the efficacy of the pilots delivered in selected locations.

You will be aware from the Ministry's response to your initial query that the purpose of the 'Start at Home' was to test a different way of working with gang members and their whānau, to help them into employment and reduce family violence, child abuse and the harm caused by alcohol and drug use. The pilots were supported by time-limited funding of one year from Budget 2017. While the pilots were found to have a number of positive results the Ministry was unable to secure further funding beyond 30 June 2018 and the pilots were wound up.

Please find enclosed the following documents:

Date	Title
22 September 2017	*'Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation'*
5 June 2018	*'MSD's work to improve social outcomes for gang-connected populations'*
December 2018	*'Liberating Minds, Liberating Communities and Making Aotearoa The Best Place in the World In Which to be a Child Even if your Whānau are Connected to a Māori Gang*

You will note that the names of some individuals are withheld under section 9(2)(a) of the Official Information Act in order to protect the privacy of natural persons. The need to protect the privacy of these individuals outweighs any public interest in this information.

The principles and purposes of the Official Information Act 1982 under which you made your request are:

- to create greater openness and transparency about the plans, work and activities of the Government,
- to increase the ability of the public to participate in the making and administration of our laws and policies and
- to lead to greater accountability in the conduct of public affairs.

This Ministry fully supports those principles and purposes. The Ministry therefore intends to make the information contained in this letter and any attached documents available to the wider public shortly. The Ministry will do this by publishing this letter and attachments on the Ministry of Social Development's website. Your personal details will be deleted and the Ministry will not publish any information that would identify you as the person who requested the information.

If you wish to discuss this response with us, please feel free to contact OIA_Requests@msd.govt.nz.

If you are not satisfied with this response, you have the right to seek an investigation and review by the Ombudsman. Information about how to make a complaint is available at www.ombudsman.parliament.nz or 0800 802 602.

Yours sincerely

Manaia King
General Manager, Partnerships and Programmes

Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation

Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation

prepared for

Oranga Tamariki
Ministry of Vulnerable Children

by

Dr Michael Roguski

22 September 2017

15G/20 Oriental Terrace, Oriental Bay, Wellington 6011
michael@kaitiakiresearch.com +64 (0)27-511-1993

Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe me he maunga teitei

Seek the treasure you value most dearly: if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain

Contents

Executive Summary

Gang members, and their whānau and associates are over-represented in a range of negative social, health and educational outcomes. In late 2016 the Ministry of Social Development (the Ministry) commissioned Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation to evaluate four pilots that are part of a suite of Gang Action Plan (GAP) initiatives. The aim of the pilots is to reduce social harm associated with gang membership and improve social outcomes. Community providers received funding to work with gang-connected families and whānau and their communities in Gisborne, Whakatane, Flaxmere and West Auckland.

Provider collectives were tasked with developing prevention and intervention strategies to reduce the negative social effects of multi-generational gang involvement and provide opportunities for gang members and their whānau to address their social needs. In addition to service design, the early focus of the pilots was expected to be on increasing the engagement and participation of this hard-to-reach group. The pilots are at various early stages of development and implementation, and are being trialled for two years to June 2018.

Evaluation Approach

The approach included a developmental and outcome evaluation. The developmental evaluation sought to identify lessons that could inform the implementation of whānau-centric responsiveness models in other parts of Aotearoa / New Zealand. The evaluation took place between November 2016 and February 2017 and included 62 participants (whānau, pilot provider collectives, other local service providers, and representative from government agencies).

The outcome component evaluated the attainment of short-term outcomes that appear to directly contribute to the overarching long-term aims of the Gang Action Plan, namely: a) reducing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in welfare dependence, serious crime, drug offences, family violence, child abuse and harm caused by alcohol and drugs; b) increasing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in sustainable employment, education or training and community participation. The outcome evaluation took place between April 2017 and July 2017 and included 52 participants (whānau, pilot provider collectives, other local service providers, and government agencies).

Key Developmental Evaluation Findings

A number of challenges associated with developing and implementing whānau-centric responses were identified.

Challenges

Designing innovative responses

The primary challenge was the development of an innovative pilot design. This dilemma was traced to an inherent difficulty thinking outside of conventional government contracted service delivery models, organisational structure and the time required for stakeholders to learn how to work together. This involved learning to trust one another whilst developing a shared vision for the pilot. Notably, the need to build a trusting relationship was reported

by those who had adopted a multiagency approach and had structured the pilot as a collective model.

Organisational structure

A second challenge was the pilot's organisational structure. The type of organisational structure impacted on the time taken to design the pilot intervention and engage whānau. Although a collective structure improved interagency collaboration it required a longer development phase than pilots that primarily relied on a single organisation to direct pilot development and implementation. Further, pilots that were primarily based within a single contracted organisation invited external stakeholders to participate once the pilot design had been conceptualised and implemented. Over time this meant that external stakeholders were invited to support the pilots in an advisory and/or referral capacity.

Stakeholder and community resistance

A third challenge to pilot development was community resistance to the pilots. This was traced to community and government agency scepticism associated with the pilot purpose and whānau focus. As the pilots progressed, developing engagement and communication strategies with external stakeholders was stressed as a priority.

Facilitators

The contractual relationship with the Ministry and a focus on whānau engagement were identified as two essential factors contributing to effective pilot development.

Flexible contractual arrangements

The contractual relationship between the pilots and the Ministry was described as non-prescriptive. This provided the pilots with autonomy to develop locally defined innovative approaches to respond to whānau need. That said, each site requested increased levels of gudiance to support the development and refinement of their pilot design. It is acknowledged that the pilot sites benefited from having a shared Ministry point of contact. This brought a degree of clarity and consistency of expectations across sites.

Whānau trust and engagement

The most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Within this context, the importance of whānau engagement was identified as the second facilitative factor. To this end a variety of mechanisms were trialled to establish sufficient levels of trust before whānau would be best positioned to request further wrap around services. The most significant mechanisms were the role of pilot staff with existing close and trusted whānau relationships and the provision of a safe whānau-centric environment. These mechanisms were seen as essential to the pilot design as whānau had experienced a raft of negative interactions with government agencies and services providers that had reinforced the levels of social exclusion that resulted in a lack of engagement with early intervention and supportive services.

The most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Within this context, the importance of whānau engagement was identified as the second facilitative factor. To this end a variety of mechanisms were trialled to establish sufficient levels of trust before whānau were best positioned to request support. The most significant mechanisms were the role of pilot staff with existing close and trusted whānau relationships, the use of Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) and the provision of a safe whānau-centric environment. These mechanisms were seen as essential to the pilot design. The importance of trusted pilot staff and a safe

whānau-centric environment can be appreciated in light of a raft of negative interactions whānau have experienced with government agencies and services providers. PATH proved to be an invaluable means of engaging whānau in self-directed vision setting. Within a context of social exclusion and negative social labelling, PATH was reported as providing many whānau with an opportunity to establish their own objectives and whānau pathways. This was regarded as empowering and in contrast to whānau experiences of being directed to engage in behaviours and / or programmes with which they had no or little interest.

Key Outcome Evaluation Findings

In the initial implementation phase, the pilots were tasked with developing and trialling a variety of innovative strategies and finalising the pilot design. As a consequence, the first tranche focused on developing the pilot intervention and not on defining measureable outcomes. Despite the design focus, the following short-term outcomes were identified.

Whānau engagement

The biggest challenge facing each of the pilots was gaining participants' trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Three of the four pilot sites reported a high degree of satisfaction with the level of whānau engagement having drawn on a variety of whānau engagement mechanisms.

Benefit entitlements

The majority of whānau were reported to have been unemployed and/or not be in receipt of their full Work and Income entitlements. Tentative analysis of data reported by Ruia and Hoani Waititi pilots indicate a mean period of five and two years, respectively, where individuals were without their full or partial entitlements. The Gisborne, Whakatane and West Auckland sites reported having prioritised supporting whānau receive their full entitlements as receipt was viewed as a precursor to the development of whānau wellbeing and engagement in education, employment and crime reduction. Importantly, whānau viewed the assistance provided by the pilots as invaluable as interactions with some government agencies, and Work and Income in particular, were intimidating and often resulted in negative encounters with Work and Income staff.

Employment

Each pilot developed a relationship with potential employers and facilitated the placement of some whānau into casual, seasonal and/or full-time employment. Ruia maintained contact with several employers in the region that had resulted in 12 people being permanently employed. Similarly, the Whakatane pilot placed seven people in permanent employment and supported and additional three with seasonal work. The Flaxmere pilot had placed two people in permanent employment and one person in casual employment. Finally, Hoani Waiti reported having placed one individual in permanent employment since January 2017.

Primary health care

Whānau were reported to have been almost totally disengaged from general health practices and other community-based health care services, only accessing Accident and Emergency Departments in times of crisis. Each pilot acknowledged that whānau face extensive barriers in accessing primary medical care. In response, Ruia and Hoani Waititi included receipt of primary medical care as a primary focus of their support of whānau. As

a result a number of previously undetected, and often progressive, illnesses and health conditions were detected. Initial health screenings identified diabetes, pregnancy, poor renal function, cardiovascular disease and high cholesterol. In addition, Ruia reported almost all adult women had not accessed early identification screenings, namely cervical smears and mammograms and six of the 118 children associated with the pilot had not received Ministry of Health advised immunisations against measles, mumps and rubella.

Reduction in alcohol and other drug use / abuse

Alcohol and other drug (AOD) abuse was cited as a major issue facing whānau. This was common across sites and was linked to a high incidence of family violence, criminal offending and, in the case of Whakatane, the bulk of referrals from Oranga Tamariki. Complementing increasing referral rates, whānau reported periods of increasing abstinence from drug use and abstinence was attributed to the support of the pilots. In the case of Hoani Waititi, abstinence was confirmed by pilot staff who carry out regular drug testing.

Reduction in family violence

Family violence was described as prevalent and normalised in each of the sites. The pilots interpreted the numbers of self-referred victims and perpetrators as an indication of success. This was especially discussed in reference to the number of self-reported adult perpetrators who had sought assistance and the number of children who were identified as perpetrators and victims that the pilots were able to wrap support around. Above all, the pilots reported the numbers of people disclosing family violence as an indication of high levels of whānau engagement. Gisborne police were interviewed about whether any noticeable shifts in offending could be linked to the pilot. A decrease in family violence victims amongst known whānau members was reported, dropping from 14 incidents in 2015 to eight in 2016, a decrease the local police attributed to Ruia.

Driving, vehicle and whānau safety

Whānau were over-represented in terms of driving without a license and driving unregistered and / or unwarranted cars. Non-compliance was generally attributed to financial constraints and, in terms of securing a driver's license, difficulty with the reading component of the licensing test. Given this context the pilots either developed their own driver's licensing initiatives or referred whānau to an existing initiative. This also coincided with assistance for the whānau member to obtain requisite identification, funding and literacy support.

Importantly, pilot stakeholders cited driver licensing initiatives as a much needed crime prevention mechanism. For instance, Ruia captured whānau data on the 72 adults engaged in the pilot, by driving offence and by justice-related outcomes. Notably, 83% had received a fine related to driving without a license and/or driving unregistered or unwarranted vehicles. In addition, 56% had been arrested for unpaid traffic offences and 14% had received a custodial sentence relating to driver licensing offences. In response, the initiatives reported the number of whānau enrolled and successfully obtaining a driver's license, as of 30 June 2017. While pilot stakeholders regarded the success of the driver's licensing programme as a primary crime reduction initiative this was also viewed as foundational as it contributed to employability and the development of self-confidence.

Lessons to inform future pilots

The following lessons were identified that could assist the future rollout of similar pilots.

Organisational structure

Consideration needs be given to the type of contracting arrangement between the Ministry and pilot bodies. There is evidence to support an arrangement whereby one organisation is contracted to develop and implement the initiative. This is in contrast to a collective structure that requires a longer development phase.

Pilot intervention development

It is acknowledged that a non-prescriptive contracting arrangement can facilitate innovative practice. However, an opportunity exists for the Ministry to support pilots to develop whānau-centric models. In this regard, the Ministry would support pilot development through a facilitation process. This would remove administrative burden from the various community stakeholders while freeing the stakeholders to focus on actualising the agreed design. Specifically, pilot development and implementation would be assisted through facilitated processes to:

- address possible competing worldviews amongst stakeholders;
- gain clarity about the innovative intention of the pilots;
- ensure a whānau-centric worldview underscores pilot development through the use of Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a primary whānau intervention as it reinforces the centrality of whānau experience and aspirations;
- design mechanisms to best engage and respond to whānau; and,
- develop a stakeholder engagement strategy. This could entail an environmental assessment of possible resistance to a proposed pilot and the development approach that draws on a wide range of local stakeholders from the earliest possible opportunity. This would assist communities to develop a sense of ownership and contribute to cross-agency support.

Reviewing and revising key pilot elements

The pilot identified the need to review and revise the design and delivery functions and the governance and advisory structures that support the pilot. It is recommended that this occurs through the following mechanisms:

- national hui of pilot stakeholders - pilot development and implementation would be assisted through national hui of all pilot stakeholders. This would provide an opportunity for pilot stakeholders to learn from each other's innovative practice and inform the refinement of other's pilot design; and,
- facilitated process – as with the pilot development phase, it is recommended that the pilots are provided with a facilitated process whereby they are encouraged to review and revise their design and delivery in light of recent experiences. It is recommended that this occurs at a three and six month interval following the initial signing of the contract.

1 Introduction

Analysis by the Ministry of Social Development's (the Ministry) Research and Evaluation team asserts that gang members represents a significant and long-term cost to the welfare system (MSD, 2016). Gang membership is also associated with poor social outcomes at an individual and whānau level, with this being particularly evident among the children of gang members. However, some communities and gang leadership – in particular, leaders of ethnic whānau-based gangs like the Mongrel Mob and Black Power – have started to explore ways of assisting their whānau and associates to improve social outcomes and reduce offending (Roguski, 2015).

Building on this willingness, as part of a wider suite of Gang Action Plan (GAP) initiatives, MSD has funded four community pilots to work with gang-connected populations and their communities in Gisborne, Whakatane, Flaxmere and West Auckland. The aim of the pilots is to reduce negative social harm associated with gang membership and to improve social outcomes.

The pilots are at various early stages of development and implementation, and will be trialled for two years to June 2018.

Rather than an emphasis on gang exit or desistance, the pilots were encouraged to develop prevention and intervention strategies to reduce the negative social effects of multi-generational gang involvement, and provide opportunities for gang members and their whānau and associates to address their social needs.

While it is anticipated that outcomes will differ according to local needs it was anticipated that the overarching aims of the pilots include:

- Reducing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in:
  - welfare dependence
  - serious crime
  - drug offences
  - family violence
  - child abuse
  - harm caused by alcohol and drugs.
- Increasing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in:
  - sustainable employment
  - education or training
  - community participation (including a two-way focus on empowering gang affiliated whānau to better integrate with and participate in their communities, and improving communities' willingness to engage with gang affiliated whānau).

In late 2016 the Ministry commissioned Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation to carry a developmental and outcome evaluation. The developmental evaluation sought to identify lessons that could inform the ongoing success of the pilots to inform the implementation of whānau-centric responsiveness models in other parts of Aotearoa / New Zealand. The outcome component evaluated the attainment of short-term outcomes to date.

2 Approach

2.1 Methodology

The evaluation employed a combination of developmental and outcome evaluation.

Developmental evaluation was selected because innovative practice underscores the focus of each of the pilot sites and developmental evaluation can assist social innovators develop social change initiatives in complex or uncertain environments. Developmental evaluation practitioners liken their approach to the role of research and development in the private sector product development process because it facilitates real-time, or close to real-time, feedback to programme staff and thus facilitates a continuous development loop. According to Patton (2010), developmental evaluation is particularly suited to innovation, radical programme re-design, replication, complex issues and crises. In these situations, developmental evaluation can help to frame concepts, test quick iterations, track developments and surface issues:

> *"Developmental Evaluation supports innovation development to guide adaptation to emergent and dynamic realities in complex environments. Innovations can take the form of new projects, programs, products, organizational changes, policy reforms, and system interventions. A complex system is characterized by a large number of interacting and interdependent elements in which there is no central control. Patterns of change emerge from rapid, real time interactions that generate learning, evolution, and development – if one is paying attention and knows how to observe and capture the important and emergent patterns. Complex environments for social interventions and innovations are those in which what to do to solve problems is uncertain and key stakeholders are in conflict about how to proceed." (Patton, 2010)*[1]

Within this framework interviews were undertaken to understand:

- factors that have facilitated the development and implementation of each whānau-centric response in each of the four pilot sites;
- barriers to the development and implementation of each whānau-centric response in each of the four pilot sites; and,
- critical success factors underpinning the on-going implementation and development of each pilot.

Conventional outcome evaluation approaches generally measure programme effects in the target population by assessing the progress toward the programme's intended objectives. In this regard, measurement often means comparing baseline and follow-up data. Because the first phase of the pilots' development focused on the development of innovative approaches and corresponding objectives, the pilots did not generally develop objectives and measures for comparative data to be gathered. As such, the current outcome evaluation employed a primarily qualitative methodology, with a combination of individual, paired and focus group interviews. Where possible administrative data was used to support interview findings.

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[1] Also see, Patton, M. Q. (2009). Developmental evaluation as alternative to formative assessment. [Web Video]. Retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=Wg3IL-XjmuM

2.2 Participants

The developmental and outcome evaluation utilised a combination of individual, small group and focus group interviews. The developmental evaluation interviews took place between November 2016 and February 2017. The outcome evaluation interviews took place between April and July 2017.

In total, 62 people participated in the development evaluation interviews and 52 participated in the outcome evaluation interviews (see Table 1).

Participants were identified by pilot stakeholders and were invited to participate in the interview process because of their experiences with the pilot development, implementation and their perception of preliminary outcomes. Participants generally fell into four categories:

- staff members / pilot stakeholders;
- NGO / local service providers;
- government agency representatives (such as NZ Police, Oranga Tamariki and Work and Income NZ); and,
- whānau.

On average individual and small group interviews last no longer than one hour. Focus groups did not exceed two hours.

Whānau interviews were not audio recorded because of a need to gain rapport and ensure participants felt as comfortable as possible. Rather a white board was used for note taking. Interviews with pilot staff members / stakeholders, NGOs and government agencies were audio recorded with participants' consent.

Table 1: Interview Participants

Evaluation Stage	Participant	West Auckland	Flaxmere	Gisborne	Whakatane
		(n=)			
Developmental Evaluation	Staff member / pilot stakeholder	4	6	2	3
	NGO / local service provider	-	-	5	-
	Agency / representative	1	-	2	1
	Whānau	12	10	6	10
	Total	17	16	15	14
Evaluation Stage	**Participant**	**West Auckland**	**Flaxmere**	**Gisborne**	**Whakatane**
		(n=)			
Outcome evaluation	Staff member / pilot stakeholder	5	6	2	5
	NGO / local service provider	1	-	4	1
	Agency / representative	-	-	2	2
	Whānau	10	-	10	4
	Total	**16**	**6**	**18**	**12**

2.3 Analysis and reporting

A grounded theory approach to data collection, coding and analysis was employed. As such, a process of constant comparative analysis was used throughout the lifespan of the research. This resulted in a comparison of:

1. Different individual and stakeholder perspectives; and,
2. Perspectives arising from different pilot locations.

Through this process emerging findings were consistently tested to determine the extent to which they were common across participants. In practice this meant that codes were created within an analysis framework. Throughout the fieldwork, information was defined and categorised through a continual review of interviews and fieldwork notes. As a result, emerging patterns were continually tested through the interview as well as the exploration of new questions that arose in the preceding interviews. This process of constant comparative analysis provided an opportunity to explore, at greater depth, reasons underlying emerging patterns. Quotes are used to illustrate the various codes/themes that emerged.

3 Developmental Evaluation

The overarching aim of the developmental evaluation was to identify challenges and facilitators associated with the development and implementation of a whānau-centric response in each of the four pilot sites. These issues are discussed below with the aim of identifying how the various pilots' experiences might inform similar initiatives on a national scale.

3.1 Challenges

The primary challenge was the development of an innovative pilot design. This dilemma was traced to an inherent difficulty thinking outside of conventional government contracted service delivery models. Other challenges included organisational structure and challenges associated with stakeholders learning how to work together and community resistance to the pilots.

3.1.1 Developing an innovative design

Some participants discussed that they had not realised how entrenched they had become in mainstream service practice and appreciated an opportunity to be challenged to *"think outside the box"*. Most commonly participants cited assumptions that an appropriate service development model entailed a reliance on referring whānau to external agencies / services. It was only with the establishment of the pilot, when whānau needs were understood in more depth, that these stakeholders realised that they needed to think about alternative responses, as:

> *I suddenly realised that I was simply doing what we have done for years and that this was a new opportunity to do things differently. (Whakatane, Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

The natural reliance on a social service response generally presented as a tension between stakeholders with a preference for social service responses and those with a worldview that stressed whānau-driven development. This tension most commonly arose in discussions about the pilot's intention and the way in which the pilot would respond to whānau need. Those more aligned to a social service model often assumed that interventions would solely rely on service interventions whereas those aligned to a whānau development model generally stressed the need for a dual focus that incorporated social services and developing mechanisms whereby the whānau would be supported to respond to their own needs. The later whānau-centred approach emphasised the need to support whānau to develop their own responses.

Further, the viewpoints of some stakeholders closely associated with government agencies, or those who have had extensive experience working in government agencies, were often described as emphasising a risk adverse worldview that was believed to stymie innovative practice. Common examples centred on how those aligned with a risk aversion paradigm unnecessarily influenced how contract funds should and should not be used. While these stakeholders rightfully safeguarded the pilot's integrity they had not fully appreciated that the purpose of the pilot was to explore how best to engage and innovatively work alongside whānau and that the pilots were purposefully developed so not to be constrained by conventional contract parameters. Lessons learned from these

competing worldviews indicate a need for increased clarity about the innovative intention of the pilots and the various freedoms that the pilots possess.

Those aligned with a whānau development approach were generally reported to have a close association with whānau, either through their current or historical membership. This was most notably an issue when those aligned with patched whānau felt that whānau tikanga was not appreciated or understood and where non-patched whānau perspectives were assumed as normal or most appropriate. Within this context the various stakeholders spent considerable energy ensuring that each perspective was understood and a collective resolution was achieved.

Although the majority of stakeholders worked from within te ao Māori it was wrong to assume that the targeted whānau, while Māori, employed the same cultural terms of reference. Rather, many of the whānau live according to te ao gang. The tension is an important consideration for programme development as whānau worldviews need to be understood and appreciated so as best to tailor the various strategies emerging from the pilot to be developed.

In addition, those aligned with a whānau development approach reported frustration over some social service agencies' lack of understanding about the amount of time required to engage whānau, many of whom were described as extremely hard to reach; an approach that acknowledges the need to expend considerable energy in gaining whānau trust. In contrast, those aligned with a service responsiveness model minimised engagement by placing the onus on whānau to engage with social service providers.

A social service responsiveness model was also reported to clash with a whānau development approach over the amount of time the pilot should support whānau. Those aligned with a social service model were described as invoking western therapeutic guidelines to warn against encouraging co-dependence between the whānau and the worker(s). However, those aligned with the whānau development approach strongly argued that the pilots' whānau focus requires ongoing support and it would be unethical to cease interactions as this would risk whānau interpreting non-engagement as, *"Yet another broken promise"*.

Across the sites, stakeholders reported that they would greatly benefit from learning about the experiences of the other pilots and asked for combined pilot stakeholder meeting to discuss pilot development and implementation issues. Participants suggested that a combined stakeholder meeting would:

- provide an opportunity for lessons to be shared between the pilot sites;
- enable stakeholders to learn from each others' innovative practice; and
- inform the refinement of the individual service delivery plans.

3.1.2 Organisational structure

The four pilots were developed under differing organisational structures. For instance, Flaxmere developed a collective structure comprising a number of government agencies and NGOs. Gisborne initially developed under a collective model but has more recently benefited from being embedded within Turanga Health, a local iwi provider. Hoani Waititi and Manna Social Services developed their pilots internally and have sought stakeholder partnerships as the pilots have progressed (see Appendix I).

It is noteworthy that the organisational structures impacted on the time taken to design the pilot intervention and engage whānau. While a collective structure was reported to result in improved interagency collaborations it was the less efficient approach: reporting a longer development than pilots that primarily relied on a single organisation directing pilot development and implementation.

Further, pilots that were primarily based within a single contracted organisation invited external stakeholders to participate in the pilot once the pilot design had been conceptualised and implemented. Over time this meant that external stakeholders were invited to support the pilots in advisory and / or referral capacity. This also meant that the external stakeholders were positioned to intervene to remove challenges to whānau receipt of services.

Organisational structure was also closely linked to the pilots' commitment to a whānau-centricism to underscore each pilots' development and operations. The importance of prioritising whānau-centricism resulted in the majority of the pilots incorporating whānau representatives to guide pilot development. This has proven invaluable in ensuring the pilots continually respond to whānau need.

3.1.3 Whakawhanaungatanga

Another challenge that initially stifled innovation was the need for pilot stakeholders to learn how to work together. This involved learning to trust one another whilst developing a shared vision for the pilot. Notably, the need to build a trusting relationship was reported by those who had adopted a multiagency approach and had structured the pilot as collective.

Two factors were identified that contributed to a less than optimal level of trust. First, historically the government's dominant funding model was described as having prevented interagency collaboration, having created a competitive environment that resulted in a raft of siloed services.

> *For me I have noticed is that we have seven different agencies that are trying to think in terms of one kaupapa, finding time to work together and just on the time thing, each agency has their own work to do so the issue is finding time to come together for this kaupapa. If you get two people thinking differently we have a problem. We can't do our own thing. We have to do it together. When you have a group like this you have to be respectful of other peoples' opinions at this table. Trying to figure out how we fit together. (Flaxmere, Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Stakeholder #1)*

Second, some stakeholders had competing worldviews about gang life and what appropriate responses entail.

