



British Columbia
Assembly of First Nations

What BC Can Learn from **Aotearoa New Zealand's Two Wellbeing Frameworks**

October 2023

What BC Can Learn from Aotearoa
New Zealand's Two Wellbeing Frameworks

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AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND



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BRITISH COLUMBIA

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A note on terminology and Indigenous languages: In this report, we do not provide a glossary of terms because there are nuances that fall away without appropriate context, and when translating words across Te Reo, the Māori language to English, and across Te Reo into other Indigenous frameworks of reference. Throughout this report, the concept of *tikanga* is central within processes and development of *He Ara Waiora* and other important dialogue that helped shape the framework that is currently informing Māori wellbeing. Tikanga can loosely be understood as the right/correct way of going about something, or the correct way to do things and can connect to the importance of Indigenous processes or protocols in Canadian contexts. Likewise, in this report the word *hui* refers to a meeting.



Welcome

Dear Chiefs, Leaders, Knowledge Keepers, and First Nation members,



On behalf of the BC Assembly of First Nations, I am honoured to present the next phase of the Wellness Indicators work. This report, *What BC Can Learn from Aotearoa New Zealand's Two Wellbeing Frameworks*, is a remarkable exploration of how

Aotearoa New Zealand has implemented Indigenous values into their two well-being indexes, setting an international benchmark.

As more world economies shift away from using Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as the sole measure of economic and social health, there is a

unique opportunity to use First Nations wisdom and knowledge systems to drive transformative change. I will continue in my role as Regional Chief to support collaboration towards developing a wellness index in British Columbia that reflects the values and priorities of First Nations.

I invite you to join me in this critical work to create a shared vision of well-being that respects and honours Indigenous cultures, histories, and aspirations.

Mussi Cho!

Regional Chief Terry Teegee



Executive Summary

A number of countries have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, GDP-alternatives that better reflect the wellbeing of their people and populations. This report offers an in-depth, expert-informed analysis of how BC can learn from Aotearoa New Zealand's work in the wellbeing economy arena.

AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

"We're not working for the economy; the economy is working for us."
(Aotearoa New Zealand Policy Maker, 9 Dec 2022)

A number of countries have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, GDP-alternatives that better reflect the wellbeing of their people and populations. This report offers an in-depth, expert-informed analysis of how BC can learn from Aotearoa New Zealand's work in the wellbeing economy arena.

This report summarizes the lessons learned from New Zealand in the development of the Living Standards Framework (LSF) and the He Ara Waiora (meaning the waters of wellbeing) into a wellbeing index that is implemented at a national level and been strongly influenced by Indigenous input and values.

The Aotearoa New Zealand Indigenous-informed wellbeing precedent has the potential to inform BC's wellbeing economy as it relates to (A) engagement, (B) process of framework

development, (C) implementation, (D) evaluation, (E) community and international relevance, and Māori and OECD-based indicators compared.

Given this, there is great benefit to British Columbia, in drawing on lessons learned from New Zealand in this regard over the last two decades. The same is true for jurisdictions like BC with Indigenous populations and considering implementing a wellbeing index.

This report builds upon a previous BC Assembly of First Nations (BC AFN) report entitled *Centering First Nations Concepts of Wellbeing: Toward a GDP-Alternative Index* in British Columbia.¹

1 Podlasly, M., von der Porten, S., Kelly, D., and Lindley-Pearl, M., (2020) *Centering First Nations Concepts of Wellbeing: Toward a GDP-Alternative Index in British Columbia*. British Columbia Assembly of First Nations. bcafn.ca/sites/default/files/docs/reports-presentations/BC%20AFN%20FINAL%20PRINT%202020-11-23.pdf

This first report explored the global movement towards GDP-alternatives happening in some countries around the world, including the exploration of why BC might consider an Indigenous-led GDP alternative. The research conducted in the first report indicated the wellbeing alternatives in Aotearoa New Zealand are the frontrunners in this endeavor and parallel British Columbia's economy, Indigenous circumstances, and historical context in many ways.

The rationale for the focus of this report on New Zealand is largely because of the following factors:

1. New Zealand has developed a comprehensive wellbeing framework (the Living Standards Framework).
2. The New Zealand Treasury has fully implemented the GDP-alternative (the Wellbeing Budget) at the national level.
3. The New Zealand Crown sought Māori input to design and implement He Ara Waiora, the Māori version of the Living Standards Framework — this input has had and is continuing to have influence on New Zealand's Wellbeing Budget.
4. New Zealand is entering its fifth year of implementation of the GDP-alternative since the inaugural Wellbeing Budget 2019, therefore British Columbia may be able to learn from experiences during in this period.
5. New Zealand provides a useful touchstone of comparison for British Columbia in terms of size, population, Indigenous history, and the presence of both Indigenous and Eurocentric worldviews.

The report research indicates that He Ara Waiora stands equally alongside the New Zealand Living Standards Framework. He Ara Waiora mirrors other significant political structures, namely the two versions of the founding document in New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi. The two

"If you're going on this journey, it's not to find an answer because there is no answer. The wellbeing movements is itself a recognition that the status quo isn't working. Fundamentally, there's a recognition that you are going on a journey to change the status quo, not just measured the status quo in a slightly different way." (Consultant (Māori), 14 Feb 2023)

frameworks are complementary in part because the Māori endorsing only a western framework would contradict their treaty rights. He Ara Waiora also reinforces that Māori definitions of wellbeing and philosophy stand on their own and are never subsumed into pakeha (colonial) processes.

Parts 1 and 2 of this report lay out the logic of how the first report led to the research and report laid out in this report. Part 3 lays out how Māori influence and leadership on Aotearoa New Zealand's Living Standards Framework and the He Ara Waiora came about. Part 4 is an in-depth, expert-informed analysis of the Crown's incorporation of Māori values, and how BC can learn from Aotearoa New Zealand's work in the wellbeing economy arena. Finally, Part 5 lays out recommendations for BC's wellbeing economy and further research.

Economies Shifting Away from GDP

AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

“What gets measured gets done.” (Jacinda Ardern, Former NZ Prime Minister)²

Growing Rationale for a BC Wellbeing Index

Part I of the first report, *Centering First Nations Concepts of Wellbeing: Toward a GDP-Alternative Index in British Columbia*, detailed the rationale for why BC might consider a GDP alternative such as a BC Wellbeing Index:

1. The need to meaningfully measure First Nations wellbeing in BC, as a critical starting point to improving the wellbeing of all British Columbians — Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike.
2. The need for productive and efficient COVID-19 recovery, to protect and improve the lives and livelihoods of British Columbians impacted by the pandemic.
3. The need to achieve economic, social, and environmental sustainability for the future, at a time when climate change and unsustainable environmental practices are impacting our health, communities, and livelihoods.

These points are perhaps now even more pressing today as they were three years ago when this report was published given the following circumstances and changes:

1. **Support for Reconciliation:** British Columbians have become much more aware of the impact of colonization and the need for reconciliation since the 2021 Tk’emlúps te Secwépemc announcement of 215 children

2 Brightvibes, 13 June 2019. New Zealand budgets will be ‘all about well-being and not just money’ says PM. brightvibes.com/1282/en/new-zealand-budgets-will-be-all-about-well-being-and-not-just-money-says-pm

buried at the Kamloops Indian Residential School,³ and the multiple subsequent discoveries in other residential school grounds across Canada is approximated at 2,614 suspected unmarked graves⁴. This grim news, long known and reported by residential school survivors and relatives, breathed new meaning into reconciliation, the support and awareness behind Orange Shirt Day/Canada's National Day for Truth and Reconciliation. This awareness translates into increased support for not only meaningful reconciliation, but also a keenness to the importance of Indigenous values and knowledge systems including those related to social, environmental, economic, and cultural priorities in decision making within British Columbia.

2. **Legislation of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:** As part of the growing scaffold of interconnected policy, local regulatory changes are aligning with international law. In November 2019, the Province of BC passed into legislation Bill 41 - 2019 - *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* followed by an Action Plan in 2022. In June 2021, federal legislation Bill C-15 of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act* received royal assent affirming the human rights of Indigenous peoples and enshrining these within the legal and regulatory landscape of Canada.
3. **Economic vulnerability:** Since 2020, British Columbians have seen in full how the COVID-19 pandemic impacted livelihoods around the world, and here in our province. Unlike before the pandemic's economic ramifications, the average British Columbian is now well-versed in topics such as supply chain issues, inflation, interest rate hikes, and labour

The three original rationales for looking at a wellbeing index/GDP alternative for BC have gotten stronger since the previous report. This is certainly the case for First Nations in BC.

shortages. With the shortcomings of our global economic systems now having come to light, British Columbians may be able to appreciate the consideration of new ways of doing things which have the potential to deepen our resilience. In this case, the consideration being an examination of GDP alternatives.

4. **Climate Crises:** Since 2020, British Columbia has had an onslaught of staggering and devastating climate change driven catastrophes. No one in British Columbia will have missed the 2021 atmospheric river, causing the flooding of the Sumas Prairie in Abbotsford and the destruction of all major highways connecting the lower mainland to the rest of the country. British Columbians experienced the 2021 heat dome, an unprecedented wildfire season, smoke in the air for weeks, and the burning to the ground of the entire town of Lytton, BC.

The three original rationales for looking at a wellbeing index/GDP alternative for BC have gotten stronger since the previous report. This is certainly the case for First Nations in BC who have long been calling an alarm for climatic changes, for economic and wellbeing disparity between First Nations and non-Indigenous British Columbians, and the need for meaningful reconciliation.

3 Dickson, C. and Watson, B., 27 May 2021. Remains of 215 children found buried at former B.C. residential school, First Nation says, CBC News. [cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/tk-eml%C3%B4ps-te-secw%C3%A9penc-215-children-former-kamloops-indian-residential-school-1.6043778](https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/tk-eml%C3%B4ps-te-secw%C3%A9penc-215-children-former-kamloops-indian-residential-school-1.6043778)

4 Wikipedia, 20 April 2023. Canadian Indian residential school gravesites. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canadian_Indian_residential_school_gravesites

Influence of the Previous Report

The direct positive response received for the previous report may indicate further support for this examination of BC wellbeing measures. On February 15, 2022, the District of North Vancouver tabled the recommendation for Council, via a Union of BC Municipalities (UBCM) resolution, so support the report *Beyond GDP: A Wellbeing Framework in British Columbia*. This was subsequently voted on in September 2022, and the UBCM passed the resolution, thus creating the need for British Columbia's government to respond to the report publicly.

"A framework is a kind of tool to help people understand stuff conceptually... It's a framework for understanding how things are interconnected, and what supports the things you're trying to achieve as an outcome."
(Consultant (Māori), 14 Feb 2023)

The Story of GDP Alternatives

Part I of the previous report also tells the story of GDP, what it is, how it came to be, and the rise of wellbeing alternatives. This included what GDP measures and what it does not, from the first alternative to GDP (Bhutan's Gross National Happiness Index), the UN's adoption of Gross National Happiness, the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress, the OECD Better Life Index (BLI), the UN World Happiness Report, and the rapid growth of other subsequent wellbeing indices. The story of how the world has now come to focus on GDP alternatives is not repeated here, and readers are encouraged to review the previous report.⁵

5 Podlasly, M., von der Porten, S., Kelly, D., and Lindley-Pearl, M., (2020) *Centering First Nations Concepts of Wellbeing: Toward a GDP-Alternative Index in British Columbia*. British Columbia Assembly of First Nations. bcafn.ca/sites/default/files/docs/reports-presentations/BC%20AFN%20FINAL%20PRINT%202020-11-23.pdf

"Obviously, we are aware of, of the work, kind of ground-breaking work that that Bhutan had originally undertaken. But I think the comparability piece was important to the people at the Treasury. And so they were comfortable to just use the, you know, to focus heavily on an OECD type approach. As a, as a bicultural country, I think there would have absolutely been a case to be made to have looked for other Indigenous frameworks around the world. But the OECD was the kind of preferred option." (Aotearoa New Zealand Policy Maker, 9 Dec 2022)






Wellbeing Indexes Around the World

Part II of the previous report also outlines notable wellbeing indexes around the world that have been adopted or acknowledged to varying degrees by their national governments, and many of which flow directly from the 17 United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs). Most notable of these was the New Zealand Living Standards Framework and accompanying Wellbeing Budget, which are the primary focus of this report and discussed at length below.

Other notable national-level GDP alternatives/ wellbeing indexes explored included the following which are revisited briefly in Table 1.

