

Intelligence Scan: Why the number of tamariki entering care is reducing

This intelligence scan is intended to aid Oranga Tamariki in understanding why the number of tamariki entering care has reduced since 2017. Entries into care refers to the number of tamariki entering into Oranga Tamariki care or custody pursuant to particular legal orders. When tamariki enter care there are a variety of care arrangements that may be applied, including tamariki remaining in the care of parents or whānau. More information is provided in Appendix A: Pathways into care.

Methodology

- The intelligence in this document is based on documents provided by Oranga Tamariki as well as a search of publicly available materials.¹ The following approaches were used to source documents:
 - o media sources such as Stuff New Zealand and Radio New Zealand (RNZ) were used initially to identify potential academics, iwi and Māori organisations
 - o an internet search was conducted to identify materials generated by these academics and organisations, and to source materials related to Oranga Tamariki practice changes that may have impacted on the numbers of tamariki in care over the past three years
 - o an internet search using a range of search terms was also undertaken. A table of the search terms is provided in Appendix A
 - o validation of information was sought through referencing affidavit statements to the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2915), grey and published literature.
- A review of all references was then filtered based on whether information was:
 - o referenced in affidavits for the Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2915)
 - o within the period 2017 to end of June 2020. Those since July 2020 have not been included as they are unlikely to have contributed to the downward trend of tamariki in care
 - o relevant in terms of addressing why the number of tamariki entering care is reducing.

¹ Originally a snow-balling approach was intended to sourcing documents, with Oranga Tamariki references anticipated to identify incremental references. However, the documents supplied by Oranga Tamariki and affidavit evidence from the Deputy Chief Executive and Chief Social Worker did not provide a basis for further searching.

- A total of 51 items were reviewed in developing this evidence scan. Some of these provided background information that formed the basis for further searching and as such have not been referenced in this document.

Limitations

- There is limited research included from New Zealand academics. This reflects the lack of current research that has examined changing numbers of tamariki entering care.

SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

The information below provides a summary of the evidence found in the intelligence scan which may explain why the number of tamariki entering care is reducing. It covers three key areas:

- Changes to Oranga Tamariki policies, practices and processes.
- Numbers of tamariki Māori entering care.
- Support services available to whānau/families.

While Oranga Tamariki has made a number of policy, practice, and process changes, it is not clear what impact they are having on falling numbers of tamariki entering care

- An Expert Panel independent review in 2015 established the need to overhaul the child protection system. As part of the recommendations from the review² the Expert Panel provided a blueprint for a new operating model.³ The system overhaul led to the establishment of Oranga Tamariki in April 2017. The Deputy Chief Executive at Oranga Tamariki and the Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal stated that Oranga Tamariki has subsequently adopted a phased approach to implementing the recommended operating model. In addition, Oranga Tamariki has developed five mana tamaiti objectives⁴ which have been embedded in a range of policy, practice and process changes. Key changes have included seeking to improve cultural capability and practice, establishing Māori-specific teams and roles, developing partnerships with iwi and Māori organisations and improving quality assurance mechanisms.
- Many of these changes align with the introduction of section 7AA in the Oranga Tamariki Act, which allocates the Chief Executive specific duties in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi. Section 7AA came into effect on 1 July 2019.

² Ministry of Social Development (2015). Expert Panel Final Report: Investing in New Zealand’s Children and Families. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/corporate/expert-panel-cyf/investing-in-children-report.pdf>

³ The operating model is underpinned by six building blocks: child-centred system, engaging all New Zealanders, high aspirations for high aspirations for Māori children, professional practice framework, strategic partnering and investment approach which would help address over-representation of tamariki Māori.

⁴ The five mana tamaiti objectives are: ensuring participation in decision-making; preventing entry into care or custody; placing with whānau, hapū and iwi; supporting identity and belonging; leaving care or custody. Oranga Tamariki (n.d.) Practice improvement journey. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

- Although there is limited evidence of the direct impact these changes have had on reducing the number of tamariki entering care, affidavits from Oranga Tamariki and the Māori Women's Welfare League⁵ indicate that working in partnership with iwi and Māori organisations is making a difference. For example, the Māori Women's Welfare League cited the partnership model established between themselves, Oranga Tamariki and seven local iwi in Blenheim was making a difference. Over the past three years, Blenheim has consistently had one of the lowest rates of tamariki in care in New Zealand. It is not clear whether this trend is also reflected in tamariki entering care.

While the number of children entering care is reducing, tamariki Māori remain disproportionately over-represented

- An Oranga Tamariki disproportionality briefing⁶ indicates that while the numbers of tamariki Māori entering care is reducing, the number of non-Māori entering care is also falling. The proportion of Māori compared to non-Māori entering care has remained fairly constant at around 56-58 percent since 2015/16. The briefing states that while there has been a slight reduction in disparities, the ratio per thousand shows Māori are five times more likely to be brought into care than non-Māori.
- None of the indicators Oranga Tamariki currently has for measuring disparity can identify the reasons for the difference between Māori and non-Māori. However, the Chief Social Worker's evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal⁷ stated that a significant contributing factor was the broader socio-economic disparity that Māori experience, which is in part due to the ongoing impact of historical injustices on whānau, hapū and iwi. Analysis completed by Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and EY⁸ found when controlling for some other factors, including some socioeconomic and parent/child characteristics, first placement in care of tamariki Māori compared with New Zealand European and other ethnicities post April 2017 was not statistically different. However, the report notes there can be considerable variability in first time placement entry rates, which makes it more difficult to establish trends given the relatively few observations.⁹
- Affidavits to the Waitangi Tribunal and Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report, indicate whānau Māori have raised concerns about Oranga Tamariki and its implementation of policies, processes and procedures, including the detrimental effect on tamariki and their

⁵ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Māori Women's Welfare League. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165142974/Wai%202915%2C%203.3.013.pdf.

⁶ Briefing on Disproportionality between Māori and non-Māori (n.d.). Provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁷ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2019. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

⁸ Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and EY (2020). Factors Associated with Disparities Experienced by Tamariki Māori in the Care and Protection System. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/research/our-research/factors-associated-with-disparities-experienced-by-tamariki-maori/>.

⁹ Note: The analysis did not include placement entries where no Family Group Conference/Family Whānau Agreement (FWA) occurred.

- whānau. Issues with current practice that have been raised include social workers lacking understanding and skill in how to work with whānau Māori, lack of cultural understanding/competency, and inappropriate engagement with whānau Māori.¹⁰
- Research undertaken by New Zealand academics such as Keddell and Hislop¹¹ suggests that social work practitioners display a combination of unconscious bias and a “colour blind” approach to practice which may contribute to ethnic inequalities in children taken into care.
- Affidavits to the Waitangi Tribunal and Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicated good practice was considered to involve supporting whānau to make decisions for themselves.¹² There was recognition that some social workers demonstrated these skills. The evidence the Manager at Waitematā Law Centre gave at the Waitangi Tribunal stated these skills needed to be integrated systemically within Oranga Tamariki. Such a recommendation is in line with many of the changes Oranga Tamariki is seeking to make. The Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicates a ‘by Māori, for Māori, with Māori’ approach is best placed to provide the care, support and services that whānau Māori need¹³.