> *Within the team we had people with different backgrounds and different cultures. From my perspective there was a clash of cultures and there was a lack of understanding about the motivation that brought people to the table and we needed to take time and do a whakawhanaungatanga and get a new confidence on the teams ability and purpose. A lot of this goes back to a community trust employing contracts that aren't joined as a team under an organisation. Because of their different cultures there wasn't an opportunity to set them loose. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

In contrast, the pilots provided an opportunity to develop interagency collaborations. This was most strongly reported by the Flaxmere pilot.

> *In the past, there was always competitiveness for funding and gatekeeping. So as a result there was a lack of sharing of information between one another, and that information could be anything. Whereas, I have found with the pilot there seems to be a maturity and a respect and I believe that each of Collective is willing to work with good will and integrity. That is what has excited us the most. So for instance, X offers up a number of services like counselling. If Y has a whānau that needs counselling then she refers to X. (Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Stakeholder #4)*

> *The collaboration is working. On a client level it is working. The providers are supporting one another. Sharing whānau information and sharing whānau. Referring whānau to one another. They are playing to their strengths. That's the beauty of it. (Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Stakeholder #2)*

Similar successes were noted for the other three pilot sites. The difference however was that the Whakatane and Gisborne pilots were able to build upon the success of the Social Sector Trials in Gisborne and Kawerau[2] and the existence of Manaaki Tairawhiti in Gisborne (see Appendix 1). In this sense, the Gisborne and Whakatane pilots were able to build upon past efforts to remove bureaucratic barriers and encourage collaborative responses. Hoani Waititi was uniquely placed in that they have a longstanding history of engaging with a diverse range of service organisations and government agencies in the area.

3.1.4 Stakeholder and community resistance

The Gisborne and Flaxmere pilots reported a high degree of buy-in from stakeholder agencies while resistance to the pilots was raised as ongoing issues in Whakatane and, to a lesser degree, in West Auckland. The lack of resistance in Gisborne and Flaxmere is possibly traced to the fact that the projects began as local cross-agency initiatives. For instance, from its inception in 2011 Ruia was led by a cross-sector collective with representation from a diverse number of agencies. Similarly Flaxmere's Whānau First Whānau Hard pilot developed from initial discussions between MSD and Ikaroa who then approached other possible collective members in the community.

Whakatane faced a number of challenges relating to community and government agency scepticism associated with the pilot's purpose and whānau focus. As a consequence, misunderstandings about the pilot's intent had circulated and a number of rumours had spread which inadvertently created tension between the pilot, community members and local agencies.

The combination of rumours and overt opposition to the pilot were reported to have resulted in stress amongst Communities on the Fringe stakeholders who reported

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[2] The Social Sector Trials (SSTs) was a community-based model that aimed to improve the way government plans, funds, and delivers social services at a local level. The SSTs involved transferring the control of resources (including funding, decision-making authority and accountability for results) from government agencies to a trial lead in the local community. Specifically, the pilots aimed to reduce offending, reduce levels of alcohol and substance abuse, reduce truancy rates and increase participation in education, training or employment. The SSTs initially began in six rural communities in March 2011. This culminated to 16 communities around Aotearoa / New Zealand.

frustration over the resistance to interagency collaboration, one agency in particular directing staff not to meet clients at the pilot site.

The above directive, and opposition to the pilot in general, was understood on two levels. First, some participants believed that resistance reflected an inherent bias towards gang associated whānau.

> *The problem is that the other services see that we are biased. If there wasn't a gang label associated with the family they wouldn't be thinking that. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

However, on another level resistance to the pilot was traced to some agencies being threatened by a change in practice.

> *We [the pilot] represent a change in practice and it means that people have to share their influence. For instance, the manager at x is not used to sharing how his workers where they go and how they practice. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

Importantly, participants identfiied that a significant proportion of their current work is managing negative public perceptions which reduces the amount of time they are able to dedicate to whānau.

> *A lot of our work is about risk management rather than focusing on whānau. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)*

The above tensions were temporarily managed by whānau being advised to limit the amount of time they spend at the Hub. As a result, efforts to reduce whānau presence at the Hub was raised as risking a loss of innovative practice in lieu of a mainstream model which was identfied as one of the primary reasons for whānau not historically engaging with supportive services.

> *They are seeing too many patched members down here. We have tried to manage public perceptions by telling the whānau to limit the amount of time they come down. We are constantly trying to change it back into a mainstream service. The more we compromise the kaupapa to fit it into something that makes the other organisations happy we dilute it. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

Resistance to Hoani Waititi's pilot was reported at the level of Māori elders and Marae trustees who were reported as having a negative conceptualisation of patched members.

As the pilots progressed, the importance of developing engagement and communication strategies with external stakeholders was stressed as a priority. For instance, Whakatane developed a community stakeholder engagement strategy that has successfully alleviated tensions.

3.2 Facilitators

The contractual relationship with the Minustry and a focus on whānau engagement were identified as two essential factors contributing to pilot development.

3.2.1 Relationship with the Ministry

The contractual relationship between the pilots and the Ministry was described as non-prescriptive. This provided the pilots with autonomy to develop locally defined innovative

approaches to respond to whānau need. That said, each site requested gudiance to support the development and refinement of their pilot design, namely:

- pilot sites would benefit from having a shared Ministry point of contact. This would ensure clarity and consistency of expectations and messages across sites; and,
- the provision of a facilitator who could assist each pilot to design their approach.

3.2.2 Whānau engagement

The most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. A variety of mechanisms were reported to have been trialled. While these mechanisms are discussed as discrete approaches it should be appreciated that they rarely occurred in isolation. The importance of appropriate initial engagement strategies can be understood given the social isolation and social exclusion experienced by the whānau in question.

Engagement derived from whānau relationships

The Whakatane, West Auckland and Gisborne pilots stressed the importance of having pilot staff that have close relationships with key whānau representatives as a means of engaging whānau into the pilot.

In Whakatane and Gisborne the success of initial whānau engagement was attributed to dedicated staff members having a past whānau association and being respected as someone who can support whānau without judgement and inaccordance with whānau tikanga. In Hoani Waititi, while neither of the two staff members most heavily involved with the pilot have past whānau associations they have established a high standing across all patched whānau through a long history of responding to whānau need.

> s 9(2)(a) *has been an invaluable means of engaging with whānau. She has a lot of respect among many and is widely known. The pilot would not have got off the ground without someone like* s 9(2)(a) *She was the link between whānau and the various services. (Ruia, Government agency representative #1)*
>
> *We [Whakatane pilot] had established relationships with the majority of the Black Power hierarchy and this relationship provided an important in-road into us co-developing a service delivery model geared to specific whānau needs. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH)

As the pilots developed, a whānau-centric approach was operationalised through the implementation of Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a tool to assist individual and whānau planning. A unique aspect of the PATH tool is that it focuses on self-directed vision setting and transformation, upon which incremental short-term successes can result in revised and extended goal setting.[3] Through this process the

[3] A unique aspect of the PATH tool is that it focuses on self-directed vision-setting and transformation, upon which incremental short-term successes can result in revised and extended goal setting. The Whānau First, Whānau Hard collective chose to use PATH as a primary means of sustained engagement and individual and whānau transformation because of its focus on self-direction, a process whereby incrementing successes reinforce vision setting and the attainment of goals. Moreover, the use of PATH has been found to have a rippling effect whereby individual transformation and success can lead to whānau wide engagement in a PATH process. Importantly, while initial goals may be

individual is led on a facilitated self-directed vision setting process whereby short-term outcomes and possible challenges are mapped. PATH proved to be an invaluable means of engaging whānau in self-directed vision setting. Within a context of social exclusion and negative social labelling, PATH was reported as providing many whānau with an opportunity to establish their own objectives and whānau pathways. This was regarded as empowering and in contrast to whānau experiences of being directed to engage in behaviours and / or programmes with which they had no or little interest.

Providing a safe whānau-centric environment

The Whakatane and West Auckland pilot participants stressed that the success of engaging whānau can in part be attributed to the pilot environments, whereby the pilots were developed to provide whānau with a safe and whānau-centric environment. This was seen as essential to the pilot design as whānau had experienced a raft of negative interactions with government agencies and services providers that had reinforced the levels of social exclusion experienced by whānau and resulted in a lack of engagement with early intervention and supportive services.

> *It's common for our whānau to be treated badly. Like WINZ, or people who are meant to work with whānau, don't how to speak with whānau. So our whānau don't want to go to WINZ down there. It is cold. You are just a statistic. They try and treat you like and idiot. It is bad enough you have to go there as a client but it is like they are interrogating you. You walk in there whakama and they treat you like a machine. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

> *Whānau have a huge history of mistrust and misunderstanding of the process. Whānau know when they are being managed and they become suspicious. A lot of them [whānau] have experienced barriers dealing with organisations. So we provide a safe place for them and support them to go through the system. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)*

In response to whānau exclusion, the Whakatane pilot developed a one-stop whānau model, a hub in a central location from which whānau can safely access a range of services. Of note, the inclusion of a Work and Income NZ staff member was reported to have eased whānau burden and reengaged a large number of whānau.

> *It is a hub concept. It is not a new concept ... to be a hub for this type of community you need their [whānau] input, response and trust. Depending on the issue that they [whānau] walk through is what you start with. They turn up with a need and we support them through that stage. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

> *Having this place here. Our Black Power whānau coming here and are comfortable and relaxed here and aren't discriminated here because of who they are and what they are. Also having WINZ here. Also, having the social service staff here to meet their needs. Down at the other places they go through a lot of red tape and our whānau get frustrated and there's this feeling that there is a wall in front of them and they can't move forward. (Communities on the Fringe, Whānau member)*

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simple and achievable in the short-term, successful attained reinforces the individual's recognition of their ability to achieve. This achievement then leads to goals with a longer-term focus.

Clients have been more willing to engage with Work and Income processes at the Manna Integrated Services office [the Hub] than they have been at the Work and Income main office. Their anxieties aren't fuelled as much, due to being in a different environment. Taking them out of a Work and Income environment while still providing the same services is having a more positive effect. Clients are more open to the idea of meeting their obligations, such as attending their scheduled appointments – which is again a reflection of engagement. These appointments are essential for clients to continue to receive their benefit. They are more accepting of being at Manna and being in this environment than perhaps they would in the mainstream work and income environment. They talk more about working and what they want to do as opposed to being defensive, which has been the experience in the past. (Communities on the Fringe, Work and Income Representative)

The Hub's success was attributed to its provision of a safe and nonjudgmental environment and the fact that it was developed in close association with whānau. This has been reinforced by the implementation of a Whānau Advisory Group that informs the pilot's direction.

You don't feel pressure when you come in here. It is a whānau place. It is an open door policy. The whānau are glad that we are there. Our gang families have been waiting for somewhere that is safe that it is about them. (Communities on the Fringe, Whānau member)

The West Auckland pilot sits within Hoani Waititi, a pan-tribal marae established in 1980 and has a long history of responding to whānau in a similarly nonjudgmental environment. Importantly, the marae stresses that is that everyone is treated equally and that no patch association holds greater status than another. In addition, whānau reported seeking out specific staff because of their reputation of being respectful and engaging with the wider whānau.

Everyone has equal mana. We don't judge ... whānau are comfortable here. They are able to engage and they get listened to. The staffing we have at the marae all bring in different life experiences. The ones [whānau] who have come out from big lags [time in prison] get out and they come here looking for s 9(2)(a) *who is well known among the prison populations. Others come because they want to see* s 9(2)(a) *People seek them out because of their networks and the good work that they have done in the community. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #5)*

I came here because I heard from other people from different gangs and different walks of life how it was culturally sensitive and environment. Taking the person and the family into consideration when you go there. That's what I heard from other gang members. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)

s 9(2)(a) *is really accepting and some of the stuff of that I have learnt. So I can relate to her. I have done heaps of programmes in the past and they try and categorise you and when they are talking to you I wasn't really open to it. She is someone who has walked the same path as us and so that it was easier to receive. I don't care about what people know until I know how much they care about care about you. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)*

Activity-based engagement

While each pilot employed different kinds of activities, the Gisborne and Flaxmere pilots provide the best examples of activities that can lead to initial whānau engagement.

In the case of Gisborne, initial engagement occurred through a dual focus on wānanga and group fitness classes at a gym associated with Turanga Health; both activities organised by a Ruia staff member with close ties with some women associated with the Mongrel Mob.

Beginning in July 2016, what were ostensibly fitness sessions resulted in whānau engaging with the primary health care. This occurred because of a requirement for gym members to undergo a pre-enrollment health assessment, comprising tests of blood pressure, diabetes and BMI assessments. The assessments provided an opportunity for whānau to begin to build a trusting relationship with a health professional. Notably, this contrasted with previous whānau experiences of having engaged with authority figures because of some form of state intervention, such as previous experiences with Child, Youth and Family and the NZ Police. As a consequence whānau slowly began to develop increasing levels of trust with the nurse and were introduced to the wider Tūranga Health team, this in turn resulted in enrollment in smoking cessation and drivers license programmes, obtaining car restraints for children under seven and cooking classes, all provided by Tūranga Health.[4]

Wānanga also provided an important means of whānau engagement. Similar to the fitness sessions, whānau were engaged in topic areas that normalised their interactions. In this regard wānanga provided whānau with an opportunity to engage with people outside of their patched associations and in a safe, non-punitive environment, a normalised environment that naturally facilitated dialogue and interaction. For example, a whakapapa quilt making wānanga was used as a platform for whānau to spend time and build relationships with their children's school principals as well as meet a Turanga Health nurse who carried out health checks and discussed smoking cessation.

> *Wānanga was the glue. It really made visible that there was a different focus, a normal that focused on activities in front of them. From there we introduced other services. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #2)*

For over 10-years Te Taitimu Trust has held camps and a variety of community action-focused activities in the Flaxmere area. Te Taitimu Trust was established to address Māori health disparities by motivating rangatahi and whānau towards towards realising positive notions of whānau ora. As a member of the Whānau First, Whānau Hard Collective, Te Taitimu Trust was able to use its expertise to develop two camps as a means of initial whānau engagement, one in November 2016 and one in January 2017.[5]

The camps were designed with a primary focus on tamariki and rangatahi, patched and non-patched whānau, with the aim of developing resilience, confidence and connectedness. In addition, adult whānau members were engaged through their attendance as support people.

> *We want to provide opportunities of leadership within our gang whānau to motivate our rangatahi to be our rangatira of the future. Whether they are*

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4 In July 2016 15 women enrolled in the fitness sessions and this has increased to 26 at the end of June 2017.

5 The five day camps were held in November 2016 and January 2017 with approximately 40 participants (which included six rangatahi associated with a patched whānau) in November and 12 rangatahi and six adults in January (which included eight patched whānau tamariki and rangatahi and two female partners of a patched member).

rangatira of a gang or not, we want them to make good choices for their whānau and community. So what we are trying to do is to get the future leadership to think differently. So it is a movement of the people. (Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Stakeholder #4)

On one level young people were engaged through the variety of activities and wānanga that provided sustained interest and excitement. These included:

- arts - designing and painting customized face masks and panel boards for an overall art piece;
- crafts – creating fish hooks and necklaces from natural raw materials;
- swimming – water safety, learning to snorkel, dive, swimming techniques, and how to stay afloat in the water to save another's life;
- waka ama; and,
- unison electronic cars – an opportunity for tamariki and rangatahi to work together in small groups, follow instructions, get creative, troubleshoot and improve design by physically building their own electronic cars and racing them against one another.

Moreover, sustained engagement was traced to the young people and whānau developing life goal aspirations through their exposure to new opportunities and socialising with people from diverse walks of life. In this sense, the camps proved an invaluable mechanism of combating whānau social exclusion and isolation through a combination of opportunity provision and social bridging capital.

Within this context, a sufficient degree of trust developed with previously hard to reach whānau representatives. It was through these connections that whānau were able to reach out to pilot-stakeholder for assistance, as the need arose.[6]

Crisis responsiveness

Each of the pilots incorporated crisis responsiveness as a key component of their design. This generally involved situations of financial or physical need whereby the whānau has required support because of either substandard living conditions, a lack of food or the need for adjudication - because of a threat to an individual's safety or because of a request for intervention to quash a possible escalation of a conflict. Crisis responsiveness was viewed as an essential engagement strategy: assisting whānau through a crisis resulted in the beginnings of a possible trusting relationship whereby opportunities for continued support could be presented to the whānau over time.

Ruia has formalised a process of responding to financial crisis with the allocation of up to $1,000 per whānau. Similarly, Hoani Waititi and some member of the Whānau First, Whānau Hard collective had responded to financial crisis through the provision of funds, although neither of the two pilots has yet formalised the provision of funds as a formal strategy.

Putea is vital as a means of engagement. It reinforcers "I have an issue now and if you can meet the need it will form the relationship". There is $1,000 per client. Two guys needed to get the birth certificates to get their get their

6 It should be noted that an initial connection with one adult wāhine at the camp has had a rippling effect whereby the pilot has begun building relationships with a further eight women, each of whom is a partner of patched member.

licenses. We have used the funds for lice, laundry. So it is whatever is needed. We used it for car impounded. To get licenses, they need their old one. It hasn't been abused at all. There was a woman the other day who needed a passport photo but she said that she would do it herself. (Ruia, Stakeholder #2)

I think engagement here comes through crisis. It is usually Court or a justice related issue. Where they [whānau] want support, they may want help for us to navigate them to the right services. Often it is because of meth. May be they are wanting to come off meth or they want to give up family violence or their house has tested positive for meth use. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)

Aside from the provision of crisis-related funds, each of the pilots reported forming an initial relationship with whānau by supporting whānau by:

- advocating on their behalf with a range of government agencies;
- attending family group conferences;
- referring whānau for food parcels;
- securing housing for homeless whānau;
- responding to victims and perpetrators of family violence;
- assisting with crises arising from methamphetamine; and,
- adopting an adjudication role to quash conflict between chapters and / or other gangs.

If you handle the first hook well at the 11th hour then a level of trust is developed and they come back and ask for a little bit more. As you help through the crises you are more like to be able to work proactively and engage in transformation. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #5)

4 Theory of Change

At the forefront of each pilot's development was the acknowledgement of intergenerational effects of whānau social isolation and social exclusion. On one level, isolation was understood as an artefact of societal separation that is common to many patched cultures. However, social exclusion was discussed as occurring as a normalised behaviour that is reinforced through the cumulative impact of recurring negative state and social service sectors.

Social exclusion was reported to result from societal structures and responses that have acted to exclude whānau. However, it needs to be appreciated that the various societal responses that have oppressed and isolated whānau from wider society have created a desire for whānau safety that has lead many whānau to be socially isolated. In this sense, social isolation provides whānau with a sense of safety that can be likened to self-preservation. Within this context, whānau were described as living in restricted social systems, commonly described as 'cocooned'.

> *For the whānau I work with there is a fear of engaging with anyone outside of the whānau. For instance, I'm thinking of one person who has never had the chance to make choices for her own family because her ex-partner is Mongrel Mob. Her new man has given her confidence because she has never had the power to make decisions. It's been awkward and weird for her because she has never had that opportunity before as doesn't know how to do it. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

> *Many of the whānau have formed their own barriers over years ... it is self-preservation. It is a learned behaviour where they live in a cocooned world and they don't see beyond that ... They are wary of leaving their home and meeting strangers ... The one thing the whānau have in common is that they are hard to reach. By that I mean there is a lack of trust, there is poverty and so they are struggling to make ends meet. Some of the families don't give a fuck about anything. They don't care about the neighbours, what is happening up the street, they don't vote when it comes to the election. They care about what is in front of them. It could be a box of Tui [beer]. They live day-by-day. It's too much of an effort for them to try and be what society calls normal. (Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Stakeholder #1)*

> *A lot of the kids, if the parents are at home and they aren't helping themselves to get out of that situation then they fall into that situation as well. If there are no positive activities happening in the house then they start to think that is normal. Because parents just want to sit there and drink, stoned or just watch TV all day. So they don't meet other people and see another reality. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

The impact of intergenerational social exclusion and isolation were associated with a range of negative outcomes. On one level whānau were reportedly over represented in relation to indicators of economic deprivation, namely high rates of poor health outcomes, unemployment, disengagement from formal education, gambling addition, high levels of family violence and abuse of alcohol and other drugs. Within this context patched membership was framed as aspirational, as membership not only provides a metaphorical whānau but also access to status and income.

In response, the pilots developed pilot models founded the following tenets.

1. *Pilot design: The centricity of whānau and tamariki*

The centricity of whānau, as a central tenet, emerged on three levels. First is the implicit understanding that whānau wellbeing is intricately linked to an emphasis on achieving improved outcomes for children. In this regard, the pilots positioned the needs of tamariki as central but developed wider whānau-centric interventions in order to achieve these outcomes; the assumption being that improved outcomes of the adults in the whānau is a prerequisite for improved child wellbeing.

Next, each of the pilots adopted a broad conceptualisation of whānau, incorporating the needs of biological whānau members conjointly with wider gang whānau members. In this regard, the various interventions were developed as having potential rippling effects on an individual's biological and wider gang whānau. This was most clearly seen as an outcome of the various engagement strategies, whereby successful engagement with one individual commonly led engagement with other members of the biological whānau as well as other members or associates of the chapter.

A third aspect of whānau centricity is the importance of understanding whānau need and cultural context, each of which informed the pilots' whānau engagement strategies. This was identified as preeminently important as appropriate mechanisms to engage whānau were essential to the success of the pilot. The importance of prioritising a whānau-centric approach has resulted in two of the pilots' incorporation of whānau representatives to guide pilot development (Ruia and the Communities on the Fringe pilots).

> *We have worked with our nannies to develop the strategic vision ... Why the Nannies? It's because of hierarchy. They are the voice of the young ones who don't always have the words. They are the representatives, the voice of the whānau that sit beneath them. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

> *We use the leadership advisory board so they have and identify and ownership of the project. So we coordinate a number of the issues ... alleviate the tensions between the Black Power and Mongrel Mob. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)*

Hoani Waititi has not developed a whānau advisory group per se as members of the marae committee and staff members have either direct or associated whānau membership and provide a direct oversight to ensure the pilot develops according to whānau-centric principles. Whānau First, Whānau Hard is in the process of addressing mechanisms to gather whānau input.

2. *A focus on short-term successes and the development of long-term visions*

Each of the pilots acknowledged the importance of developing interventions that enabled individuals and whānau to achieve short-term successes, the attainment of which reinforces engagement in the pilot and leads to the development of longer-term whānau development strategies and goals. Effectively the models engaged in a reinforcement process, whereby initial short-term successes led to a desire to establish longer-term goals. In this regard, the pilots' foci are reminiscent of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory (Maslow, 1954) that predicates that self actualisation can only be achieved once a number of prerequisites are attained, the most foundational being the securing of physiological needs. As such, the establishment of longer-term goals was predicated

upon a number of basic needs being addressed. This often meant supporting whānau with an immediate crisis or working intensively with the whānau to ensure whānau basic needs are in place.[7] Once secured, the attainment of higher level outcomes can be incorporated as a focus, examples of which include educational attainment, desistance from criminal offending and family violence (see Appendix 2 for whānau defined short-term outcomes).

Importantly, the pilots used various mechanisms to assist individuals and / or whānau develop a longer-term vision of whānau wellbeing. In these instances, establishing a future-focused vision occurred after a sufficient level of trust had developed, trust that was often commesurate upon whānau basic needs being addressed by pilot representatives. Two primary vision setting mechanisms were used. Flaxmere and West Auckland pilots employed Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a tool to assist individual and whānau planning whereas the Gisborne and Whakatane pilots utilised wānanga.

> *They are living in crisis and their aspirations are quite low. Want to move that thinking among their leadership to aspire to more than their current needs. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)*

3. Acknowledging the need to challenge systemic barriers

To varying degrees, each of the pilots acknowledged to the need to respond to whānau need while challenging systemic barriers that place whānau in inequitable socio-economic positions. Challenging systemic barriers was most clearly operationalised by the Gisborne pilot; having placed the removal of systemic barriers as a central tenet of its model and achieved this through the formation of close relationships with leaders of key agencies. In late 2016, Manaaki Tairāwhiti (Tairāwhiti Tairāwhiti Place-Based Initiative) was created to provide an iwi led single cross-sector governing body to identify and respond to social initiatives in the area. Because various Ruia stakeholders (such as Tūranga Health Chief Executive and the Ruia advisory board) are members of Manaaki Tairāwhiti, a wide array of NGO and government stakeholders are privy to Ruia's programme goals. The most significant impact, however, is that there now exists a unified cross-sector governance structure that can meet to discuss remediation strategies should systemic barriers be encountered. Encouragingly, stakeholders have been explicit in that the identification of service receipt barriers are important to a process of system wide continuous improvement. As such, the experiences of one whānau are used to review the various components of the system and how the removal of barriers can benefit the wider population.

The West Auckland pilot relies on a lawyer, closely associated with the marae, who advocates on behalf of whānau. Both Whakatane and Flaxmere are in the early stages of deciding how systemic barriers can be corrected. In Flaxmere, the collective recently met with Totara Health to discuss the possibility of enrolling whānau in the service and how the service might support whānau navigate systemic barriers. In Whakatane, meetings with local agency stakeholders has resulted in an explicit acknowledgement that the pilot provides an opportunity to highlight systemic barriers so as to streamline and / or adjust operational practice to benefit the wider population.

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[7] Crises included safety issues, food, homelessness, addiction and / or the need for the pilot to intervene to reduce tensions between opposing patched members.

5 Outcome Evaluation

Because the pilots involved developing and trialling a variety of innovative strategies some pilots had neither defined measureable outcomes and / or developed mechanisms to capture whānau outcomes. As such, the following short-term outcomes were identified as a result of interviews with pilot stakeholder, agencies, service providers and whānau. It is noteworthy that the following short-term outcomes complement the Gang Action Plan's high level outcomes.