"Within the Wellbeing Economy Alliance, there is a program called We Go, which is wellbeing, economy, governments partnership. New Zealand, Wales, Iceland, Scotland, and Finland are currently members. I wouldn't be surprised if Australia joined. Soon, they've just had their first wellbeing budget last month. So, there is that level of collaboration." (New Zealand economist)

Table 1. Notable National GDP Alternatives and Wellbeing Indexes

	GDP alternative/ wellbeing index	What we knew then (2020 report)	Update: What we know now (2023)
	Iceland's Wellbeing Indicators	Iceland has developed 39 wellbeing indicators that include economic, environmental, and social factors.	Statistics Iceland actively measures and posts 41 social indicators with 2-7 metrics for each dimension. ⁶
	Scotland's National Performance Framework	Scotland's National Performance Framework, established in 2007 is intended to consider the Framework's effect on wellbeing in spending reviews.	Scottish Government (via Statistics Scotland) tracks 81 National Indicators and periodically updates with new indicators; all publicly available. ⁷
	Finland/EU Economy of Wellbeing	In 2020, Finland was in early phases of developing a wellbeing economy approach and advocating for the EU to join. Indigenous involvement was not obviously present.	The Finnish Government has published their <i>Action Plan for the Economy of Wellbeing for 2023-2025</i> with the objective of "objective is to integrate the economy of wellbeing into national, regional and local decision-making." ⁸
	Canadian Index of Wellbeing	The CIW is an indicator of wellbeing housed at the University of Waterloo in Canada, and as of 2020 had not been adopted by federal or sub-national governments.	The CIW appears to remain as an academic endeavor with no new reports on progress since 2016. ⁹
	Australian Unity Wellbeing Index	The Australian Centre on Quality of Life (Deakin University) developed the Australian Unity Wellbeing Index in 2001, and as of 2020 had not been adopted by governments.	Deakin University seems to still be reporting on the Wellbeing Index ¹⁰ , but no new national-level adoption is apparent from research for this report. ¹¹

6 Hagstofa Islands, 12 October 2022. visar.hagstofa.is/felagsvisar/

7 Scottish Government, 15 November 2022. National Indicator Performance. nationalperformance.gov.scot/measuring-progress/national-indicator-performance





8 Finnish Government, 8 March 2023. Action Plan to integrate the economy of wellbeing into decision-making and sustainability assessment. valtioneuvosto.fi/en/-/1271139/action-plan-to-integrate-the-economy-of-wellbeing-into-decision-making-and-sustainability-assessment

9 Canadian Index of Wellbeing., 2016. How are Canadians Really Doing? The 2016 CIW National Report. Waterloo, ON: Canadian Index of Wellbeing and University of Waterloo.

10 Deakin University, 1 October 2022. 5 charts on Australian well-being, and the surprising effects of the pandemic. deakin.edu.au/seed/our-impact/5-charts-on-australian-well-being,-and-the-surprising-effects-of-the-pandemic

11 Note that a private sector financial firm may have taken on the Index. See: australianunity.com.au/about-us/wellbeing-index

Table 1 continued

GDP alternative/ wellbeing index	What we knew then (2020 report)	Update: What we know now (2023)
 Ireland's Sustainable Progress Index	As of 2020, Ireland's Sustainable Progress Index (SPI) was housed at Social Justice Ireland and did not have adoption at the national level.	Social Justice Ireland and academic partners still house the SPI and now have a dashboard for it; ¹² the Government of Ireland reports on similar data related to the UN SDGs. ¹³
 Wales' membership to Wellbeing Economy	In May 2020, the Welsh government announced its official membership of the Wellbeing Economy Governments partnership.	The Welsh Government has published its <i>Well-being of Future Generations continuous learning and improvement plan for 2023 to 2025</i> which brings together existing and future actions designed to "deepen the understanding and application of the sustainable development principle in Welsh Government." ¹⁴
 Belgium's complementary indicators to GDP	The Belgian Government had implemented Belgium's Complementary Indicators to GDP — 67 indicators that cater the UN SDGs to Belgium.	Belgium reports on 86 indicators classified in accordance with the UN SDGs. The progress on the indicators are reported publicly, in some cases with regional granularity. ¹⁵
 India's Ease of Living Index	India's Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs' of 'Ease of Living' standards combines facets of urban living into standards that reflect the UN SDGs.	India's Ease of Living individual city profiles for tracking progress are set up, but data input for each city to date remains slim. ¹⁶

12 Social Justice Ireland, 18 February 2022. Measuring Ireland's Progress: Sustainable Progress Index 2022. socialjustice.ie/publication/measuring-irelands-progress-sustainable-progress-index-2022

13 Government of Ireland, 30 October 2022. 17 Goals to Transform our World. irelandsdg.geohive.ie/

14 Welsh Government, 7 February 2023. Welsh Government's Well-being of Future Generations continuous learning and improvement plan for 2023 to 2025. gov.wales/sites/default/files/pdf-versions/2023/3/2/1680013197/continuous-learning-and-improvement-plan-for-2023-to-2025.pdf

15 Belgian Federal Planning Bureau, 15 November 2022. Sustainable development indicators. indicators.be/en/t/SDG/

16 Government of India, Ministry of Housing and Urban Affairs, 12 October 2022. Cities Profile. smartcities.gov.in/cities-profiles

Wellbeing and Economic Indicators Involving Indigenous Peoples

Part III of the previous report explored wellbeing and economic indicators identified that involved Indigenous peoples or nations. As with the section on wellbeing indexes from around the world, the most notable of these was again the New Zealand Living Standards Framework and accompanying

Wellbeing Budget, the primary focus of this follow up report. In addition to New Zealand, Part III outlined five known wellbeing and economic indicators or efforts that involved Indigenous peoples, listed in Table 2.



Table 2. Wellbeing and economic indicators or efforts that involved Indigenous peoples

Wellbeing indicator/ effort	Main thrust of the indicator/effort
<p><i>Manitoba's Indigenous Contributions to the Manitoba Economy</i></p> 	<p>In 2016, Manitoba First Nations estimated the value of Manitoba First Nations to that province's annual GDP. This one-time estimation reported what Indigenous people, businesses, and Indigenous governments' spending contributed to Manitoba's overall economy. This effort was not an alternative measure of well-being outside of GDP but was meant to demonstrate the importance of Indigenous business and economic contribution to the province.</p>
<p><i>Atlantic Canada's Indigenous Economic Performance</i></p> 	<p>In 2016, the Atlantic Policy Congress of First Nations Chiefs (APCFNC) commissioned a report to investigate the GDP contribution of Atlantic First Nations to the regional economy. Much like the Manitoba report, it estimated the contributions of Indigenous people, governments, and businesses in the region, and was not an alternative measure of wellbeing but meant to demonstrate the importance of Indigenous business and economic contribution to the region.</p>
<p><i>Ecuador's Constitutional Enshrinement of Sumak Kawsay or Buen Vivir</i></p> 	<p>In 2008, the Constitutional Assembly of Ecuador approved Article 10 for inclusion in the new constitution to enshrine the concept of Sumak Kawsay based on Quechua languages/ideas and roughly translating to "good living." However, implementation has of this Article has been weak and may have been used by the government to simply justify the mainstream status quo.</p>
<p><i>Bolivia's adoption of the Programa Nacional Biocultura or Vivir Bien</i></p> 	<p>In Bolivia, an alternative vision of development like Ecuador emerged that was based on the Indigenous concepts of Madre Tierra (Mother Earth) and Vivir Bien (Living Well), building on longstanding Indigenous understandings of balance and harmony between humans and nature. Indigenous support for legal enshrinement of these concepts has led to the enactment of law and the creation of an institution devoted to these principles, specifically, the Agenda 2025 and the Plan for Economic and Social Development 2016-20. As with Ecuador, implementation has fallen short, and the law may have been primarily used to maintain the status quo of mainstream decision making.</p>
<p><i>Swinomish Indigenous Health Indicators (Washington State, US)</i></p> 	<p>The Swinomish people in Washington State have created their own measure of community health including (1) community connection, (2) natural resources security, (3) cultural use, (4) education, (5) self-determination and (6) resilience. This is an excellent example of an Indigenous indicator build for Indigenous people by Indigenous people.</p>

Each of the indicators summarized in Table 2 were evaluated in the first report according to the following five criteria:

1. **Goes beyond just GDP:** Does the indicator simply measure GDP? Or does it also consider other elements such as mental health, environmental health, inequality, quality of life, etc.?
2. **Incorporates Indigenous principles:** Does the indicator incorporate Indigenous principles or values? Or does it simply apply Eurocentric values to the measurement of wellbeing or prosperity?
3. **Involved Indigenous people:** In formation were Indigenous peoples meaningfully involved in the formation of the indicator? Or did the state/government unilaterally create the indicator?
4. **Adopted the indicator at a state or government level:** Has the state/government enshrined or adopted the indicator into its ongoing practices, laws, policies, or budgets? Or is it simply a one-off snapshot of wellbeing?
5. **Implemented the Indicator in practice for government decision-making:** Has the state/government (meaningfully) implemented the indicator into decision making? Or are the practices adopted or enshrined in name only?

Please see the previous report for a detailed discussion of each of these. Notably, the New Zealand Living Standards Framework/Wellbeing Budget was the only indicator that met all these criteria. However, Part 4 of the previous report (noted below) explores with more granularity and nuance how Aotearoa New Zealand's initiative has been created and implemented from the perspectives of Māori and other experts.

Previous Recommendations

Part III of the previous report provided six recommendations to the Province of British Columbia:

1. Adopt a collective commitment, in lockstep with Indigenous and non-Indigenous leaders, to a new wellbeing framework for BC.
2. Meaningfully include First Nations as central to the development and implementation of the BC wellbeing framework.
3. Mandate a shared Centre of Excellence to develop the BC wellbeing framework.
4. Examine and learn from the best practices and specific examples of Indigenous wellbeing indices in other jurisdictions.
5. Prioritize the development of data needed to support the framework.
6. Accelerate the implementation of UNDRIP principles by incorporating the BC wellbeing framework and resulting made-in-BC wellbeing index into government policy, laws, and decision-making.

The examination of New Zealand's Living Standards Framework and Wellbeing Budget implementation mechanism may provide further insights into aspects of these recommendations. Further, it may address many of British Columbia's commitments on reconciliation with Indigenous peoples, net zero emissions targets, and mental and physical health living standards.

Zeroing in on New Zealand's Living Standards Framework

AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

"...GDP defined too narrowly to count "stuff" [whereas] wellbeing provided [New Zealand] an opportunity to think differently and counteract economics as an elite approach to making decisions." (Aotearoa/New Zealand Journalist, 23 Jan 2023)

Why Focus on New Zealand?

A number of countries have adopted, or are in the process of adopting, GDP-alternatives that better reflect the wellbeing of their people and populations. The rationale for the focus of this paper on New Zealand is largely because of the following factors:

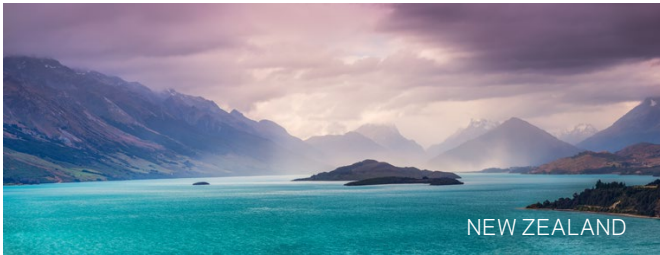
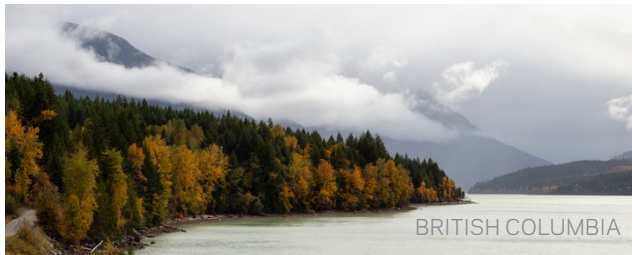
1. New Zealand has developed a comprehensive wellbeing framework (the Living Standards Framework).
2. New Zealand Treasury has fully implemented the GDP-alternative (the Wellbeing Budget) at the highest level, the New Zealand National Government.
3. The New Zealand Crown sought Māori input to design and implement *He Ara Waiora*, the Māori version of the Living Standards Framework — this input has had and is continuing to have influence on New Zealand's Wellbeing Budget.
4. New Zealand is entering its fifth year of implementation of the GDP-alternative since the inaugural Wellbeing Budget 2019; therefore British Columbia may be able to learn from experiences during in this period.
5. New Zealand provides a useful touchstone of comparison for British Columbia in terms of size, population, Indigenous history, and the presence of both Indigenous and Eurocentric worldviews.

How British Columbia and New Zealand Compare

Demographics, Political Structures and Indigenous Populations

Although they are about 12,000 km apart, the jurisdictions of British Columbia and New Zealand have some political, geographic, and Indigenous contexts that make the two a useful comparison in the context of considering GDP-alternatives. Table 3 provides a basic snapshot comparing the demographics, political structures and Indigenous populations of New Zealand and British Columbia.

Table 3. Comparison of New Zealand and British Columbia

		
NEW ZEALAND	BRITISH COLUMBIA	
	New Zealand	British Columbia
Land area in km ²	268,021 km ²	944,735 km ²
Population	5.084 million (2020)	5.071 million (2019)
Indigenous population	775,836 (2018 census) ¹⁷	270,585 ¹⁸ (2016 census)
Approximate % of population who identify as Indigenous	15.5%	4%
Indigenous languages	one language (te reo Māori), two dialects ¹⁹	30 languages, 60 dialects
Type of state (Crown)	Constitutional monarchy	Constitutional monarchy (Canada)
Type of government (Crown)	Parliamentary democracy	Parliamentary democracy (Canada)
Size of economies in GDP	\$249.9 billion USD (2021) ²⁰	\$285.9 billion USD (2021) ²¹

Both BC (Canada) and New Zealand were colonized by the British, and English is the predominant language outside of their longstanding Indigenous languages. Both the New Zealand Crown and Canadian Crown are constitutional monarchies with a parliamentary democratic system of government and use a common law legal system. These structural similarities lend to the potential for British Columbia to consider similar government initiatives such as New Zealand's Living Standards Framework and its Wellbeing Budgets.

17 Statistics New Zealand, 23 September 2019. New Zealand's population reflects growing diversity. stats.govt.nz/news/new-zealands-population-reflects-growing-diversity

18 Statistics Canada, 10 April 2019. Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census. www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-PR-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=9&LANG=Eng&GK=PR&GC=59

19 Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1966. Dialectical Differences. teara.govt.nz/en/1966/maori-language/page-13

20 The World Bank, 19 February 2023. GDP Per Capita. data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD

21 Statistics Canada, 19 February 2023. Table 36-10-0402-02 Gross domestic product (GDP) at basic prices, by industry, provinces and territories, growth rates (x 1,000,000).