While some evidence indicates some effectiveness of early and intensive support services, their contribution to the number of tamariki entering care is not clear

- There are a number of early support services and approaches currently funded by Oranga Tamariki. These include Strengthening Families, Family Start and Children’s Teams.
- Research undertaken by Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates into Strengthening Families¹⁴ and an evaluation undertaken by Oranga Tamariki and *Allen + Clarke* of Family Start¹⁵ indicate there is some evidence of the effectiveness of these programmes in

¹⁰ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Māori Women’s Welfare League. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165142974/Wai%202915%2C%203.3.013.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), evidence from Dallas Pickering, an experienced social worker for the Anglican Trust for Women and Children, affidavit. March 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf

¹¹ Keddell E (2020). The case of an inequalities perspective in child protection. *Child protection, capitalism and the settler state: rethinking the social contract*. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165006687/Wai%202915%2C%20A093.pdf.

¹² Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf.

¹³ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

¹⁴ Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020). Strengthening Families: Research on how the programme operates. <https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Strengthening-Families/Strengthening-Families-Research-Report-2019.pdf>.

¹⁵ Oranga Tamariki and Allen + Clarke (2020). Evaluation of the Family Start Programme: Report on the findings of the process evaluation. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Family-Start/Evaluation-of-the-Family-Start-programme.pdf>.

supporting whānau/families. In addition, evaluations of Children’s Teams¹⁶ have identified what is working well and what can be improved. The evaluation findings have led to gradually shifting Children’s Teams to new community-based approaches as they develop. However, the evidence from these studies do not indicate what impact, if any, these programmes and approaches have on the number of children entering care.

- A recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report¹⁷ indicated that broader support services such as Whānau Ora offer whānau useful alternative support to that offered by Oranga Tamariki, especially for those who have had negative experiences of Oranga Tamariki. In some instances, whānau have requested Māori providers and Whānau Ora navigators support them at Family Group Conference (FGC) meetings and Family Court proceedings. While this was considered to contribute to more positive outcomes, the nature of these outcomes is not specified.

¹⁶ Oranga Tamariki. Children’s Teams. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/childrens-teams/>

¹⁷ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

CHANGES TO POLICIES AND LEGISLATION THAT MAY IMPACT NUMBERS OF CHILDREN IN CARE

01 RECOMMENDATIONS FROM REVIEW FORM BASIS FOR CHANGES TO LEGISLATION

An independent review in 2015 by an Expert Panel established the need to overhaul the child protection system. The recommendations from the Review provided a blueprint for the Oranga Tamariki operating model and formed the basis for legislative reforms, including the need to make significant practice changes to meet Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations.

Based on Expert Panel recommendations, Oranga Tamariki has made a number of changes, some could potentially contribute to falling numbers of tamariki entering care

- The Modernising Child, Youth and Family Expert Panel (Expert Panel) established in 2015 recommended a number of changes in its Ministry of Social Development report.¹⁸ These included:
 - recommending a new operating model underpinned by six building blocks. Examples include high aspirations for tamariki Māori and an investment approach designed to help address over representation of tamariki Māori in the child protection system. Included in the new proposed operating model was a focus on prevention of harm through early support and intensive response when concerns escalated
 - identifying opportunities for the Crown and Māori to work together to transform the system. Proposals included developing a strategic partnering approach with iwi and Māori organisations
 - recommending the government remove administrative and legal barriers which prevented iwi and Māori organisations from effective involvement in the social sector.
- As part of the system overhaul Oranga Tamariki was established in April 2017. The Deputy Chief Executive’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal¹⁹ stated that the Expert Panel’s recommendations provided the blueprint for the operating model Oranga Tamariki is in the process of implementing. The operating model consists of six functions: Intake, Assessment and Referral; Early Support; Intensive Response; Care; Youth Justice; and Transition Support. Oranga Tamariki has adopted a sequenced approach over a five-year period (2017-2022) to implementing its operating model.

¹⁸ Ministry of Social Development (2015). Expert Panel Final Report: Investing in New Zealand’s Children and Families. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/corporate/expert-panel-cyf/investing-in-children-report.pdf>; Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit, April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf.

¹⁹ Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit, April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf

- The Deputy Chief Executive’s evidence²⁰ indicated there had been a range of changes based on the Expert Panel’s recommendations. Changes which could potentially support a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care include:
 - in 2017/18, increasing investment in early support services and strengthening core social work practice.
 - in 2018/19, introducing a framework for cultural competency for Oranga Tamariki personnel.
 - in 2019/20, focusing on the development of intensive response services, designing prototypes to support early engagement and ensuring greater support is provided to whānau/families.

It is unclear to what extent (if at all) legislation reforms, which promote a child-centred approach, are contributing to the number of tamariki entering care reducing

In response to the Expert Panel’s recommendations, the government announced major state reforms and a complete overhaul of Child, Youth and Family. In addition to establishing Oranga Tamariki as a standalone agency, legislative reforms occurred in two phases.

- Phase one, legislative changes to the Child, Youth and Their Families Act (now called the Oranga Tamariki Act, 1989) (the Act) in 2016, came into effect on 1 April 2017. Changes included increasing input from tamariki and rangatahi at both an individual and system level and enabling a broader range of professionals to perform a wider set of functions under the Act.²¹
- Phase two legislative changes to the Act were passed in 2017. The majority of these changes came into effect on 1 July 2019. The Ministry of Social Development²² indicated that the Act reinforced the need to make significant changes in practice in order for Oranga Tamariki to meet its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations and to become more responsive to the needs and aspirations of tamariki and rangatahi. Changes to the Act included:
 - ensuring tamariki and rangatahi within the context of their families, whānau, hapū, iwi, family groups and broader networks and communities, are at the centre of decision-making while considering them
 - introduction of section 7AA which allocates specific duties to the Chief Executive in relation to the Te Tiriti o Waitangi. This includes placing overarching legislative

²⁰ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf.

²¹ Ministry of Social Development. Investing in New Zealand’s Children and their Families. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/investing-in-children/new-childrens-agency-established.html>

²² Ministry of Social Development. Investing in New Zealand’s Children and their Families. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/investing-in-children/new-childrens-agency-established.html>; Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Act 2017. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2017/0031/latest/DLM7064559.html>.

- accountabilities on Oranga Tamariki for addressing disparities for tamariki Māori.
- Feedback through affidavits and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report have questioned whether the legislative changes have gone far enough in ensuring Oranga Tamariki meets its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations.²³ These concerns include that the Act and its amendments fail to provide an opportunity for Māori as individuals and as whānau, hapū and iwi members to exercise rangatiratanga in relation to the safety and wellbeing of tamariki Māori. Instead, the Act and its amendments have adopted a child-centred and risk averse approach which encourages placement of tamariki with non-kinship groups.
- At the same time, a submission by the Human Rights Commission to the Māori Inquiry into Oranga Tamariki suggested that the introduction of section 7AA holds great and as “yet unexplored potential to protect the rights of whānau more effectively.”²⁴ This is reflected in a custody case reported by Radio New Zealand in which a judge referenced section 7AA when explaining his decision to return the custody of a baby to its grandmother. The judge noted that the benefit of the baby being with whānau outweighed concerns that Oranga Tamariki had raised. While such outcomes point to the possible impact of section 7AA, at least on tamariki remaining within their broader whānau, hapū and iwi context, it is not clear what contribution (if at all) such changes are making to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care.

²³ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), evidence from Dallas Pickering, an experience social worker for the Anglican Trust for Women and Children, affidavit. March 2020.
https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf. Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It's time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

²⁴ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It's time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. p.39. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

02 THERE HAVE BEEN A RANGE OF CHANGES IN PRACTICE SINCE ORANGA TAMARIKI WAS ESTABLISHED

Oranga Tamariki has made a range of changes in practice, including policies and processes, since it was established in 2017. In particular, Oranga Tamariki has invested in changes to improve its response to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and to ensure the wellbeing of tamariki throughout the system. External accountability of Oranga Tamariki has also been strengthened. The Chief Social Worker's evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal states that these initiatives, particularly in relation to working in partnership with iwi and introducing more inclusive whānau decision-making processes are making a difference, including contributing to the falling numbers of tamariki entering care. However, there is a lack of broader evidence to indicate to what extent these changes are contributing to the reduction.