5.1.1 Whānau engagement

The most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Three of the pilot sites reported a high degree of satisfaction with the level of achieved whānau engagement. The Flaxmere pilot had reported less sustained whānau engagement but stressed that they are in the process of developing and implementing their service delivery model.

Tables 2 outlines the the number of whānau engaged by each pilot. This includes those who are in the process of initial engagement and those who are primary clients; in some for support through the pilot. Table 3 provides a breakdown of primary clients by age and gender.

Table 2: Whānau Engagement By Pilot Site (30 June 2017)

Area	Number of Estimated Patched Members in the Area	Initial Early / First Contact Engagement	Number of Primary Whānau Members Enrolled in the Pilot
	(n=)		
Communities on the Fringe	165	125	44
Hoani Waititi	Unknown	35[8 9]	11
Ruia	Unknown	50	72
Whānau First, Whānau Hard	300	66	8

Table 3: Clients By Age and Gender of those engaged in some form of service receipt (30 June 2017)

Area	Primary Client Male (n=)	Mean Age	Primary Client Female (n=)	Mean Age	Children Associated with Primary Clients (n=)	Mean Age children
Communities on the Fringe	29	29	33	32	63	Unknown
Hoani Waititi	8	40	3	31	30	8
Ruia	25	50	47	28	118	Unknown
Whānau First, Whānau Hard	3	18	5	26	0	0

8 These figures include a cross section of senior members of the Mongrel Mob, Tribesmen, Rebels, Hells Angels, Head Hunters, Black Power, Crims and Killer Bees.

9 Hoani Waititi has a large catchment that includes all of Auckland.

Sustained engagement was traced to a combination of whānau feeling safe and respected by those associated with the pilots as well as the development of trust derived from tangible support provided by each of the pilots. In this regard, pilot staff were cognisant that engagement was most likely to be secured when whānau needs were addressed. This often entailed the alleviation of a crisis situation.

Stakeholders suggested two indications of sustained engagement. The first is whānau perception that the pilot is an essential part of their support structure and, as such, whānau show a willingness to maintain an ongoing relationship.

> *The biggest thing that has happened here is that we have sustained engagement and they keep coming back. We are now part of their support structure. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

> *I haven't had anyone that has truly exited. We are always being on hand. Like through texts. There is even one guy that has moved away and he is in weekly contact. It is important to have an ongoing relationship because they get back into the real world and it is hard to get well from a sickness if you are in the same environment. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)*

A second indication of sustained engagement is the number of referrals emanating from the various whānau that have been supported, what one participant termed as engagement rippling effects. Indications of whānau rippling effects were strongly demonstrated by Hoani Waititi, Ruia and Whakatane. For instance, the Ruia pilot had an initial focus on female partners of a number of patched members. As a result of successfully engaging and supporting the women a growing number of patched Mongrel Mob members began approaching Ruia for support and assistance. Further, what was initially a pilot focused on Mongrel Mob associates has grown to include black power associated whānau.

> *I'm excited about the number of men who are willing to engage. Even the fact that they are asking questions; asking to have licences and questions about their health. We have six tane coming in to do their driver licenses. The men saw changes in the women ... they saw the women were engaging with the pilot, doing wānanga, ringing up when they had issues, getting car seats, going to the doctor, going to cooking classes. In the beginning I was seen as another intruder but slowly but surely they have begun to accept me. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

5.1.2 Benefit entitlements

The majority of whānau were reported to have been unemployed and / or not be in receipt of their full Work and Income entitlements. Tentative analysis of data reported by Ruia and Hoani Waititi pilot indicate a mean period of five and two years, respectively, where individuals were without their full or partial entitlements.

In Whakatane, the co-placement of Work and Income Case Manager within the Hub proved to be a highly successful engagement strategy and as of 30 June 2017, 125 adults were recorded as using the service at the Hub. Anecdotally, a large proportion of these adults were newly engaged with Work and Income and a large proportion were now in receipt of their full entitlements. Further analysis to support the verbal reports will be carried out once data sharing agreements between relevant parties is agreed.

In West Auckland, since January 2017 Hoani Waititi has provided intensive support for 11 adults through methamphetamine respite care. Prior to entering the pilot 2 clients were unemployed and in receipt of a benefit, 2 were unemployed and not in receipt of a benefit despite being eligible[10] and 7 were not in receipt of a benefit because they had been recently released from prison. After engaging with the pilot, 9 of the 11 clients were receipt of their full entitlements. Of the remaining two, one is now permanently employed and one is in the process of obtaining their full benefit entitlements.

Prior to their involvement with Ruia, the majority of the 72 adults engaged in the pilot were estimated to have been unemployed and not be in receipt of their full Work and Income entitlements. With Ruia's support 13 clients had moved into permanent employment, 43 were now in receipt of their full entitlements and 43 were reported to be in receipt of their full entitlements. The remaining 16 were in the process of applying for their full entitlements.

The Gisborne, Whakatane and West Auckland sites reported having prioritised supporting whānau attain their full entitlements as attainment of the individual's needs was viewed as a precursor to the development of whānau wellbeing and engagement in education, employment and crime reduction.

> *If it wasn't for us they would be looking for money in other ways. They would be doing jobs or selling drugs. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)*

> *If they get access to those benefits they won't turn to crime and they will have access to work ready programmes. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

Importantly, whānau viewed the assistance provided by the pilots as invaluable as interactions with some government agencies, and Work and Income in particular, were intimidating and often resulted in negative encounters with Work and Income staff. For instance, whānau provided multiple reports of feeling stigmatised, because of whānau associations. In these situations it was common for encounters between Work and Income and the individual to result in a trespass notice.

> *Some of them have tried to go WINZ on their on and the WINZ worker asks them a question and feel intimidated, they get anxious and they up getting escorted out of the building. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #3)*

> *Before the Hub whānau found it hard to get their benefits. Some of them hadn't been on a benefit for months. Barred for unknown reasons. Ever since we have had the Hub we have been able to get their entitlements. A lot of the whānau don't know about their entitlements. So we sit there and explain things to them. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)*

In other situations whānau reported a sense of helplessness not knowing how to get appropriate identification and / or a bank account. Frustration and a sense of helplessness commonly led to a decision to forego entitlements.

> *The first thing that needs to be met is getting. If you don't get the ID none of the doors open and you go back to what you know. It's hard because we don't know ... some of us don't know how to set up email accounts. It is crime prevention. As a man, it is the little accomplishments. When you don't*

[10] These two clients had not been in receipt of a benefit, despite being eligible, for more than 10-years.

accomplish something you feel useless. You don't want to wait in line at WINZ and not know how to ask for help. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)

That is one of the most crucial parts for us getting out of jail. Little things like getting IDs and birth certificates. So it builds up ... you don't go to WINZ, so these guys help us. Without x [staff member] it would be in the too hard basket and you just don't go. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)

5.1.3 Employment

Each pilot generally described whānau as experiencing high rates of unemployment, although some whānau were reported to have previously worked in seasonal employment, albeit intermittently. Long-term unemployment and a lack of marketable skills were identified as a predominant issue facing whānau in each of the pilot sites. Further, a history of criminal offending and especially imprisonment was a major barrier to employment.

Each pilot had developed some form of a relationship with potential employers and had facilitated the placement of some whānau into casual, seasonal and / or full-time employment. Ruia has maintained contact with several employers in the region that had resulted in 12 people being permanently employed, at Cedenco, Ovation, Poultron and / or Jasper Holdsworth. Similarly, the Whakatane pilot placed seven people in permanent employment and supported and additional three with seasonal work. Support often manifested with assisting the individual to travel to the place of work. The Flaxmere pilot had placed two people in permanent employment and one person in casual employment. Although one permanently employed individual had left the role, the fact that they were employed was seen as a success as they were exposed to paid employment, an experience that pilot stakeholders believed could be built upon in the future. Finally, Hoani Waiti reported having placed one individual in permanent employment since January 2017.

We also secured employment for five whānau over the Rhythm and Vines period. The work ethic of the whānau did not go un-noticed and they have been offered annual positions by the Rhythm and Vines group, if they require it. Our next steps are to develop a greater shared understanding between employers and the whānau as to what is required to support both. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)

For some of them it was the first time that they had worked and for most of them it was the first time they had a permanent job. The ones that went there didn't think they would last. It was transformational. Gaining work experience and training boosted their confidence. We have also supported people with seasonal employment in the kiwifruit industry ... fruit picking. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)

There have been positive results: we have seven people off benefit and into full time employment, and three into seasonal work. Considering that the clients that we work with are some of the hardest to reach this can be considered incredibly successful. (Work and Income NZ representative, Whakatane)

Of note, opportunities to undertake casual employment were especially regarded as transformational. For the majority, being hired on a casual basis was the first time that they had been engaged in paid employment. Furthermore, none believed that they would ever be given a chance to work. As such, those employed casually described being

exceptionally intimidated and lacking confidence on the first day of work but reported that their levels of confidence and belief in themselves grew exponentially as an outcome of the opportunity. In this regard, the opportunity to work in casual employment provided a foundational opportunity that led to whānau members enquiring about possible training and / or employment opportunities.

Table 4: Number of Whānau Employed or Undergoing Work Experience (30 June 2017)

	Employed Through the Pilot			
	Work Experience	Casual	Seasonal	Permanently
	(n=)	(n=)	(n=)	(n=)
□□□□	-	5	7	12
Hoani Waititi	-	-	-	1
Whakatane	-	-	3	7
Flaxmere	-	1	-	2

5.1.4 Engaging with primary health care

Whānau were reported to have been almost totally disengaged from general health practices and other community-based health care services, only accessing Accident and Emergency Departments in times of crisis. The high level of disengagement was attributed to a combination of social isolation, stigma associated with gang associations, transport related barriers and the cost of accessing health care.

> *The lack of engagement with medical care is complex. They are isolated because of their gang affiliations, not having transport and it costs a lot of money to go to a GP, for instance $18.50 for an adult even though the children are free. (Ruia, Medical professional)*

> *Cost is a big issue for why people don't go to the doctor. Westview Medical Centre charge flat rate of $20. So we pay that if need be. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)*

> *Many of our whānau are technically enrolled with a doctor but the majority haven't seen their doctors for months. A lot of them don't go to the doctors because they can't afford it. Stigma is a big issue. The ones that we deal with feel that they get judged. So our whānau wait and end up going to A and E. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #5)*

Each pilot acknowledged that whānau face extensive barriers in accessing primary medical care. In response, Ruia and Hoani Waititi included receipt of primary medical care as a primary focus of their support of whānau. For instance, appointments with a local medical provider are made for all new Hoani Waititi respite house clients. These appointments are necessary for clients to obtain medical documentation to support a Work and Income application however, moreover, the pilot views engaging with primary medical care as important as the majority of clients have not engaged with primary medical care for many years.

> *The only time I got medical care was when in prison. We grew up with that, "She'll be right attitude" and you just staunch it out. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)*

We almost need babysitting. 'Because I have never had this before. In the past, I was scared that if I went to a doctor the police would be there. Other times I was just focusing on the drugs and so health wasn't an issue. In the beginning they were reminding me about my appointments, now I am reminding them about my scans appointment. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)

Rather than directing clients to a medical assessment and intervention Ruia initially introduced whānau to primary medical care through fitness sessions that required a pre-enrolment health assessment. The assessments provided an opportunity for whānau to begin to build a trusting relationship with a health professional outside of previous whānau negative experiences of dealing with authority figures. As a consequence whānau slowly began to develop increasing levels of trust with the nurse and were introduced to the wider Tūranga Health team.

As a result a number of previously undetected, and often progressive, illnesses and health conditions were detected. Initial health screenings identified diabetes, pregnancy, poor renal function, cardiovascular disease and high cholesterol. In addition, Ruia reported almost all adult women had not accessed early identification screenings, namely cervical smears and mammograms and six of the 118 children associated with the pilot had not received Ministry of Health advised immunisations, measles, mumps and rubella. The detection and immunisation of the children was reported as a major success as it indicated the beginning of a relationship with a health provider and enabled children to participate in the free general practitioner and pharmacy follow-up.

Ruia asked me to do a health check with 26 of the mums. None of the mums were enrolled with a PHO. So we got them registered as a result of the health checks. If Turanga Health had not come on board they would have been families that would have been missed. The mums love their children but they miss looking after themselves and they sometimes forget to take their kids. A lot of them were over weight and the majority had head lice and their nutritional status was poor. As the result of the health I detected one woman with a cardiovascular risk of 20% to 25% which is high risk. Seven had high blood sugar readings and were referred for a GP response. Another four got very high readings for cholesterol so I referred them for GP follow-up. The majority smoked and the majority of them had not even thought about having a smear. When I asked them they said that they either had no symptoms, couldn't be bothered or they saw no point has they hadn't been sexually active for the last year or two. We do home visits to the ones we have taken on board. Like cardiovascular, high cholesterol, diabetes, we do a home visit every two weeks. Usually if they are pretty much well then it is a phone call. (Ruia, Medical professional)

None of them have been to a doctor. We have picked up diabetes, Hep C, poor renal function, pregnancy, and the happy look and their face when they thought there was something wrong with them and then they find out. For many, none of them have ever engaged with their own GP. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)

The number of whānau enrolled with a general medical provider or community-based health care services prior to engaging with the pilot and following engagement are provided in Table 5.

Table 5: Clients Enrolled With A General Medical Provider Or Community-based Health Care Services, Baseline and Post Pilot Engagement (30 June 2017)

	Adults Enrolled With General Medical Provider and Other Community-based Health Care Services			
	Baseline (n=)	Baseline (%)	30 June 2017 (n=)	30 June 2017 (%)
Hoani Waititi	1 (11)	9%	11 (11)	100%
Ruia	11 (72)	15%[1]	66 (72)	92%

1 Insufficient baseline data was collected and 15% is an estimate only.

5.1.5 Alcohol and other drug

Alcohol and other drug (AOD) abuse was cited as a major issue facing whānau. This was common across sites and was linked to a high incidence of family violence, criminal offending and, in the case of Whakatane, the bulk of referrals from Oranga Tamariki.

Of note, in three of the pilots addiction to methamphetamine was reported as the primary drug related issue. However, in Whakatane methamphetamine was under reported and alcohol was cited as the most problematic substance. The difference between reports may be attributed to the referral source. For instance, in Whakatane the majority of referrals have been made by Oranga Tamaraki in response to an alcohol-related family violence situation. In the other sites, methamphetamine is believed to be a primary issue and engagement with the pilots occurred on a self-referral basis.

Hoani Waititi, Communities on the Fringe and Whānau First, Whānau Hard were able to capture referrals for AOD support and intervention. Ruia is yet to solidity its AOD data capturing and has struggled to find suitable referral avenues.

Table 6: AOD Counselling / Support (Required and Referred), Baseline and Post Pilot Engagement (30 June 2017)

	Requiring AOD Support / Intervention		Referred / Engaged to AOD Counselling / Support	
	Baseline (n=)	Baseline (%)	30 June 2017 (n=)	30 June 2017 (%)
Hoani Waititi	10 (11)	91%	11 (11)	100%
Communities on the Fringe	23 (44)	52.3%	23 (23)	100%
Flaxmere	3 (8)	37.5%	3 (3)	100%
Ruia	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

Complementing increasing referral rates, whānau reported periods of increasing abstinence from drug use and abstinence was attributed to the support of the pilots. In the case of Hoani Waititi, abstinence was confirmed by pilot staff who carry out regular drug testing.

> *I am five months clean. It's being with* s 9(2)(a) *She's your friend. She's my family. She has given me boundaries and support. (Hoani Waititi, Whānau member)*

5.1.6 Crime reduction

Family violence and driving related offences were cited as the most common forms of criminal offending impacting on whānau.

Reduction in family violence

Family violence was described as prevalent and normalised in each of the sites. Three of the sites, namely Gisborne, West Auckland and Whakatane, included reductions in family violence as a component of their design. The pilots interpreted the numbers of self-referred victims and perpetrators as an indication of success of the pilots to date (see Table 7). This was especially discussed in reference to the number of self-reported adult perpetrators who had sought assistance and the number of children that were identified as perpetrators and victims that the pilots were able to wrap support around. Above all, the pilots reported the numbers of people disclosing family violence as an indication of high levels of whānau engagement.

Gisborne police were interviewed about whether any noticeable shifts in offending could be linked to the pilot. A decrease in family violence victims amongst known whānau members was reported, dropping from 14 incidents in 2015 to eight in 2016, a decrease the local police attributed to Ruia.

Table 7: Family Violence Self-Referrals for Each of the Four Pilot Sites (30 June 2017)

	Adult Perpetrators		Adult Victims		Children (under 18 years)	
	Seeking assistance with FV (n=)	Referred for AOD counselling (n=)	Seeking assistance with FV (n=)	FV referred for AOD counselling (n=)	Perpetrators of FV (n=)	Victims of FV (n=)
Hoani Waititi, West Auckland	7	7	2	2	0	17
Ruia, Gisborne	12	1	30	2	16	6
Communities on the Fringe, Whakatane	7	4	6	2	2	28
Whānau First, Whānau Hard, Flaxmere	-	-	1	1	1	1

Driving, vehicle and whānau safety

Whānau were over-represented in terms of driving without a license and driving unregistered and / or unwarranted cars. Non-compliance was generally attributed to financial constraints and, in terms of securing a driver's license, difficulty with the reading component of the licensing test.

Participants described being caught in a Catch-22 situation: needing to drive but not being able to afford the licensing process or to register their cars and / or obtain a warrant of fitness. In this regard, the risk of obtaining a fine was highly normalised, whereby whānau described being in a stressful situation of attempting to manage risk of being detected by the police.

The stress associated with driving without a license and / or driving unregistered and / or unwarranted cars can be understood in light of the justice-related costs:

- fines - fines issued fro minor driver's license breaches range from $100 to $400, which was cost prohibitive for whānau and commonly resulted in debt that can be referred for recovery; and,
- Court appearance – non-payment of fines can result in a court summons which can add an additional cost of at least $1,000 in further costs and penalties to the original fine with the risk of a criminal conviction.

Further, some whānau decribed finding it difficult accessing employment when many jobs require a driver's license. This complements Shaw and Gates (2014) who reported that a full driver's licence is a requirement for 70% of job opportunities in New Zealand, even for entry level jobs that don't involve driving.

Whānau experiences complement the growing awareness about traffic-related offending nationally. For instance, Māori and Pacifica are over represented in driver licensing offenses. Further, repeat offences or non-payment of fines can result in non-payment which has a spiralling effect; the individual risks losing their licence, having their car confiscated and / or receiving community service. If this happens, or criminal charges are laid, the offender may lose their job as well (Auckland Co-Design Lab, 2016). Moreover, the incremental costs associated with repeat offending can risk in a custodial sentence, of which Māori and those of lower socio-economic status are over represented. For example, there were over 4,300 criminal convictions for driver licensing offences in the 2013/14 financial year; of which 288 convictions resulted in a custodial prison sentence (Department of Corrections, 2015: cited by Auckland Co-Design Lab, 2016).

Given this context the pilot sites had either developed their own driver's licensing initiatives or referred whānau to an existing initiative. This also coincided with assistance for the whānau member to obtain requisite identification, funding and literacy.

Importantly pilot stakeholders cited driver licensing initiatives as a much needed crime prevention mechanism. For instance, Ruia captured whānau data on the 72 adults engaged in the pilot, by driving offence and by justice-related outcomes. Table 8 outlines the high incidence of driving related offences. Notably, 83% have received a fine related to driving without a license and / or driving unregistered or unwarranted vehicles. In addition, 56% had been arrested for unpaid traffic offences and 14% had received a custodial sentence relating to driver licensing offences.

Table 8: Driving Related Behaviours and Justice-Related Outcomes, Ruia Whānau (30 June 2017)

	Driving Related Behaviours and Justice-Related Outcomes	
	(n=)	(%)
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been fined for driving without a license	60	83%
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been disqualified indefinitely from driving	20	28%
Number of people engaged in pilot who drive unregistered and unwarranted cars	20	28%
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been fined for driving unregistered and unwarranted cars	60	83%
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been arrested for unpaid traffic offences	40	56%
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been issued community service for unpaid traffic offences	40	56%
Number of people engaged in pilot who have been imprisoned for unpaid traffic offences	10	14%

In response, the initiatives reported the number of whānau enrolled and successfully obtaining a driver's license, as of 31 July 2017 (see Table 9). While pilot stakeholders regarded the success of the driver's licensing programme as a primary crime reduction initiative they were viewed as foundational as they contributed to employability and the development of self-confidence.

Table 9: Number of People Enrolled / Passed Drivers License Since Engaging With Pilot (31 July 2017)

	Number of people enrolled in drivers license programmes (n=)	Number of people that have passed their leaners license (n=)
Hoani Waititi	4	4
Ruia	37	30
Whānau First, Whānau Hard	2	2
Communities on the Fringe	Unrecorded	Unrecorded

6 Conclusion and Recommendations

The study included a developmental and outcome evaluation. The developmental evaluation sought to identify lessons that could inform the ongoing success of the pilots to inform the implementation of whānau-centric responsiveness models in other parts of Aotearoa / New Zealand. The outcome component evaluated the attainment of short-term outcomes to date.

6.1.1 Developmental evaluation

Three challenges to pilot development were identified. The primary challenge was a difficulty developing an innovative design. This dilemma was traced to the majority of the pilot stakeholders' previous experience responding to government contract requirements. This often meant that the pilots experienced long periods of deliberation about the core focus of the initiative and what it means to position whānau responses as central to the design and how this can impact on conventional assumptions of the centrality of service delivery.

A second challenge was the pilot's organisational structure. It is noteworthy that the type of organisational structure impacted on the time taken to design the pilot intervention and engage whānau. In this regard, while a collective structure was reported to result in improved interagency collaborations it was the less efficient approach: reporting a longer development than pilots that primarily relied on a single organisation directing pilot development and implementation.

Further, pilots that were primarily based within a single contracted organisation invited external stakeholders to participate in the pilot once the pilot design had been conceptualised and implemented. Over time this meant that external stakeholders were invited to support the pilots in advisory and / or referral capacity. This also meant that the external stakeholders were positioned to intervene to remove barriers to whānau receipt of services.

A third challenge to pilot development was community resistance to the pilots. This was traced to community and government agency scepticism associated with the pilot's purpose and whānau focus. As the pilots progressed, the importance of developing engagement and communication strategies with external stakeholders was stressed as a priority.

Two primary facilitators were identified. First, the contractual relationship with the Ministry was described as non-prescriptive. This provided the pilots with autonomy to develop locally defined innovative approaches to respond to whānau need. That said, each site requested gudiance to support the development and refinement of their service delivery models, namely: pilot sites having a shared Ministry point of contact to ensure clarity and consistency of expectations and messages across sites.

The most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Within this context, the importance of whānau engagement was identified as the second facilitative factor. To this end a variety of mechanisms were reported to have been trialled to establish sufficient levels of trust before whānau would be best positioned to request further support; the most significant of which were pilot staff with exlsting close and trusted whānau relationships and the provision of a safe whānau-centric environment. This was seen as essential to the pilot design as whānau had experienced a

raft of negative interactions with government agencies and services providers that had reinforced the levels of social exclusion experienced by whānau and resulted in a lack of engagement with early intervention and supportive services.

6.1.2 Outcome evaluation

In the initial implementation phase, the pilots were tasked with developing and trialling a variety of innovative strategies and finalising the pilot design. As a consequence, the first tranche focused on developing the pilot intervention and not on defining measureable outcomes.

Despite the design focus a number of short-term outcomes were identified that appear to directly contribute to the overarching long-term aims of the Gang Action Plan. These short-term outcomes include:

- whānau engagement;
- whānau in receipt of their benefit entitlements;
- employment (including work experience, casual, seasonal and permanent);
- whānau engaged with primary medical health care;
- reduction in alcohol and other drug use / abuse;
- reduction in family violence.

The preliminary outcomes can be appreciated within a context of social isolation and exclusion experienced by the majority of the whānau in question. Within this context, each of the pilots focused on developing interventions that enable individuals and whānau achieve short-term successes. The focus on short-term successes reflects one of the core tenets of the pilots' theory of change - the attainment of short-term successes acts to reinforce engagement in the pilot and leads to the development of longer-term whānau development strategies and goals.

6.1.3 Lessons to inform future pilots

The following lessons were identified that could assist the future rollout of similar pilots.

Organisational structure

Consideration needs be given to the type of contracting arrangement between the Ministry and pilot bodies. There is evidence to support an arrangement whereby one organisation is contracted to develop and implement the initiative. This is in contrast to a collective structure that requires a longer development phase.

Pilot intervention development

It is acknowledged that a non-prescriptive contracting arrangement can facilitate innovative practice. However, an opportunity exists for the Ministry to support pilots to develop whānau-centric models. In this regard, the Ministry would support pilot development through a facilitation process. This would remove administrative burden from the various community stakeholders while freeing the stakeholders to focus on actualising the agreed design. Specifically, pilot development and implementation would be assisted through facilitated processes to:

- address possible competing worldviews amongst stakeholders;

- gain clarity about the innovative intention of the pilots;
- ensure a whānau-centric worldview underscores pilot development through the use of Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a primary whānau intervention as it reinforces the centrality of whānau experience and aspirations;
- design mechanisms to best engage and respond to whānau; and,
- develop a stakeholder engagement strategy. This could entail an environmental assessment of possible resistance to a proposed pilot and the development approach that draws on a wide range of local stakeholders from the earliest possible opportunity. This would assist communities to develop a sense of ownership and contribute to cross-agency support.