Māori and First Nations' Knowledge, Values, and Colonial Legacies

Despite having built their nations over tens of thousands of years on opposite ends of the Pacific Ocean, broadly speaking the Indigenous nations and peoples of British Columbia and New Zealand share many commonalities in terms of Indigenous place-based and holistic knowledges, values, and legacies of colonial conquest.

The Indigenous knowledge systems of both the Māori and First Nations in BC were each honed over millennia by their Māori/Indigenous ancestors and passed down to today's generations. As with First Nations in BC, "Indigenous Māori have an intricate, holistic and interconnected relationship with the natural world..."²² The Indigenous knowledge systems of the Māori and of the many First Nations' in BC share similar features of traditional/Indigenous knowledge systems (Table 4).

Table 4. Common Features of Indigenous Knowledge Systems

Feature of Indigenous Knowledge Systems ²³		Māori in Aotearoa	First Nations in BC
	Context embedded: Indigenous knowledge is passed on through observation and 'doing'. Knowledge is embedded in the natural environment and includes the knowledge and skills needed for survival.	✓	✓
	Holistic knowledge: All knowledge is connected. Indigenous knowledge is constructed as stories, traditions, skills, values, myths all together presenting a holistic picture of interdependence of humans and their environment.	✓	✓
	Competency: Indigenous knowledge sees learning as "competency" as the immediate ability to apply knowledge and survive.	✓	✓
	Living interdependence: Indigenous people know that humans are inseparable from the land, the earth. For Indigenous peoples, traditional knowledge sees "all my relations" including all species and the earth; which maintains sustainable, respectful and sacred connections to the land.	✓	✓
	Long term time perspective: Circular time with a multi-generational perspective and a long-term sustainable viewpoint for decisions	✓	✓
	Dynamic cultures: Indigenous cultures have been quick to adapt to new technologies, try to improve their circumstances, modifying and adapting the colonial structures to their own purposes, while maintaining their relationship to the land.	✓	✓
	Community values: The value of family, culture, and community is above other values. The notion of "it takes a whole community to raise a child" is much more of a reality in Indigenous communities with extended families and relations. Humans are seen as part of the natural world, not the masters.	✓	✓

22 Harmsworth GR, Awatere S 2013. Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspectives of ecosystems. In Dymond JR ed. Ecosystem services in New Zealand — conditions and trends. Manaaki Whenua Press, Lincoln, New Zealand.

23 Quoted directly from blogs.ubc.ca/traditionalknowledgegetechnology/reevaluation-of-indigenous-cultures/what-is-indigenous-traditional-knowledge/

In addition to both having long-standing and place-based Indigenous knowledge systems and ways of living, the Māori and First Nations have parallels in their respective circumstances of colonization. Table 5 is a snapshot of some of these parallels.

Table 5. Māori and First Nations Parallels Pre- and Post-Colonization

	Māori in Aotearoa	First Nations in BC
Pre-contact	6,000 years: Austronesian-East Polynesian-Māori Globalism Trade inspires Pacific exploration ²⁴	10-15,000 years: Archaeological evidence shows human presence along coast of what is now British Columbia ²⁵
	1642 ²⁶	1750s ²⁷
	Māori-Māori trade: Minerals (pounamu, obsidian) Seafood, berries, birds, forest products, kūmara (sweet potato), kāuru (cabbage tree). ²⁸ Active feasting/ceremony networks.	First Nations-First Nations trade: Obsidian originally mined in Oregon, found in coastal FN communities; abalone and dentalia found in areas not of origin. ²⁹ Active feasting/ceremony networks.
Encounters with Captain Cook	1770: Te Wahanga (Māori trader) traded fish with Captain Cook ³⁰	1773: Captain Cook visited Queen Charlotte Sound ³¹
First/early European contact	1692-1772: Whaling, sealing, timber, gold, gum trading ³²	1782: Smallpox epidemic; estimated two thirds fatality rate of First Nations populations
Crown/settler state governments' confiscation of Indigenous lands and displacement of Indigenous peoples/communities	Yes: Accelerated by the New Zealand Settlements Act 1863 ³³	Yes: Accelerated 1830s onward ³⁴

24 Tianlong, J., Gongwu, L., & Rolett, B. (2002). Early Seafaring in the Taiwan Strait and the Search for Austronesian Origins. *Journal of East Asian Archaeology*, 4(1), 307-319.

25 Blomfield, K., Boxberger, D. L., Carlson, K. T., Duffield, C., Hancock, R. L., Lutz, J., McHalsie, S., Ormerod, P., Peters, T., Rafter, T., Roburn, A., Schaepe, D. M., Smith, D., & Woods, J. R. (2001). *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish historical atlas* (K. T. Carlson, C. Duffield, S. McHalsie, L. L. Rhodes, D. M. Schaepe, & D. A. Smith, Eds.). Douglas & McIntyre.

26 Government of New Zealand, 2022. *A history of New Zealand 1769-1914*. nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/history-of-new-zealand-1769-1914

27 Government of British Columbia, 2023. *History of B.C.* welcomebc.ca/Choose-B-C/Explore-British-Columbia/History-of-B-C

28 Petrie, H. (2013). *Chiefs of industry: Maori tribal enterprise in early colonial New Zealand*. Auckland University Press.

29 Supra note 25, Blomfield et al.

30 Petrie, H. (2015). Economic Dysfunction or Land Grab?: Assaults on the 19th-century Māori economy and their Native North American parallels. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 11(3), 283-298.

31 Ibid.

32 Puckey, A. (2011). *Trading cultures: A history of the Far North*. Huia Publishers.

33 New Zealand Office of the Auditor General, March 2004. *Maori Land Administration: Client Service Performance of the Maori Land Court Unit and the Maori Trustee*. oag.parliament.nz/2004/maori-land-court/part2.htm

34 Facing History and Ourselves Canada, 5 September 2019. *Historical Background: The Indian Act and the Indian Residential Schools*. facinghistory.org/stolen-lives-indigenous-peoples-canada-and-indian-residential-schools/historical-background/dispossession-destruction-and-reserves

As with any group of people or Indigenous nation, there is neither homogeneity nor a single “view” on a given subject. The foundations of this report related to Māori values and opinions were based on available Māori expertise and scholarship.

Table 5 continued

	Māori in Aotearoa	First Nations in BC
Settler state-backed, church-run assimilationist schools	New Zealand’s Native Schools System: 1867-1969 ³⁵	Canada’s Indian Residential School System: 1831 ³⁶ -1998 ³⁷
Foster care (historical)	Abuse in state-based foster and family-home placements of Māori children 1950-1999 ³⁸	Sixties Scoop — mass removal of Indigenous children in the mid-1960s ³⁹
Foster care (ongoing)	Overrepresentation of Māori children in state-based foster-care ⁴⁰	Overrepresentation of First Nations children in state-based foster-care ⁴¹
Settler state-led resource extraction and minimal Indigenous benefit	Yes ⁴²	Yes ⁴³
Environmental degradation of Indigenous lands by settler state governments	Yes ⁴⁴	Yes ⁴⁵

35 University of Auckland, 6 October 2017. Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System 1867-1969. news.library.auckland.ac.nz/2017/10/06/native-schools/

36 National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, May 1, 2023. Residential School History. nctr.ca/education/teaching-resources/residential-school-history/

37 CBC News, 16 May 2009. A timeline of residential schools, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. cbc.ca/news/canada/a-timeline-of-residential-schools-the-truth-and-reconciliation-commission-1.724434

38 Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry, May 2, 2023. Abuse in Foster Care. abuseincare.org.nz/our-inquiries/abuse-in-foster-care/

39 University of British Columbia First Nations Studies Program, 2009. The Sixties Scoop & Aboriginal child welfare. indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/sixties_scoop/

40 Parahi, C., 14 June 2019. Māori will no longer tolerate the removal of babies by the state. stuff.co.nz/national/113482485/maori-will-no-longer-tolerate-the-removal-of-babies-by-the-state

41 Huu-ay-aht First Nation, 31 May 2017. Report of the Social Services Panel. huuayaht.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2017-05-31-report-of-the-hfn-social-services-panel-01375005.pdf

42 New Zealand Ministry for the Environment, 22 February 2022. Wai 898: Te Mana Whatu Ahuru — Report on Te Rohe Pōtae Claims Part IV. environment.govt.nz/publications/tribunal-findings-rma/fuller-extracts-on-the-rma/

43 OECD, 2019. The importance of land for Indigenous economic development. oecd-ilibrary.org/sites/fc2b28b3-en/index.html?itemId=/content/component/fc2b28b3-en

44 Hellmann, O., 6 July 2022. Nation-building or nature-destroying? Why it's time NZ faced up to the environmental damage of its colonial past. phys.org/news/2022-07-nation-building-nature-destroying-nz-environmental-colonial.html

45 Kim Bell, J., 2022. Environmental Challenges. Canadian Geographic, Indigenous Peoples Atlas of Canada. indigenouspeoplesatlasofcanada.ca/article/environmental-challenges/

As with First Nations in Canada and BC, Māori nations, communities, tribes, hapū (sub-tribes), whānau (families) and people are very diverse. There are over 50 iwi (tribal) groups in Aotearoa New Zealand defined by whakapapa (identity), including “genealogy, songs and poems, recognition by other iwi, and specific

associations with mountains, waterways, forests, and oceans.” However, as with any group of people or Indigenous nation, there is neither homogeneity nor a single “view” on a given subject. The foundations of this report related to Māori values and opinions were based on available Māori expertise and scholarship.

“What a wellbeing approach to policy actually gets you is 1% better decision making. But that actually matters: 1% better decision making sustained over a decade is actually a really, really big effect over time.”
(Economist, New Zealand Government, 28 Nov 2022)



Detailed look at New Zealand's Living Standards Framework and Wellbeing Budgets

"The purpose of government spending is to ensure citizens' health and life satisfaction, and that — not wealth or economic growth — is the metric by which a country's progress should be measured. GDP alone does not guarantee improvement to our living standards and does not take into account who benefits and who is left out." (Jacinda Ardern, former Prime Minister of New Zealand)

Living Standards Framework

Why did New Zealand create the Living Standards Framework?

New Zealand's Living Standards Framework (LSF) is the structure of values/metrics which the New Zealand Treasury uses to track the country's progress to improve wellbeing. The Treasury treats the LSF as an iterative, flexible framework with two central purposes:

1. Prompting "our thinking about policy impacts across the different dimensions of wellbeing, as well as the long-term and distributional issues and implications of policy," and
2. Supporting "Treasury analysts by providing a framework to understand the drivers of wellbeing and to consider the broader impacts of our policy advice in a systematic and evidenced way.

"It was a bunch of people who had spent their entire previous 20 years struggling to balance a government budget that had never been balanced. We realized we had no metric for the basis of this, so we, we need a metric for wellbeing." (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

Broadly speaking, the Living Standard Framework lays out the framework and metrics by which New Zealand's wellbeing will be measured. In the same way that most countries around the world measure GDP, New Zealand's LSF points policy and spending to what data and evidence should be used to measure wellbeing in a new and more comprehensive way.

The 2021 Living Standards Framework

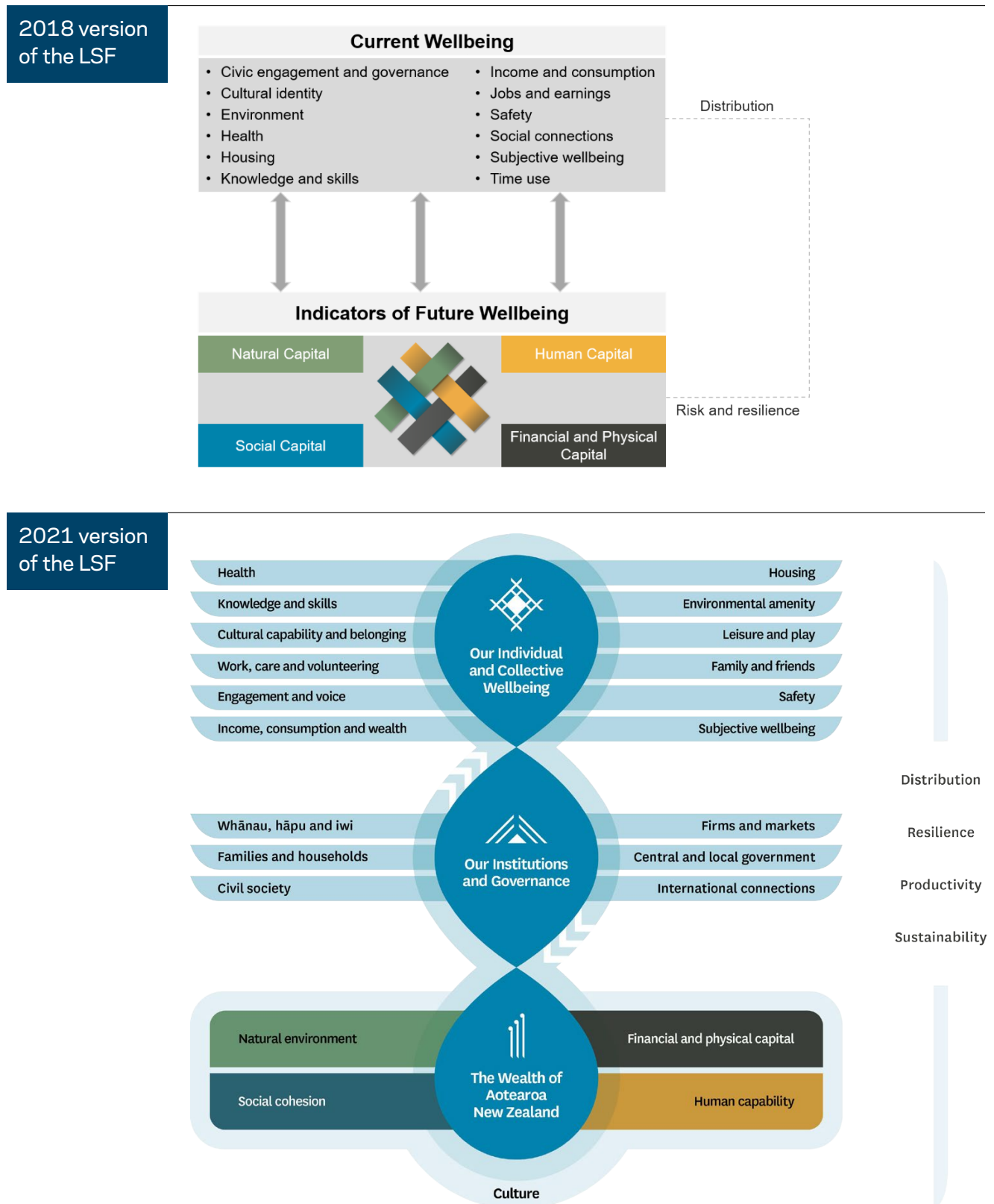
The Treasury has published three versions of the LSF, the first in 2011 and the second in 2018. The 2018 version, described in our first report, drew largely on research on common priorities for wellbeing in countries around the world. According to the Treasury, their engagement on the second 2018 LSF "highlighted that our international approach may not fully capture the distinctive nature of wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand for the wellbeing of children."