It is unclear how effectively cultural capability and practice improvements have been embedded and to what extent, if at all, they are contributing to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care

- In line with section 7AA Oranga Tamariki has developed five mana tamaiti objectives. The Deputy Chief Executive and Chief Social Worker evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal state that these objectives contribute to Oranga Tamariki achieving its Māori-specific end goal - that tamariki Māori are thriving under the protection of their whānau, hapū and iwi. The mana tamaiti objectives include ensuring the participation of whānau, hapū, and iwi in decisions affecting them as early as possible and preventing the entry of tamariki Māori into care or custody through early support and intensive response. In addition, the mana tamaiti objectives reinforce the importance of whanaungatanga obligations and whakapapa responsibilities.²⁵ While these objectives underpin a range of policy and practice changes, there is a lack of evidence that indicates to what extent these five mana tamaiti objectives are contributing to improved practice and their contribution to falling numbers of tamariki entering care.
- In 2017, Oranga Tamariki developed Practice Standards which define and describe quality practice. The Chief Social Worker's evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal states that this includes a specific practice standard, "Whakamana te tamaiti" which benchmarks the practices and competencies required for working effectively with tamariki Māori and their whānau. It focuses on "practices that empower tamariki and whānau Māori using the principles of mana tamaiti, whakapapa and whanaungatanga."²⁶ However, there is a lack of evidence concerning how effectively the new Practice Standards have been embedded across New Zealand, and to what extent these changes are contributing to reducing the number of tamariki in care.

²⁵ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329094/Wai%202915%2C%20A049.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

²⁶ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

- Evidence from the Deputy Chief Executive and from the Chief Social Worker at the Waitangi Tribunal state Oranga Tamariki has developed and amended practice guidance for working effectively with tamariki and whānau Māori. This has included providing guidance to support practitioners to strengthen the participation of whānau, hapū and iwi in decision-making and planning for tamariki Māori. The practice guidance includes sections related to the use of hui-a-whānau, Kairaranga-ā-whānau, whānau searching and whakapapa research.²⁷ It is not clear from the evidence how effectively these changes have been embedded and to what extent they may be contributing to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care.
- Evidence from the Deputy Chief Executive and from the Chief Social Worker at the Waitangi Tribunal state Oranga Tamariki has taken steps to improve the cultural competency of its workforce through initiatives such as launching the Māori Cultural Framework in November 2018 and Te Kete Ararau (a web-based app). The aim through these initiatives is to build cultural competency and understanding of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, te ao Māori and tikanga Māori.²⁸ However, it is not clear to what extent cultural competence has improved and its contribution to falling numbers of tamariki entering care. Feedback from affidavits and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicates that whānau Māori continue to experience a lack of cultural safety when engaging with people working for Oranga Tamariki.²⁹

Oranga Tamariki have established Māori specific teams and roles with some early evidence the role Kairaranga-ā-whānau is helping reduce the number of tamariki in care

Oranga Tamariki has developed specialist Māori teams and roles to meet whānau needs better. There is some early evidence that indicates the Kairaranga-ā-whānau role is helping whānau Māori retain care of their tamariki.

- The Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal states that Oranga Tamariki has sought to improve practice through creating a new dedicated specialist Māori practice team within its Professional Practice Group - Te Tira Hāpai Māori. The team provides advice on practice that aims to empower tamariki and whānau Māori engaging with Oranga Tamariki

²⁷ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf.

²⁸ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

²⁹ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), evidence from Dallas Pickering, an experience social worker for the Anglican Trust for Women and Children, affidavit. March 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf. Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

- and supports teams to re-orient their work with this objective.³⁰ However, it is not clear from the evidence to what extent this is contributing to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care.
- Affidavits for the Waitangi Tribunal from the Deputy Chief Executive and the Chief Social Worker state Oranga Tamariki has established roles that provide specialist functions within some Services for Children and Families regions and sites. These functions include whānau, hapū, and iwi searching, developing relationships with mana whenua, supporting cultural competence in staff and supporting development of appropriate tikanga. These roles have been created at both a national and regional level, often in partnership with and in response to the needs of local communities.³¹
- An example of such roles is Kairaranga-ā-whānau which is particularly important for Oranga Tamariki and its engagement with tamariki Māori and their whānau. The Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal stated the role aims to enhance whānau participation, build local cultural competency and establish relationships with iwi. An initial evaluation of the role found that it was leading to improvements in participation of tamariki and whānau Māori, iwi and Māori NGOs and helping whānau retain care of their tamariki.³²

Evidence suggests working more closely with whānau Māori and in partnership with iwi is making a positive difference

Oranga Tamariki has established partnerships with iwi entities and Māori organisations (for example New Zealand Māori Council and the Māori Women’s Welfare League). Such changes are designed to improve outcomes for tamariki and rangatahi to thrive in the care of their whānau, hapū and iwi. There are some early indications that these changes are making a difference with the number of pēpi and tamariki in care reducing.

- The Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal stated that Oranga Tamariki has established more inclusive whānau decision-making processes such as using family meetings or hui-a-whānau early in assessments. Hui-a-whānau are whānau-led meetings which aim to bring whānau and those that support them together early to discuss concerns, undertake safety planning, seek to resolve the issue or if necessary help prepare whānau for an FGC.³³ However, it is unclear from the evidence what contribution these changes are making in reducing the number of tamariki entering care.

³⁰ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

³¹ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158703738/Wai%202915%2C%20A020.pdf.
Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

³² Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

³³ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

- Evidence from the Deputy Chief Executive and the Chief Social Worker at the Waitangi Tribunal state that between November 2018 and August 2019, Oranga Tamariki established strategic partnerships with four iwi: Ngāi Tahu (November 2018), Ngāpuhi (January 2019), Waikato-Tainui (April 2019) and Ngāi Tūhoe (August 2019). A core focus of strategic partnerships is to improve outcomes for tamariki, rangatahi and whānau who whakapapa to, or reside within the tribal boundaries of the respective iwi. Each strategic partnership is unique and reflects the vision, values and objectives of the strategic partnership. These do not always relate to reducing the number of tamariki entering care. For example, the agreement signed with Ngāpuhi focuses on youth justice services and development of care services. In addition to the strategic partnerships, Oranga Tamariki has established formal agreements with Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Te Hiku and New Zealand Māori Council.³⁴
- The Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal stated that in partnership with iwi, Oranga Tamariki is seeking to strengthen FGCs by developing iwi-led FGCs. These are convened and facilitated by iwi-based coordinators. While Oranga Tamariki personnel make the referral, bring information and resource the plan, iwi-based coordinators lead the engagement, facilitation, provide whānau support and plan development. Findings from an early evaluation undertaken in collaboration with iwi identified that this process led to an improved whānau experience; greater participation by wider whānau, hapū and iwi; a deeper exploration of concerns and strengths; and development of a more detailed and responsive plan.³⁵
- The Chief Social Worker’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal states there is some early evidence that initiatives designed to encourage Oranga Tamariki social workers to work more inclusively with whānau Māori is making a difference, citing the falling numbers of tamariki entering care over the past three years as an example.³⁶ There are also some anecdotal stories where working with whānau, hapū and iwi has been embedded at different sites. The approach to working in partnership with local iwi in Blenheim is upheld by the Māori Women’s Welfare League as an exemplar. The Blenheim model involved Oranga Tamariki designing and developing a partnership with seven local iwi and the Māori Women’s Welfare League. A key focus involves using FGC with wider whānau members at the early stages of when a concern is reported and working to ensure that, if tamariki need to go into care, they are placed with whānau. For the past three years Blenheim has had one of the lowest numbers of tamariki Māori in care across the country.³⁷

³⁴ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Deputy Chief Executive Hoani Lambert affidavit. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329094/Wai%202915%2C%20A049.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

³⁵ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

³⁶ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

³⁷ Radio New Zealand (2020). Blenheim held up as an exemplar of iwi working with Oranga Tamariki. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/428975/blenheim-held-up-as-exemplar-of-iwi-working-with-oranga-tamariki>. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Māori Women’s Welfare League. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165142974/Wai%202915%2C%203.3.013.pdf.