Reviewing and revising key pilot elements

The pilot identified the need to review and revise the design and delivery functions and the governance and advisory structures that support the pilot. It is recommended that this occurs through the following mechanisms -

- national hui of pilot stakeholders - pilot development and implementation would be assisted through national hui of all pilot stakeholders. This would provide an opportunity for pilot stakeholders to learn from each other's innovative practice and inform the refinement of other's pilot design.
- facilitated process – as with the pilot development phase, it is recommended that the pilots are provided with a facilitated process whereby they are encouraged to review and revise their design and delivery in light of recent experiences. It is recommended that this occurs at a three and six month interval following the initial signing of the contract.

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Appendix I: Service Development Models

Whānau engagement was described as a primary challenge across the pilot sites as extreme social isolation and exclusion were identified as fundamental issues facing the targeted whānau; emerging from a complex interconnection of historical, social and economic factors. On one level, isolation was understood to be an artefact of social segregation common to many patched cultures. On a second level social exclusion has become normalised, a response to recurring negative interactions with state, education, health and social service sectors. Within this cycle, social exclusion has been reinforced by economic deprivation, namely high rates of unemployment, homelessness and / or substandard housing. In this regard, whānau were described as having been 'captured' within intergenerational cycles of deprivation resulting in low levels of confidence, disengagement from formal education, gambling addiction, high levels of family violence and abuse of alcohol and other drugs. It is also important to appreciate that many whānau possess a sense of safety from being socially isolated: isolation in this context is a mechanism of self-preservation. As a result of these competing issues, many whānau were described as living in 'cocooned' systems where whānau were described as 'living in a bubble'. As such, collective representatives described their biggest challenge was to gain participants' trust in order to initiate engagement processes.

Ruia (Gisborne)

The development of the pilot's approach has been cognisant of the need to develop interventions within a logical chronological order and ensure that the approach could have measureable outcomes. The pilot's model is premised on three primary stages.

Initial whānau engagement

The pilot's primary success has been whānau engagement. This has been achieved through a dedicated staff member who has a close whānau association and who is respected as someone who can support whānau, without judgement and in accordance with whānau tikanga. Through this staff member, whānau were invited to participate in a number of activities. These activities in turn inspired continued interest in whānau engaging with Ruia.

Activities to reinforce engagement

Ruia provided a number of activities, the aim of which was engagement and raising awareness about whānau wellbeing. Two activities in particular were identified as having been pivotal to initial engagement; these activities solidified whānau engagement and increased whānau confidence and trust of the pilot.

The first activity began in July 2016. What were ostensibly fitness sessions, resulted in a whānau engaging with primary health care and/or other services delivered by Turanga Health (provider of the fitness sessions). This occurred because of a requirement for gym members to undergo a pre-enrollment health assessment, comprising tests of blood pressure, diabetes and BMI assessments. The assessments provided an opportunity for whānau to begin to build a trusting relationship with a health professional outside of previous whānau experiences of having engaged with authority figures as an outcome of what was seen as a punitive need, such as previous experiences with Child, Youth and Family and the NZ Police. As a consequence whānau slowly began to develop increasing levels of trust with the nurse and were introduced to the wider Tūranga Health team, this in turn resulted in enrollment in smoking cessation and drivers license programmes, obtaining age appropriate car restraints for children and cooking classes, all provided by Tūranga Health.

Secondly, wānanga provided an important means of whānau engagement. Similar to the fitness sessions, whānau were engaged in topic areas that normalised their interactions. In this regard the wānanga environment provided whānau with an opportunity to engage with people outside of their patched associations in a non-punitive environment, a normalised environment that naturally facilitated dialogue and interaction. For example, a whakapapa quilt making wānanga was used a platform for whānau to spend time and build relationships with their children's school principals as well as meet a Turanga Health nurse who carried out health checks and discussed smoking cessation.

Turanga Health

While Ruia was formalised as a MSD pilot in 2016 it began in 2011 as a community response to reported gang associated crime in and surrounding Gisborne. Over this period Ruia's structure has evolved with increasing levels of accountability and strategic direction, moving from a project that fell under Safe Tairāwhiti Community Trust whereby staff members were effectively contracted and there was a lack of organisational and

strategic focus, and infrastructural support systems. This also impact on contractors' clarity of roles and role boundaries.

Eventually, Ruia explored the best way whānau needs could be met as well as what operational and governance requirements were required. It was identified that Ruia would benefit from sitting within an established organisation so it could benefit from strategic and operational support and focus. In December 2016, Ruia was placed under the management of a Turanga Health, an iwi provider that works in partnership with a local PHO.

> *Due to the success of the approach and the people driving the project, it really pushed the boundaries of what was possible. Eventually, I think Ruia outgrew the capacity of Safe Tairāwhiti to manage it safely and effectively. They are volunteers with different skill sets. The lesson for me is that the purpose of the Trust and the requirements for delivering a MSD funded programme are different. Turanga Health has the accreditation and policies and practices in place meet the needs of MSD reporting requirements. The Trust was an ideal fund holder but is better suited to support the delivery of one off projects such as health promotion projects. The Trust have been important to bring together the various government departments and NGOs. It was a stepping-stone on the pathway to where Ruia is today. We have loads of experience working collaboratively in the community. Safe Tairāwhiti is a successful collaboration but the complexity of the funded deliverables of the Ruia work means that it better fits within an organisation. But you can't know that government requires a higher level of accountability until the project has successfully grown to that stage of development. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

Since coming under Turanga Health the pilot has grown from strength to strength. This was noted on the following levels

- as employees of Turanga Health, the Ruia team have clear roles and responsibilities and the Ruia team are provided with a shared workspace which can act to consolidate team interactions and the attainment of Ruia workplans.
- as an iwi organisation staff receive strong cultural support and supervision and wrap around support to engage with whānau.
- Turanga Health has extensive experience working within a comprehensive wrap around model, most notably E Tipu E Rea and Whānau Ora. These past experiences have provided a framework for Ruia in its work with whānau, most notably "combining a structure to service delivery with a capped putea per whānau to support a "whatever it takes" kaupapa".

Multiagency responsiveness

Parallel to Ruia's development, iwi and social cross-sector members became increasingly concerned that a dozen portfolio-specific silos, under multiple levels of governance and funding arrangements, had developed in the area and these portfolios effectively prevented a more strategic response to what are commonly overlapping issues. This meant that of the existing 12 collaborative networks, advisory groups or governance groups resulted in 'cluttered' arrangements and a lack of clear oversight across various initiatives that were engaging with whānau. In late 2016, Manaaki Tairawhiti (Tairawhiti

Place-Based Initiative) was created to provide a single cross-sector governing body to identify and respond to social initiatives in the area. Manaaki Tairawhiti has enabled:

- cross-sector coordination and a significant reduction of duplication;
- information sharing that fosters trust between whānau and service providers, and delivers information to frontline service professionals when they need it;
- a transparent structure to facilitate iwi and social sector providers to work with agencies to reshape services and lead practice improvements;
- comprehensive stakeholder engagement;
- an evidence base of what is working best to inform service and funding decisions.

Because various Ruia stakeholders (such as PHO staff and the Ruia advisory board) are members of Manaaki Tairawhiti a wide array of NGO and government stakeholders are privy to Ruia's programme goals. The most significant impact, however, is that there now exists a unified cross-sector governance structure that can meet to discuss remediation strategies should systemic barriers be encountered by whānau.

Within this context Ruia has developed, and is continually revising, the way in which it supports whānau through a multiagency response. On one level this has meant that Ruia first develops a close and trusted relationship with whānau and support whānau by engaging with relevant agencies and the NGO sector. Importantly, this often means that Ruia staff adopt an advocacy role and / or work working closely with relevant agencies to remove barriers to whānau receipt of services.

> *They [a variety of government agencies] sort of sweep you under the carpet and she [Ruia staff member] makes sure that you get everything that you are entitled to. (Whānau member, Gisborne)*

Initially Ruia focused on developing a collaboration with Work and Income NZ, culminating in the development of a dedicated whānau navigator within Work and Income. More recently, whānau experiences have resulted in the development of close relationships with local schools, Housing NZ, Oranga Tamariki and Probation Services NZ. Additionally work is underway in formalising pathways between Ruia and the following prisons: particularly Maungaroa, Auckland Women's and Waikeria.

> *Statistics show that the children of gang affiliated whānau feature decidedly in occurrences of child abuse and violence. Ruia team members are working closely with whānau to offer wrap around services for children and create relationships in the child protection area, where whānau are supported in this intimidating space and agencies will have support to create a platform where the mana of the child is first and foremost but the whānau are well informed in all stages of the process. Our next step, as Ruia, is to agree with Oranga Tamariki (previously CYFS) to develop agreed protocols so that whānau can be supported pre-and post Oranga Tamariki intervention. The whānau are aware that this next step is planned- and that the discussions will come back to them for their consideration and input. (Ruia, Stakeholder #1)*

Communities on the Fringe (Whakatane)

Manna Integrated Services (Manna) is a not for profit organisation that takes an integrated services approach to working with gang whānau and communities on the fringe.

Whakatane is considered Black Power territory, there are approximately 164 patched gang members residing in the township. This includes seven Black Power chapters that operate under their own leadership structures. There is also one chapter that is currently in transition.[11]

Common across whānau is a shared history of social exclusion and isolation. This has resulted in a lack of engagement with government agencies and NGOs and has meant that many whānau are restricted in their ability to engage in positive transformations and attain widespread whānau wellbeing.

The development of the pilot model was cognisant of the need to develop a whānau - centric intervention and provide a safe environment for whānau to meet and receive support. This culminated in the development of an integrated service model that aims to empower whānau while simultaneously reducing systemic barriers that many whānau encounter. Once the various barriers are reduced, whānau are introduced to a range of resources to empower them to engage in whānau transformation and improve whānau wellbeing.

Whānau-centric

The pilot model developed as a partnership between Manna and Black Power leadership. This was viewed as an essential step in responding to a variety of complex intergenerational issues and combatting high levels of social exclusion and isolation. In addition, the pilot's whānau-centric focus has been reinforced with the inclusion of a whānau advisory group that aims to guide pilot development.

> *We have worked with the gang leadership to establish an action plan based on four "pou" – tikanga, up skilling,* whānau *development, and communication - these are what the leadership want to achieve for their whānau and community. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

> *We use the leadership advisory board so they have and identify and ownership of the project. So we coordinate a number of the issues ... alleviate the tensions between the Black Power and Mongrel Mob. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #2)*

Provision of a safe environment for whānau – the Hub

Cognisant of whānau histories of social exclusion and isolation, the pilot developed a one-stop-model, in a central location, to empower whānau to access a range of supportive services and assist with their interaction with government departments. The Hub comprises an on-site:

- Work and Income Case Manager, based at the Hub five days a week;
- lawyer, specialising in family and criminal law, who assists clients with managing legal issues such as outdated care and protection orders. The lawyer is on-site twice a week

[11] Black Power has a significant stronghold within Whakatane, but Manna offers services to gang members and their whānau from other gangs who may also reside in Whakatane township.

- representative of the Children's Team – a cross sector approach inclusive of both government and NGO organisations dealing with children at high risk
- regular engagement with Oranga Tamariki.

In addition, plans are underway to include an on-site Department of Corrections Probation Officer.

> *We are whānau orientated. We make them feel welcome. We let them know what our services are. There was a big need for WINZ because half of our clients were barred from the Whakatane office so they came to us. So the WINZ officer saw a need for parenting programmes and budgeting programmes for our families. So it became a one stop shop. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #3)*

In addition to enabling whānau to access a range of services, in a safe environment, the hub model has resulted in the development of an integrated service response whereby the various on-site agencies are shifting from a siloed response to viewing the individual and whānau holistically and, as such, responding to whānau need in an integrated / cross agency model. These responses are complemented by Manna's own social services.

> *We engage with the relevant government departments and agencies in order to facilitate engagement with our clients. We have taken, and plan to take, these services, like Work and Income, out of the mainstream system and provide a space for them so that our clients can engage with them in a space that reduces the likelihood of alienation. We provide the point where all of these different statutory bodies can engage with one person, and the best way to do this is to case manage it. Connecting a client with these different bodies on an integrated case management level. This way multiple issues can be addressed, and we can guide our client, and their whānau through the system. (Communities on the Fringe, Stakeholder #1)*

Challenging systemic barriers

To support the implementation of an integrated service approach Manna has established an advisory board with representatives from regional and local government departments. It is intended that an advisory board will assist whānau navigate systemic barriers, either between government agencies or by the way in which clients are processed through the system. Notably, the creation of an advisory board provides a mechanism for Manna to seek advice and assistance on how to address presenting issues or remove barriers to engagement. Members of the advisory board also provide Manna with insight into the aspirations of each of the entities that they represent.

Hoani Waititi

The West Auckland pilot sits within Hoani Waititi, a pan-tribal marae established in 1980. The marae has been providing Māori with educational opportunities, health services, housing assistance, recreational activities and traditional Māori pursuits for a number of years. Specifically, these include:

- Kōhanga reo;
- Kura kaupapa;
- Whānau ora; - (Te Pou Matakana)
- Patua Te Ngangara – Methamphetamine Education, Awareness and Whānau Support);
- Te Whānau Awhina (restorative justice);
- Te Kooti Rangatahi (marae-based youth court); and,
- Kapa haka (Māori performing arts)
- Te Whare Tu Taua; (School of Māori Weaponry)

While the marae serves a wide and disparate community, the pilot has adopted a particular focus on gang-affiliated whānau affected by methamphetamine addiction.

Patua Te Ngangara (Methamphetamine Education, Awareness and Whānau Support)

The primary intervention occurs through a drug rehabilitation focus through a methamphetamine respite house, Te Tanga Manawa o Ahikaa. While recovery from methamphetamine is the primary goal, the pilot's development has been based on an assumption that recovery will lead to a reduction in the impact of drug use / abuse, family violence, child abuse and neglect.

The respite house provides supported accommodation for up to seven individuals for anywhere between three and 16 months.

Entry into the pilot occurs through three primary mechanisms:

- Self or whānau referrals – people with a methamphetamine addiction who have self-identified the need for support to recover from methamphetamine addiction.
- Those with bail conditions referred by the Court – this client group referred to the respite house whilst awaiting a trial or sentencing. The majority are awaiting trial and are on bail conditions.
- Whānau centred – the pilot acknowledges that methamphetamine addiction can have a negative impact on the wider whānau. As such, the pilot provides support in the form of basic needs (such as housing acquisition and advocacy with relevant government agencies) and psychotherapeutic interventions, as required.
- Senior gang leadership - a number of respite clients have accessed the pilot because of a need perceived by senior members. This has occurred because staff associated with the pilot have long established relationships with the majority of senior gang members. These relationships are built on past interactions, and a general reputation that the marae, and s 9(2)(a) in particular, will support gang whānau in a safe and non-judgmental manner.

They know that if they are in our service they will give me contacts of who is having a problem with them so they know we are going to keep them safe. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)

Support is framed by Te Piringa Poho, the sheltering bosom, comprising a network of people and services that support gang-associated whānau to engage in prosocial whānau transformation.

It is all the services that shelter / surround the whānau we work with. It's about healing and how we support whānau to achieve overall wellness. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)

These supports include:

- Assessment – an initial assessment determines the range of services and supports required to assist the individual as they engage in their recovery.
- Basic needs – the pilot ensures all clients access primary medical care and supports clients and their whānau to attain universal entitlements by assisting whānau to circumnavigate the systemic barriers. For instance, clients are supported when they attend their first meeting at the Work and Income NZ and support whānau to secure the requisite identification and medical certification, if required. Addressing the individual's basic needs was stressed as being a prerequisite to recovery.

  "We need to get them their entitlements as it takes pressure off them so they can deal with psychotherapeutic aspects of their recovery." (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)
- Vision setting - support is complemented through the therapeutic inclusion of Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a tool to assist the development of individual and whānau plans. The use of PATH has proven effective because it focuses on self-directed, vision setting and transformation, upon which incremental short-term successes can result in revised and extended goal setting.

  PATH – once they are our client then we get them to develop a 12-month PATH. Goals and visions to be achieved within a year and then we start assisting them to putting plan into action. We support them to achieve their vision. It might mean that they need restorative justice, engage more people with the whānau in their vision. With TPP it is about feeding that process. (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #1)
- Psychotherapeutics – a range of psychotherapeutic interventions are provided. These include peer support through Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous, alcohol and drug counselling provided two days a week at the marae, couples counselling, and intensive therapeutic intervention, if required.

Importantly, support is provided by paid staff and volunteers who have graduated from the respite accommodation. The inclusion of volunteers has a dual benefit. Firstly, working in a volunteer capacity provides a mechanism of sustained contact for who have graduated from the programme. On a second level, the use of volunteers reinforces a wider whānau focus that allows those who have embarked on their recovery to support other. In this sense, the use of volunteers reflects a tuakana–teina relationship, provides a model for peer support.[12]

[12] An older or more expert tuakana (brother, sister or cousin) helps and guides a younger or less expert teina (originally a younger sibling or cousin of the same gender)

"Volunteers – some have been with us for a while. Still have needs but they are low needs. They have been through the process and offer peer support." (Hoani Waititi, Stakeholder #2)

A second aspect of the pilot is a focus on engaging gang-affiliated whānau. Often as a means of channelling interested individuals into the respite house or, at the least, providing a means of introduction to the marae who can then provide support to address presenting issues.

Whānau First, Whānau Hard (Flaxmere)

The development of the model underpinning the Whānau First, Whānau Hard pilot arose in response to a series of local challenges and an understanding of the unique needs facing whānau in the area.

A highly transient population was reported as a challenge unique to Flaxmere, a challenge derived from many of the targeted whānau moving to the area to be close to whānau member(s) incarcerated in Hawkes Bay Regional Prison and moving away upon the inmate's release. This challenge meant that pilot development was mindful that sustained outcomes arising from the pilot intervention would be more likely to be sustained if a referral mechanism of referral was embedded as a key feature of the pilot.

In addition to the above challenges, the pilot developed a focus on adult women associated with patched gang members. This acknowledged the need to work with adult whānau members who can inspire change within the wider whānau.

The development of the pilot model was cognisant of the need to develop interventions within a logical chronological order and ensure that the approach could have measureable outcomes. The pilot's model is premised on three primary stages.

Initial whānau engagement

Two whānau engagement mechanisms have been employed. First, the pilot held a whānau camps in November 2016 and one in January 2017. The camps were designed with a primary focus on tamariki and rangatahi, patched and non-patched whānau, with the aim of developing resilience, confidence and connectedness. In addition, adult whānau members were engaged through their attendance as support people.

A second mechanism involves being responsive to whānau crisis. To date this has generally involved a situation of financial or physical need whereby the whānau has required support because of either substandard living conditions, a lack of food or the risk of criminal prosecution because of fines. Through dedicated staff and a small injection of funds, the abatement of a crisis has resulted in the immediate needs of whānau being met while simultaneously providing an opportunity for relationship building to occur between the dedicated staff member and the whānau. It is through this initial level of trust that rangatahi, and where possible, wider whānau members are invited to participate in PATH.

PATH

Within a context of social exclusion and isolation, the Whānau First, Whānau Hard pilot acknowledged the need to support the individual's transformation in a manner that is free of judgement and assessment; factors that are antagonistic to engagement. As a consequence the pilot adopted Planning Alternative Tomorrows with Hope (PATH) as a tool to assist individual and whānau planning. A unique aspect of the PATH tool is that it focuses on self-directed vision-setting and transformation, upon which incremental short-term successes can result in revised and extended goal setting.[13] A one-day PATH

[13] The Whānau First, Whānau Hard collective chose to use PATH as a primary means of sustained engagement and individual and whānau transformation because of its focus on self-direction, a process whereby incrementing successes reinforce vision setting and the attainment of goals. Moreover, the use of PATH has been found to have a rippling effect whereby individual transformation and success can lead to whānau wide engagement in a PATH process. Importantly, while initial goals may be

training is carried out with those engaged in the first phase. Through this process the individual is led on a facilitated self-directed vision setting process whereby short-term outcomes and possible barriers are mapped.

Wānanga

Where appropriate, wānanga are developed to meet the educational / information needs of those who have undergone PATH training. Importantly, wānanga have a dual focus: group learning while simultaneously providing an opportunity to build upon the relationships emerging from the first PATH training. Possible wānanga might include:

- understanding aspects of the wider governmental system (that whānau might need to navigate);
- provision of drivers license programmes;
- scholarships; and,
- the development of employment interviewing skills how to create curriculum vitae;

PATH facilitator training

Individuals who experienced the original PATH training will be invited to undergo PATH facilitator training. This level of training will ideally be suited for those who have successfully attained their self-defined short-term outcomes. The benefit of the training is that the individual will be best placed to work with members of their own whānau and communities.

simple and achievable in the short-term, successful attained reinforces the individual's recognition of their ability to achieve. This achievement then leads to goals with a longer-term focus.

Appendix 2: Whānau Defined Outcomes

A series of focus groups were carried out with whānau representatives in each of the pilot sites. The aim of the focus groups was to understand, from a whānau perspective what needs the whānau had and how they would like the pilots to assist them.

Whānau First, Whānau Hard (Flaxmere) Whānau Developed Six-Month Outcomes

Precursors

Current and historical relationship with the State

Government policy and practice that negates whānau needs and results in a sense of whānau not feeling valued

Lack of trust of government departments

Poor state interactions arising from stigma and judgment because of gang associations resulting in non-receipt of universal entitlements. Poor relationships with government departments were noted for Work and Income NZ, Child Youth and Family, Housing NZ, IRD and Corrections. In addition, some NGOs and schools were discussed as engaging in negative stereotyping.

Intergenerational cyclical considerations

Lack of employment opportunities and knowledge of how to access employment

Difficulty accessing educational scholarships.

Issues impacting on the whole whānau

Whānau drug use / addiction

Poverty

Inadequate living conditions exemplified by hunger, poor housing, a lack of adequate clothing

Insufficient funds to afford rent, electricity, petrol, school uniforms, payment of fines, food and cost of living in general.

Health

Due to stigma and past negative experiences from engaging with medical professionals, and the fear of Child Youth and Family involvement, whānau are less likely to seek medical treatment

Difficulty access alcohol and other drug services

Outcomes (six month)

State and media-related outcomes

Decrease the occurrence of stigma furthered by government agencies thereby alleviating the sense of alienation and result in universal benefit entitlements. This could be achieved through the:

- use of whānau advocates;
- placing representatives of relevant government agencies in one location (a hub) to ensure whānau receive the appropriate service in a safe environment; and,
- provision of wānanga whereby whānau understand aspects of the system that they identify as needing to navigate.

Developing healthy whānau

Moves towards having healthy whānau will be achieved through:

- health-focused wānanga;
- whānau engaged in sport and recreation;
- provision of alcohol and other drug related support;
- knowledge and the implementation of a wider whānau healthy eating campaign; and,
- use of whānau advocates to develop a relationship between whānau and health providers.

Developing a sense of whānau pride

Through various community action programmes whānau will develop a sense of community and whānau pride. Emerging from a sense of pride, whānau will be better placed to engage in transformational processes. Possible community action campaigns include:

- whānau engaging in regular public space rubbish collection;
- wānanga responding to whānau interest / need; and,
- forming whānau fitness and sporting teams.

Education / employment

Assist young people achieve qualifications. This can be achieved through the:

- whānau advocates liaise with schools in an attempt to reengage students that no longer attend;
- the continued provision of drivers license programmes;

Safety and Whānau Wellbeing

Cost of health care is prohibitive. **Education** Poor outcomes resulting from negative stereotypes of gang whānau Gang associated children being treated unfairly by some local schools. Notably, this has led to whānau being told that they are not welcome at school and / or the perception that gang-associated students are not treated appropriately.	▪ assistance with scholarships; ▪ the provision of work experience; ▪ the development of employment interviewing skills how to create curriculum vitae; ▪ enrolling students who are disengaged from school in correspondence; and courses and establishing supportive mechanisms around these students. **Face-to-face psychosocial support** Psychosocial and counselling support for those with drug and alcohol addictions and those who self-identify a need to proactively manage behaviours, attitude and feelings (anger management). **Obtain universal entitlements** Whānau receive universal entitlements (specifically Work and Income, health and Housing NZ) Budget services are enlisted.

Ruia (Gisborne) Whānau Developed Six-Month Outcomes

Precursors

Current and historical relationship with the State

Government policy and practice that negates whānau needs

Lack of trust of government departments

Poor state interactions arising from stigma and judgment because of gang associations resulting in non-receipt of universal entitlements

Intergenerational cyclical considerations

Due to insufficient funds for early childcare enrolment children:

- are not exposed to alternative prosocial lifestyles; and,
- experience delayed knowledge acquisition (such as reading and writing).

Poor post-prison reintegration results in financial and social stress on recently released inmates and their whānau.

Issues impacting on the whole whānau

Whānau drug use

Problem gambling

Dysfunctional whānau communication and coping skills

Lack of trust of professionals dissuades whānau from seeking family violence intervention (specifically in terms of Child Youth and Family removing children from the family)

Skill-based considerations

Lack of drivers licenses prevent whānau from securing employment

Lack of confidence and knowledge to enrol in appropriate employment pathways

Outcomes (six month)

State and media-related outcomes

Decrease the occurrence of stigma furthered by media and government agencies thereby alleviating the sense of alienation and result in universal benefit entitlements. While a variety of agencies were identified as continuing the on-going stigma of gang associated whānau the Police, Work and Income NZ and Housing New Zealand were cited as the most common.

Reduce incidence of family violence

Reduce the incidence of family violence through:

- gang leadership adopting a zero tolerance for family violence;
- identification of early signs of conflict and learning early intervention strategies (such as removing oneself from the home); and,
- enlisting the support of trusted professionals.

This could be achieved through:

- whānau wānanga;
- on-going mentoring;
- counselling; and,
- the identification of professionals that can be called for assistance where there is no risk of CYFS intervention.

Developing healthy whānau relationships

Whānau learn about healthy communication and how to appropriately deal with whānau conflict. This would include learning about boundary setting and developing a whānau commitment to healthy whānau communication. This could be achieved through whānau wānanga, on-going mentoring and counselling.