The Treasury's summary visual (Figure 1) comparing the 2018 and current 2021 Living Standards Frameworks give an overview of how the Treasury implemented this engagement feedback.

The changes made by the Treasury to the current and most recent version of the Living Standards Framework included:

- **Collective wellbeing:** Changing the title of the domain title from "Current Wellbeing" to "Our Individual and Collective Wellbeing" to reflect collectives such as kin-based groups, such as families, whānau and hapū."
- **Child wellbeing:** Revising the wellbeing domains to better reflect child wellbeing such as "jobs and earnings" becoming "work, care and volunteering" to reflect both paid and unpaid contributions to family life and wider society.
- **Institutions and governance:** Adding a new level to the framework on institutions and governance, intended to "reflect the role institutions have in intermediating our wealth and wellbeing.... [and incorporating] culture into the framework because all institutions are deeply cultural in their operation."

Figure 1. 2021 Updates to the 2018 New Zealand Living Standards Framework.



Source: New Zealand Treasury 28 October 2021. The Living Standards Framework 2021.
treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-10/tp-living-standards-framework-2021.pdf

- **Centrality of culture:** The 2018 “Indicators of Wellbeing” was renamed “The Wealth of Aotearoa New Zealand,” and in its subcategories, the term capital (i.e., natural capital and social capital) was removed from all but one. Additionally, “culture” was added as a fifth and overarching category underpinning all the four others (i.e., natural environment, social cohesion, human capacity, financial and physical capital).
- **Future generations:** The 2021 LSF stops distinguishing between future wellbeing and current wellbeing with the explanation that this recognizes that both the “wellbeing domains and our wealth are important now and in the future. Their relative importance does differ, depending on the timescale. Our national wealth is important to sustain across multiple generations and is most relevant to analysis over very long-term horizons.” This change is seemingly more aligned with an Indigenous perspective on future generations.

Māori Input into the Living Standards Framework

The 2021 version of the LSF also attempted to incorporate changes related to Māori and Pacific perspectives, based on their engagement feedback (see Part 3 below). These changes, some the same as those listed in the general changes above, included:

- **Māori framework:** The Treasury staff will “aim to” use He Ara Waiora, the framework created through Māori engagement and based in mātauranga Māori.
- **Mention of Pacific frameworks:** The description states that the “LSF and He Ara Waiora should also be used alongside dedicated Pacific frameworks in policy contexts that have particular relevance to Pacific Peoples.”

- **He Kainga:** The addition of the Māori concept of collective wellbeing He Kainga to reflect that the “wellbeing of the individual is intertwined with the wellbeing of the collective.” For context, kainga is used colloquially as community — people talk about returning to the Kainga after being away for school/work.
- **Institutions:** “The addition of institutions, which determine the fairness and appropriateness of the processes that generate wellbeing. Related concepts are found in He Ara Waiora, which includes four principles around the ‘means’ of developing policy advice and initiatives. One example is the principle of tikanga, which speaks to appropriate processes and values underpinning decision-making, including working in partnership with Māori.”
- **Culture:** As listed above, centering culture in all forms of ‘wealth’ to better align with He Ara Waiora.

LSF Dashboard

The New Zealand Treasury makes public the outcomes/status of the wellbeing metrics through its LSF Dashboard.

The Dashboard was first released in December 2018, and then updated again the following December to “change some of the indicators and add new distributional charts, with a focus on improving alignment with Ngā Tūtōhu Aotearoa and responding to recommendations from the OECD.”

It is now updated every six months, with the latest version posted on April 12, 2022. The LSF Dashboard provides outcome indicators on (1) Our Individual and Collective Wellbeing, (2) Our Institutions and Governance, and (3) The Wealth of Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Ibid.

He Ara Waiora

The Māori wellbeing framework, He Ara Waiora (meaning the waters of wellbeing), came about when the New Zealand Treasury assembled a working group of Māori experts to discuss Māori philosophy of taxation. He Ara Waiora was then used to guide the country's approach to wellbeing. It stands equally alongside the New Zealand Living Standards Framework.

He Ara Waiora mirrors other significant political structures, namely the two versions of the founding document in New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi and The Treaty of Waitangi. The two frameworks are complementary in part because the Māori endorsing only a western framework would contradict their treaty rights. He Ara Waiora also reinforces that Māori definitions of wellbeing and philosophy stand on their own and are never subsumed into pakeha (colonial) processes.



He Ara Waiora reinforces that Māori definitions of wellbeing and philosophy stand on their own and are never subsumed into pakeha (colonial) processes.

Evolution of the Wellbeing Budgets 2019-2022

"If you are a Minister, if you want to spend money, you have to prove that you are going to improve intergenerational wellbeing. We are hoping to embed in actually what the public is asking us for: to address the societal wellbeing of our nation, not just out economic wellbeing." (Jacinda Ardern, former Prime Minister of New Zealand)⁴⁷

New Zealand's annual Wellbeing Budgets, released every May since 2019, are the central way in which the National Government implements the Living Standards Framework. Ministers of the New Zealand Government must answer to these wellbeing priorities in what the government gives them money for, priorities which in turn are linked to the Living Standards Framework.

"We got the sense that people were tired of the neoliberalist ideologies, and implementations of, implementation of processes or programs that supported wealth generation for wealth generation's sake. And were tired of all the externalities that were created from that myopic focus on profit motivations, tired of the pollution, tired of the inequalities that have been generated, and tired of lack of commitment to Te Tiriti o Waitangi." (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)

47 Brightvibes, 13 June 2019. New Zealand budgets will be 'all about well-being and not just money' says PM. brightvibes.com/1282/en/new-zealand-budgets-will-be-all-about-well-being-and-not-just-money-says-pm

Wellbeing Budget 2019

In May 2019, New Zealand drew international attention when the national government launched the country's first Wellbeing Budget.⁴⁸ The New Zealand Treasury's official document release as part of this launch focused on explaining the pillars and rationale for this inaugural Wellbeing Budget.⁴⁹ The main pillars included (note that references to Pasifika, Māori, Pacific, and iwi are all reference to Indigenous peoples/nations):⁵⁰

- "Taking Mental Health Seriously — Supporting mental wellbeing for all New Zealanders, with a special focus on under 24-year-olds.
- Improving Child Wellbeing — Reducing child poverty and improving child wellbeing, including addressing family violence.
- Supporting Māori and Pasifika Aspirations — Lifting Māori and Pacific incomes, skills, and opportunities.
- Building a Productive Nation — Supporting a thriving nation in the digital age through innovation, social and economic opportunities.
- Transforming the Economy — Creating opportunities for productive businesses, regions, iwi and others to transition to a sustainable and low-emissions economy."

The Wellbeing Budget 2019 makes the connection between the principles implemented and the framework it is built upon, New Zealand's Living Standards Framework — a framework that had incorporated some Māori input by this time through the He Ara Waiora engagement (see Table 9 in the next section).

48 Wellbeing Economy Alliance, 2021. New Zealand – Implementing the Wellbeing Budget. weall.org/resource/new-zealand-implementing-the-wellbeing-budget

49 New Zealand Treasury, 30 May 2019. The Wellbeing Budget. treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2019-05/b19-wellbeing-budget.pdf

50 Ibid.

"Really, if you wonder the big impact of the Ardern government, I think it's actually that she made center left parties feel okay about using the term wellbeing."
(Economist, New Zealand Government, 28 Nov 2022)

Wellbeing Budget 2020

New Zealand's second Wellbeing Budget 2020 focused on the COVID-19 pandemic. Entitled "Rebuilding Together," this second budget noted how the "usual Budget preparation and negotiation process was put aside when COVID-19 arrived in New Zealand and we began again."⁵¹ Like many countries, the New Zealand government focused on health care and rebuilding the economy, and some of the wellbeing-related initiatives were sidelined.⁵²

"We have quickly reoriented the Budget 2020 package to focus on maintaining critical support for existing public services and supporting key infrastructure investments. This has meant putting 'on ice' new initiatives under priority spending areas that were announced in the Budget Policy Statement. We may well return to these projects, but for now our focus is on our response, recovery and rebuild from COVID-19."

This second Wellbeing Budget directed monies to supporting Māori communities in response to COVID-19 (amounts are in New Zealand dollars, for this time was CAD\$1 = NZ\$1.1864): "Developing a plan to support Māori communities and businesses in the face of COVID-19. This includes a whole of government approach to providing health, social and economic support tailored to meet the specific needs of Māori. This includes:

- A Whānau Māori Community and Marae package reprioritising \$10 million from the Māori Development vote to support community outreach.
- A Māori Health and Whānau Ora response with \$30 million targeted directly to Māori Health services and \$15 million to Whānau Ora commissioning agencies.
- Supporting Māori businesses and engaging with Māori with \$1 million of funding to enable a needs assessment for Māori businesses, and providing \$470,000 in grants to iwi to support them in their responses to the pandemic."⁵³

Wellbeing Budget 2021

Like its predecessor, New Zealand's third Wellbeing Budget 2021 focused on COVID-19 economic recovery, which was still having a negative impact on many economies around the world. This Wellbeing Budget, at least in its messaging, appears to be a step away from embracing a GDP-alternative: the New Zealand's Minister of Finance's introduction to the Wellbeing Budget 2021 highlights GDP and unemployment forecasts (both conventional, non-holistic measures of a country's economy), and emphasizes the ways in which this budget will "provide ongoing stimulus to the economy."⁵⁴

51 New Zealand Treasury, 14 May 2020. Wellbeing Budget 2020 Rebuilding Together. treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2020-05/b20-wellbeing-budget.pdf

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

54 New Zealand Treasury, 20 May 2021. Wellbeing Budget 2021 Securing Our Recovery. treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2021-07/b21-wellbeing-budget-v2.pdf



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However, the structure of the Wellbeing Budget continues to follow the “four capitals” of the Treasury’s Living Standards Framework (human capital, natural capital, social capital, and financial/physical capital). In terms of Māori values, New Zealand’s Wellbeing Budget did not reflect a fifth capital, “cultural capital,” as identified in Māori engagement and He Ara Waiora.

The Wellbeing Budget 2021 does acknowledge the work of He Ara Waiora for the first time since the first 2019 Wellbeing Budget. The Wellbeing Budget 2021 mentions the principles of He Ara Waiora (Kotahitanga, Tikanga, Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, and Tiakitanga — discussed in detail in Part 3 of this paper).⁵⁵ This 2021 Budget does not appear to meaningfully incorporate the He Ara Waiora principles, it appears that mostly the Crown at this stage is giving it “consideration”.⁵⁶

“As a first step we have taken an indicative approach to applying He Ara Waiora in this Budget by considering the alignment of initiatives to He Ara Waiora concepts and principles. He Ara Waiora consideration was not just for the initiatives that are focused on Māori but across the whole Budget package. This work has only just begun for Budget 2021, with a view to developing a more comprehensive application in future Budgets. We expect to learn and grow in terms of the way we do this.”

In addition to this nod by the Crown, the Wellbeing Budget 2021 allocated monies to Māori-related budgeting centering on Māori housing, health, and education.

Wellbeing Budget 2022

The messaging of New Zealand’s fourth Wellbeing Budget 2022 continues to be related to economic recovery from COVID-19 and cushioning inflation with cost-of-living reduction expenditures.⁵⁷ The focus on climate change and the environment became gained prominence in this Wellbeing Budget 2022.