While quality assurance mechanisms have broadened, it is not clear to what extent these changes are contributing to the number of tamariki entering care reducing

Oranga Tamariki has invested in broadening and refining quality assurance mechanisms. This has involved redesigning activities, tools and processes to broaden the scope of monitoring practices, producing more robust information, enhancing feedback and improving planning processes. The Chief Social Worker in his evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal provided information about a range of changes which are outlined below. However, it is not clear in the evidence to what extent changes in quality assurance mechanisms are contributing, if at all, to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care.

- Since 2017, Oranga Tamariki has developed a range of quality assurance mechanisms. These include self-assessment processes to support local learning, such as site self-assessments. There are also monthly site-based reviews of the quality of practice using a random sample of cases. These reviews are completed by Practice Leaders who use a Quality Practice Tool.³⁸
- Oranga Tamariki has broadened its quality assurance tools and processes to ensure mana tamaiti objectives are embedded in practice. This includes seeking face-to-face feedback from whānau/family, tamariki, caregivers and partners (including iwi and Māori providers). Oranga Tamariki incorporates this feedback into information that is used to inform its assessment of practice. For example, the information is used to provide face-to-face feedback about individuals' practice in relation to applying the mana tamaiti objectives. Oranga Tamariki also uses the information to identify how practice is changing over time and variance in practice between different sites. This includes identifying which sites need to continue to make practice improvements.³⁹ However, it was not clear from the evidence to what extent, if at all, these changes were contributing to the number of tamariki entering care reducing.
- Oranga Tamariki has strengthened professional development through the inclusion of its Māori Cultural Framework and implementation of section 7AA legislation. The aim is to deepen staff's understanding of te ao Māori, key events in Māori history and the history of statutory care and protection including the effects of these events on whānau, hapū and iwi. The Framework also places importance on ensuring whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori NGOs engage and participate in making meaningful decisions.⁴⁰ However, it is not clear from broader evidence such as affidavits and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report how effective these changes have been in reducing the number of tamariki entering care.⁴¹

³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

³⁹ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

⁴⁰ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

⁴¹ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It's time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), evidence from Dallas Pickering, an experienced social worker for the Anglican Trust for

- Oranga Tamariki supports social workers to improve their practice by providing quality supervision, developing a site-based culture of wellbeing, and supporting continuous improvement and reflexive practice. Improvements in practice have also been sought through reducing caseloads, increasing the number of social workers by 30 per cent and becoming better at recognising the contribution other organisations can make, particularly iwi and Māori NGOs.⁴²
- Since the Hawkes Bay Review (November 2019), every s78 (without notice application) must now go through additional checks with a Regional Legal Manager, a Site Manager and a Practice Leader. Each of these roles must sign-off the application. These checks include ensuring there are no alternative means of keeping a child safe and that there have been appropriate efforts to engage with whānau/family. The effect of this operational change is that unless there is a clear need for action to protect a child from immediate or imminent danger, all interim custody order applications must be made 'on notice'. Oranga Tamariki data indicates a significant trend downwards in the use of s78 orders; from 744 in June 2017 to 515 in June 2019, down to 181 for the year to March 2020. The proportion of all orders in relation to tamariki Māori has also dropped from 71% in 2017 to 59% in 2020.⁴³ While this change is positive, it is not clear from the evidence what contribution the reduction in the use of s78 is making to reducing the number of tamariki entering care.
- New models are being introduced to improve practice more generally. For example, Oranga Tamariki has developed a new intake and assessment model which was implemented in March 2020. The new model aims to strengthen assessment and decision-making practice from the point a concern about a tamariki is received through to holding a FGC. The model includes practice developments such as hui-a-whānau.⁴⁴ However, it is not clear what contribution, if any, the model is making in the number of tamariki entering care reducing.
- External accountability through agencies such as the Office of the Children's Commissioner, the Independent Children's Monitor and the Ombudsman have been significantly strengthened. Indications are that Oranga Tamariki considers these agencies to be generating important insights which can be used to improve practice. The accountability has also created mechanisms through which whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori can hold Oranga Tamariki to account. This includes to what extent Oranga Tamariki is meeting its Te Tiriti o Waitangi obligations.⁴⁵ However, there is a lack of evidence indicating what contribution this is making to the number of tamariki entering care reducing.

Women and Children, affidavit. March 2020.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf.

⁴² Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

⁴³ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

⁴⁴ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. April 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_158704405/Wai%202915%2C%20A021.pdf.

⁴⁵ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

03 DISPROPORTIONATE NUMBER OF TAMARIKI MĀORI ENTERING CARE CONTINUES

While there is a decrease in the total number of tamariki entering care, the proportion of Māori compared to non-Māori entering care has remained constant at around 56-58%. In addition to a socio-economic disparities and historical injustices, affidavit evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicate a lack of cultural competence and understanding of how to work with whānau Māori continues to have detrimental effects. In addition, recent research shows that practitioners display a combination of unconscious bias and “colour blindness” that may contribute to ethnic inequalities in the number of children taken into care.

Although there is a downward trend in the number of tamariki entering care, the number of tamariki Māori remains disproportionately high

- A briefing (the Briefing) prepared by Oranga Tamariki on disproportionality between Māori and non-Māori indicates that despite a decrease in the number of tamariki Māori entering care, the number of non-Māori entering care is also falling. The proportion of Māori compared to non-Māori entering care has remained constant at around 56-58% since 2015/16.⁴⁶
- In addition, the Briefing states that while there are some indications the disparity between Māori and non-Māori may be reducing, the ratio per thousand for Māori remains at about five times that of non-Māori. For example, the ratio of tamariki Māori to non-Māori reached a high in 2017 of 6.3 but in 2018 and 2019 decreased to 5.8 and 5.1 respectively. Although this potentially indicates a reduced disparity in intake, the disparity remains high.⁴⁷
- The Briefing states that Oranga Tamariki currently does not have indicators for measuring disparity between Māori and non-Māori which can identify the reasons for the difference.⁴⁸ However, the Chief Social Worker’s evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal states that reasons for this disparity are complex and multi-faceted. A significant contributing factor to the ongoing disparity Māori encounter is due to broader socio-economic disparity which is in part due to the ongoing impact of historical injustices on iwi, hapū and whānau.⁴⁹ Additionally, analysis completed by Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and EY⁵⁰ found ethnicity is statistically associated with differences in first time involvement between tamariki Māori and non-Māori across most stages of the child protection system except for first time entering care. However, the differences between tamariki Māori and non-Māori are less when controlling for socioeconomic and other factors.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Briefing on Disproportionality between Māori and non-Māori. (n.d.). Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁴⁷ Briefing on Disproportionality between Māori and non-Māori. (n.d.). Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁴⁸ Briefing on Disproportionality between Māori and non-Māori. (n.d.). Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁴⁹ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Chief Social Worker/Director of Professional Practice Grant Bennett. July 2019. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_162329123/Wai%202915%2C%20A050.pdf.