Developing healthy whānau

Moves towards having healthy whānau will be achieved through engaging in regular exercise, enrolling in Iron Māori and enrolling and receiving health services from Turanga Health.

Developing whānau future-focused vision

Provide children and the wider whānau with bridging capital and learning opportunities. This could achieve this through:

Safety and Whānau Wellbeing

Health

Due to stigma and past negative experiences from engaging with medical professionals, and the fear of Child Youth and Family involvement, whānau are less likely to seek medical treatment.

- school holiday programmes;
- enrolment with early childhood education for those aged under three years of age; and,
- activities that expose children and whānau to new experiences.

Pre- and post-reintegration support

Poor post-prison reintegration results in financial and social stress on recently released inmates and their whānau. Appropriate reintegration can be achieved through support prior to parole hearings and the provision of a dedicated support person (such as a dedicated Work and Income staff member) to secure necessary identification, bank accounts and a local address.

Pre-employment support

Pre-employment support will be provided in terms of:

- acquisition of drivers licenses
- education and training with positive employment pathways
- social and communication skills.

Face-to-face psychosocial support

Psychosocial and counselling support for those with drug, alcohol and gambling addiction and those who self-identify a need to proactively manage behaviours, attitude and feelings.

Obtain universal entitlements

Whānau receive full Work and Income and Housing NZ entitlements.

Hoani Waititi (West Auckland) Whānau Developed Six-Month Outcomes

Precursors

Historic pain

Colonisation

Current and historical relationship with the state

Government policy and practice that negates whānau needs

Lack of trust of government departments

Poor state interactions arising from stigma and judgment because of gang associations

Whānau pain

The impact of whānau drug use

Whānau spiralling out of control

Anger and frustration with world

Whānau in crisis

Grief and death

Mental health and wellbeing issues

Blended whānau

Broken whānau

Intergenerational toxicity

Lack of trust of professionals (mental health, health professionals and teachers)

Individual psychosocial precursors

Drug use

Depression

Not knowing what's normal

Paranoia

Negative reactions to stigma and judgment based on gang association or behaviour

Lack of trust of professionals (mental health, health professionals and teachers)

Outcomes (six month)

State-related outcomes

Remove negative government reactions to gang whānau that result in a sense of alienation and on-going anger through positive / dedicated service provision

Intervention and support

- Obtain driver's license
- Whānau enrolled and accessing healthcare
- Receive assistance to intervene in family violence situations and support the victim in leaving escalating situations
- Through a facilitated whānau development intervention whānau conflict / disintegration is either resolved or prosocial communication is initiated. This is especially applicable in situations of fractured whānau relationships and where mediation would result in strengthened whānau relationships

Face-to-face psychosocial support

Whānau will receive the following forms of psychosocial support:

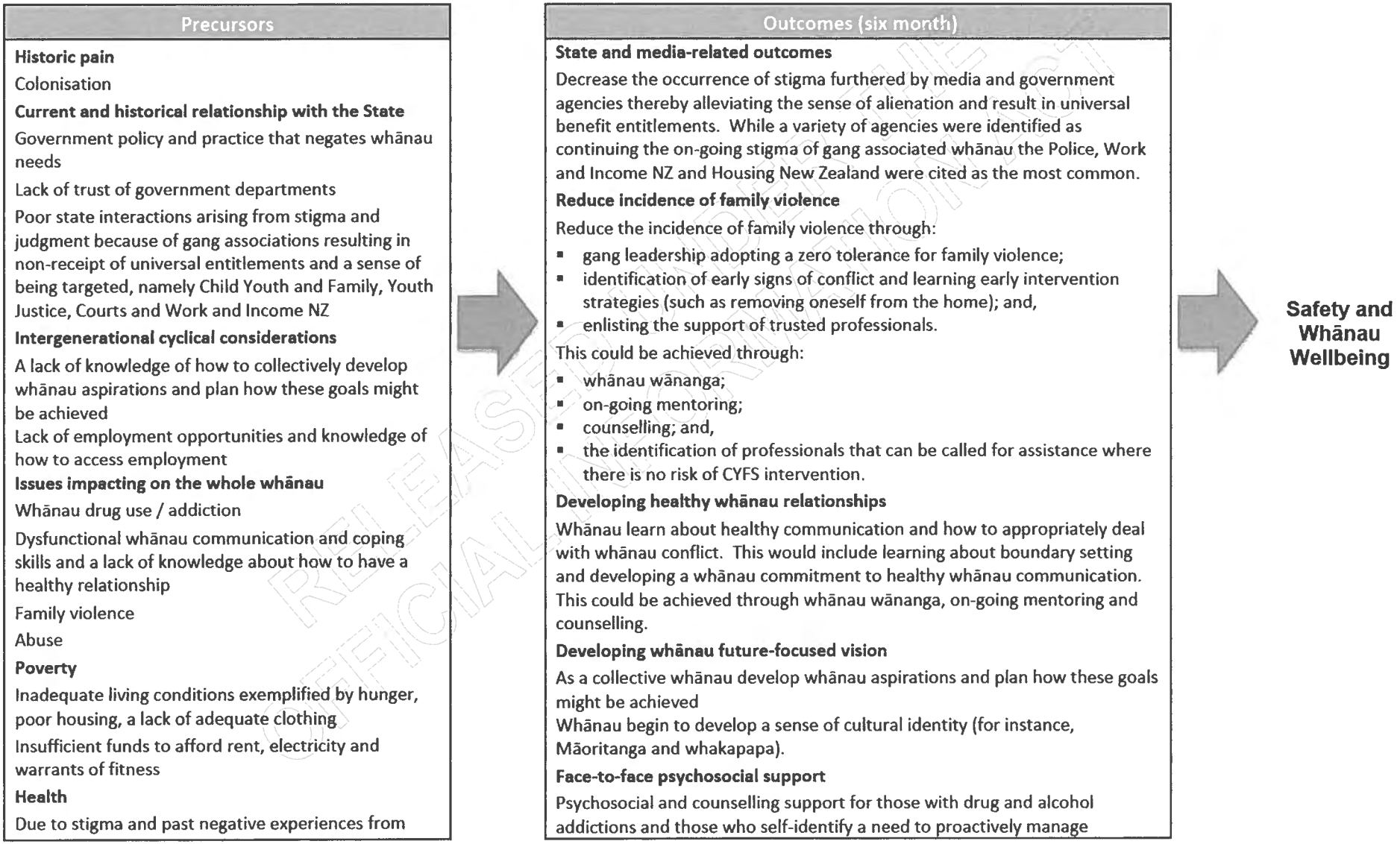
- Grief counselling
- Drug counselling for those who either have a history of drug use or are currently using alcohol or other drugs
- Therapeutic interventions that focus on leading a prosocial life. Examples included –
  - boundary setting
  - developing a prosocial term of reference
  - how to support whānau be drug free

Obtain Basic Needs

- Accommodation (permanent and not crowded)
- Food

Safety and Whānau Wellbeing

Communities on the Fringe (Whakatane) Whānau Developed Six-Month Outcomes



engaging with medical professionals, and the fear of Child Youth and Family involvement, whānau are less likely to seek medical treatment Difficulty access alcohol and other drug services Cost of health care is prohibitive **Education** Poor educational engagement and outcomes.	behaviours, attitude and feelings (anger management). **Obtain universal entitlements** Whānau receive full Work and Income and Housing NZ entitlements Budget services are enlisted.

MINISTRY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
TE MANATŪ WHAKAHIATO ORA

Report

Date: 31 May 2018 **Security Level:** IN CONFIDENCE

To: Hon Carmel Sepuloni, Minister for Social Development

MSD's work to improve social outcomes for gang-connected populations

Purpose of the report

1 As requested, this report provides you with information on the work that the Ministry of Social Development does with gang-connected populations.

Recommended actions

It is recommended that you:

1 **note** the content of this report.

2 **forward** a copy of this report to your colleague, the Minister of Police.

MEdwards 31.5.18

Marama Edwards
Group General Manager
Community, Partnerships and Programmes

Date

16/6/18

Hon Carmel Sepuloni
Minister for Social Development

Date

MSD works with gang-connected population in a number of ways

2 People who are connected to gangs face significant barriers to achieving social and economic wellbeing. Compared to other groups, gang members and their families have higher rates of benefit dependency, involvement in crime, imprisonment, and child abuse and neglect. This can lead to poor outcomes, especially for the children of gang members.

3 The Gangs Action Plan (GAP) is a whole of Government response to gangs. The over-arching long term aims of the GAP are:

- Reducing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in welfare dependence, serious crime, drug offences, family violence, child abuse and harm caused by alcohol and drugs
- Increasing the participation of gang affiliated whānau in sustainable employment, education or training and community participation.

4 MSD's part of the Plan ("Start at Home" Community Pilots) aims to break intergenerational gang life and reduce welfare dependence and the harm caused to families. MSD also provides information to the Police-led Gangs Intelligence Centre (GIC).

5 Through E Tu Whānau, we work with certain chapters of Black Power and the Mongrel Mob in 15 locations around New Zealand to facilitate and support their work in eliminating violence against women and children.

6 MSD also has a range of tools and services we can use to support gang members, their families, and associates, as we do for any client. For example, we help our clients to:

- Relocate away from gangs
- Meet their obligations to ensure their children are enrolled in education and have access to healthcare
- Get support for family violence, and
- Get the correct entitlements.

Start at Home Community Pilots

7 Patched gang members and their whānau have complex needs that are often multigenerational and entrenched, and they are often reluctant to engage with mainstream services.

8 The objective of the Start at Home Community Pilots (the pilots) is to provide interventions that effectively engage gang members and their whānau to reduce social harm.

9 Start at Home runs in seven locations across New Zealand: West Auckland, Flaxmere, Gisborne, Whakatane, Porirua, Rotorua and Whanganui. The following organisations are funded by MSD to deliver the pilots:

- Hoani Waititi Marae Trust
- Wesley Wellington Mission Incorporated
- Te Ikaroa Rangatahi Social Services Incorporated

- Tairawhiti District Health
- Kawerau Youth Care Centre Trust - trading as Manna Integrated Services
- CART (Consultancy, Advocacy, Research Trust), and
- H2R (Hard to Reach).

10 Each pilot is unique and takes into account the specific needs of the local population. The range of approaches being taken in the pilots includes:

- Gisborne - a collective of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community members leading a multi-agency, multi-faceted approach. Outcomes have included accessing training, employment and health initiatives, as well as education about addiction and methamphetamine. It has had a strong focus on supporting change for women within the gangs, ensuring they are aware of the range of services available, encouraging them into training and employment
- Whakatane - a wrap-around service with an emphasis on improving education and employment outcomes. The group has set up a strong relationship with Work and Income to link whānau into training, as well as encouraging whānau to access social services in the community. Several of the group have accessed the opportunity to gain their driving licences, and some have moved into kiwifruit work in the Bay of Plenty
- Flaxmere - a youth focused community development approach to reduce the social harm from gang membership and association. They are undertaking local action with Rangatahi, encouraging access to available services in addressing a range of social issues, including looking at health, addiction and physical activity.
- West Auckland – a community methamphetamine treatment programme, and coordination of interventions focused on reducing the negative impact of the drug on individuals and their children. A range of social issues including homelessness, health, mental health issues, training and employment are addressed.
- Porirua – participants undertake a range of activities including physical exercise, dealing with methamphetamine addiction, issues of homelessness, housing, and issues around parenting practice and strategies for managing violence.
- Rotorua – activities to address issues of unemployment, lack of skills, violence, poor housing, addiction and mental health issues as well as criminal records that can mean there are limited job opportunities. Work underway has built links with both Police and Work and Income to help members gain driving licences and to access work across the Bay of Plenty. Community gardens are in place and a link is underway with the DHB to better link with mental health and addiction services in the area.
- Whanganui – a strong focus on employment, skills and self-sufficiency. There is a strong desire to eliminate the use of methamphetamine and to make whānau a place where there is no violence around the women and children. They are establishing community gardens, and learning how to sustainably access kai moana. Several of the members are working already and others are looking at setting up a small enterprise as they find it difficult to access sustainable employment.

An initial evaluation has been done of the pilots

11 An evaluation of the pilots was completed in September 2017, consisting of a developmental and an outcome evaluation. The developmental evaluation sought to identify lessons that could inform the implementation of whānau-centric responsiveness models in other parts of New Zealand. The outcome evaluation looked at the attainment of short-term outcomes that are expected to directly contribute to the overarching long-term aims of the GAP.

12 A further outcomes evaluation is currently underway.

Developmental evaluation findings

13 The developmental evaluation identified three challenges to the development of the pilots:

- Difficulty in developing an innovative design – this was traced to difficulties in thinking outside conventional government contracted service delivery models and organisational structure
- The pilots' organisational structure – pilots that had a collective structure required a longer development phase than those pilots that primarily relied on a single organisation to direct pilot development and implementation, and
- Stakeholder and community resistance to the pilots – this was attributed to community and government agency scepticism regarding the purpose of the pilots and the whānau focus. As the pilots progressed, developing engagement and communication strategies with external stakeholders was stressed as a priority.

14 Two essential factors that contributed to effective pilot development were identified:

- Flexible contractual arrangements between the pilots and MSD – this provided the autonomy to develop locally defined innovative approaches to respond to whānau need, and
- Whānau trust and engagement – although gaining whānau trust and engagement was a challenge, once it was achieved, it was an important facilitative factor for the pilots.

Outcome evaluation findings

15 The focus of the pilots in the time period covered by the evaluation was design and implementation, rather than defining measurable outcomes. Despite the design focus, the following short-term outcomes were identified by the evaluation:

- Whānau engagement – three of the four pilot sites reported a high degree of satisfaction with the level of whānau engagement, having used a variety of whānau engagement mechanisms
- Benefit entitlements – the majority of whānau were reported to have been unemployed and/or not be in receipt of their full Work and Income entitlements. Making sure that whānau received their full benefit entitlements was seen as a precursor to the development of whānau wellbeing and engagement in education and employment as well as reduction in crime

- Employment – each pilot developed a relationship with potential employers and were successful in the placement of some whānau members into casual, seasonal and/or full-time employment
- Engagement with primary health care – Whānau were reported to have been almost totally disengaged from primary health care, only accessing Accident and Emergency services in times of crisis. Two of the pilot sites (Ruia and Hoani Waititi) made receipt of primary health care a key focus of their work with whānau. As a result, all adults in the Hoani Waititi pilot and 92% of the adults in the Ruia pilot enrolled with primary health care providers.
- Reduction in alcohol and other drug use/abuse – alcohol and other drug use was cited as a major issue facing whānau. The pilots resulted in increased rates of referral to alcohol and drug counselling/support, and whānau reported increasing abstinence from drug and alcohol (confirmed by drug testing at the Hoani Waititi site)
- Reduction in family violence – family violence was described as prevalent and normalised in each of the pilot sites. The fact that victims and perpetrators started to self-refer for assistance is seen as an indication of success. The numbers of people disclosing family violence was an indication of high levels of whānau engagement
- Driving, vehicle and whānau safety – whānau involved in the pilots were over-represented in terms of driving without a license and driving unregistered/unwarranted cars. This caused stress (from attempting to avoid detection) and also increased the difficulty of accessing employment as many jobs require a driver's license. Each pilot focused on driver licensing which was seen as a much needed crime prevention mechanism but also contributed to employability and development of self confidence

Funding for the pilots

16 The Start at Home Community Pilots were initially funded from MSD baseline funding. MSD submitted a bid for Budget 2017 for $1.75m per annum out-years funding for the pilots.

17 The full bid was not successful, however funding of $1.75m for one year (2017/18) was provided in Budget 2017. This funding finishes on 30 June 2018 and providers have been informed that there will be no further funding for the pilots.

18 A bid prepared for Budget 2018 for continuation of funding for the pilots did not proceed.

Work with gangs through E Tu Whānau

19 E Tū Whānau is a Crown/Maori partnership which aims to prevent violence by working with communities in a culturally specific way, strengthening protective factors and changing attitudes and behaviours. It works directly with whānau, hapu, iwi and hapū to undertake action that will embed behaviour change. Budget 2017 provided $4m over two years for the continuation of the E Tū Whānau Community Action Fund. This funding ends 30 June 2019.

20 Through E Tū Whānau, we work with chapters of Black Power and the Mongrel Mob that have decided that they want to eliminate violence towards women and children and don't support the supply, distribution or use of methamphetamine.

21 This work is happening in 15 locations around the North Island: Auckland, Gisborne, Hamilton, the Hawkes Bay, Kaeo, Kaitaia, Murupara, Ōpōtiki, Rotorua, Ruatoria, Taranaki, Tokoroa, Wellington, Whakatane and Whanganui.

22 Positive changes are happening as a result of this work. Whānau members are accessing a wider range of government services, and more of them are getting into education, employment and training. There is also increased commitment to early childhood education (e.g. one of the chapters has made it a requirement that young children are read to each night). Women are far more active and their roles in the gang community is changing. An example of this is that 50% of those attending E Tu Whānau hui are now women, and rather than being silent observers (as was the norm previously), are active participants in hui and discussions about how to end violence within whānau

23 Chapters in the South Island have expressed interest in having us work with them through E Tu Whānau, but to date, the level of demand in the North Island has meant insufficient resources to expand further. However, we are looking to work with some chapters in the South Island in 2018/19.

Addressing benefit fraud by gang members

24 The Ministerial Oversight Group for the GAP under the previous government was interested in investigating how to tackle housing and benefit fraud by gang members, along with any other government services where gang members are high users.

25 MSD analysis showed that in terms of the rates of allegations and investigations, gang members appear in MSD's Fraud and Intervention Services data at about twice the rate of all clients (10% versus 5% in 2017). However, the rate of successful prosecutions of gang members is not significantly different to the rate for all clients (0.8% versus 0.5%).

26 The lack of successful prosecutions where gang members are being investigated indicates that they do not necessarily commit more deliberate benefit-related fraud as compared to other clients. Therefore, there would be little value in specifically targeting gang members for additional fraud investigation initiatives over and above what MSD does as part of normal investigations. There would also be staff safety considerations if MSD were to start specifically targeting gang members for investigation.

27 MSD supports other agencies (including Police) in cross-agency gang related investigations.

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Author: s 9(2)(a) Senior Analyst Operational Policy and Planning

Responsible Manager: s 9(2)(a) Manager Community Partnerships and Programmes

Liberating Minds
Liberating Communities
and
Making Aotearoa
The Best Place in the World
In Which to Be A Child
Even if Your Whānau
Are Connected to a
Māori Gang

A TRANSDISCIPLINARY REVIEW
OF THE FORMER GOVERNMENT'S
GANG ACTION PLAN (GAP)
and
PLACE-BASED PILOT INITIATIVES IN
WHAKATANE WHANGANUI & ROTORUA

"We have to talk about liberating the minds as well as liberating society. And indeed, if we are truly seeking a revolution of the heart, a movement for change, the liberation of communities, we must respond to the call that is coming from gangs themselves, to find their own solutions".

'Moral Panic and the Gangs'. Dame Tariana Turia. General Debate. 27th June 2007

WAIOHIKI COMMUNTY CHARITABLE TRUST
DECEMBER 2018

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Executive Summary

1. In 2014 the then National-led New Zealand Government launched an inter-agency Gang Action Plan (GAP) with the objective of reducing both the fiscal costs and social harms, such as domestic violence, child neglect, and child abuse, within gang-connected whānau.

2. The primary social harm of gangs in Aotearoa is the domestic violence inflicted on the children, and their mothers, who live in gang-connected households.

3. Sixty percent of children living in Aotearoa's gang-connected households were assessed as being victims of abuse and/or neglect. Domestic violence comprised fifty per cent of the serious crimes of violence committed by adult gang members. Mothers are as likely to be the alleged perpetrator as a gang-member father.[1]

4. Gang–connected whānau were said to consume disproportionate sums of welfare payments with poor outcomes. This poor ROI was compounded by alleged widespread benefit fraud on the part of gang-connected whānau.

5. However, an analysis, undertaken in 2017 by Kaitiaki Research[2], of actual receipt of benefit payments received by gang-connected whānau within the GAP place-based pilots, suggests that the opposite and that, in reality, gang-connected whānau are less likely to receive their full entitlements.

6. A Gang Intelligence Centre was established to draw on information from Government agencies and to use this intelligence to reduce these social harms and to address illegal gang activities. This was extended to include crimes by trans-national groups.

7. At present there is no equivalent of the former Government's Gang Action Plan. The current Coalition Government seeks to address issues for children, including family violence, through other responses.

8. Most New Zealand gang members are Māori.[3] For the purposes of this paper, and, accepting that there are members of other ethnicities in NZ gangs, particularly Pasifika, this paper, by default, treats all indigenous gang members, as Māori.

9. This approach helps align the findings of, and questions raised in the paper, with other streams of work being undertaken by the Coalition Government. These include:

[1] MSD (March 2016) *Adult gang members and their children's contact with the Ministry of Social Development service lines*: National Profile Chart. Children of Gang Members.
[2] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the fringe: developmental outcomes evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation. Wellington
[3] 75% Maori; 8% Pasifika; 14% other NZers. Ministry Social Development (2016) *Adult gang members and their children's contact with MSD service lines*

- The Inquiry into Mental Health and Addiction;
- The Waitangi Tribunal Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2575); and,
- The Royal Commission of Enquiry into Historical Abuse in State Care/Te Komihana Karauna no Nga Tukino o Mua ki te Hunga i Tiakina e te Kawatanga.[4]

10. The Prime Minister of our nation, Rt. Hon Jacinda Ardern, has expressed a goal to make New Zealand the best place in the world to bring up a child[5]. It may be that currently, within Aotearoa, a gang-connected household is the worst place to bring up a child. Accordingly, gang-connected households seem to be a good place to start in pursuit of the wellbeing of our nation's children.

11. Besides the agenda to reduce the social harm caused through child abuse and neglect and domestic violence, the Gang Action Plan also set out to combat gang-related crime in general. This includes the activities of transnational organised criminal groups.

12. That New Zealand is being impacted by the activities of transnational criminal groups is beyond doubt. The methamphetamine trade is one manifestation.

13. The conflation of these two goals, reduction of domestic violence and child neglect, and the successful countering of organised transnational crime, tended to confuse the effective implementation of the Gang Action Plan at a community level, in terms of liberating gang-connected whānau from poverty, ignorance, addictions, and violence.

14. The Gang Intelligence Centre is hosted by the New Zealand Police. Unsurprisingly the enforcement goal and the attention to transnational organised criminal groups tended to subsume the social goal.

15. In New Zealand there are definitional issues around what we mean by "gang".

16. On one hand there are organised criminal groups operating in New Zealand, both national and transnational, who purposefully pursue financial profit. Members of these transnational crime groups may reside offshore and visit New Zealand for the purposes of crime.

17. Members of these organised crime groups are of a variety of ethnicities coming from Asia, Europe, Africa, Arabia, Israel, South America, in fact anywhere in the world. They generally do not identify themselves by gang colours or insignia although there are exceptions in respect of what are described as "outlaw motorcycle groups". Equally they may be long-term New Zealand residents, or may be New Zealand citizens.

[4] http://www.abuseinstatecare.royalcommission.govt.nz/
[5] Rt. Hon Jacinda Ardern UN Social Good Summit New York September 2018

18. On the other hand, there are gangs formed mainly by Māori New Zealanders. They tend to live in "trapped-lifestyles"[6]. They tend to commit the often-spontaneous crimes that result in child neglect and domestic and other forms of violence, and other forms of crime.

19. Members of these indigenous gangs tend to be easily identifiable by the wearing of patches and gang insignia.

20. Whilst the activities of both sets of gang manifest in criminal offending they seem to be of a different order of thing. It is the latter form of indigenous Māori gang, and their whānau who are in trapped lifestyles, that the Gang Action Plan "placed-based" pilot initiatives sought to liberate children and mothers from abuse and neglect.

21. It is accepted that there is no firm binary division between intentionally criminal gangs and primarily non-criminal indigenous gangs. Some members of the traditional patched Māori gang sometimes may commit organised crime. Indeed, at times, some members may collude with transnational organised crime groups in undertaking profit driven crime.

22. Conversely, some patched Māori gang members have emerged as 'desisitors'[7], leading a broad pro-social drive to eschew use of intoxicants, cease criminal offending, refrain from all forms of domestic violence, and to promote wellbeing and educational, social, and economic achievement.

23. As most gang members in Aotearoa are Māori, we are essentially dealing with whānau-Māori. The two major New Zealand indigenous gangs, the Black Power and the Mongrel Mob are generally agreed to be a by-product of the post-World War Two rural-to-urban Māori diaspora and consequential assimilation policies pursued by consecutive governments.

24. This has led to what has been termed 'systemic Māori deprivation'.[8] There is an implied causal nexus between these deprivations and criminal offending by Māori.

25. The structural reforms of the 1980's further marginalised and then criminalised these congregations of gang-connected whānau-Māori. There are Treaty implications in this regard[9].

26. It would be helpful for New Zealand policy makers and law enforcement agencies to develop and apply terms that separate out the behaviour that is 'organised crime' from the 'poor

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[6] See Durie, M. (2003) *Imprisonment, Trapped Lifestyles, Strategies for Freedom*. Nga Kahui Pou. Launching Maori Futures. Huia Publishers. Pg 59-73

[7] See Radok, G. (2016) *Ex-gang members who have become help-professionals: what influences their desistance from gang involvement and their career choice?* Unpublished Master of Social Work Thesis, Massey University Auckland

[8] See Judgment of Whata J., High Court of New Zealand Auckland, Heta v R CRI-2018-404-211 [2018] NZHC 2453 (at [64])

[9] See WAI 2540 Report Tu Mai Te Rangi

social behaviour' that stems from relative economic poverty and poverty of spirit, and manifests as domestic violence and neglect of children.