This Wellbeing Budget 2022 preliminarily incorporates the He Ara Waiora as a framework in addition to the Crown’s core Living Standards Framework. The Crown’s stated example of an application of this Māori framework was around the disabled Māori community:

“In preparing this Budget, we progressed our application of He Ara Waiora by considering the alignment of initiatives with the principles of tikanga (decisions made in accordance with the right processes) and manaakitanga (maintaining a focus on improved wellbeing and enhanced mana for all New Zealanders). One example of an initiative that was strongly grounded in these principles is the regional-based rollout of the Enabling Good Lives approach, providing disabled people and their families with greater choice and control over their lives and supports. Tangata whenua, the disabled community and tangata whaikaha (the disabled Māori community) had strong input into the overall approach and its implementation.”

Similar to the Wellbeing Budget 2021, the Crown plans to incorporate the He Ara Waiora in forthcoming Wellbeing Budgets stating that in “future Budgets we will extend our application of He Ara Waiora to include its other principles...” As with previous budgets, there is speaking on Māori-related programs related to Māori and Pacific Peoples’ incomes, education, opportunities, and housing.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ New Zealand Treasury, 19 May 2022. Wellbeing Budget 2022 A Secure Future. treasury.govt.nz/sites/default/files/2022-05/b22-wellbeing-budget.pdf

⁵⁸ Ibid.

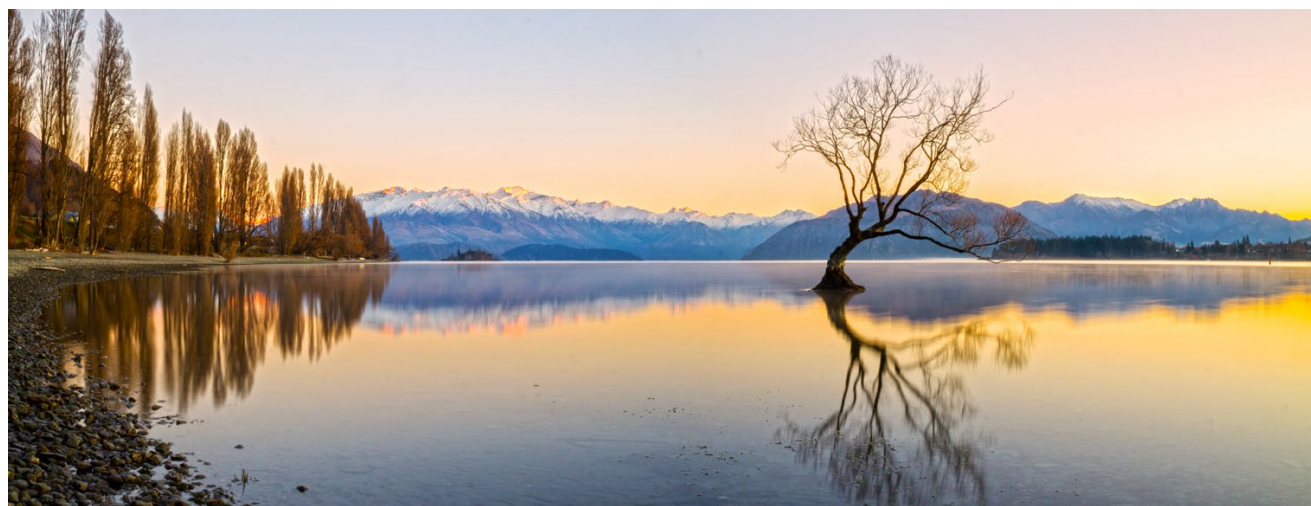
All four of New Zealand's Wellbeing Budgets are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Summary of Previous New Zealand Wellbeing Budgets

New Zealand Wellbeing Budgets to date	Features/Characteristics	Māori-related features, input or influence
Wellbeing Budget 2019	First year of the Crown implementation of the Wellbeing Budget	Explicit support for Māori and Pacific peoples; preliminary implementation of the He Ara Waiora engagement into the LSF
Wellbeing Budget 2020	Primarily focused on COVID-19 and economic recovery	Supported Māori businesses and health services largely in response to COVID-19
Wellbeing Budget 2021	Focus on the COVID-19 economic recovery, retaining the four "capitals" (principles) of wellbeing.	First formal Crown acknowledgement of the work of the He Ara Waiora Māori input within a Wellbeing Budget. This Wellbeing Budget only acknowledges this work and states that it is under consideration for future incorporation.
Wellbeing Budget 2022	Focus on economic recovery from COVID-19 and cushioning inflation with cost-of-living reduction expenditures.	Additional but still preliminary incorporation of He Ara Waiora Māori principles. Continued spending on Māori initiatives such as housing, education, and income.

The New Zealand Crown's incorporation of the He Ara Waiora/Māori principles into the Wellbeing Budgets to date is a work in progress. The New Zealand Living Standards Framework remains the dominant framework upon which their transition to a wellbeing economy relies. However, this still nascent merging of principles/frameworks is not for lack of Māori input. Part 3 outlines Māori

wellbeing as a value, how Māori values came to influence the New Zealand Crown's Living Standards Framework and Wellbeing Budgets, the timeline of these processes to date, and the Māori values, principles, and knowledge upon which the Crown has committed to incorporating more into future Wellbeing Budgets.



Māori influence on New Zealand's Living Standards Framework

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"Māori wellbeing depends on participation and achievement in Māori society, not just participation and achievement in wider society." (Sir Mason Durie, 2006)

Māori Wellbeing as a Value

"We want our rangatahi to have good qualifications, we want healthy whānau; warm, dry houses; better jobs; flourishing Māori businesses taking on the world; and we want our assets managed in a way that is consistent with our aspirations for our people, and our own ancestral values of love, respect, dignity, kinship, and integrity." (Hon. Te Ururoa Flavell)

Broadly speaking, the philosophical foundations of Māori wellbeing as a value-centric approach to Te Ātanoho, 'the good life' are abundant and usually refer not only to states of being, but the processes that allow for the conditions of wellbeing to occur. Hēnare argues that detailed in the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, a good life arises from preservation of three things: 1) rangatiratanga, the full authority of leadership; 2) whenua, the land; and 3) te rongo, lasting peace for Māori people to continue to

live as Māori. Thus, mechanisms for maintaining balance across these interconnected systems are guided by efforts toward principles such as kaitiakitanga, guardianship, aroha, love, and manaakitanga, care/hospitality, among others. Over time, adhering to these principles allows for Māori wellbeing to be fully realized.

Wellbeing is a Longstanding Māori Value

"...imagining a decolonised economy which is not constrained by the way things are now will be our biggest challenge." (Kiri Dell, et al.)

The Māori economy is not new — having been established in Aotearoa New Zealand for several centuries. However, the past 15 years has seen significant research, information, and effort into establishing the concept of the Māori economy within the context of official policy, data, and strategic directions.

A good life arises from preservation of three things: 1) rangatiratanga, the full authority of leadership; 2) whenua, the land; and 3) te rongo, lasting peace for Māori people to continue to live as Māori.

Māori concepts of wellbeing are embedded in the Māori culture and language, “wellbeing is a new word in western parlance, but it’s actually always what we’ve talked about in our language... since the get go it’s the language of our old people” (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023). Wellbeing is very clearly defined in Māori societies:

“To have wellbeing [in Māori cultures] means that you’re a participating citizen of the world, that you’re able to participate and are culturally, economically and environmentally conscious and strong, that your family is strong, healthy and vibrant, you have a level of independence and self determination to be able to decide for yourself, but you remain interconnected through your whakapapa to your other members of your family.” (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

Pre-Colonial Māori Wellbeing

“...the settler state has a lobotomy every three years in New Zealand. And we [iwi] have got the memory, and [the state has] got very little of it.” (Sir Tipene O'Regan)

Prior to colonization in 1840, Taitokerau Maori were an integral player in the region’s economy. Their approach then, as it is now, was driven by culturally distinct values focussed on more holistic outcomes. Their pursuit of gain was purposed by the sacred obligation to uphold the intergenerational wellbeing of people while upholding the capacity of tribal resources to sustain life.

Māori relational rules were (and are) characterised by (a) a reverence for the total creation as one whole; (b) a sense of kinship with fellow beings; (c) a sacred regard to the whole of nature and its resources as being gifts from the gods; (d) a sense of responsibility for these gifts as the appointed stewards, guardians and rangatira; (e) a distinctive economic ethic of reciprocity; and (f) a sense of commitment to safeguard all of nature’s resources for the future generations.

In the structure of the Māori world prior to colonization, which were hapu and whanau-based in very small villages, there were many ways of understanding wellbeing and protecting it in those contexts. Then, colonization came and massive loss of an economic base, cultural base and wellbeing for Māori societies.

“Colonization was a severe shock and trauma to Māori people, because it broke up all of those ways that kainga and whanau protected families and the Māori world. And now, we yearn for that... We all have this kind of contamination story, right? Things were beautiful. We had everything to ourselves, all our lands, we lived this perfect life. And then we got colonized, it all got taken away. And now it’s really bad. And now we’ve got to get everything back. And this is how we do it.” (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

Now, the story for Māori, is one of recovery from colonization. In New Zealand the narrative starting to change now to more of a healing one where Māori are using pakeha systems more to build up the lives.

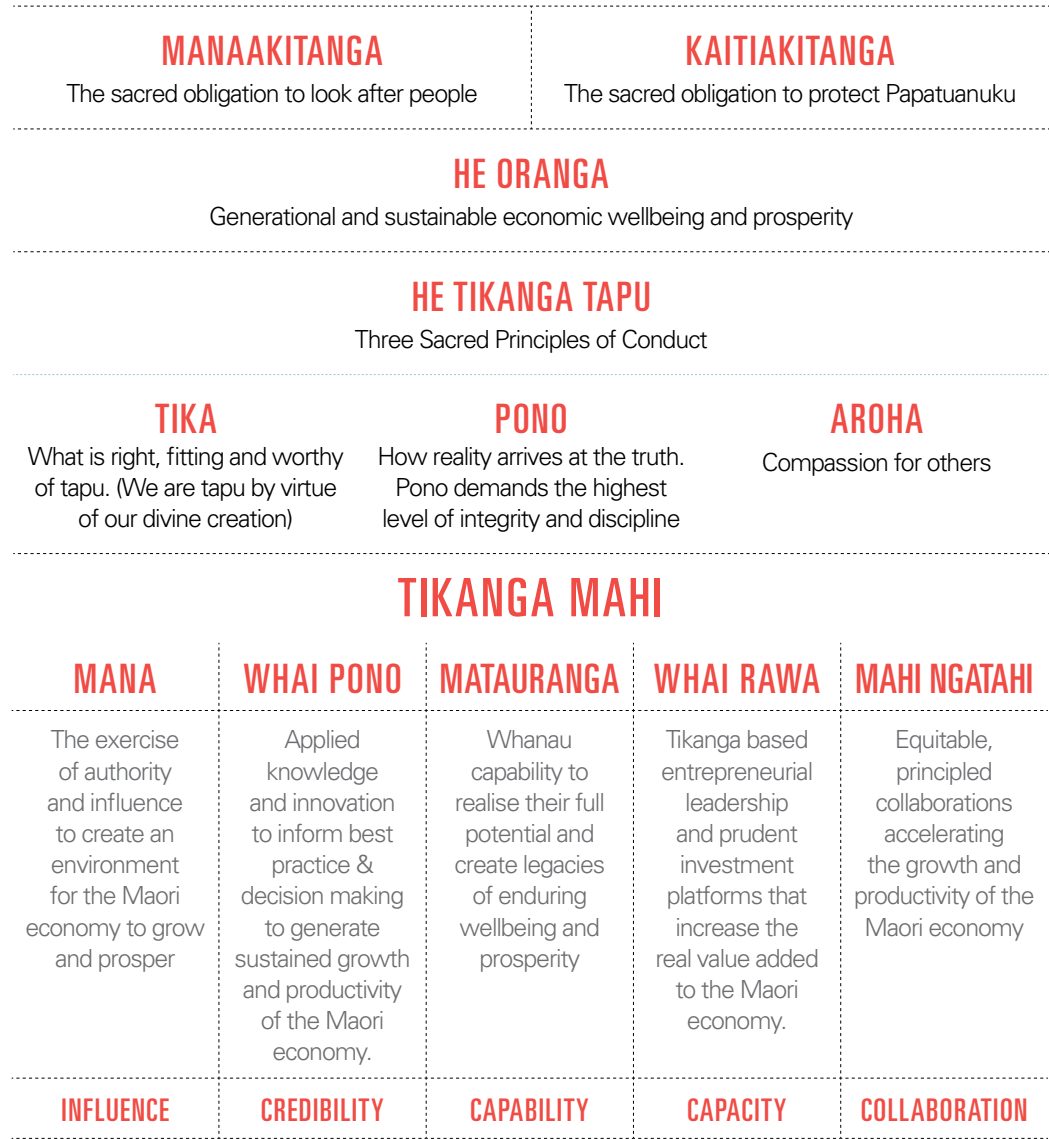
“A typical western family, they will stockpile and accumulate assets. Because that’s the form of security, things go wrong. But for Māori, they will accumulate relationships. And because of things go wrong, that’s, that’s what you’re going to draw from to help feed you or, you know, you fall out of home, whatever. And but your typical western family can’t invest in that and those relationships in the same way because they’re not as, they just don’t have that — the relationship network’s, not there and so ... How can you take concepts of Māori wellbeing into a space where the structures don’t even exist?” (Academic (Māori), 2 Feb 2023)

Cultural Priorities

The Māori economy of mana is stimulated by values of giving and abundance instead of ones that view resources as scarce (Figure 2).⁵⁹ Māori wellbeing is based in spirituality about being in

relationship with each other with the world with the earth,⁶⁰ signified aptly by the Māori word for umbilicus which is the same as the word for land (signifying where you are from).⁶¹

Figure 2. Tikanga Tapu: template and cultural lens and an interwoven whariki of values, principles and practices and a basis for wellbeing



Source: Te Taitokerau Iwi Chief Executives' Consortium, February 2015. He Tangata, He Whenua, He Oranga: An Economic Growth Strategy.