⁵⁰ Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and EY (2020). Factors Associated with Disparities Experienced by Tamariki Māori in the Care and Protection System, p.8. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/research/our-research/factors-associated-with-disparities-experienced-by-tamariki-maori/>.

⁵¹ The study involved performing statistical analysis in the Statistics New Zealand Integrated Data Infrastructure (IDI). Factors allowed for included demographic, socioeconomic, parent history and child history. Socioeconomic factors included parent

- Academics such as Emily Keddell indicate a likely contributor to the ongoing disparity between Māori and non-Māori are broader structural factors within society. She argues that an inequalities perspective on the child protection system needs to be adopted to address these issues. An inequalities perspective considers structural contributors and their underlying inequities that contribute to contact with the system. This sits in contrast to the “highly individualised ‘child-focused’ discourses” that have existed over the past four years.⁵² The issue with such a focus on the child is that it makes structural determinants such as poverty invisible. Moreover, she suggests that in Aotearoa, disparities between Māori and Pākehā in child protection outcomes in particular diminish as deprivation increases, nearly equalising in the most deprived quintile.⁵³

There are a range of structural factors which contribute to ongoing disparity between Māori and non-Māori

- Feedback through affidavits and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report⁵⁴ indicate a perception that poor practice in relation to working with Māori continues to exist. Concerns have been raised about how effectively policies and provisions are being implemented and whether they adequately address and support the needs of tamariki and whānau Māori. The types of concerns raised include:
 - some Oranga Tamariki personnel demonstrate a lack of understanding and skill in how to work with whānau Māori, including a perception some Oranga Tamariki social workers manipulated meetings to have their desired outcomes achieved
 - lack of cultural understanding/competency continues to exist
 - communication was considered generally poor, which made it more difficult to engage with Oranga Tamariki.

income, education levels, recent and lifetime benefit receipt, socioeconomic decile, and frequent address changes. Parent/child history included parent history with care and protection and recent Corrections involvement, child’s history of involvement with reports of concern, Emergency Department (ED) contact with additional weight on injury-related ED contact for children under 5 years.

⁵² Keddell E (2020). The case of an inequalities perspective in child protection. *Child protection, capitalism and the settler state: rethinking the social contract*, p.37.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165006687/Wai%202915%2C%20A093.pdf

⁵³ Keddell E (2020). The case of an inequalities perspective in child protection. *Child protection, capitalism and the settler state: rethinking the social contract*.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165006687/Wai%202915%2C%20A093.pdf.

⁵⁴ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Māori Women’s Welfare League. October 2020.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165142974/Wai%202915%2C%203.3.013.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), evidence from Dallas Pickering, an experienced social worker for the Anglican Trust for Women and Children, affidavit. March 2020.

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf.

- The Manager of Waitematā Community Law Centre’s evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal and a recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report stated the intended inference from these criticisms is not that all social workers demonstrate poor cultural competency, but rather that some social workers continue to demonstrate a lack of knowledge or understanding of how to work effectively with whānau Māori and the detrimental effects this has on tamariki Māori.⁵⁵ In addition to poor practice, the Manager of Waitematā Community Law Centre stated he had witnessed some good practice such as supporting whānau to make decisions for themselves. He believed this needs to be integrated systemically within Oranga Tamariki policies, practices, legislation and culture to realise better outcomes for tamariki Māori and their whānau.⁵⁶

- In addition, Keddell and Hislop point out that while the introduction of FGC was hailed internationally for its focus on empowering families, there has been ongoing criticism of its failure to deliver.⁵⁷ Similar to the issues raised above, two recent reports and affidavit evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal⁵⁸ indicate there are a range of concerns that have been raised about FCGs that could adversely affect the outcomes. Key issues raised recently include:
 - concerns about a lack of genuine engagement with whānau
 - a belief FGC is sometimes used as a mechanism against whānau as opposed to a consultative process
 - lack of cultural competency exhibited
 - whānau not feeling empowered
 - important information had not been shared with whānau. For example, explaining to whānau whether the meeting is a whānau hui or a FGC, and/or the entitlement of whānau to legal representation.

- Concerns about bias in practitioners’ perceptions of families have also been raised in a study undertaken by Keddell and Hislop.⁵⁹ Findings from the study suggest that social work practitioners have a combination of unconscious bias and a “colour blind” approach to practice which may contribute to ethnic inequalities in children taken into care. The study

⁵⁵ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf.

⁵⁶ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community Law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf.

⁵⁷ Keddell E. and Hislop I. (2019). Ethnic inequalities in child welfare: The role of practitioner risk perceptions. *Child and Family Social Work*, pp. 1-12. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165075998/Wai%202915%2C%20A098.pdf.

⁵⁸ Mason Report (1992) cited in Te Amokura Consultants (2020). Pūao-te-ata-tū: Ki Muri, Inaianei, Ki Whea. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki. Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915), Manager of Waitematā Community law Centre. Thomas Harris. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf. Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It’s time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁵⁹ Keddell E. and Hislop I. (2019). Ethnic inequalities in child welfare: The role of practitioner risk perceptions. *Child and Family Social Work*, pp. 1-12. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165075998/Wai%202915%2C%20A098.pdf

involved examining through an online survey social workers' perceptions of risk-in response to ethnicity using a blind vignette, with half the participants informed that it was a Pākehā family and the other half told it was a Māori family. Respondents were asked to rate their perceptions of the child's risk and related constructs and asked to state what decisions they would make. Most notable differences included that the total number of actions taken in relation to the whānau Māori were more than the Pākehā family. Also, ethnicity had a large effect when it came to forming a belief that statutory intervention was needed, with whānau Māori considered much closer to this threshold.

SERVICES TO SUPPORT WHĀNAU/FAMILIES THAT MAY REDUCE THE NEED FOR TAMARIKI TO BE TAKEN INTO CARE

01 EARLY SUPPORT AND INTENSIVE RESPONSE

While current approaches to early support services show some effectiveness in supporting tamariki and their whānau/families, it is not clear what, if any, contribution they make to a reduction in the number of tamariki entering care.

While there is evidence Strengthening Families meets the needs of some whānau/families, there is no evidence concerning whether the programme contributes to reducing the number of tamariki entering care

- Strengthening Families was first established in 1997 and had three components: national initiatives to coordinate policy, funding and purchasing; local initiatives to improve collaboration in the delivery of services and allocation of resources; and initiatives focused on family skills and obligations. Research undertaken by the Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and Matheson Associates Limited explained that while the model has remained essentially the same over time, the purpose and context of the programme has radically changed. When Strengthening Families was first introduced it had a focus on New Zealand’s most at-risk children, whereas now it is predominantly an early support and prevention service which focuses on providing support to families. The programme cohort does not include any statutory/intensive cases.⁶⁰
- Oranga Tamariki⁶¹ and the Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and Matheson Associates Limited⁶² state that the Strengthening Families programme is used to bring together all the agencies a whānau/family are currently working with. All the agencies meet together with the whānau/family to develop a plan to address the concerns, rather than the agencies working independently from each other. The plan is based on the needs identified by the whānau/family and is used to coordinate the work of the agencies involved. To assist with this a lead agency is selected. As engagement in Strengthening Families is voluntary, the whānau/family decides who does and does not attend.
- The programme currently operates in 32 areas with one or more part or full-time Strengthening Families Coordinators in each. Oranga Tamariki is responsible for delivering the programme. Findings from research undertaken by Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020) into Strengthening Families does not make any clear links with the effect the programme has on reducing the number of tamariki entering care. However, there

⁶⁰ Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020). Strengthening Families: Research on how the programme operates. <https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Strengthening-Families/Strengthening-Families-Research-Report-2019.pdf>.