27. The New Zealand gang scene is both volatile and dynamic. The ongoing repatriation from Australia of New Zealanders who have been or are members of so-called outlaw motorcycle groups[10] provides a fresh layer of complexity.

28. In New Zealand there seems to be a current increase in the numbers of younger people joining established gangs, or new off-shoots of established adult gangs[11]. This is driven by aggressive recruitment by some established gangs and invariably will be responded to in a similar way by others.

29. Younger people joining gangs are influenced by social media. They are bombarded by North American online content that celebrates hyper-materialism gained through profit-driven crime. Their sense of reality can be blurred through violent online gaming.

30. There are anecdotal reports of the importation of automatic and semi-automatic firearms and of these being made available to NZ's gang communities. These worrying factors create a discontinuity and consequential unknown outcomes.

31. On the other hand, nurtured by community based developmental programmes such as the Ministry of Social Development's E Tu Whānau[12], the longer curve trend of acculturation is mitigating against the sense of social alienation and loss of identity that originally characterised the rise of the Māori gang.

32. This paper briefly reviews three community "place-based" Gang Action Plan initiatives. One was a well-established pilot in Whakatane. There were two more recent and shorter-term pilots, one in Whanganui, and the other in Rotorua.

33. All three place-based GAP initiatives demonstrated positive impacts at a community and whānau level. These pilots demonstrate the intergenerational nature of Māori gang whānau and reveal that the demographic of the established indigenous gangs now reflects that of Māori society in general.

34. As noted, generally amongst older, perhaps first-and-second-generation gang members, we are witnessing the rise of the phenomenon of a "redemptive-self"[13] or "desistance" movement.

35. This broad movement expresses desistance on the part of gang members, formerly involved in crime, who want to steer the next generation away from misapplying their intellects and

[10] See https://teara.govt.nz/en/interactive/28243/motorcycle-gangs
[11] See Gilbert, J (2018) https://www.radionz.co.nz/news/on-the-inside/359335/gangs-are-changing-we-should-too
[12] http://etuwhanau.org.nz/
[13] See *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives* (APA Press, 2001).

engaging in the self-defeating behaviours that underly criminal offending and domestic violence.

36. Desistance, whether it be from whānau abuse and neglect, or from involvement in crime, is a zig-zag path. It is marked by lapse and relapse.

37. The community efforts in the Whanganui placed-based initiative in the Matipo St community, have been recently confounded by a local gang-related killing. This issue initially acted as a force majeure and threatened to impede and erode progress for a period. However, the community proved to be resilient and continued with their progressive drive and this Matipo Community trust won the 20018 Trustpower Supreme Community Award for Whanganui.

38. Overall, in Aotearoa, a profound pro-social trend amongst the two major Māori gangs is observable. So too is the pursuit of purposeful crime amongst their number.

39. The challenge faced by policy makers is how to foster pro-social development amongst gang-connected whānau whilst, simultaneously, successfully countering organised crime, especially transnational crime.

40. With the change of Government in 2017 there has been a change in emphasis on how beneficiaries are to be regarded and treated. The feedback from the Whakatane pilot pointed to significant barriers for gang-connected whānau accessing entitled support and this is supported by the findings of the Kaitiaki Research.

41. The Coalition Government has voiced a kinder more respectful approach to those in receipt of benefits and this non-receipt of benefit entitlements by gang-connected whānau may prove to be less of an issue in the future.

42. The Coalition Government also aims to develop a safe and effective criminal justice system. This includes reducing the inflow of inmates to prisons, reducing the numbers of prison inmates, and reducing the rates of recidivism.

43. As prisons are recognised as being the key recruitment point for gang members[14] there seems to be an emergent communality of purpose in the justice sector reforms and the intent of the former Gang Action Plan.

44. Similarly, as previously noted, there is an alignment in intent with the broader suite of the Coalition Government's social sector objectives including addressing harms caused by mental health and addictions, and in addressing the historic abuse of those within State-care.

[14] See https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/107757372/gang-numbers-increasing-in-new-zealand-prisons

45. Whilst the Gang Intelligence Centre is housed within Police, the lead agency for the delivery of the GAP at a community level was the Ministry of Social Development.

46. Typically, an incoming Government takes a "new broom" approach to its Ministries. Reconfigurations generally follow. By accident or design the responsibilities for delivering GAP were placed under the management of MSD Community Partnerships and Programmes, beside the E Tu Whānau initiative. E Tu Whānau is a unique kaupapa-Māori-strengths-based response to domestic violence.

47. In its design GAP had a pathological skew, whereas E Tu Whānau is founded on potentiality. Through this organisational conflation, even in the brief period through to end of June 2018, that the GAP continued to run post-election, the philosophy and values of E Tu Whānau began to percolate the GAP programme. In some instances, activities became fused.

48. The change in approach was palpable and the embrace and uptake of pro-social change efforts by gang- connected whānau in GAP target communities began to accelerate.

49. The New Zealand Police have recently strengthened their capacity to combat organised crime both onshore and transnationally. It is timely. Whilst transnational criminal groups engage in all forms of crime, they are responsible for the majority of hard drugs imported into the country, such as methamphetamine.

50. Whilst use of all intoxicants present problems methamphetamine in particular wreaks social havoc at a community level and can neutralise previously successful efforts to promote employment, facilitate education, and counter domestic violence and child neglect.

51. Moreover, impressionable individuals can be seduced into the quest for wealth by joining drug distribution and other crime networks. Efforts to counter distribution of illicit intoxicants might best be described as action against organised crime.

52. Considering the Coalition Government's "best place in the world to be a child" objective it is timely to review what was attempted to be delivered under GAP and to consider how these outcomes can be achieved through other means.

53. There is an opportunity to separate out the efforts being made to counter transnational criminal groups and other New Zealand-based organised criminal groups, from the efforts to foster pro-social community development amongst marginalised whānau-Māori who currently identify as gang-whānau.

54. Gangs and the response to them act as a political lightning rod. Traditionally in New Zealand we have treated responses primarily as an issue of law and order, even though suppression through law enforcement has largely proven to be unsuccessful.

55. The literature suggests that most the promising opportunities to engender pro-social change sit within multi-faceted, community-organisation-based projects that foster opportunities -

focused development. Indeed, the GAP placed-based pilot initiatives arise from this evidence. As noted, the pilots look to have been generally efficacious.

56. We need to do different to get different. It will take courage and the political will to make a difference but doing nothing is not an option.

57. Here are three recommendations

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. Separate out organised crime as a problem of its own. In this context don't talk about gangs. Talk about organised criminal groups – defined as three or more persons with a common nefarious and profitable purpose.

II. Reframe Aotearoa's social 'wicked' problematic of gangs as an opportunity to liberate people who are trapped in a lifestyle not entirely of their own making.

III. Continue with small placed-based pro-social development initiatives along the lines of the E Tu Whānau movement.

IV. Make Aotearoa the best place in the world in which to be a child even if your mum or dad affiliate to a gang.

PREAMBLE

58. In 2017 the Waiohiki Community Charitable Trust Inc. (WCCT) was commissioned by the Ministry of Social Development to undertake a review of Gang Action Plan (GAP) pilot "Place Based Initiatives"[15]) in Whakatane, Whanganui, and Rotorua, as part of an impact evaluation.

> *In 2014, the Government announced its 2014 Whole-of-Government Action Plan to Reduce Harm caused by New Zealand Adult Gangs and Transnational Crime Groups ('gangs')*[16].

59. The respective GAP placed-based initiative provider-organisations reviewed in this paper are Manna Integrated Services pilot for the Whakatane project, the Matipo Community (Charitable) Trust pilot for the Whanganui project, and the Rotorua initiative through the Consultancy Advocacy & Research Trust.

60. The latter two pilots were initiated at the request of NZ Police due to gang volatility in these provincial centres. All pilots concluded 30th June 2018.

The evaluation completed by Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation was commissioned by MSD. Following the establishment of Oranga Tamariki on 1 April 2017 the agency continued providing policy and operational support to the pilots on behalf of MSD until a formal hand over could take place.

61. A preliminary formative evaluation of GAP[17] was undertaken by Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, for Oranga Tamariki, The Ministry of Vulnerable Children, between April 2017 and July 2017 at four GAP place-based pilot sites (Auckland, Gisborne, Flaxmere, Whakatane). It included 52 participants (whānau, pilot provider collectives, other local service providers, and government agencies).

62. The Kaitiaki evaluation "*Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation*" employed a combination of developmental and outcome evaluation methodologies.[18] This is because developmental evaluation assists social innovators develop social change initiatives in complex or uncertain environments. The analysis was buttressed by utilising developmental concepts such as Theory of Change.

63. The seminal GAP formative evaluation research undertaken by Kaitiaki set out to identify in each place-based initiative the factors that facilitated, or impeded, project implementation. The objective was to identify the critical success factors underpinning the ongoing development, of each place-based pilot.

64. The original intent for the impact evaluation that is the subject of this paper, similarly, was to work with each place-based site in turn.

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[15] NZ Government Cabinet Paper *Whole of Government Action Plan to Reduce Harms Caused by NZ Gangs CAB Min (14) 21/19*

[16] https://treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2018-03/ris-police-abt.may17.pdf pg 5

[17] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, Wellington.

[18] See Patton, M. Q. (2010). Developmental Evaluation. Applying Complexity Concepts to Enhance Innovation and Use. New York: The Guilford Press.

65. The proposal was to use a mix of methodologies including Participative Action Research[19], Narrative Discourse Analysis[20], and Institutional Ethnography[21]. The objective was to evaluate programme efficacy.

66. This effort had a clear purpose in mind, that being to improve outcomes for the whānau in the target community. However, after perusing briefing papers to the incoming Government, and considering the range of diverse views amongst the members of the Coalition Government as how to resolve Aotearoa's 'wicked' social sector problems, it was clear that this was not going to be "business as usual"[22].

67. There has been a clear change in approach within the Ministry of Social Development and a much more responsive attitude is being shown to beneficiaries, especially those with complex problems. Moreover, the new Government does not seem to have an appetite for the GAP so it doesn't make sense to report back on a programme the Government isn't going to pursue.

68. Moreover, as the population targeted in GAP are members of the same high-cost population groups being targeted in the suite of reviews across education, the criminal justice and welfare systems, and the reality of the link between the formation of the Māori gangs and the matters before Royal Commission on Historical Abuse of People in State Care, it was worthwhile redefining the purpose of the paper.

69. Treasury's fresh approach in developing a 'wellness' budget encourages collaboration and systems thinking. By applying action reflection[23] or theory of change[24] processes the insights gleaned from this study hold potential to contribute to this complex area of whānau who are in some way or another involved with Māori gangs and thus addressing issues for the most at risk children, including family violence.

70. Again, solutions are sought, not further descriptions of failure and dysfunction. So, rather than describing problematics (providing answers rather problems), it was decided that Political Activist Ethnography[25] should be added to the transdisciplinary analytical toolkit being utilised for the study.

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[19] Participative Action Research (PAR) is utilised because it is 'with' whanau rather than 'on' whanau. Whanau members are contributors to the project and its evaluation.

[20] See Gee, J. P. (2014). "An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method (4th ed.)". New York, USA: Routledge, Taylor, and Francis Group

[21] Institutional Ethnography is useful in these instances because of its ability to generate "insider" perspectives

[22] Rt Hon Jacinda Ardern to UN General Assembly September 2018 "*We face what we call in New Zealand 'wicked problems'. Ones that are intertwined and interrelated*".

[23] See Paolo Friere "*It is not enough for people to come together in dialogue in order to gain knowledge of their social reality. They must act together upon their environment in order critically to reflect upon their reality and so transform it through further action and critical reflection*" http://www.freire.org/paulo-freire/concepts-used-by-paulo-freire

[24] See https://www.theoryofchange.org/what-is-theory-of-change/

[25] See Smith G. (1990) Political Activist as Ethnographer in *Social Problems* Vol. 37, No. 4 (Nov., 1990), pp. 629-648 Oxford University Press

71. This suite of methodologies is clearly skewed towards Critical Theory[26]. Critical Theory assumes that there are inequalities in society. The critical theorist approach aims to uncover structures which create inequalities and to liberate those who are disadvantaged by them. It takes a stance, and, consequently, this paper contests some of the underlying assumptions of the GAP and the conflation of policy drivers.

[26] See Fook, J. (2002). Social work: Critical theory and practice. London: Sage. & Durie, M. (2012). Māori concepts of wellbeing: Intervening with Māori children, young people & families. Invercargill 20 July, Compass Seminars

APPROACH TO THE PLACE-BASED PILOT CASE STUDIES

72. A preliminary meeting was held with members of the Whakatane placed-based initiative "Manna Integrated Services" team in Whakatane on 12th April 2018. This was followed by a Participative Action Research Consensus Cardsort workshop with 12 Manna Integrated Services' clients at Whakatane on 19th April.

73. Further, structured interviews were held with a mixed group of 6 Manna clients, and one former client who is now a staff member at Whakatane on 26th April 2018.

74. In terms of the Whanganui short-term pilot initiative a preliminary hui was held with members of the Matipo Community Charitable Trust on June 28th, 2018. Feedback from this hui and a study of the Matipo Community Charitable Trust's strategic documents form part of this review.

75. Ongoing dialogue has continued with the principals of the Matipo project but the recent gang-related killing in the community has complicated the analysis and evaluative process.

76. Feedback from the Rotorua project was gathered through a hui held in Rotorua on Sunday 4th November with five participants and through a review of the reports submitted by the CART project co-ordinator.

WHAKATANE MANNA INTEGRATED SERVICES

77. The Whakatane pilot with Manna Integrated Services operated from a community hub utilising two empty shop sites in a suburban mall in Whakatane. It was staffed by 4 staff, 2 of whom had formal qualifications and a team of others who were partially employed or were volunteers.

78. Clients were offered support in obtaining benefit entitlements; provided with legal advice or referrals; assisted into training and education programmes; engaged in wellness and community development programmes; assisted with gaining employment; given counselling or referred to professional counselling services; provided with transport to Court and health clinics; and, assisted with budgeting advice.

79. Key players were community leaders s 9(2)(a) and s 9(2)(a) Both are recognised long time Black Power leaders and are exemplars of the liberation-self and desistance movements. The venue was exposed to a reasonably heavy flow of foot-traffic.

80. At the beginning of the day s 9(2)(a) would generally sit outside of the office on a row of chairs, almost as a marae paepae or taumata. It was a welcoming sight. As pedestrians passed to and fro there were frequent exchanges of greeting, and, from time to time passers-by would sit down for a chat or come in to access services.

81. Although, not deliberately intended, this friendly front door was in direct contrast to the WINZ Office in downtown Whakatane where security guards required proof of identity even to access the most primary of services.

82. There was a steady flow of clients coming into the office, some for individual whānau needs, others to attend courses or take part in tailored programmes. It was a convivial environment and conveniently located to nearby housing. There was also much outreach work and networking.

83. It is apparent that clients appreciated the provision of a comfortable, open, friendly, non-judgemental environment. They described it as "for us, by us"[27] and felt respected. It was clear that, conversely, clients felt discriminated against at the downtown WINZ office. They attributed this to their known gang affiliations or appearance.

84. Some clients already had a low self-image, and this was often exacerbated by lack of literacy and low comprehension skills and negative interactions with WINZ staff caused frustration.

[27] Consensus Cardsort Feedback Refer Chart 1

85. Some clients noted that they felt safe at the community-hub venue when it came to discuss very personal and sensitive issues. These included addressing alcohol and other addictions.

86. One client noted that the service enabled self-awareness of their situation, the realisation that they had a problem, which is the fundamental pre-requisite to making change.

87. The sense of welcoming and belonging was reinforced by the strong "Kaupapa Māori" environment provided by signage, art work, and the conversational use of Te Reo Māori. Whānau members commented on the professional style and skills of the Manna staff. They felt the staff were client-centred and had excellent networks amongst other professionals around the area.

88. The overarching outcome experienced by Manna clients was improved enjoyment of oranga whānau and realisation of whānau aspirations.

89. An unanticipated function was that the community hub served as a neutral venue for bringing community leadership "to the table" for community conflict resolution.

90. Another alignment with the expectations of the Gang Action Plan was that the focus on the rangatahi as future leaders promoted a sense of "intergenerational self-empowerment – tino rangatiratanga"[28] and positive legacy. This was buttressed by improving the access to education and training, and valuing these, and providing a pathway to employment.

91. In the main, clients engaged with Manna through referrals from whānau and friends

> *Through my dad. Parenting courses. They helped me for my licence. They helped me with Family Start and with the benefit for pepe. I just had her*[29]
>
> *I had to bring my dad in with me. I brought down my dad and he brought me here – ah you go to Manna and ask them, so they just got my benefit for me.*[30]
>
> *When this started I wasn't too sure what it was. Thought I'd come down and saw it and kapai, because all my mokopuna come here. And* s 9(2)(a) *works over here – voluntary work, you know*[31]

92. The key service demanded from clients was dealing with WINZ. There were issues of perceived prejudice and difficulties emerging from problems with literacy.

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[28] Consensus Cardsort see Chart One. Tino Rangatiratanga is used here in the sense of having control over ones own behaviour one's own destiny rather than the broad political notion of Maori independence.
[29] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[30] ibid
[31] ibid

Too whakama to come to the one up town. Places like this better. [32]

People don't like going down to the WINZ office cos they get a hard time. Down here more mellow. Good space. know each other. Its close[33]

There's a lot of changes with the whānau who are too embarrassed to go down to the WINZ and get told to – you know – so they can come here and talk to your caseworker so the whole office isn't looking at you and seeing you've got a problem when you are declined, you know[34]

They're at our level. They're not all that top level looking down at us. Only here we feel its open, it different[35]

You know, when she's (M) here she doesn't feel people are looking down on her. M isn't very experienced with reading and writing. So, when you use short words, whakarongo! You listen! But when they use long ones, she's not computing.[36]

You know, they want to push you in a corner and rumble. I can do that one. But when you are here its like they are on your side[37]

Manna – they just got that love vibe. Winz! Ah! Grubby Hori coming in here.[38]

I got these five tamariki and three mokos, yeah. I started up with these brothers (Manna) last year. Its been good.[39]

93. A constant issue was denial of benefit entitlements. In fact, accessing due support seemed to be the core service.

Once I had my baby I tried to get the benefit. I didn't get my benefit for about six months. And I just kept on applying and they just kept turning me down. They kept me off for six months. How was I supposed to look after baby? That's what I was saying to them?[40]

94. The provision of courses and having a place to go to access online material was seen to be valuable

They helped me for my licence. I didn't exactly do the whole course but I got my licence[41]

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[32] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[33] ibid
[34] ibid
[35] ibid
[36] ibid
[37] ibid
[38] ibid
[39] ibid
[40] ibid
[41] ibid

I was doing courses with Manna, parenting course, looking after baby[42].

Got a drivers licence and fork lift drivers licence[43]

I started doing courses. And that was the only way to keep Winz off my back[44]

95. The parents and grandparents of younger Manna clients had often experienced difficulties, abuse and neglect in their own childhood, had experienced the impact of loss of cultural identity through urbanisation as youth, and had negative experiences with the criminal justice system

My schooling was ratshit. Hated that. I hated the teachers[45]

I've had a poverty upbringing. 11 siblings. CYFS home to CYFS home[46].

I'm always in jail. Being naïve. I've been in jail twice for selling drugs – just to survive and everything[47].

Born in Wellington Upper Hutt. Raised there. My dad's ratshit past, poverty and all that gang life and all that stuff. Black Power[48].

Getting moved from CYFS home to CYFS home. I ended up in CYFS thru my parent's alcoholism. Gang scene, all that. They lost all their children. Parents had five kids. I'm the third eldest – the eldest daughter. We were all put in CYFS homes all at once. I was 4. My mum had another child and he was adopted out to a family member. And then they had another 5 children. Were all full blooded. Thru CYFS I got sent here to Whakatane to live with my father's side of the family[49].

And then my dad -on top of all that other family issues, home. Cos I was sexually abused by my dad. I sent him to jail. I was 11 or 12. Sent my dad to jail then came up here to live with my dad's family. I ended up here in Whakatane. I was fifteen then[50].

96. The gang partner relationship was paradoxical, simultaneously being both supportive and destructive.

Obviously, I was a rebellious child. I was looking for what I had seen. I met my partner – gang scene, top drug dealer, everything. And I just thought it was normal life that I was used to seeing.

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[42] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[43] ibid
[44] ibid
[45] ibid
[46] ibid
[47] ibid
[48] ibid
[49] ibid
[50] ibid

I was stuck in there and just stuck around as a young child. I was sixteen going on seventeen. He was 26. So, I stayed here. Couldn't get my shit together. Taking drugs and everything else[51]

I just wanted to be around gangs that could give me drugs and money and everything – his stuff – and then down into a deep relationship with my partner cos I thought he was my saviour taking me in[52].

And with what I've been through in my childhood I looked up to him. He saved me and looked after me and had that proper male bonding. Hey cool as[53].

While I was living here and ended up in a relationship with my partner – because I was young. He was still going around sleeping with everybody else – gang member and all that – I just didn't care as long as I had whatever – and he had security and stuff for me, so I was just acting blind. I knew, and I just chose to live with it[54].

97. Manna clients who were grandparents or parents had better aspirations for their children and grandchildren than their own life experiences and were prepared to model achievement-seeking behaviour. In this they were responding in a way consistent with the expectations of the Gang Action Plan seminal logic model.

We have two boys together 21 and 16. They're fully educated. I just have to get my shit together for them[55].

I'm still trying to finish my Māori. arts degree – I'm trying to finish it[56]

If they knew what was out there for them. Its up to them if they take it on board or not, but yeah, been good[57].

Don't look forward for the next year or five years-time. Just thinking of what's going to happen tomorrow. How we gonna survive tomorrow? Its up to them if they want to go forward. At that age we didn't know. When they get a bit older they can move along with it. Get started on a trade line. If there's anything better for us tomorrow, find ideas later[58].

I suppose its up to us to change it. Our kids. Trying to make our kids change it. For our mokos. For our great mokos. I hope to get great mokos. Good to see that. We've got five of my kids at home.[59]

[51] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[52] ibid
[53] ibid
[54] ibid
[55] ibid
[56] ibid
[57] ibid
[58] ibid
[59] ibid

We had a hard life in the 1980s. Try to steer them away from that sort of stuff. Trying to be positive about things[60].

We all made mistakes when we were young. Different times eh! You can tell what we been through. Do the opposite, yeah[61]

98. Community outreach programmes were appreciated

Cos I do the odd programme – take the old bros around. Pick them up – take them up to a couple of those [ETW] hui in Auckland and Taranaki. Good. Gets them out. They busy. Keeps them connected. We've lost a few bros along the way. Sure they would have lasted a bit longer if they knew how to look after themselves[62].

The programme is an intervention programme. These guys been contracted a programme through Waikato university, so it's a research programme and it's working with Māori.

With our bros, thirty to fifty-five with either diabetes, obesity and cardiovascular. So, job is to come in here and facilitate a twelve-week kinda programme[63].

We have a health fair day next week, we are going to have some nurses here from Primary Health Alliance and trying to get bros to come in and their whānau. And they get a medical checkup and assessment, that's when we can kinda introduce this programme[64].

And a lot of the just basic stuff, drink enough water, get you moving a bit more, it was just things like that. So, we got that going on and also got support, one of my MG bros, he's wanting to create this thing back in the hood called 'The Yo Gym' It's kinda like Box Fit, we get the gloves and pads and we just go for it[65].

99. There are clear indicators of the redemptive-self/ desistance phenomenon being in play

And then I caught up with s 9(2)(a) *and I, coz like they are experts in mau rakau and that's what spurred me on and after being educated by uncle the kind of pathways that he wanted for the bros another different pathway. So that's where I come in and that's why I'm working here. I think the pathway is breaking away from a lot of traditional things that the brothers did. I know they see it as you're going to have bros in this category but were trying to create another path that you can be a brother going back to tikanga path. Its pretty much uncle's dream for the Movement.*

[60] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[61] ibid
[62] ibid
[63] ibid
[64] ibid
[65] ibid

I think he wants tikanga to be the foundation and he wants a lot of members to stay out of jail and get a job and things like that that's why I've spent the last seven years just trying to work and get into the community[66].

100. Assisting people get their driver's Licences was seen to be an important service both for the purpose of obtaining employment and enabling elders to access mobility

And then, tana papa, they both sat their licence here. Even though they hadn't paid for it themselves. At the end of the course they received their licence – that was fine they still went through here. And there you go[67]

It was only once a week. They come in and do their mahi and go back and do their other mahi. Saves getting the fines. Crikey, I mean even if you don't drive at least you've got a licence. When your kuia gets drunk you can drive her home. To say nothing of getting a job and that sort of thing[68].

101. The Clients summarised the unique features and benefits of the Manna community-hub based services as being:

[66] Manna client interview 26th April 2018
[67] ibid
[68] ibid

Table One: Participative Action Research Consensus Cardsort Workshop with 12 Manna Integrated Services' clients at Whakatane on 19th April.