59 Kiri Dell, Nimbus Staniland, and Amber Nicholson, 2018, *Economy of Mana: Where to Next?*, DOI: 10.20507/MAIJournal.2018.7.1.5.

60 Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022.

61 Sir Tipene O'Regan (Māori), *The Economics of Indigenous Survival*, abc.net.au/radionational/programs/bigideas/for-us-and-our-children-after-us/5782952

The Māori economy is not new, having been established in Aotearoa New Zealand for several centuries.

However, the past 15 years has seen significant research, information, and effort into establishing the concept of the Māori economy within the context of official policy, data, and strategic directions.

In contrast to Western economic systems based on creating shareholder value to maximize individual wealth and profit in the market, traditional Māori economies were and are based on wealth distribution among people, rather than individual wealth accumulation.⁶²

“What the Harvard MBAs argue for is that you still need to make money. But that’s still a primary driver of a lot of the activities. And that’s in direct contrast from indigenous perspective, which is the primary driver is making sure that you look after the Papatuanuka. You look after Earth mother, so that there is something there for future generations to be able to benefit from, from a net present value. From an economic perspective, the wellbeing of future generations does not take into account, in fact, it’s discounted out when you do net NPV net present value.” (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)

An iwi economy has a multigenerational time horizon and thus a fundamentally different requirement from its capital. It must produce wealth over the long term and not just for the generation in which it finds itself. When the tribe takes the decision that it actually wants to exist in two or three generations’ time as a culturally-identifiable, kinship or whakapapa-linked

community in a context of its traditional territory, it has to take decisions now as to how it is going to fund, protect, and develop that culture over time.⁶³

“A mātauranga derived approach to conceptualising wellbeing should be founded on the following principles (non-exhaustive): The model should not be human centric. Human wellbeing is ancillary to environmental sustainability. Historically, Māori had high standards of wellbeing and there was no language to describe poverty, reflecting that it was not part of our historical reality and encouraging us to reconsider what we accept as parameters, benchmarks and inevitabilities; That wellbeing should be identified as encompassing community elements, reflected in the recognition of kainga in Te Tiriti o Waitangi; That Māori approaches to wellbeing are inherently relational and the model needs to reflect that relationality.”⁶⁴

62 Hēnare, M. (2014). *The economy of mana*. In D. Cooke, C. Hill, P. Baskett, & R. Irwin (Eds.), *Beyond the free market: Rebuilding a just society in New Zealand* (pp. 65–69). Auckland, New Zealand: Dunmore.

63 O'Regan, T. (2019). *The shareholder who never dies: The economics of Indigenous survival and the development of culturally relevant governance*. In W. Nikolakis, S. E. Cornell, & H. W. Nelson (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous governance: Reflections and insights from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States* (pp. 38–54). The University of Arizona Press, p. 47.

64 McMeeking S., Kahi H., and Kururangi G., 2019. He Ara Waiora: background paper on the development and content of He Ara Waiora. ir.canterbury.ac.nz/handle/10092/17576.

How Māori Values are Influencing NZ's Living Standards Framework

*"The Māori economy is not new — having been established in Aotearoa for several centuries. However, the past 15 years has seen significant research, information, and effort into establishing the concept of the Māori economy within the context of official policy, data, and strategic directions."*⁶⁵

What is He Ara Waiora?

He Ara Waiora is the wellbeing index developed by the Māori, borne from processes discussed below. The He Ara Waiora's elements and Māori concepts of wellbeing within it are summarized in Table 7 and correspond to the colours in the diagram in Figure 3:⁶⁶

Figure 3. He Ara Waiora⁶⁷

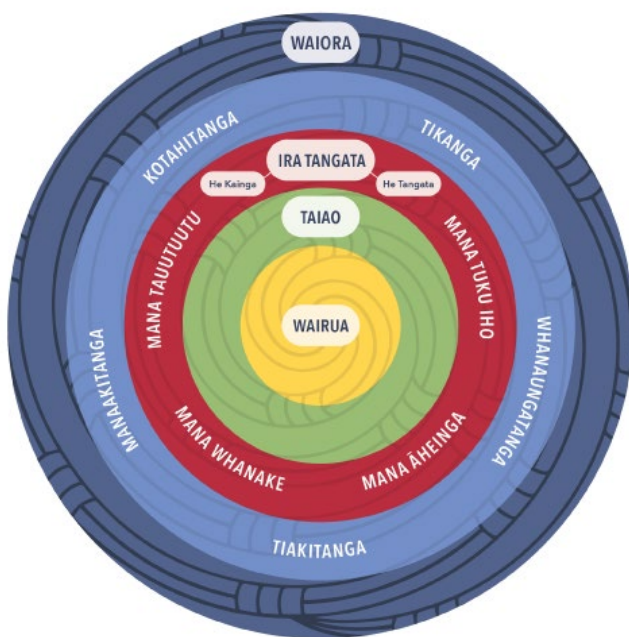


Table 7. Elements of He Ara Waiora
(colours correspond to Figure 3 diagram)⁶⁸

WAIRUA (Spirit) is at the centre to reflect that it is the foundation or source of wellbeing values beliefs and practices related to wairua are essential to Māori concepts of health and wellbeing.

TAIAO: The wellbeing to Te Taiao (the natural world) is paramount and inextricable from human wellbeing there are responsibilities and obligations to sustain and maintain the wellbeing of Te Taiao.

IRA TANGATA, HE KAINGA, HE TANGATA: Human sphere of wellbeing, activities and relationships.

MANA TUKU IHO: Sense of identity and belonging as an 'end' in wellbeing.

MANA TAUUTUUTU: Participate and connect within their communities including fulfilling their rights and obligations; inter-dependent rights & responsibilities as an 'end' in wellbeing.

MANA AHEINGA: Having the capability to decide on their aspirations and realize them in the context of their own unique circumstances; aspirations and capability as an 'end' in wellbeing.

MANA WHANAKE: Having the power to grow sustainable intergenerational prosperity; sustainable prosperity as an 'end' in wellbeing.

KOTAHITANGA: Working in aligned coordinated way across the system and in partnership with business, communities, iwi, and whanau.

MANAAKITANG: Maintaining a focus on improved wellbeing and enhanced mana for all New Zealanders. It means supporting each other and demonstrating an ethic of care for our fellow New Zealanders.

WHANAUNGATANGA: Fostering strong relationships and networks, both through kinship and shared interests.

TIKANGA: Decisions have to be made in accordance with the right processes. This includes working relationship with the Treaty partner.

WAIORA: Wellbeing.

65 Hillmarè Schulze, 2019, Understanding the Māori economy.

66 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

67 Government of New Zealand, 2023. Budget 2023 Budget Policy Statement. budget.govt.nz/budget/2023/bps/he-ara-waiora.htm

68 Ibid.

Creating He Ara Waiora

“What I like about He Ara Waiora is it talks in our language.” (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

He Ara Waiora was created by convening Māori advisors, leaders, experts, and scholars in New Zealand, originally to analyze the country’s tax system through the Tax Working Group. It involved extensive engagement with Māori to inform proposed reforms to the taxation system and throughout that engagement, there were repeated recommendations that He Ara Waiora should be aligned with the country’s Living Standards Framework LSF and apply across all Crown policy.⁶⁹

“The way that they did that was to invite a whole bunch of, a number of experts, Māori experts from across the country to facilitate a number of small sessions, wananga to really deliberate and think about yeah, what a Māori perspective on sharing and on distribution and how Māori economies worked from that perspective... the first session was on behalf of New Zealand Treasury. After our first session it was quite apparent that it was quite a provocative question that could lend itself to centre more widely in the life of somebody who grew up with extended family. So, it evolved from being developed into He Ara Waiora which is Māori perspectives to wellbeing.” (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

The Tax Working Group ran public consultation in 2019 by holding 15 hui across the North Island with key Māori experts (e.g., national bodies, small medium enterprise networks, and private sector specialists). These were followed by two tikanga framework consultation hui with Māori organizations and academics. He Ara Waiora was next tested with Māori through a nationwide engagement process which involved five hui, attended predominantly by representatives of, and advisors to, Māori organizations resulting in a “shared and strong call for He Ara Waiora to have broader operation across all government policy as a macro Crown framework” and be aligned with

the LSF which was subsequently ministerially endorsed.⁷⁰

“The Tax Working Group decided that they wanted something to assist them in bringing the Māori indigenous voice into the work that they were doing. And they developed He Ara Waiora. The genesis was different but then it was the LSF that was really used for the budget. He Ara Waiora has there been, you know, I think the I think it’s fair to say that it didn’t have a strong place in the 2019 wellbeing budget, but that it subsequently has started to be used.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Policy Maker, 9 Dec 2022)

Following written submissions, two framework consultation hui were held in Wellington (mainly government officials and Māori organizations) and Auckland (mainly academics and Māori organizations). These hui were to determine the value a tikanga (protocol-based) framework would have, as well as the kinds of key tikanga concepts that would be most applicable to achieve the purpose.

“We had the idea that this would be a macro policy Crown framework. So one of the challenges for us was what is integration going to look like, are we going to try and create a sort of a mechanism, is He Ara Waiora going to be a mechanism sort of like a template, maybe a tool that allows people to look at different frameworks ... But yeah, it ended up being something different to that as well. That was of the challenge.” (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

“He Ara Waiora has grown out of a more collective Indigenous, certainly understanding of whakapapa to the environment rather than from the environment. And maybe it’s that tension that is as important as any particular detail.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)

69 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

70 Supra note 69, McMeeking et al. 2019.

"He Ara Waiora is a very interesting — conceptually, it's amazing. In terms of the way it is a holistic of approach to thinking about wellness of people. It is very Indigenous. They had a really good what you would call it reference group of really, you know, important significant Māori leaders." (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023)

"A skeleton / 'first-cut' tikanga [protocol-based] framework based on feedback from submissions was socialised at the last hui."⁷¹

Discussion Questions

Māori academics and practitioners were invited to participate in a "think tank process" which involved facilitated questions in two parts in 2018, and then in a third part in 2019 after Ministerial approval of He Ara Waiora to be aligned with the LSF work programme (Table 8).

Table 8. Facilitated Questions Asked of Māori Academics and Practitioners

PART ONE (2018)	'FIRST PRINCIPLES' DISCUSSION QUESTIONS
	Is it appropriate to incorporate tikanga (protocol) into Crown policy frameworks?
	For tikanga (protocol) to be meaningfully incorporated into Crown policy, how should it be incorporated? What safeguards are necessary?
	What is the appropriate relationship between articulating values, creating tikanga (protocol-based) processes and implementation standards/guidelines?
	In respect of the tax system, that at its' simplest is about the collection and distribution of resources for the collective good, what tikanga (protocols) would you expect to see incorporated into a framework?
	What historical and contemporary practices do you consider to be aligned to the purpose of the tax system? What values, processes and implementation changes would you want/expect?
	What social impact do you envisage from incorporating tikanga (protocol) into the taxation system?
PART TWO (2018)	TESTING THE DRAFT TIKANGA FRAMEWORK
	Does the draft framework align with your thoughts and expectations about a tikanga (protocol) framework for the tax system?
	Does the draft framework find the optimal balance between articulating values, creating tikanga (protocol-based) processes and implementation guidelines?
	Are the concepts and language appropriate?
PART THREE (2019)	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HE ARA WAIORA AND THE LSF
	What are the outcomes or dimensions of a good life we would expect to see reflected in a framework that articulates wellbeing?
	How do those outcomes or dimensions of the good life relate to the four elements of He Ara Waiora-whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and ōhanga?
	Are there elements of the 'good life' that are not encapsulated by He Ara Waiora?
	If neither the LSF or He Ara Waiora existed, how would we describe the 'good life' in a way that meaningfully influences Crown decision making?

71 Supra note 69, McMeeking et al. 2019.

Timeline of Māori Influence on the Crown's Living Standards Framework

Aotearoa New Zealand has developed two wellbeing framework — one led by the Crown and the other by Māori. These two frameworks were borne from first parallel then, to some extent, coordinated actions that lead the wellbeing initiative in the country where it is today. He Ara Waiora, based in a Māori paradigm, has and is continuing to inform the New Zealand Living Standards Framework based in a Western paradigm. He Ara Waiora evolved through two principal phases: (1) conceptualizing a tikanga Māori (protocol-based) framework that could guide tax policy, and (2) conceptualizing a mātauranga Māori approach to the concept of wellbeing to operate as a macro framework, and aligned where possible with the LSF. Notably, “He Ara Waiora was initially developed with the Tax Working Group, which sought to think about how tikanga Māori (protocol) could help create a more future-focused tax system.”⁷² This timeline (Table 9) demonstrates how the two processes came together.