⁶¹ Strengthening Families process. <https://practice.orangatamariki.govt.nz/previous-practice-centre/policy/seeking-solutions-with-families/key-information/strengthening-families-process>

⁶² Oranga Tamariki. Strengthening Families process. <https://practice.orangatamariki.govt.nz/previous-practice-centre/policy/seeking-solutions-with-families/key-information/strengthening-families-process>. Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020). Strengthening Families: Research on how the programme operates. <https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Strengthening-Families/Strengthening-Families-Research-Report-2019.pdf>.

was evidence that the programme met the needs of some whānau/families, including whānau Māori, and that there is promising evidence of effectiveness. While the majority of interviewees felt that the programme was appropriate and effective for whānau Māori, some felt that more work needed to be done.⁶³

Evidence indicates the Family Start programme is mostly effective, but the programme's impact on entry to care has not been explored

- Family Start is a voluntary early home visiting programme focused on tamariki. The programme aims to improve a child's health, learning and relationships. Participation in the programme is voluntary. It supports whānau/families who are struggling with challenges that put the health, education and/or wellbeing of a child at risk.⁶⁴ In 2017, the government announced \$49 million was being invested to boost Family Start. This included ensuring that the programme was available throughout New Zealand and that the rate of funding per family increased from \$5,700 to \$6,500. In August 2019, referral criteria was expanded to enable whānau/families with high needs to be referred as soon as the expectant mother's pregnancy was confirmed.⁶⁵
- Findings from a process evaluation of Family Start undertaken by Oranga Tamariki Evidence Centre and *Allen + Clarke* was published in 2020. The evaluation assessed how well Family Start is delivering its services for structurally disadvantaged children and their whānau/family; and how the programme could be optimised to ensure positive outcomes for tamariki and their whānau/family. While the evaluation found that Family Start is mostly effective, some aspects of the model do not align with Māori worldviews and practices, including the principles of whanaungatanga and concepts of a child's development in the holistic context of whānau, hapū and iwi. In addition, the evaluation found that the programme brought a range of benefits. The evaluation did not explore the programme's impact on entry to care.⁶⁶

Children's Teams aims to provide joined up support around at risk tamariki and their whānau/family, but it is not clear whether it is contributing to the number of tamariki entering care reducing

- Children's Teams were established as a key element of the Children's Action Plan (2015) which introduced fundamental changes to how government agencies, iwi and non-government organisations worked together at national and local levels. Children's Teams is an approach

⁶³ Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020). Strengthening Families: Research on how the programme operates. <https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Strengthening-Families/Strengthening-Families-Research-Report-2019.pdf>.

⁶⁴ Oranga Tamariki. Family Start. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/support-programmes/family-start>.

⁶⁵ Oranga Tamariki. Family Start. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/support-programmes/family-start>. Beehive budget announcement (2017). <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/budget-2017-49m-investment-family-start>. Kirikiriroa Family Trust (2019). Good changes to Family Start Referral Criteria. <https://www.kfst.org.nz/post/good-changes-to-family-start-referral-criteria>.

⁶⁶ Oranga Tamariki and Allen + Clarke (2020). Evaluation of the Family Start Programme: Report on the findings of the process evaluation. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Family-Start/Evaluation-of-the-Family-Start-programme.pdf>.

- which involves providing joined-up support around at-risk children and their whānau/family. The approach involves agencies including non-government and community entities working together to share information and develop a single plan for a child. The aim is to reduce duplication and improve outcomes for children. Children’s Teams are part of the early support systems that Oranga Tamariki has in place.⁶⁷
- Oranga Tamariki indicated that evaluations of Children’s Teams has informed its understanding of what is working well and what could be improved. Oranga Tamariki is responding to these evaluations by gradually shifting Children’s Teams to new community-based approaches as they develop. There are currently three communities where this transition has occurred: Tairāwhiti, Whanganui, and Hamilton.⁶⁸ However, it is not clear when these shifts occurred and/or what contribution, if any, they may make to reducing the number of tamariki entering care.

⁶⁷ Oranga Tamariki. Children’s Teams. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/childrens-teams/>.

⁶⁸ Oranga Tamariki. Children’s Teams. <https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/childrens-teams/>.

02 BROADER SUPPORT SERVICES FOR WHĀNAU MĀORI

Some affidavit evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal and a Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report have indicated that holistic whānau ora approaches support positive outcomes for whānau Māori when engaging with Oranga Tamariki.

Holistic whānau ora approaches make a positive difference, however the nature of the positive outcomes is not clear

- Whānau Ora was implemented in two phases: phase one was 2010 to 2014 and phase two covers 2014 to the present. Changes associated with phase two have included implementing three non-government commissioning agencies who have been contracted to invest directly into their services. These agencies have autonomy to develop outcomes and methods in response to the needs of their communities.⁶⁹
- In 2015, the government invested almost \$50 million to fund approximately 230 navigators up until 2019 to support thousands of whānau. Chief Executive Officer for Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust evidence at the Waitangi Tribunal stated that the service works by building on the strengths and capabilities of whānau and wrapping the necessary services and support around them in areas such as housing, employment, cultural identity and standard of living. A review of Whānau Ora indicates that the approach works for whānau Māori.⁷⁰
- A recent Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicated some whānau that have had negative experiences with Oranga Tamariki, and are reluctant to engage with the State system, prefer instead to access community-based advocacy agencies and Māori service providers offering holistic Whānau Ora approaches. In some instances, Māori providers and Whānau Ora navigators become the main source of support for whānau, who see them as a reliable source of wrap-around support. Some whānau have requested Whānau Ora navigators and Māori providers support them through Oranga Tamariki and Family Court processes.⁷¹
- Moreover, the report indicates some Whānau Ora navigators have indicated that they have accessed Te Korimako training (Oranga Tamariki legislation) to improve the support they can provide to whānau and tamariki. Some whānau felt that this training had proved useful and had achieved positive outcomes. However, the nature of positive outcomes was not specified.⁷²

⁶⁹ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915). John H Tamihere, Chief Executive Officer for Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165118465/Wai%202915%2C%20A130.pdf.

⁷⁰ Waitangi Tribunal Inquiry (Wai 2915). John H Tamihere, Chief Executive Officer for Te Whānau o Waipareira Trust. October 2020. https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165118465/Wai%202915%2C%20A130.pdf.

⁷¹ Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It's time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

⁷² Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency (2020). Ko Te Wā Whakawhiti. It's time for Change: A Māori inquiry into Oranga Tamariki. Copy provided by Oranga Tamariki.

Evidence shows some positive signs of Social Workers in Schools programme having a positive impact, but the impact on entry into care rates is unclear

Evidence from the Ministry of Social Development and Oranga Tamariki research indicates that the Social Workers in Schools programme supports tamariki to have better relationships with their whānau/family and friends. However, this research did not explore the programme's impact on entry into care.

- Social Workers in Schools is a government funded, community social work service that is available in most decile 1 to 3 primary and intermediate schools and Kura Kaupapa Māori. The programme receives \$21 million per year, serves just over 700 schools and has not significantly changed since 2011.⁷³
- In 2016 and 2017, the Ministry of Social Development and Oranga Tamariki worked in collaboration with other researchers to examine the impact the service had on outcomes for tamariki. The study used linked administrative data in the Statistics New Zealand Integrated Data Infrastructure. Two studies were undertaken; both showed encouraging signs that the service was having a positive impact.⁷⁴ However, the research did not examine what impact the programme had on entry into care.