Theme	Description
Providing a comfortable, open, friendly environment "for us, by us"	Creates comfortable welcoming environment; Gives the people a place to come to where they are welcome; Respectful of clients
Non-judgemental environment - kotahitanga	They don't discriminate, and they accept us for who we are as people; People know they won't be judged for what they wear or the groups they roll with; Support and respect; They treat me with respect not just as a client number or gang member; Non-discrimination; We don't get treated like we are outsiders They don't tease me
Supports Kaupapa Māori. response	Also supports whakairo, kotahitanga. Very important to us as Māori.; Cultural kaupapa; They provide a sense of belonging.
Client-centred manaaki connectors	Availability to network; Communication and understanding; Good customer skills manner; A vehicle to talk to other govt organisations; Helps to communicate with WINZ; Its helped me communicate with other services; Meeting the needs of the clients that I work with; Closer for our people to attend appointments It helped me get my benefit sorted; Its helped with Court, ride to and from the courts and the doctors; Fairness, equity; Its helped with our rides to appointments
Enables me to understand my situation and make real change	There is potential to create real change; Gave me confidence around issues I didn't understand; It has given me the support around the ability to create change: community; family; individually
Provides Oranga Whānau	The wellness of whānau core; Whānau health; Its helping me with setting up my child's doctors, birth certificate, shots, getting there; Has helped myself with my alcohol issues; Hauora
Gives a place for very sensitive issues to be discussed and resolved	Give a platform for very sensitive issues to be discussed; Sounding board; Family support
Supports whānau aspirations	Whānaungatanga; Whānau integration; To support whānau aspiration and their aspirations and take
Bring the leadership to the table to sort out issues	Bring the leadership to the table to sort out issues; Support rangatira initiatives; Conflict resolution
Supports intergenerational self-empowerment – tino rangatiratanga	Legacy empowerment; Rangatahi focus enables future leader development by helping our young ones This place is specifically for us
Give a pathway to working and earning income	Pathway/education/work; Income; Manna has given me employment; Advice on budget and finance It's helped me sort finance out eg rent, power; Discipline, responsibility
Provides education: numeracy & literacy	Literacy, numeracy; REAP
Enables legal advice	Legal advice from professionals

WHANGANUI MATIPO COMMUNITY CHARITABLE TRUST

102. Whanganui has experienced more than its fair share of gang-related issues. They continue and are currently manifest in a gang-related murder in the community under study. In 2007 a child, Jhia Te Tua, was tragically killed in a drive-by shooting. In 2009 the city was then the focus of a move led by the then Mayor Michael Laws to outlaw gang patches.

103. Much of the gang-related activity was seen to be concentrated in the suburbs of Gonville and Castlecliff. After Jhia's murder the Matipo Community Charitable Trust was established to promote pro-social development in the area. The key player was Craig Rippon, the leader of the Whanganui Black Power. Craig was an older member and he exemplified the "redemptive-self" or "desistance" movement. Craig established excellent rapport and relationships with Trustpower, local body and civic authorities, and education and training providers.

104. Tragically in late 2015 Craig was murdered because of his pro-social intervention in a dispute. Craig's whānau rallied and decided to continue with the broad drive to provide opportunities for the members of the local community. Most effort was concentrated around a large maara kai, a community garden in Matipo St and a community house at 69 Matipo St.

105. The short-term Gang Action Plan Investment arose from Police' identification of Whanganui as a hot spot. It was a short term (6 month) investment into the Matipo Community Trust and connected whānau and was facilitated through the Consultancy Advocacy and Research Trust (CART), Wellington.

106. A facilitator, Ngapari Nui, was appointed on a 0.5FTE basis. Ngapari was supported by Damien Kuru, the Whanganui Black Power president. The programme was community directed although it purposefully set out to engage with a local group of up and coming Black Power leaders. This group had previously been somewhat reluctant to engage in purposeful developmental community activities.

107. The Matipo Community Trust holds a vision whereby whānau, rangatahi, and community achieve their hopes and aspirations in a vibrant and connected community. Consequently, the Trust's specific mission is to support whānau, rangatahi, and community to achieve their goals and aspirations and this is enabled through training programmes – mainly horticulturally oriented – the community garden, and micro-enterprises.

108. The operations of the Trust are underpinned by a set of values and beliefs.

109. The first is an implicit intergenerational obligation to provide better options for their mokopuna that the grandparents and parents of this heavily gang-connected community previously enjoyed. Tikanga Māori is front and centre of the Trust's values appreciating that being culturally connected enriches member whānau and inspires their health and wellbeing[69].

110. The Trust focusses much of its efforts on their rangatahi and seeks values to support them in a loving, caring, and supportive way in reaching their goals and aspirations. They believe that community-led models of education results in successful outcomes for whānau, that a busy and vibrant community centre enriches and connects the community, and that business and social enterprise activities provide the community with skills and employment.

111. The Trust expresses its tikanga Māori as: Whānaungatanga – a sense of belonging; Kotahitanga – oneness; Mohiotanga – sharing information; Maramatanga – understanding the relevance in learning; Wairua – our spiritual wellbeing; Whakapapa – our genealogy; Kaitiakitanga – to guard/guardianship of tikanga and natural resources; Manaakitanga – to extend aroha; Rangariratanga – self governance; Mauri – our uniqueness; Tuakana/teina – the relationship between older and younger people[70].

112. The overarching objectives of the Trust for 2081/2019 include continued effort around youth development, ensuring that their rangatahi are young people supported to identify their goals and aspirations. They want to continue the development of the Matipo community garden as a sustainable community garden and food hub where whānau can have access to free nutritious organic vegetables and fruits[71].

113. Alongside the Matipo community centre they aim to create a busy, vibrant intergenerational hub that provides gardening workshops and enables non-cash enterprise exchanging and bartering goods within the community. They opened a large tunnel house in early 2018.

114. The Trust desires to purchase the community centre at 69 Matipo St. This is a former HNZ house. It was originally offered to the Trust for a purchase price of $60,000 but this has now increased to $105,000.

115. The house at 69 Matipo serves as the base for courses with a private training provider, Land-based Training. Nine students graduated from the previous NCEA indexed Level 3 Horticultural Course and have now commenced on the Level 4 Horticultural Course.

[69] Matipo Community trust Strategic Plan
[70] ibid
[71] ibid

116. The community-house has a marae-type feel with inter-generational traffic and a laid-back welcoming mood.

117. The fact that these NCEA indexed course participants have a higher than average rate of attendance and achievement (eighty or ninety percentile passes are common) is attributed to this environment. This success holds promise for rangatahi who have learning difficulties arising from conditions such as ADHD and dyslexia, or who find large class sizes intimidating. Recent introduction of online facilities at the Matipo St base also enable participation in self-directed learning.

118. Participation by some of the Trust's leadership in MSD's financial management training initiatives also holds potential. Careful money management at a whānau level is a precursor of whānau wellbeing. There is a strong desire by adult Trust members to pursue home ownership.

119. The local housing stock is in poor shape, some of it having been sold by HNZ to out of town developers. "Worst house in worst street" may actually present an opportunity to change the paradigm of the "hood" and could be an area for Crown investment.

120. The improved levels of horticultural knowledge have resulted in the increased distribution of fruit and vegetables to the extended community. Not only is this of practical value but it also helps relationally and gives participants a sense of social acceptance and self-respect.

121. With the recent tunnel-house complementing the existing shade -house and glasshouse the chances of developing sustainable business ventures is improved. For instance, native plant species (Kowhai, Flax, Pittosporums) are being grown from seed. The Government's plans to plant a billion tress means that seedlings will be in high demand. There is also a demand for riparian planting within the city (eg in the Matipo St cul-de-sac and an area near the Kokohuia Reserve), and in erosion control at Castlecliff beach. Existing good relationships with Horizons and the Whanganui City Council are an advantage in this regard.[72]

122. The Trust is working with Sport Whanganui seeking to enable access to sports/physical activities for the rangatahi. For many of the local youth their physical activity drops off once they leave school. There is a need to re-engage them in team sports or working out in a gym[73].

123. The Gang Action Plan activities took the emergent Black Power leadership group out of town and out of their comfort zone.

[7272] Matipo Trust Strategic Plan
[73] ibid

124. Facilitated by CART and using Taputeranga Marae, Island Bay, Wellington as a base the twelve young leaders undertook Dive courses and Skipper's Ticket courses under the tutelage of Rob Hewitt. These courses, whilst giving the participants industry recognised certification if they successfully completed and passed the course, were as much about personal development as anything else.

125. The impact was profound. Group members for the first time attended a cross-gang E Tu Whānau hui in Wainuiomata. They have also engaged in pro-social activities especially involving their wives and partners. They have committed to continue this 'go forward' effort even though the pilot finished in June 2018.

126. However, following the shooting to death of a rival gang member, twelve of them are currently either in custody or on bail with non-association orders and a facing a variety of charges including participation in an organised criminal group. Four have been charged with murder.

127. Despite the risk that these events might impede or possibly erode the progress to date, and despite the view held by some in the broader Whanganui community that the Matipo Community Trust is a "gang trust" the Matipo community have shown great resilience and perseverance.

128. Pro-social leaders came to the fore. The community dusted itself down, and their pro-social efforts continued. Their efforts have been recognised. On September 25th 2018, the Matipo Community Development Trust won the Trustpower Supreme Community Award for the Whanganui District[74]

[74] See https://www.nzherald.co.nz/boxing/news/article.cfm?c_id=23&objectid=12131348

ROTORUA BLACK POWER (and related chapters)

129. Rotorua has been the scene for intermittent gang violence for several years. However, in early 2017 matters began to escalate into shooting wars. This behaviour is unusual and has been a rare occurrence since the peak of inter-gang warfare in the 1980's.

130. Not only were there incidents between the Mongrel Mob and Black Power in which members of the public were endangered but there were also shoot-outs in streets between members of Black Power and Mangu Kaha[75] chapters.

131. There was an arson on a gang-connected family house and there were drive-by shootings at family homes[76].

132. It was believed that this violence was associated with methamphetamine, both in terms of use by those involved and in terms of a struggle over distribution.

133. The Black Power fraternity in Rotorua are intergenerational. Some of the older leadership were adversely affected using methamphetamine. Younger Black Power members became disillusioned with their leadership and there was a fragmentation.

134. The Black Power "Taumata", a form of senior council, began to intervene and sought ways to challenge the older methamphetamine-using leadership. Overtures were made to the Mangu Kaha leadership. Police Poutokowaenga facilitated entry by conciliators to jails to meet with Mangu Kaha leadership.

135. With an entente established it seemed opportune to provide some developmental intervention. The GAP initiative arose from this desire. CART were requested to facilitate a suitable programme.

136. It was assessed by the CART team that it was critical to engage the younger members of the Black Power, especially those who were disillusioned with their older leaders. This younger cohort had never previously taken part in developmental waananga.

137. The inaugural waananga was held at Hinemihi Marae in August 2017. It attracted a wide audience, being over 60 participants as well as the BP Taumata. At the request of their Rotorua peers some young Black Power travelled from the East Coast to participate. Interestingly the East Coast cohort had previously resisted pro-social engagement, but, following this hui they requested their own programme and have made good progress since.

138. The waananga commenced with formal powhiri underlining the desire for acculturation.

75

76 See *'Rotorua gang were armed and awaiting gang retaliation says Judge'* Stuff. October 2017

139. The August waananga included a visit by the Electoral Office and enabled participants to register to vote. This participation in civics underlined the fact that a citizen has both rights and responsibilities[77].

140. Fifteen of the younger Rotorua Black Power members also travelled to Wellington and attended a week-long residential course with Rob Hewitt at Tapu Te Ranga Marae. This course taught participants how to dive safely and to gather seafood.

141. There were lessons aplenty. Two of the participants imbibed on intoxicants the night before their first dive. Tangaroa demands respect and they were adversely affected. It opened the avenue for deep korero about intoxicants

142. Feedback was sought from participants in the GAP project during a hui convened in Rotorua on November 4th. The overall response was very positive.

> *I thought it was pretty cool. Good experience. Getting in the water. Doing a bit of mahi for some kai*[78].

143. In the first instance the multicultural experience at Tapu Te Ranga had an unanticipated impact. Tapu Te Ranga is in the heart of Wellington. The marae's founder, the late Bruce Stewart later in life married an Indian lady. They have several children of mixed descent. Although these young BP members live in the lively centre of Maori culture, Rotorua, their sense of identity as Maori has almost been subsumed in their identity as Black Power members. They were stunned to hear people who looked like Indians speaking Te Reo Maori. This raised issues of identity for them.

> *At the marae there was Indians and Maori. It was pretty buzzy seeing some Indians talk Maori. I'm a Black Power and a Maori*[79].

144. The direct benefit of having a skill to safely gather seafood was clearly impressed upon them.

> *Learn a skill, definitely, to feed the whanau*[80]

145. An interesting by-product was their notion of working together rather than just hanging out together. This leads to the possibility of developing a co-operative work venture.

> *Operated as a group. Achieving something as a group. Easier to work in the company of your friends and bros as compared to random strangers*[81].
>
> *Something we're interested in and the bros are also. The brothers will do anything for work as long as they can do it together. Its not even work eh!* [82]

[77] See Newshub 12/09/2017 *Should gang members be allowed to vote*?
[78] Rotorua hui participant 4th November 2018
[79] ibid
[80] ibid
[81] ibid
[82] ibid

SITUATION ANALYSIS:

The Moral Panic Factor of NZ Gangs

146. In the lead up to the 1972 General Election Labour leader Norman Kirk famously promised to "take the bikes off the bikies". These "bikie" groups were primarily young Pakeha, but it was the young clusters of young Māori in gang-like groups that unsettled New Zealand's citizens most, particularly in the northern metropolitan centres.

147. The presence of gangs gradually became ubiquitous in larger New Zealand cities, resulting in more frequent gang violence that was closely and often distortedly reported by media[83]

> *In Aotearoa in the last few months, the gang culture has been targeted in the latest moral panic. Rather than creating space for a discussion about how we care for our alienated and our ostracized; the nation has been embroiled in a fierce debate over how dangerously deviant, how socially threatening, indeed to condemn the intolerable presence of gangs in our community.*
>
> *And this is not a new debate. Indeed, nearly three decades ago, Jane Kelsey and Warren Young described 1979 as the 'year of the gangs' in their analysis – "The gangs: Moral panic as social control".*[84]
>
> Dame Tariana Turia General Debate NZ Parliament 2007

148. Whatever the context, and whatever the year, ever since "gangs" have become a lightning rod for the police, politicians, and media. Justice Sir Clinton Roper's 1987 report on the Ministerial Enquiry into Violence declared

> *There is probably no subject in the field of law and order that can provoke more selective and distorted coverage from the media, or more emotive, and often ill-informed, rhetoric from those in authority than gangs*[85]

149. It seems that nothing much has changed since Sir Clinton Roper's sage conclusion

> *As Minister I have a policy of not engaging with gangs. I won't even knowingly meet with anyone who I know to be a gang member – Hon Judith Collins Police Leadership Conference 2010*
>
> *Drop a nuke on gangs – Hon Shane Jones Newshub July 23rd, 2017*
>
> *NZ has more gangsters than soldiers – The Economist Feb 2nd, 2018*

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[83] Kelsey, J. & Young, W. (1982) *The gangs: moral panic as social control*. Auckland University
[84] Dame Tariana Turia (2007). Moral Panic and the Gangs. NZ Parliament General Debate. 27th June 2007
[85] Justice Sir Clinton Roper Select Committee into Violent Offending 1979, pg 79

Take away their sexiness and bling – Hon Stuart Nash The Nation May 5th, 2018.

150. The GAP set out to address harms resulting from crime committed by gang members. At some level government agencies consider that there is an implicit connection between being a gang member and the commission of serious crimes.

> *Reports of the New Zealand Committee on Gangs inevitably emphasised the criminal nature of the gangs and suggested that the term, 'gang', denotes a devious characteristic for those who join it and participate in their activities*[86]

151. This conclusion by the 1981 Committee that gang membership inevitably 'denotes a devious characteristic' is challenged by more recent researchers who differentiate between criminal and non-criminal gangs.

> *Gilbert (2013) highlights factors that distinguish between criminal and non-criminal gangs. Gilbert finds that although criminal and non-criminal gangs share many similarities, as both are structured groups where membership can be gained by adopting the gang's distinguishable identifiers (regalia, gang-patch, handshakes, tattoos) and by adhering to the gangs' formal rules over a long time period, the criminal gangs' organisational focus is maintained by profit gaining criminal activities*[87]

152. The factor of moral panic about gangs is clearly real and must be taken into account politically and operationally. The use of language is critical, and care must be taken in how efforts made to foster pro-social are described.

> *Mind our language If the language that we use in policy and practice causes both individuals and communities to give up on offenders, if it confirms and cements the negative perceptions of people who have offended as risky, dangerous, feckless, hopeless or helpless, then it will be harder for those people to give up crime*[88].

[86] Gilbert, J. (2013). Patched, the history of gangs in New Zealand Auckland University Press. P 27

[87] What works: improving outcomes for children of gang-involved parents

[88] ibid

Moving from Dogma to Evidence

153. The Coalition Government has espoused the view that it wants to base the development of social policy on robust evidence rather than on dogma. The consequences of this freshness of thought became evident in the debunking by the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor of the pseudo-science and moral panic that underpinned the testing of housing (primarily state housing) for methamphetamine contamination. Significant costs were incurred, and great social harm was done, by the enforcement of this policy.

154. A new PM's Chief Science Advisor has been appointed and the expectation is that the social sciences will be increasingly used to inform policy development. As evidence of that trajectory in March 2018 the Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor published a substantive and challenging paper "Using evidence to build a better justice system: the challenge of rising prison costs"[89].

155. Gangs are a sub-set of that challenge. The bibliography, from which data used in the paper is referenced, reveals a primarily quantitative analytical approach. Beyond the broad politico-social construct of contemporary New Zealand society the drivers for gang membership are essentially qualitative. Affiliations are driven by the emotions and beliefs of group members. This isthe territory of behavioural economics[90], more a-rational "lovemarks"[91] than anything else.

156. Neo-liberal notions of controlling gangs through increasing the tariff by way of gang suppression tactics, outlawing gangs, and treating gang membership as an aggravating factor meriting harsher sentences appear likely to be counter-productive.

157. There is a fresh stream of well researched papers coming out of Government including reports from Superu, Treasury, and the Office of the PM's Chief Science advisor that will provide value into policy development. Unfortunately, as gang communities can be hard to access there is a paucity of quality and insightful research.

158. This paper has drawn upon both old research such as the 1981 "Comber" Committee on Gangs Report and the 1987 "Roper" Report. Jarrod Gilbert's 2013 thesis published as *Patched, the history of gangs in New Zealand* is generally helpful but in the writer's view lacks insight into the Māori gang.

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[89] Gluckman. P. (2018) *Using evidence to build a better justice system: the challenge of rising prison costs* Office of the Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor

[90] See Thaler, A. & Sunstein, C. (2006) *Nudge: improving decisions about health wealth and happiness*

[91] See Roberts, K. (2004) *Lovemarks, the future beyond brands*. Powerhouse Books

The Definitional Problem

159. Part of the problem with getting good insight into and knowledge about gangs in Aotearoa is nomenclature, terminology, even, implicitly, moralistic labelling. In New Zealand, the gang label is not only elastic it is polysemic. It means different things to different people and whenever the term gang is applied it needs to be treated in context.

> *Gang is a self-formed association of peers, bound together by mutual interests, with identifiable leadership, well-developed lines of authority, and other organizational features, who act in concert to achieve a specific purpose or purposes, which generally include the conduct of illegal activity and control over a particular territory, facility, or type of enterprise.*[92]
>
> *Lala argues that the lack of cohesion that surrounds the gang definition stems from the term, 'gang', being ambiguous and it means different things to different people*[93].
>
> *Depending on what segment of society is asked about the term, 'gangs' its definition could be misconstrued and contextually-dependent*[94].
>
> *To date, none of the research was able to identify a comprehensive gang definition for the term, gang. Regardless, both Tamatea*[95] *and Decker and Kempf-Leonard*[96] *call for a uniform definition and point out that a universal definition could benefit the understanding of gangs and could also have an impact on research and policy-making*[97].
>
> *Definitions of gangs are difficult but important. The ways gangs are defined influences how they are viewed and how they might be responded to.*[98]

160. There have been attempts to find terms other than "gangs" and to sidestep the unhelpful stereotyping and to try and keep focus on the societal issues. Alternative terms have included "Nga Mokai"[99], "Hard to Reach[100]", "NEETS[101]" and, "Nefs on the Couch[102]". Still, "gangs" is the term that prevails, and the Gang Action Plan remains the focus of this paper.

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[92] Gilbert, J (2013) *Patched, the history of gangs in New Zealand* Auckland University Press pg 121

[93] See Radok, G. (2016) *Ex-gang members who have become help-professionals: what influences their desistance from gang involvement and their career choice?* Unpublished Master of Social Work Thesis Massey University Auckland

[94] Ibid pg 28

[95] Ibid citing Tamatea 2015

[96] Ibid citing Decker & Kempf-Leonard 1991

[97] Esbensen, Winfree, He, & Taylor, (2001) SEDU

[98] Gilbert, J. and Newbold, G. (2016) Literature Review School of Sociology and Anthropology University of Canterbury

[99] See http://www.cart.org.nz/

[100] See http://www.wesleyca.org.nz/what-we-do/community-iniatives/waka-tauira-hard-to-reach-whanau/

[101] See https://www.mbie.govt.nz/info-services/employment-skills/labour-market-reports/pacific-peoples-labour-mar

[102] See https://www.waateanews.com/waateanews/x_news/MTkxMzI/National%20News/Employment-money-tackles-NEET-nefs-on-the-couch

The Māori Factor

161. Police intelligence analysts propose that 75% of NZ gang members are Māori [103] and that the largest NZ gang clusters are Māori gangs, so called indigenous ethnic gangs[104], specifically the Black Power and the Mongrel Mob.

162. As the children of NZ gang members are seen to be some of the nation's most vulnerable citizens, we are predominantly dealing with members of marginalised whānau Māori.

163. Based on the life experience of the members of these marginalised communities contemporary New Zealand research would identify members of this cohort as persons facing multiple disadvantage[105]. Indeed, these gang-linked whānau have become a virtual underclass

> *Underclass – a permanently marginalised population without literacy, without skills, and without hope: a self-perpetuating pathological segment of society that is not integrated into a larger whole*[106]

164. To appreciate how this has happened we are required to confront the impacts and consequences of colonisation, and, in particular, the impacts of the rural to urban post-war diaspora[107].

165. In 1945, 26 percent of the Māori population lived in the towns and cities. By 1956 this had increased to 35 percent. Mass migration continued into the early 1960s. The urban population grew to 62 percent in 1966 and reached nearly 80 percent by 1986[108].

166. As the urbanisation process increased, Māori faced many social problems adapting to their new lifestyle. There were few structures in place to advise and assist those whānau who had moved away from their papakāinga (homelands).

> *Their challenges included finding suitable housing, adapting to a cash economy, coping with poor health and racism*[109]

167. During the mid-1960's to mid-1970's the socioeconomic disadvantage of Māori. compared to non-Māori. was associated higher rates of offending.[110]Herein lies the roots of alienation

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[103] Adult gang members and their children's contact with Ministry Social Development service lines: National Profile Chart

[104] ibid

[105] MSD (2018) Families and Whānau Status Report 84

[106] Feely M. & Simon, J (1992) *The New Penology: notes on the emerging strategy of correction and its implications*. Berkley Law Scholarship Repository pg 467

[107] Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit. The intergenerational impacts of colonisation have been discussed in the literature as part of the context in which Māori gangs evolved. For instance Māori. gangs emerged during a period of large-scale Māori. urbanisation which in many cases, led to a weakening of traditional whanau links. Pg 10 Para 4

[108] ibid pg 84

[109] Ibid (Māori Women's Welfare League, 2017) pg 84

that resulted in the phenomenon of the Māori gang culture of the 1970's and 1980's. This gave rise to the life experience of the grandparents and parents of the vulnerable young members of gang whānau that the GAP seeks to support.

168. James K Baxter called the emergent indigenous gangs of the late 1960's "the tribe of Nga Mokai" which Michael King defined as:

> *"the underprivileged or tribeless young people who were having difficulties coping with the materialism and the competitiveness of urban culture*[111]*"*

169. There seems to be relatively widespread agreement that the mechanisms of colonisation alongside the trauma of surviving experiences of violence and illness that decimated entire generations have had severe psychological and spiritual consequences for Māori.

170. The confluence of these macro-societal factors and, for the children in gang whānau, more personal familial dysfunctions, have led to the affliction of "*poverty of spirit*"[112], a damaged wairua. Dame Tariana Turia has offered that:

> *My view is that loss of land culture identity and govt policies that took our lands and forced our people to live on other tribe's lands has resulted in post-colonial traumatic stress disorder. The impact on wairua cannot be measured and has resulted in significant psychological trauma. How do we heal the wounded spirit? That's the real question because it becomes intergenerational.*[113]

171. It is this intergenerational poverty of spirit that sits behind the behaviours at least as regards domestic violence that the GAP set out to address. The first and second waves of rural to urban migrant whānau Māori presented the New Zealand youth welfare system with a cultural challenge. The order of the day was to ship perceived delinquent Māori. children to "Boys' Homes" and "Girls' Homes". To our nation's shame, for many of these children, the homes became centres of abuse.

172. On release from these institutions, youth began to form the Māori gangs we now know as Mongrel Mob and Black Power.

173. It is paradoxical that these two major Māori gangs, the Mongrel Mob, and, later, the Black Power, arose from the economic imperatives of the rural to urban diaspora and then the unintended consequences of the social policies of the 1960's and 1970's.

174. The original members of these gangs are now the grandparents to the vulnerable gang-whānau-children that, in 2017, GAP sought to assist. The challenge for the 2019 'Wellness Budget' is to support ways to liberate these whānau.

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[110] Fifield, J. & Donnell, A (1980) *Socio-economic status, race, and offending in New Zealand: An examination of trends in officially collected statistics for the Maori and non-Maori populations in New Zealand*. NZ Research Unit, Joint Committee on Young Offenders

[111] King M, (2003) *The Penguin History of New Zealand:* Penguin Books pg 460

[112] See O'Reilly, D. (2015*) First, revive the spirit: a paper for the community development conference 2015* – Unitec, Auckland, Whanake: The Pacific Journal of Community Development, 1(1), 65-76. Auckland, New Zealand: Unitec Institute of Technology. Unitec ePress. Retrieved from: http://www.unitec.ac.nz/epress

[113] Dame Tariana Turia communication to the writers August 2016

175. In response to social rejection and alienation the original major Māori gang, the Mongrel Mob, developed an ethos to invert what would be normally acceptable and to turn social failure into perverse achievement. It led to alienation, disconnection from culture, and diminishing respect of tikanga on the part of its members.