Table 9. Timeline of Māori and Crown Wellbeing Initiatives

December 1999	CROWN: The first proto-Living Standards Framework is created ⁷³ in a briefing “Towards Higher Living Standards: Briefing to the Incoming Government 1999” ⁷⁴
December 2001	CROWN: Crown releases a series of papers on an inclusive economy that subsequently informed the Living Standards Framework. ⁷⁵ Topics included: Māori and Pacific Inequalities, ⁷⁶ Human Capital and the Inclusive Economy, ⁷⁷ Geography and the Inclusive Economy, ⁷⁸ Towards an Inclusive Economy. ⁷⁹
June 2002	CROWN: Crown releases a paper on Institutions, Social Norms and Wellbeing. ⁸⁰
May 2011	CROWN: “The first version ⁸¹ of the Living Standards Framework was published... This introduced the distinction between capitals and domains that is still in use today.” ⁸²
2012-2016	CROWN: Focus by Crown on how to apply the Living Standards Framework to policy advice. Much of this work used a simpler representation of the key concepts in a pentagon diagram ⁸³ that supported analysts to consider key high-level trade-offs.
~ November 2017	MĀORI: Tax Working Group (TWG) was established to examine the NZ tax system. This work was used to inform the wellbeing framework: engagement indicated that He Ara Waiora should have broader operation across all government policy as a macro Crown framework, and specifically the Living Standards Framework which ultimately informed Budget 2019 ⁸⁴ (the first time a wellbeing approach was applied to the Budget process in New Zealand ⁸⁵). CROWN: The simpler LSF was first developed as part of the 2012 Tax Working Group process, to help them apply the Living Standards Framework to their analysis.

72 New Zealand Treasury, 2022. He Ara Waiora.

73 New Zealand Treasury, 2021. History of the LSF.

74 New Zealand Treasury, 1 December 1999. Towards Higher Living Standards: Briefing to the Incoming Government 1999.

75 Supra note 73, History of the LSF.

76 New Zealand Treasury, 1 December 2001. Reducing Māori and Pacific Inequalities.

77 New Zealand Treasury, 1 December 2001. Human Capital and the Inclusive Economy.

78 New Zealand Treasury, 1 December 2001. Geography and the Inclusive Economy: A Regional Perspective.

79 New Zealand Treasury, 1 December 2001. Towards an Inclusive Economy.

80 New Zealand Treasury, 1 June 2002. Institutions, Social Norms and Well-being.

81 New Zealand Treasury, 25 May 2011. Working Towards Higher Living Standards for New Zealanders.

82 Supra note 73, History of the LSF.

83 Ibid.

84 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

85 New Zealand Treasury, 21 February 2023. Using the LSF and He Ara Waiora.

March/April 2018	<p>MĀORI: Public consultation by TWG on how tikanga Māori (protocol) support a future-focused tax system.⁸⁶</p> <p>CROWN: (Feb-Dec 2018) “A second version of the LSF was issued alongside a flurry of papers in 2018. This version explored each of the four capitals that were introduced in the initial 2011 version in more depth. This version also defined for the first time the 12 domains of wellbeing, following consideration of a range of international measurement frameworks and advice from an independent expert.”⁸⁷</p>
March/April 2018	<p>MĀORI: “Hinerangi Raumati (as a member of the TWG) held 15 hui [gatherings] across the North Island with key Māori stakeholders (including national bodies, SME networks, and private sector specialists). There was a range of support for considering how the tax system could reflect Māori values, including tikanga [protocol] Māori, and in keeping with the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.”</p>
July 2018	<p>MĀORI: “...two tikanga (protocol) framework consultation hui were held in Wellington and Auckland, attended by some of the Māori organisations who had provided written submissions and Māori academics. The key purpose of these hui was to determine the value a tikanga (protocol-based) framework could have, as well as the kinds of key tikanga (protocol-based) concepts that would be most applicable to achieve the purpose. A skeleton tikanga framework based on feedback from submissions was socialised at the hui.”⁸⁸</p>
August 2018	<p>MĀORI: The TWG Secretariat further developed the tikanga (protocol-based) framework and tested the draft model with a think tank of Māori academics and practitioners.”⁸⁹</p> <p>CROWN: The Crown released the paper “A Pacific Perspective on the Living Standards Framework and Wellbeing.”⁹⁰</p>
August-October 2018	<p>MĀORI: He Ara Waiora was “tested with Māori through a nationwide engagement process on the interim report of the Tax Working Group, which involved five hui, attended predominantly by representatives of, and advisors to, Māori organisations.”</p>
September 2018	<p>MĀORI: TWG interim report released (Crown-Māori) “Future of Tax: Interim Report”⁹¹</p> <p>CROWN: Release of the paper “He Ara Waiora: A Pathway Towards Wellbeing”⁹²</p>
February 2019	<p>MĀORI: TWG Final report released (Crown-Māori) “Future of Tax: Final Report Volume I – Recommendations”⁹³</p> <p>CROWN: Release of the paper “An Indigenous Approach to the Living Standards Framework”⁹⁴</p>
1 st Quarter 2019	<p>MĀORI: Ministerial support was given for He Ara Waiora to be aligned with the Living Standards Framework work programme</p>
February 2019	<p>MĀORI: A hui held with pūkenga Māori on He Ara Waiora discussing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is there continued support for the Crown to adopt He Ara Waiora? ▪ Are the values He Ara Waiora uses appropriate? ▪ How could/should the values He Ara Waiora be interpreted? ▪ Is it appropriate to adopt Associate Professor Mānuka Hēnare’s model for aligning kawa (values), tikanga (protocols), ritenga (actions) and āhuatanga within a Crown tikanga framework?
May 2019	<p>CROWN: Release of the first Wellbeing Budget 2019 for New Zealand, including focus on Māori and Pacific wellbeing benchmarks and allocated monies.</p>

86 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

87 Supra note 73, History of the LSF.

88 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

89 Ibid.

90 New Zealand Treasury, 21 August 2018. A Pacific Perspective on the Living Standards Framework and Wellbeing.

91 Government of New Zealand Tax Working Group, 20 September 2018. Future of Tax: Interim Report.

92 New Zealand Treasury, 20 September 2018. He Ara Waiora / A Pathway Towards Wellbeing.

93 Government of New Zealand Tax Working Group, 21 February 2019. Future of Tax: Final Report Volume I – Recommendations.

94 New Zealand Treasury, 1 February 2019. An Indigenous Approach to the Living Standards Framework.



Timeline of Māori and Crown Wellbeing Initiatives

The New Zealand Crown/ Treasury evolved from initiating a conventional/OECD-based wellbeing economy framework in the late 1990s to engaging with Maori experts on a wellbeing concept based in Maori knowledge systems. The result is two parallel wellbeing frameworks: He Ara Waiora and the New Zealand Living Standards Framework.

June 2019	<p>MĀORI: A hui held with pūkenga Māori on He Ara Waiora discussing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued support for He Ara Waiora as a tool for reshaping government policy making, most appropriately aligned to the Living Standards Framework or otherwise operating as a macro framework that operates across the whole of government; Further development of He Ara Waiora as a directional framework that encompasses both ends and means as an integrated approach to describing the elements and processes that should go into the Crown recognising and giving effect to Māori understandings of 'wellbeing'; Recognition that the Living Standards Framework (LSF), as it is currently framed has components that have some degree of resonance with mātauranga Māori, but that the framework as a whole does not align with mātauranga Māori; Reaffirmation of the importance of Māori 'incubating' He Ara Waiora during its further development. <p>CROWN: Release of the paper "Culture, Wellbeing and the Living Standards Framework: A Perspective"⁹⁵</p>
	<p>CROWN: Release of the Wellbeing Budget 2021, largely focused on addressing the COVID-19 pandemic and related economic recovery.</p>
	<p>CROWN: Release of the paper "He Kāhui Waiora: Living Standards Framework and He Ara Waiora Covid-19 Impacts on Wellbeing"⁹⁶</p>
	<p>CROWN: "Public engagement on the 2018 version of the Living Standards Framework identified several limitations. The Treasury committed to addressing these limitations in a 2021 refresh of the framework, with a particular focus on the topics of culture, children's wellbeing, te ao Māori, and Pacific Peoples. These topics were explored in a series of discussion papers ahead of the 2021 version of the LSF being adopted. During this time, we also worked to apply the Living Standards Framework alongside He Ara Waiora to analyse the wellbeing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, and published a discussion paper on social capital and justice."⁹⁷</p>
May 2021	<p>CROWN: Release of the Wellbeing Budget 2021. First mention of He Ara Waiora and Māori values in a New Zealand Wellbeing Budget.</p>
October 2021	<p>CROWN: Release of the new "The Living Standards Framework (LSF) 2021"⁹⁸</p>
April 2022	<p>CROWN: The newest version of the LSF Dashboard was released on 12 April 2022 to align with the current version of the LSF which the Crown updates.⁹⁹ (Please see current version¹⁰⁰ of LSF dashboard).</p>
May 2022	<p>CROWN: Release of the fourth New Zealand Wellbeing Budget 2022. The Budget 2022 Report states that it used He Ara Waiora in its development.¹⁰¹</p>
November 2022	<p>CROWN: Release of the first wellbeing report, "Te Tai Waiora: Wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand 2022" which draws on both the LSF and He Ara Waiora "to take a longer, broader, deeper, view of the drivers of wellbeing."¹⁰²</p>

95 New Zealand Treasury, 28 June 2019. Culture, Wellbeing and the Living Standards Framework: A Perspective.

96 New Zealand Treasury, 9 July 2020. He Kāhui Waiora: Living Standards Framework and He Ara Waiora COVID-19: Impacts on Wellbeing.

97 Supra note 73, History of the LSF.

98 New Zealand Treasury, 28 October 2021. The Living Standards Framework (LSF) 2021.

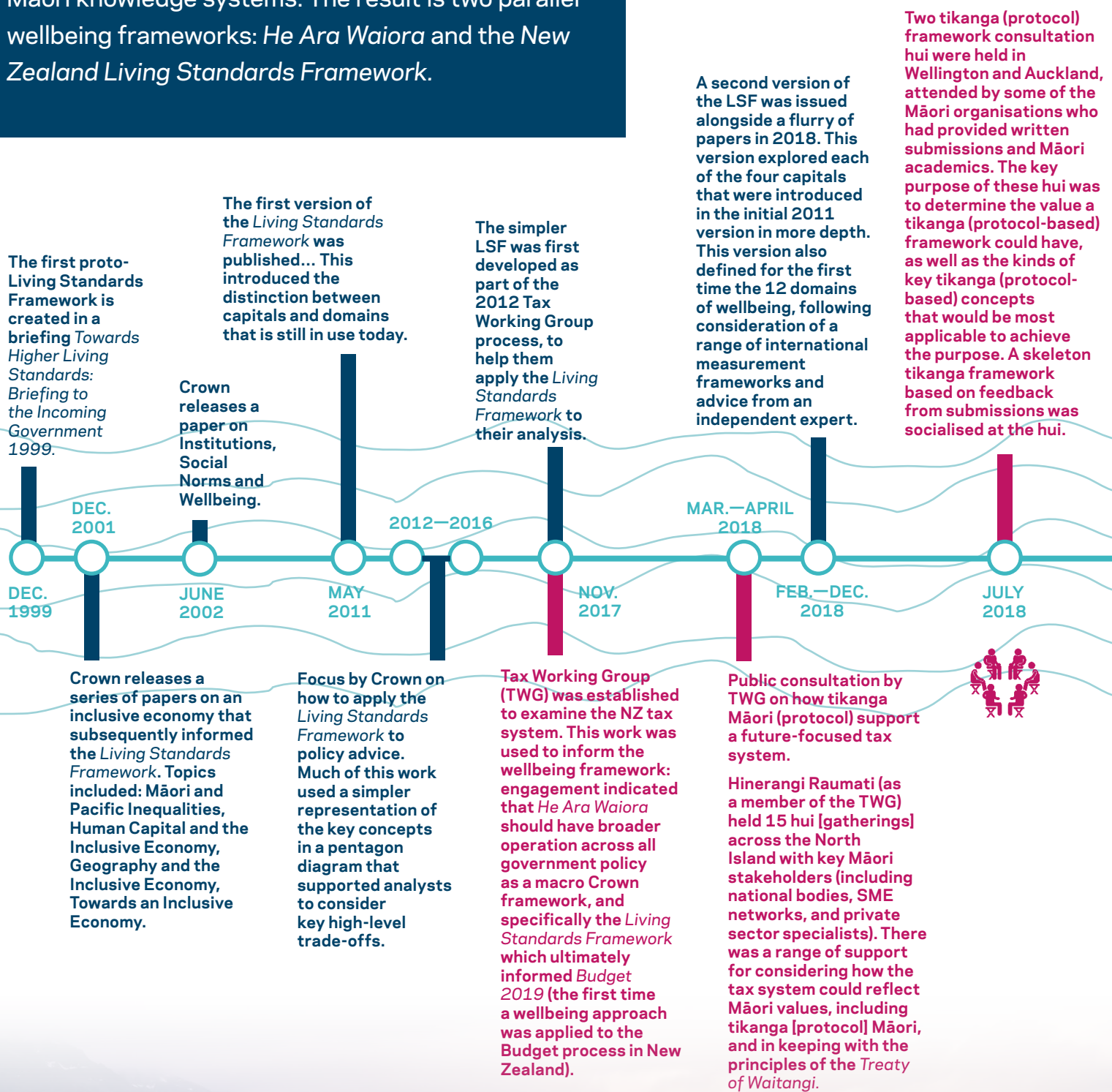
99 New Zealand Treasury, 12 April 2022. Our Living Standards Framework.

100 New Zealand Treasury, 2022. The Living Standards Framework Dashboard.

101 New Zealand Treasury, 19 May 2022. Wellbeing Budget 2022 A Secure Future.

102 New Zealand Treasury, November 2022. Te Tai Waiora Wellbeing in Aotearoa New Zealand 2022.

The New Zealand Crown/Treasury evolved from initiating a conventional/OECD-based wellbeing economy framework in the late 1990s to engaging with Maori experts on a wellbeing concept based in Maori knowledge systems. The result is two parallel wellbeing frameworks: *He Ara Waiora* and the New Zealand Living Standards Framework.