⁷³ Ministry of Social Development (n.d.) Evaluation of Social Workers in Schools Services. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/evaluation/social-workers-in-schools-services/index.html>. Ministry of Social Development. (2017). The impact of Social Workers in Schools: A preliminary investigation using linked administrative data. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/evaluation/social-workers-in-schools-services/the-impact-of-swis-a-preliminary-investigation-using-linked-administrative-data-working-paper-february-2017.pdf>

⁷⁴ Ministry of Social Development (n.d.) Evaluation of Social Workers in Schools Services. <https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/evaluation/social-workers-in-schools-services/index.html>.

CONCLUSION

- This intelligence scan has identified a variety of Oranga Tamariki process and practice changes that may contribute to a reduction of the number of children entering care.
- Evidence suggests that working more closely with whānau Māori and/or in partnership with iwi and two Māori organisations is making a positive difference. An early evaluation of iwi-led FGCs indicated that the process was bringing benefits including an improved whānau experience and greater participation by wider whānau, hapū and iwi. Although there is a lack of formal research on these partnerships, evidence reported in affidavits to the Waitangi Tribunal showed a perception that working more closely and/or in partnership with Māori was contributing to whānau retaining care of their tamariki.
- Findings from an initial evaluation of the Kairaranga-ā-whānau role, designed to enhance whānau participation and establish relationships with iwi, indicate the role is helping whānau retain care of their tamariki. However, a lack of evaluations, affidavit evidence and broader intelligence meant we were unable to determine what difference the introduction of other specialist Māori roles and a dedicated specialist Māori practice team - Te Tira Hāpai Māori- is making to reducing the number of tamariki entering care.
- Evidence reported in affidavits to the Waitangi Tribunal from Oranga Tamariki senior staff showed a perception that improvements designed to improve cultural competency and quality assurance mechanisms were making a positive difference, including having more visibility of variance in practice at different sites. On the other hand, affidavit evidence and a Whānau Ora Commissioning Agency Inquiry report indicate that Māori continue to experience a lack of cultural safety when engaging with Oranga Tamariki personnel.
- There is evidence from research and evaluation that early support services are valued by whānau/families and there are some promising indications of effectiveness. However, the research and evaluation reviewed provided no specific evidence on the impact of such programmes and approaches in reducing entry to care.
- Despite the downward trend in the number of tamariki entering care, evidence shows that the disparity between Māori and non-Māori remains disproportionately high. Research evidence indicates social work practitioners have a combination of unconscious bias and a “colour blind” approach to practice which may contribute to ethnic inequalities in children taken into care. Analysis using the IDI database indicates socioeconomic and parent/child characteristics are contributing factors in the disparity between the number of tamariki Māori and non-Māori taken into care. Additionally, evidence reported in affidavits to the Waitangi Tribunal attributes broader socio-economic disparity, which is in part due to the ongoing impact of historical injustices on iwi, hapū and whānau, as a significant contributing factor. To address the disparity, New Zealand academics have suggested an inequalities perspective on the child protection system needs to be adopted as opposed to the child focused approaches that have existed over the past four years.

APPENDIX A: PATHWAYS INTO CARE

While under the Act there are a number of different warrants and legal orders which apply in a range of different settings, these can be broadly grouped into three categories: care agreements, urgent entry to care or custody, and arranged entry to care or custody. Custody orders for unborn and newborn babies are made on an interim basis. Permanent orders are only made after planning around the needs, risks and strengths of the baby, parents and whānau/family has been completed after the baby is born.

Care agreements

- This refers to a child entering care through a voluntary agreement with parents, guardians or usual persons having care of the child for a specific period of time (28 days to 2 years). The outcome is for the child to return home unless they transition to independence. This pathway involves section 139 - Temporary Care Agreement and section 140 - Extended Care Agreement of the Act.

Urgent entry to care or custody

- These are interim orders/warrants that result in the transfer of custody for a child to Oranga Tamariki until a final decision is made. These orders are only supposed to be used to secure the safety and wellbeing of tamariki when all other options have been considered and there is an immediate safety concern. For this pathway, Police and Oranga Tamariki have different powers. Oranga Tamariki always needs to apply to the Family Court before it can take urgent action.
- The warrants and custody orders Oranga Tamariki can use are:
 - o urgent applications to the Family Court for warrant: section 39 - Place of Safety Warrant and section 40 - Warrant to remove a child or young person
 - o interim custody order application to the Family Court: section 78 - Custody of child or young person pending determination of proceedings. Oranga Tamariki can use this order to bring a child into its custody urgently if it is believed that there are real and immediately safety concerns. This custody order can also be used if a caregiver or whānau/family member have agreed an interim custody order is required to ensure a child is safe.

Arranged entry to care or custody

- Arranged entry to care or custody normally occurs after a FGC has been held. Oranga Tamariki needs to apply to the Family Court in order to gain these custody orders, which are: section 101 - Custody order, section 102 - Interim custody order, and section 110(2)(a) - Sole guardianship order.
- Under these orders there are three ways the day-to-day care of a baby or child placed in the care of Oranga Tamariki can be provided. These are:
 - o support and planning. This involves the baby or child remaining with their parent or usual care giver, with extra support and agreed safety plan in place

- change of location. This involves that baby or child remaining with their parent or usual care giver in another approved location. This could be a residential parenting provider or with whānau
- change of carer. The option involves the baby or child being cared for by an approved whānau or non-whānau carer. This can be collaborative with the parents and whānau or it can involve the removal of the child without parental or whānau agreement.

APPENDIX B: SEARCH TERMS USED TO EXAMINE WHY NUMBER OF TAMARIKI ENTERING CARE IS REDUCING

The search for documents was conducted in Google. The table below sets out the search terms that were used and the documents that was used to develop the intelligence scan.

Table 1: Search terms and identified documents

Search term	Documents	Link
Child, Youth and their Families + legislation changes	Ministry of Social Development (n.d.) Investing in New Zealand Children and their families	https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/work-programmes/investing-in-children/new-childrens-agency-established.html
	New Zealand Legislation Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act (1989)	http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1989/0024/65.0/versions.aspx
Iwi strategic partnerships + Oranga Tamariki	New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse (May 2019) Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children forms additional iwi partnerships	https://nzfvc.org.nz/news/oranga-tamariki-ministry-children-forms-additional-iwi-partnerships
Oranga Tamariki + iwi	Radio New Zealand (Oct 2020) Blenheim held up as exemplar of iwi working with Oranga Tamariki	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/428975/blenheim-held-up-as-exemplar-of-iwi-working-with-oranga-tamariki
“Expert Advisory Panel” + 2015	Ministry of Social Development (Dec 2015) Expert Panel Final Report: Investing in Children Report	https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/corporate/expert-panel-cyf/investing-in-children-report.pdf
Waikato Tainui + Oranga Tamariki	Waikato-Tainui website (no information)	https://waikatotainui.com/support/
	Oranga Tamariki (May 2019) Waikato Tainui strategic partnership	https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/news/waikato-tainui-strategic-partnership/