176. This "negative-culture" became manifest in "*trapped lifestyles*" of Māori offending and imprisonment[114] .

177. The sense of alienation was exacerbated by the rise of mongrelism. Mongrelism expresses a rejection of the modes and mores of Māori society, in particular, and New Zealand society, in general

> *Without the impediment of adult supervision, the young men were unknowingly forging enduring subcultural elements. The 'law' Gerbes described would eventually be termed 'mongrelism' by the gang. The concept is somewhat difficult to define, but is basically any outrageous behaviour that distinguishes a Mongrel Mob member's actions from those that are socially acceptable.*[115]

178. In this regard it is apposite at this point to reflect upon the on the words of his Honour Williams, J. in delivering a sentence on a Mongrel Mob member in 2014

> "*Your anger and aggression is partly a factor of your personality and you make free choice in that regard. But it is also partly a response to the drivers I've discussed that aren't of your making at all, to the way the world responds generally to Māori boys and men from poor backgrounds. We must be honest with ourselves about that. So it comes to me as no surprise to me that you sought security in the brutalised and traumatised company of those who share your experience and history – the Mongrel Mob*"[116]

179. The issue of Māoriness is important as it presents a potential route to redemption. In the seminal review of the GAP[117] Dr Roguski refers to

> *"ethnic whānau based gangs like the Mongrel Mob and Black Power"*[118].

180. The "ethnic" descriptor is a North American construct. This paradigm is based on the gang members being migrants (or descendants of) whereas the membership of the Black Power and Mongrel Mob are indigenous. The ethnic/indigenous taxonomical division is significant. It sidesteps Treaty issues and what is "normal" or Māori. Similarly, Dr Roguski proposes that:

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[114] See Brittain, E (2017) *A discourse analysis of Maori experiences in the criminal justice system* www.psychology.org.nz/wp.../Maori-interactions-with-criminal-justice-system. & Durie, M.(2003) *Nga Kahui Pou Launching Maori Futures* Huia Publishers

[115] Gilbert, J () in *Patched: the History of gangs in New Zealand; Mongrelism and Mana* Auckland Univerity Press Page 47

[116] Sentencing notes in R v Tiwini Rakuraku (2014)

[117] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the Fringe: developmental outcomes and evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, Wellington

[118] Ibid pg 1 para1

"Although the majority of stakeholders [in the Study] worked from within Te Ao Māori. it was wrong to assume that the targeted whānau, while Māori., employed the same cultural terms of reference. Rather, many of the whānau live according to Te Ao Gang".[119]

181. This is a false dichotomy. Being a Māori gang member does not require a mutually exclusive state of being. Its "and and". We don't describe being Morehu or a member of the Hahi Ratana as being members of a Judaeo Christian millennial sect but see them as being intrinsically Māori.

182. There are implicit Treaty obligations in how our Māori gangs are treated. In the Waitangi Tribunal Hearing 2540 the Tribunal found that the Department of Corrections was breaking the principle of Active Protection by not sufficiently prioritising the protection of Māori interests in the context of persisting disproportionate Māori re-offending rates. It also found that the Crown has breached the Principle of Equity by not sufficiently promoting the reduction of Māori offending rates.[120] There are Treaty implications here for all Government Departments dealing with gangs.

[119] Superu *What we Know* pg 6 para 2
[120] https://www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz/news/disproportionate-reoffending-rate/

The attractiveness of gangs and the Government's desire to divert young people from joining them

183. There is plethoric literature on why young people are attracted to gangs. A recent New Zealand summary is the Superu "What we Know" paper.[121] Gangs are a function of young people and urbanisation – noted first in New Zealand in Auckland in the 1840's amongst groups of European immigrants.

184. As previously discussed, the GAP envisaged an interagency approach to reduce the likelihood of young people joining gangs. These affiliative congregations are seen in themselves to be a harm. The notion is that if the intergenerational cycle of gang membership could be broken then benefit dependency and related poor social outcomes could be reduced.

185. The GAP envisaged this interagency approach would help divert young people from gans by improving access to mental health and addiction services, providing support for victims of family violence, and improving opportunities for children who had imprisoned parents. It also sought to improve the engagement of gang-connected whānau in education, skills, and employment.[122]

186. Comber 1981 and Roper 1987 both recognised the desire of young people to cluster and affiliate and supported the idea of using this herding instinct to good purpose through group work.

187. The Group Employment Liaison Service (GELS) which was established after the 1981 Committee on Gangs had the expressed purpose of facilitating group work. The broad strategy in terms of gang management was summed up as "Divert, Contain, Redirect", that is divert young people away from gangs by enabling access to recreation, education, training and employment; contain gang-related-harm by fostering dialogue and facilitating dispute resolution between gangs; and enabling egress from the gang by way of steady employment, entrepreneurism, and housing.

188. These efforts were buttressed by the Department of Internal Affairs through co-ordination of work trusts and the funding of community-based Detached Youth Workers. These youth workers worked beside and alongside emergent gang-like groups and proved to be highly effective. Consideration should be given as to what such initiatives might look like in the second decade of the 21st Century.

189. It is also worthwhile reflecting on the "Hard To Reach" project with youth gangs in Auckland around 2010 following eight youth gang related murders. The Police had already been running a specialised taskforce, and MSD had a targeted initiative in play but despite these efforts the violence continued unabated.

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[121] http://www.superu.govt.nz/ww_improving_outcomes_children_gang_parents

[122] https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/corporate/bims/msd-bim-october-2014.pdf pg 29

190. It was only after intervention by a TPK funded team of desistors, facilitated by the Consultancy Advocacy and Research Trust (CART) that a turnaround was achieved. This initiative is evaluated in two consecutive TPK publications "He Pūrongo Arotake: Hard to Reach Youth (CART)"

191. As previously noted, the NZ gang scene is dynamic and volatile. There has been some morphing in that traditional patched gangs are courting young prospective members by skilful use of social media and fresh branding appealing to new, younger, hyper-materialistic, fashion conscious, often ostentatious LA-style would be gangsters.

> *If that's the case, why does the Gang Action Plan seem so focused on the ethnic gangs? Gilbert says, "We're always a step behind aren't we? There's a revolution on the street and we're missing it"*[123]

[123] Welham, K(2016) Gangs Trial New Ways in Matters of Substance pg 09

The Inescapable Reality of an Intergenerational Cycle of Domestic Violence – Hurt People Hurting People

193. Members of gang-connected whānau were subject to disproportionate rates of domestic violence and child abuse. 1,925 gang members had a total of 5,890 children known to CYF. 1,056 of these gang members were recorded by CYF as being alleged perpetrators of abuse or neglect of children[124].

194. It is reported that 60% of these children (3,516) born to gang parents are abused or neglected. Mothers were just as likely to be the alleged perpetrator as the gang member father.[125] . In total, cycles of violence within gang-connected whānau will cost NZ's welfare system $714,000,000 over their lifetime.[126]

195. Socially, children of gang-connected parents have been identified as amongst the nation's most vulnerable children[127]. This is because

> *Half of the serious offences committed by gang members are family violence related*[128]

196. The GAP set out to protect the children of adult gang members from adverse childhood experience (ACE) and their mothers, from intimate partner violence (IPV) and to improve their social, health and educational outcomes. Forms of abuse include sexual abuse, physical abuse, psychological abuse, and neglect. There are especial complexities when IPV is experienced in gang-connected whānau

> *Finally, attention must be paid to victims whose partners are gang members, as many domestic violence agencies and resources do not account for or provide adequate services for them. Their experiences differ from other women – they have specific needs associated with seeking help and attempting to leave a violent relationship and the 'gang'. They are not eligible for help in many places, most importantly Women's Refuge. Many women are refused help from various services because they may refuse to cooperate with the Police and/or refuse to testify in court. Services must be compelled to find ways to help victims who are the intimate partners of gang members because, unlike other victims of domestic violence, the partners of gang members often suffer serious levels of ongoing physical and sexual violence during their relationship that includes other gang members.*

[124] MSD (2016) Adult gang members and their children's contact with Ministry of Social Development service lines: National Profile
[125] ibid
[126] Superu What Works pg 5 para 4
[127] Ibid Pg 2 para 1
[128] MSD (2016) Adult gang members and their children's contact with Ministry of Social Development service lines: National Profile

Their risk of further harm increases after reporting the violence and even more so when they attempt to end their relationship, as they not only have their partner's retribution to contend with but that of the 'gang' as well. People spoke of a woman's constant fear of retaliation not only from her partner but also from his fellow gang members[129].

[129] Webber, M. & Wilson, D. (2014) Eds. *The people's inquiry into addressing child abuse and domestic violence*. Glenn Inquiry pg 153

The Phenomenon of the Redemptive-Self and Desistance movement

197. We have noted that the formation of New Zealand's Māori. gangs was a by-product of the post-World War 2 rural to urban diaspora. The recession of the 1970's and "stagnation" [130] meant that urbanised Māori youth were less likely to be employed and more likely to negatively engage with the criminal justice system. Negative childhood experiences at home through dysfunctional parenting and neglect, or in state care, or both, in the form of physical, sexual, and verbal abuse, generally acted as a precursor to joining a gang.

198. The gang offered acceptance and a feeling of camaraderie[131]. This positive experience as being part of the group, and, conversely, experiences of rejection and a sense of alienation in encounters with the conventional world, solidified the sense of membership, loyalty, and continuity.

199. The costs of gang membership, including imprisonment, experience of barriers to employment and housing, constant apprehension about attack from rivals, and regular exposure to high levels of alcohol and drug abuse often led to individuals reconsidering their gang membership and lifestyle.

200. The presence of pro-social older gang members, often fostered by Māori developmental programmes such as E Tu Whānau, has led to the rise of "desisters", gang members who have desisted from or are in the process of desisting from criminal and anti-social activities.

201. This development is described by criminologists as the phenomenon of "redemption-self", which refers to male ex-criminal gang members taking part in generational exercises such as mentoring youth or counselling substance users[132].

202. Generative exercises are pro-social activities that can include guidance care and nurture of others who are in need of support. This pro-social identity assists the reforming/reformed former offender in maintaining desistance from crime and being accepted in conventional society [133]

203. There is an opportunity to promote "redemption", recognise and reward efforts to give up crime, and encourage and confirm positive change.

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[130] See Easton, B. (1997) *In stormy seas: the post-war New Zealand economy*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press

[131] See Faleolo, M. (2014*) Hard, hard, Solid! Life histories of Samoans and Bloods Youth Gangs in NZ* Doctoral Thesis Massey University, Auckland

[132] See Welham, K. (2016) Gangs Trial New ways in Matters of Substance Vol 27 Issue 4 pp 6-13NZ Drug Foundation

[133] Erickson 1965

The Difficulty in Measuring the Scale of the Gang Problem

146. **Since the GAP was launched the New Zealand gang scene has become increasingly dynamic and volatile. Factoring in the definitional issue gang numbers have apparently dramatically increased[134]. It's a bit hard to know the size and scope of what we're dealing with.**

Table Two. Establishing numbers of gang members in NZ can only ever be a guesstimate

Gang Numbers	Source	Date
4,000 patched members	Ross Kemp on Gangs	2004
3,000 -3,500	Hon Annette King, Hansard	June 2008
2,363	Baird & Hurley Newshub	2013
3,960	NZ Police Briefing	July 2014
Roughly 4,000	Dr Jarrod Gilbert in Matters of Substance	Nov 2016
3,627	Stuart Nash MP website	Jan 2017
4,302	Bard & Hurley Newshub	March 2018
5,785 gang members and prospects	Police gang database	April 2018

[134] Economist (2018) NZ has more gangsters than soldiers Feb 8 https://www.economist.com/the-economist-explains/2018/02/14why-new-zealand-has-so-many-gang-members retrieved 4/09/2018

What Looks to be the False Notion That Gang-connected Whānau are Ripping-off the Welfare System

147. When the GAP was originally announced there was much hype about alleged benefit-abuse.[135] Despite the palpable shift in the overall kinder approach to beneficiaries under the current Coalition Government this assertion is still perpetuated by the Police.

> *The Minister for Police is considering targeting gang members committing benefit fraud, in a bid to "go after" them in whatever way he can. "This is Al Capone and getting him for tax evasion. If we can't get them for the crimes we know they're committing, let's investigate them for benefit fraud. Let's find a way to get these gangs," Stuart Nash told Newshub Nation on Saturday. "We will use whatever we can".*[136]

148. Gang-connected whānau have been assessed at consuming significant sums in welfare payments with poor outcomes[137]. One analysis suggested that nine out of ten adult gang members in New Zealand have received a benefit or other welfare, costing the country $525,000,000 between 1993 and 2014. It was assessed that there are up to 70,000 children in gang-connected whānau and that 7,075 dependent children were included in benefits with gang members for an average of 2.8 years

149. 92% (3,627) of gang members have received a main benefit at some point in their life. The average duration of a main benefit was 8.9 years – although not necessarily continuously. However only thirty-two (1%) of the gang members who have received a main benefit have been prosecuted for benefit fraud[138].

150. The reality of the access to and abuse of benefit entitlements is somewhat different from the political hype. The majority of whānau in the seminal GAP evaluation were reported to have been unemployed and/or not be in receipt of their full Work and Income entitlements.

> *"Tentative analysis of data reported by Ruia [Gisborne] and Hoani Waititi [Auckland] pilots indicate a mean period of five and two years, respectively, where individuals were without their full or partial entitlements"*[139].

151. Interactions with some government agencies, and Work and Income in particular, were intimidating and often resulted in negative encounters with Work and Income staff[140]. This

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[135] https://www.newshub.co.nz/home/shows/2018/05/govt-wants-go-after-gangs-for-benefit-fraud.html
[136] ibid
[137] See https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/research/research-
[138] MSD (2016) Adult gang members and their children's contact with Ministry Social Development service lines National Profile
[139] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, Wellington
[140] Manna Integrated Services client interviews

was reaffirmed by the Kaitiaki study and was particularly evident in the Whakatane place-based initiative client interviews. The benefit rip-off allegation looks to be over-hyped.

Understated Complexities in Applying Agency-Derived Intelligence to Co-ordinate Effective Whānau-specific Support Services by Government Agencies

152. The underlying intervention logic behind the policy that led to the formation to the Gang Action Plan looks sound[141]. However, attempts to implement community-placed-based pilots revealed both unconscious bias amongst agencies, and a low appreciation of the complexities of working with hard-to-reach whānau within gang communities.

153. The Gang Action Plan (GAP) was initially developed in 20014 by the then National-led Coalition Government to address what were seen to be disproportionate and persistent high levels of social harm and high fiscal costs resulting from the criminal activities of NZ's adult gangs.

154. The quest was first to seek a more comprehensive understanding of our adult gangs and then to develop a stronger legislative toolkit to address gang-related harms. The intent was to mesh with the Government's Youth Crime Action Plan[142], Government's Social Sector Trials[143], All-of-Government Response to Organised Crime[144], Social Sector Investment Change Programme[145], and other related programmes.

155. The Cabinet Minute that establishes the Gang Action Plan records that

> *The Government noted that New Zealand has a complex gang problem that spans social, economic and justice issues and that gangs create disproportionate harm in New Zealand*[146].

156. *As part of the Gang Action Plan, the New Zealand Gang Intelligence Centre (GIC) was established by Cabinet to combine intelligence across government agencies to allow better targeting and coordination of policies directed at reducing gang-related harms. It would also inform decision making on preventative, investigative and enforcement interventions relating to gangs, and to identify vulnerable children, youth and gang family members for social services support [CAB Min (14) 21/19 refers].*[147]

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[141] See http://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/cabinet-paper-whole-government-action-plan-reduce-harms-caused-new-zealand

[142] See https://www.justice.govt.nz/justice-sector-policy/key-initiatives/cross-government/youth-crime-action-plan/ Key strategies are Crime Prevention through Community Development, Delivering Early Intervention through at risk of offending, reducing opportunities and designing-out the immediate precursors to offending

[143] See http://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/initiatives/social-sector-trials/index.html Essentially seeks community led responses

[144] See https://www.justice.govt.nz/assets/Documents/Publications/New-Zealands-response-to-Organised-Crime.pdf

[145] See https://treasury.govt.nz/information-and-services/state-sector-leadership/cross-agency-initiatives/social-investment Investment into high risk groups is the relevant factor

[146] http://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/cabinet-paper-whole-government-action-plan-reduce-harms-caused-new-zealand

[147] https://treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2018-03/ris-police-abt-may17.pdf

157. This multi-agency Gang Intelligence Centre (GIC), hosted by Police, was established to draw on information from several government agencies (Social Development, Customs, Corrections, Internal Affairs, Immigration and Police) to build detailed intelligence about the activity of gang members and prospects. In the light of the fact that most NZ gang members are Māori. the Ministry of Māori. Development is conspicuous by its absence from this cluster of agencies.

158. Each GIC agency was required to provide GIC with timely and relevant information about specific individuals involved with gangs. The expectation was that GIC could then produce synthesised "intelligence products" about the identified gang-connected individual and their whānau. Children of gang members were to be identified and be included in the intelligence sweep, but not children of gang associates[148]

159. The objective was to uncover possible instances of abuse or neglect amongst the children; assess their levels of educational achievement; calculate levels of receipt of welfare support on the part of whānau members; gauge household income or lack thereof; and, identify addiction and mental health issues amongst whānau members.

160. This information was then to be shared with a relevant agency, or agencies, so co-ordinated multi-agency action could be taken. The envisaged action was firstly intended to reduce illegal gang activities. The culminative impact of resulting enforcement action would expect to be a reduction of serious crime and social harm in the target community, a reduction of reoffending, and an overall improvement in the community's sense of safety[149].

161. Secondly co-ordinated cross-agency support would be offered to the members of these targeted gang-connected whānau aiming to reduce instances of whānau violence and neglect, improving access to addiction services, reducing welfare dependency and increasing legitimate household incomes by improved levels of employment by whānau members.[150] This seems to be the primary objective of the placed-based initiatives.

162. The GAP logic anticipated that these two-pronged efforts would reduce exposure by gang-connected whānau members to violence and drugs and lead to generally improved social outcomes for gang-connected whānau. This is anticipated to then lead to reduced influence by gangs and the harms associated with their activities.

163. The aspiration is that gang members and whānau would then be inclined to turn away from gang lifestyles for the good of both themselves and their children and would be supported to do so.[151]

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[148] http://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/cabinet-paper-whole-government-action-plan-reduce-harms-caused-new-zealand
[149] MSD Gang Action Plan Intervention Logic – Policy
[150] ibid
[151] ibid

164. The clear intent in the logic model was that gang-connected whānau members might see alternatives and choose a more positive way of life than the generations that have gone before[152]. Fewer young people would join gangs, and the intergenerational cycle of gang involvement would be broken[153].

165. This individualised data gathering approach on the part of GIC, and the expectation that, with co-ordinated agency support, gang-connected whānau members will have an epiphany and make better life choices, betrays a certain naivety about the nature of hard to reach communities, and the realities faced by these predominantly Māori communities.

166. Mongrel Mob member and social policy analyst, Harry Tam, proposes that the underlying paradigm that led to this GIC intelligence gathering approach is primarily pathological and has

> *Been developed around the belief [that] men are criminals in need of increased punishment, women are victims of violence, children are vulnerable, and information on all three groups can be collated to increase effectiveness of law and order efforts*[154]

167. Besides the pathological perspective underlying this data gathering approach there seems to an implicit mechanistic or deterministic approach to gathering data about these gang-related whānau. It is as if sums or values can be ascribed to individuals and their whānau and that these can be fed into an algorithm or some other calculative process or programme to establish an appropriate response and predictive outcome.

168. The predominantly Māori gang-connected whānau that the GAP placed based initiatives sought to engage tended not to be part of highly structured organisations. They might best be though of in biological or organic terms. They shift and morph and reconfigure according to a variety of stimuli. They are viral in nature. The quest for oranga, wellness, expressed as a better whānau future, other than what the whānau's current trajectory suggests, generally requires the entire whānau organism to become well.

169. A mother and her children's escape from a currently toxic gang connected whānau environment may be a practical action in certain circumstances. No one should tolerate domestic violence and having a safe way out of such a situation is a fundamental right. But sooner or later the imperative of whānaungatanga means that the overall wellbeing of all whānau members will need to be addressed.

170. An insight may be gleaned by considering the nation's current challenge of managing Mycoplasma Bovis. Unlike cattle we can't cull gang-connected whānau.

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[152] http://www.police.govt.nz/about-us/publication/gang-intelligence-centre
[153] ibid
[154] See Welham, K. (2016) *Gangs Trial New Ways* in Matters of Substance Vol 27, Issue 4 pg 11 NZ Drug Foundation Wellington

171. We need to identify the respective social and behavioural pathogens that impede a whānau's wellbeing. We then can assist the whānau corpus develop resistance to and eventually achieve liberation from the forces that imprison their potential.

An Unfulfilled Expectation of Effective Multi-agency Collaboration

146. Consistent with the experience of community front-liners when confronted by logic models prepared and developed by intelligent, highly qualified, Wellington-based policy analysts, what might be expected to ordinarily occur following an input or intervention might not pan out as anticipated.

147. The seminal evaluation of the Gang Action Plan identified several significant challenges to the delivery of co-ordinated multiagency support to gang-connected whānau.

148. The first challenge was in the very design of innovative responses because of

> "*an inherent difficulty thinking outside of conventional government contracted service delivery models*", lack of interagency trust, and the lack of time to learn how to work together[155].

149. A second challenge arose from the very nature of the organisational structure of agencies themselves. Government agencies tend to operate in silos because of their expected output volumes and outcome measures. Community-based providers and other external providers also tend to operate in a very competitive environment and are turf protective.

150. Anticipated or desired synergies proved to be elusive, and the effective delivery of multiagency and community support was frustrated. The conclusion of the seminal review was that single contracted delivery agencies provided the optimal channel for service delivery to gang-connected whānau[156]. All three placed-based sites reviewed in this paper followed this model.

151. The third identified challenge was community resistance to the place-based pilots. This was traced on one hand to both community and local government agency scepticism, unconscious bias, associated with each placed based pilot purpose, and the whānau-focus of the project[157]. The observation of the seminal researchers was that the "hard to reachness" of a gang-connected whānau may have as much or more to do with the "hard to accessness" of a provider agency. This is consistent with the findings of the findings of the 1981 Committee on Gangs and reaffirmed in the findings of the 1987 enquiry led by Justice Sir Clinton Roper.

152. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the most difficult operational challenge was gaining whānau trust to enable initial and on-going engagement. Most gang-connected whānau had experienced a raft of negative interactions with government agencies and service providers.

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[155] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, Wellington
[156] ibid
[157] ibid

This had reinforced high levels of a sense of social exclusion and negative social labelling. Whānau were resistant to someone else defining what constituted their improved future and wanted opportunities to establish their own objectives and whānau pathways as opposed to being directed to engage in behaviours and / or programmes with which they had no or little interest[158].

153. The GAP intervention logic model states that

Gang-connected family's mistrust and are often reluctant to engage with mainstream government services. This has hindered efforts to reduce social harms and improve outcomes to reduce social harms and improve outcomes for gang-connected populations[159].

154. The intelligence gathering function of GIC and intimation of enforcement action might reasonably give good cause for a gang-connected whānau to be suspicious about agency motives. In contrast, the approach taken by the E Tu Whānau movement is non-judgmental and assumes potentiality. The efficacy of this approach is reflected in the willingness of gang-connected whānau to engage with E Tu Whānau.

[158] Roguski, M. (2017) *Communities on the Fringe: Developmental and Outcomes Evaluation*. Kaitiaki Research and Evaluation, Wellington
[159] GAP Intervention Logic Policy

The Difficulty in Simultaneously Achieving Crime Control and Social Development Outcomes

155. We have seen that the GAP wished to promote family well-being, and, at the same time, to target the activities of Transnational Crime Groups. It's not an easy fit. Transnational crime seems to be of a different order of things from crimes of domestic violence committed by NZ gang members, or other NZ gang-related crime of a non-transnational nature.

156. Two interconnected perspectives, one primarily sociological, seeking to address issues of domestic violence and the wellbeing of children in gang-connected whānau, and the other, essentially criminological, seeking to counter harms and costs arising from criminal offending by adult gang members, drove the GAP.

157. This conflation infused and ultimately confused the GAP programme logic. It was its Achilles heel. It muddied the water and, consequentially, the specified GAP desired outcomes to reduce gang-crime related harms and their subsequent human and financial costs tended to focus on organised transnational criminal groups.

158. Such is the nature of things this approach shoehorns all NZ gang-related crime into the organised criminal group/ transnational criminal group space.
159. Consequently, the whānau-focused efforts to neutralise domestic violence become subsumed in the political hype and the media fascination that surrounds organised crime be it national or trans-national in nature and effect.

CONCLUSION

- The Gang Action Plan started out with a good outcome in mind. However, policy analysts fundamentally misunderstood the biological nature of Māori gangs and the whānau amongst them. Moreover, the pathological approach undertaken by the Gang Intelligence Centre a5d the NZ Police approach in general subsumed the philosophy of Whānau-ora, potentiality, and the overall kaupapa of oranga.

- The efforts made at a community level however give a primary evidential base that small community-defined development-focused projects have the potential to generate a social multiplier, and an outpouring of discretionary effort. This can produce efficacious outcomes and extraordinary return on investment.

- If children in gang-connected whānau are amongst the most victimised of our most vulnerable citizens, and if Aotearoa is to become the best place in the world to be a child, then improving their lot becomes an obvious start point for future effort towards this noble goal.

Tihei Mauriora!

Denis O'Reilly M Soc P

5th December 2018