Ngāi Tahu + Oranga Tamariki	New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse (Nov 2018) Ngāi Tahu signs MOU with Oranga Tamariki	https://nzfvc.org.nz/news/ng%C4%81i-tahu-signs-mou-oranga-tamariki-ministry-children
	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (n.d.) Oranga Tamariki – Where to from here?	https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/oranga-tamariki-where-to-from-here-tk82/
	Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (n.d.) He Whaakaro Oranga Tamariki – Not one more baby?	https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/our_stories/he-whakaaro-oranga-tamariki-not-one-more-baby-tk83/
	Stuff (Nov 2018) Ngāi Tahu partners with Oranga Tamariki to reduce the number of Māori children in state care	https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/108530355/ngi-tahu-partners-with-oranga-tamariki-to-reduce-number-of-mori-children-in-state-care
	Oranga Tamariki (Oct 2020) Strategic partnerships with Māori	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/how-we-work/strategic-partnerships-with-maori/
Ngāi Tūhoe + Oranga Tamariki	Ngāi Tūhoe (Aug 2019) Protection for Tūhoe tamariki	https://www.ngaituhoe.iwi.nz/Protection-for-Tuhoe-tamariki
	Radio New Zealand (Aug 2019) Tūhoe sign agreement with Oranga Tamariki	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/397324/tuhoe-sign-agreement-with-oranga-tamariki
	Oranga Tamariki (Oct 2020) Strategic partnerships with Māori	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/how-we-work/strategic-partnerships-with-maori/
	Radio New Zealand (June 2019) Oranga Tamariki difficult to partner with – iwi leaders	https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/te-manu-korihi/392591/oranga-tamariki-difficult-to-partner-with-iwi-leaders

Te Runanga a Iwi o Ngāpuhi + Oranga Tamariki	Oranga Tamariki (Jan 2019) Higher aspirations for Ngāpuhi tamariki	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/news/higher-aspirations-for-ngapuhi-tamariki/
	Oranga Tamariki (Oct 2020) Strategic partnerships with Māori	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/how-we-work/strategic-partnerships-with-maori/
	Te Rūnanga-Ā-Iwi O Ngāpuhi (Dec 2018) Te Rūnanga-Ā-Iwi O Ngāpuhi and Oranga Tamariki commit to a brighter future for Ngāpuhi taitamariki	https://ngapuhi-runanga.nz/Data/Sites/3/mediareleases/media-release_te-r%C5%ABnanga-%C4%81-iwi-o-ng%C4%81puhi-and-oranga-tamariki-commit-to-a-brighter-future-for-ng%C4%81puhi-taitamariki.pdf
	Scoop (Nov 2019) Ngāpuhi not surprised by Oranga Tamariki review outcomes	https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO1911/S00150/ngapuhi-not-surprised-by-oranga-tamariki-review-outcomes.htm
	New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse (May 2019) Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children forms additional iwi partnerships	https://nzfvc.org.nz/news/oranga-tamariki-ministry-children-forms-additional-iwi-partnerships
	Waatea News (Dec 2018) Ngāpuhi partners with Tamariki Ora	https://www.waateanews.com/waateanews/x_news/MjA4NTM/Breakfast%20with%20Dale/Ng%C4%81puhi-partners-with-Tamariki-Ora?story_id=MjA4NTM=
Māori Women’s Welfare League	Māori Women’s Welfare League (Aug 2020) Māori Women’s Welfare League partner up with Oranga Tamariki	http://mwwl.org.nz/

Waitangi Tribunal website – wai 2915 + Māori Women’s Welfare League	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (Oct 2020) Affidavit from Māori Women’s Welfare League	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165142974/Wai%202915%2C%203.3.013.pdf
	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (Oct 2020) Affidavit from Māori Women’s Welfare League (October 2020)	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165137930/Wai%202915%2C%20A131.pdf
	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (Oct 2020) Affidavit from Māori Women’s Welfare League (October 2020)	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/w_DOC_165118611/Wai%202915%2C%20A131(a).pdf
Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2915) + Herewini	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (Oct 2020) Affidavit from National Urban Māori Authority John Henry Tamihere	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165118465/Wai%202915%2C%20A130.pdf
	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (Oct 2020) Affidavit from Manager of the Waitematā Law Centre Thomas Harris	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165078415/Wai%202915%2C%20A100.pdf
	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) (March 2020) Affidavit from experienced Social Worker, Anglican Trust for Women and Children	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_161107545/Wai%202915%2C%201.1.021.pdf

Waitangi Tribunal (Wai 2915) + Keddell	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) Keddell, E. and Hyslop, I. (2019) Ethnic inequalities in child welfare: The role of practitioner risk perceptions. <i>Child & Family Social Work</i> , 1-12.	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165075998/Wai%202915%2C%20A098.pdf
	Waitangi Tribunal (wai 2915) Keddell, E. (2020) The case for an inequalities perspective in child protection. <i>Policy Quarterly</i> , 16(1), 36-38.	https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_165006687/Wai%202915%2C%20A093.pdf
Strengthening Families + Oranga Tamariki	Oranga Tamariki Practice Centre (n.d.) Strengthening Families Process: What's important to us	https://practice.orangatamariki.govt.nz/previous-practice-centre/policy/seeking-solutions-with-families/key-information/strengthening-families-process/
	Oranga Tamariki (April 2020) The Strengthening Families Programme	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/research/our-research/the-strengthening-families-programme/
	Oranga Tamariki and Matheson Associates Limited (2020) Strengthening Families: Research on how the programme operates	https://orangatamariki.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/About-us/Research/Latest-research/Strengthening-Families/Strengthening-Families-Research-Report-2019.pdf
Children's Teams	Oranga Tamariki (May 2020) Children's Teams	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/childrens-teams/
	Datacom (n.d.) Working Together to support vulnerable children	https://www.datacom.co.nz/Case-Studies/Solutions/Children%E2%80%99s-Teams.aspx

Children's Teams + Tairāwhiti	Maanaki Tairāwhiti (n.d.) Te Pā Harakeke – Tairawhiti Children's Team	http://www.manaakitairawhiti.nz/find-help/te-pa-harakeke-tairawhiti-childrens-team/
Children's Team + Whanganui	No returns	
Children's Team + Hamilton	No returns	
Early intervention + Family Start	Oranga Tamariki (Apr 2019) Returns descriptive information from Oranga Tamariki website	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/support-programmes/family-start/
Family Start + Changes	Kirikiroa Family Trust (Aug 2019) Changes to Family Start Referral Criteria	https://www.kfst.org.nz/post/good-changes-to-family-start-referral-criteria
	Parliament (June 2017) Budget 2017: \$49 million investment in Family Start	https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/budget-2017-49m-investment-family-start
Family Start + Oranga Tamariki	Oranga Tamariki (Apr 2019) Family Start	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/support-for-families/support-programmes/family-start/
Family Start + Evaluation Research	Oranga Tamariki and Allen + Clarke (2020) Evaluation of the Family Start Programme: Report on the findings of the process evaluation	https://www.orangatamariki.govt.nz/about-us/research/our-research/family-start-process-evaluation/
Social Workers in schools	Ministry of Social Development (n.d.) Evaluation of Social Workers in Schools Services	https://www.msd.govt.nz/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/evaluation/social-workers-in-schools-services/index.html

Social Workers in schools + history	Ministry of Social Development (Feb 2017) The impact of Social Workers in Schools: A preliminary investigation using linked administrative data. Working Paper	https://www.msd.govt.nz/documents/about-msd-and-our-work/publications-resources/evaluation/social-workers-in-schools-services/the-impact-of-swis-a-preliminary-investigation-using-linked-administrative-data-working-paper-february-2017.pdf
Whānau Ora	Te Puni Kōkiri (Oct 2020) Whānau Ora	https://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/whakamahia/whanau-ora