Public engagement on the 2018 version of the *Living Standards Framework* identified several limitations. The Treasury committed to addressing these limitations in a 2021 refresh of the framework, with a particular focus on the topics of culture, children's wellbeing, te ao Māori, and Pacific Peoples. These topics were explored in a series of discussion papers ahead of the 2021 version of the LSF being adopted. During this time, we also worked to apply the *Living Standards Framework* alongside *He Ara Waiora* to analyse the wellbeing impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, and published a discussion paper on social capital and justice.



Where He Ara Waiora is at Now

As of November 2022, the New Zealand Treasury has a set of agreed indicators for He Ara Waiora, which is unlike the Living Standards Framework which has the LSF Dashboard. The Treasury is, for now, using interim indicators similar to the LSF Dashboard to apply He Ara Waiora. The development of He Ara Waiora is iterative and ongoing, and those working on it give insight on where things are at:

“The four principles we look at when we’re looking at the refresh of He Ara Waiora is due to mechanisms that we’re looking to describe and champion in the document, create more opportunity, increase capability, enable our whanau to aspire and give our whanau more choice when it comes to the economic participation of our whanau. So those are the basis of how we’re embedding He Ara Waiora into the next iteration of the Māori economic development strategy.” (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

“At the moment, the approach in Aotearoa New Zealand is to hold these different models up without any effort to integrate them. And

sometimes one model is used rather than another. The Productivity Commission has recently undertaken an inquiry on a good start in life and they use the He Ara Waiora framework to guide that inquiry. It’s an interesting dialogue that I think has a long way to go but that’s great that we can have that conversation with respect for the different starting points.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)

“To what extent is the government really using the living standards framework is a debated question because the budget has its own internal logic in a way. There’s an envelope of this much to spend. And the government is using the language of wellbeing to set priorities and, and so on, but people question how transformational that shift has been. Now the official language is that the Māori Wellbeing Framework [He Ara Waiora] sits alongside the living standards framework, and they speak to each other. And that’s certainly taken seriously.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)



Doing Better

BRITISH COLUMBIA

"We believe there is merit in further developing He Ara Waiora as a potential parent framework for wellbeing and that there is potential to pioneer an internationally significant approach to measuring and analysing wellbeing. We also consider that doing so could be the most progressive approach to embodying the Treaty of Waitangi ever attempted in New Zealand." (McMeeking, et. al., 2019)¹⁰³

Analysis of Crown Incorporation of Māori Values and Input into the LSF

New Zealand's Living Standards Framework, alongside the He Ara Waiora, is the only known wellbeing index having been implemented at the nation level, and having been strongly influenced by Indigenous input and values. Given this, there is great benefit to British Columbia, in drawing on lessons learned from New Zealand in this regard over the last two decades. The same is true for jurisdictions similar to BC with Indigenous populations and considering implementing a wellbeing index. In order to implement a wellbeing index, one that amounts to systems change within

government policy, it needs to be designed to that is has "practical transformative impact on the Crown and overcome known existing challenges, such as capability and receptiveness."¹⁰⁴ The following section summarizes the lessons learned from New Zealand in the development of the LSF and He Ara Waiora, in particular those that have the potential to inform BC's wellbeing economy as they relate to (A) engagement, (B) process of framework development, (C) implementation, (D) evaluation, (E) community and international relevance, and Māori and OECD-based indicators compared. The data that informs this whole report, but this section in particular, are 13 in-person interviews with experts in New Zealand who have worked on or are working on the Living Standards Framework and/or He Ara Waiora.

¹⁰³ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

“Those who might champion the framework will be different from the ones that are the ones that are providing your technical advice around the implementation. The ones who are the champions, you really want the strategic thinkers, the big picture thinkers, the ones that are able to make the connection through time for the past, present and future, then at the nuts and bolts stage of how do we actually do it implementation, then you can bring in your technicians bring in your policy [makers].”
(Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)



A. Engagement with Māori and Pacific Islanders

Māori appreciation of the Crown

While there are many aspects of New Zealand's wellbeing work that have yet to be addressed and operationalized in a way that is meaningful and impactful to Māori people, those who gave input on the creation of the LSF "consistently recognised that seeking to adopt a tikanga [protocol-based] framework is a courageous and meaningful undertaking, that should be acknowledged for its transformative potential and the genuine intent underpinning it....[the New Zealand] Treasury is to be commended for both their aspirations and endeavours to develop a tikanga framework."¹⁰⁵

"The Living Standards Framework is a useful and important starting point. And I think that the other thing that this government is doing, which may go away if they change governments next year, if we change governments is the fact that this government's policies moving forwards are very much underpinned by the notion of co-governance, ... co governance was actually woven into the Treaty te tiriti, as a founding document predicated on co-governance, it's just that no government, in over 180 years has wrestled with what that might look like. And this government, with the highest number of Māori MPs of any political party ever in this country, has, I think, made real inroads." (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

McMeeking et al., point out that while the LSF has sound elements and should be commended for its creation, the conception approach and indicators remain incomplete and are "too mechanistic to align with a Māori world view."¹⁰⁶

Nation to nation approach

Like Canada, New Zealand is a treaty nation with Indigenous nations with the 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and endeavors such as creating a wellbeing framework for the country are (should be) embedded in a nation-to-nation approach. McMeeking et al., consider the tikanga (protocol-based) framework to be a "meaningful and appropriate reflection of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, reflecting our continuing maturation as a nation to embrace and embody the spirit and intent of our founding constitutional document."

As one expert gave context to an Indigenous-Crown relationship when it comes to wellbeing (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022):

"We've got this very kind of Māori-Crown relationship in New Zealand... One of the things that have really strengthened Māori in that relationship, enabling pressure to the point where the Waitangi Tribunal was established in the 80s strengthened the claims process was put in place, pieces of legislation that have changed the education system, it's very crucial and now the health system to one way that we got more influence than that relationship is a people was to become a people. Now, I'm not saying that that's what [BC] should do. It's difficult to have, if you're talking about First Nations wellbeing, it has to be some kind of consensus among yourselves what your identity means."

In the context of the maturation of the Treaty relationship and adoption of the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (UNDRIP), McMeeking et al., suggested that:

"...seeking to implement a tikanga [protocol-based] framework across Crown policy is also arguably timely and consistent with solidifying normative commitments... a tikanga framework for policy would be a proactive mechanism that enhances the way Treaty and UNDRIP principles are given effect to in tangible policy outcomes, and notably, be an internationally leading approach to embracing the UNDRIP."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

A similar nation-to-nation, or Indigenous-Crown approach to a wellbeing framework, one that adheres to the principles of UNDRIP, would be essential in the BC and Canadian context.

B. Process of Framework Development

Two Frameworks

The fact that there are two wellbeing frameworks, He Ara Waiora and the Living Standards Framework, was consistently supported by experts interviewed for this paper for various reasons:


- **Reflecting worldviews:** “There’s nothing wrong with Māori having their own views and their own measurement tools for what wellbeing looks like. There is a separation, I think it’s a natural one, because actually the way we see the world, and the purpose of what we might need a framework for versus how the West sees the world” (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023).

Deference on decision making: “The decision of the government to allow the two frameworks to stand

alongside each other and talk to each other is a way of saying we will not exercise power to make a decision now and opens up the possibility that it is not the government’s role to make that decision.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)

- **Prioritizing Indigenous values:** “When we do measurement, our stuff is more about wairua and spirit, which arguably is very difficult to measure. But those are the types of we should be really invested in. Otherwise, what you can end up with is a Western framework, or a hybrid framework that actually doesn’t speak to either party” (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023).
- **Legitimacy:** “I think they’re absolutely right to have two [wellbeing frameworks] both for the legitimacy of what they’re doing. And because it gives you a better chance of picking up things that just one lens wouldn’t have looked at. I think if you look at the two frameworks, they are very, very similar. The difference is where they place their weight: so if you look at He Ara Waiora has both a sort of means component and an ends compartment. That ends component has about five dimensions. If you look at them, it is relatively easy, relatively easy to map that onto the 12 wellbeing dimensions of the living standards framework. It just tends to bunch them together.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)
- **Indigenous metrics:** “I think [the living standards framework, and the He Ara Waiora] are complementary. And it’s very hard to affect a spiritual wellbeing and to governmental metrics. But then again, there’s there are many other intangibles that are part and parcel of our Indigenous identity that are very difficult to measure. What happens is governments measure what they can to figure out where they should be putting work, you know, murder rates, domestic violence, substance abuse, mortality rates, you know, child’s health statistics, all of those are important. And I’m not in any way denigrating them. But they are very easy metrics to calculate in a national accounting system, it critical to have those

“In New Zealand, we have to acknowledge the intergenerational trauma that colonization has brought about. And if we don’t acknowledge that, then we can’t really understand family wellbeing. And if we don’t understand family, wellbeing we can’t really understand the public policy that is needed to support family wellbeing and help people heal, not to heal people, but to help people heal, which requires redress of justices, injustices going back generations. There’s a lot of work to be done in that space.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)



"A commitment to mino-mnaamodzawin [Anishinaabe philosophy referring to living well or the good life] has the potential to reconfigure and reclaim appropriate relationships with other orders of beings. Reclaiming and revitalizing Indigenous knowledge systems and legal orders is of critical importance in supporting the vision of living well. It will be a process fraught with challenges, as dominant society will not happily embrace Indigenous knowledges and laws (at least not on the terms of Indigenous peoples). Yet, in order to move as a society toward a more positive future, it is vitally important that we undertake this process." (Dr. Deborah McGregor (Anishinaabe), Osgoode Hall Law School, York University, Canada)¹²³

¹²³ McGregor, D. (2018). Mino-Mnaamodzawin: Achieving Indigenous Environmental Justice in Canada. *Environment and Society: Advances in Research* 9: 7-24.

there. But I do think that organizations like [the AFN] have an additional role. And if they are a political entity, then obviously they need to be advocating for those metrics to be incorporated into national accounting systems, and utilized and things like budgetary allocations and policy formulations. That's really, really important. But I also think that any organization like the AFN, that is already a network and a national one has the potential, if it doesn't already do it, to expand on its role as a place and an organization that provides opportunities for us to gather virtually or in person. Because you know, we've all gotten really good at virtual gatherings, to foster those other capitals, not just the social networking capital, but the cultural identity capital and the spiritual wellbeing capital." (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

- **Space for conceptual different:** "I'm less concerned about there being two models. In fact, I actually like that. I've been part of too many processes where we try to bang things together to make them fit. Yeah. And I think there is a genuine is a genuine kind of conceptual difference, because they don't know how to fit these things together" (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023).

Please note that McMeeking et al. 2019 compare both the He Ara Waiora and LSF framework.¹⁰⁸

"If we were able to look at some of these outcomes like around cultural capability, and belonging, and ability to express and all those sorts of things, if that was happening within Crown agencies and within our communities, that would make a significant difference to the way in which our people are engaged." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

C. Implementation

"Those who might champion the framework will be different from the ones that are the ones that are providing your technical advice around the implementation. The ones who are the champions, you really want the strategic thinkers, the big picture thinkers, the ones that are able to make the connection through time for the past, present and future, then at the nuts and bolts stage of how do we actually do it implementation, then you can bring in your technicians bring in your policy [makers]." (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)

Legitimacy among Māori people

According to those who provided input on the wellbeing frameworks from a Māori perspective, a vital aspect of successful implementation consistently emphasised was that the *approach* to implementing the tikanga framework is critical to its perceived value and efficacy in Māori societies.¹⁰⁹

"The success of a policy isn't... it could be promoted from the top till the cows come home, but the success of it is going to be the way whether or not it's taken seriously on the ground and communities." (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

McMeeking et al., suggest that if He Ara Waiora were to be further developed, we recommend that the framework be "incubated" by pūkenga Māori and that any wider engagement process with Māori is led by pūkenga Māori engaged in the design. The authors caution that "if either of these elements are disregarded that He Ara Waiora will have a fatal loss of legitimacy within the Māori community and that the LSF will be exposed to concerted Māori criticism as failing to appropriately recognise Māori concepts of wellbeing."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Risk of Misinterpretation or Misuse by Crown

In their own engagement with Māori experts on wellbeing frameworks in New Zealand, McMeeking et al., participants emphasize the concern that the Crown would apply Māori concepts and input on wellbeing as a rhetorical device rather than meaningfully implement it. To this end, it was expressly noted that there is “a risk of tikanga [Māori protocols] being conflated with the four capitals in the LSF, which would contort and disaggregate the meaning and integrity of tikanga [Māori protocols].”¹¹¹ Our own research for this report confirmed that concern (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022):

“From the [New Zealand] Treasury’s perspective, [they thought] ‘we’ve got four capitals so this is going to resonate with Māori’, and we’re always trying to grow culture, social, economic, as well as the environmental. So, because we have those four things, that should work.’ But that wasn’t the case. There was a lot of talking through and talking back and talking within the model that was that we had, that we had inherited.”

Further, participants in the hui on wellbeing noted that the Crown LSF four capitals approach, is a “popular means to embrace a holistic and integrated approach to wellbeing, comes from a philosophical tradition that is at odds with Māori relationality.” Notably, the Crown incorporated this feedback into the second iteration of the LSF by dropping, with one exception, the term “capitals.” Broadly speaking, the hui indicated that the “inclusion of tikanga [protocol] derived values in the absence of an integrated tikanga framework creates material risks of misinterpretation and undermining the integrity of tikanga.”¹¹²

¹¹¹ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

¹¹² Ibid.

Resources for Implementation

Expert interviews conducted for this paper indicated that the success of the implementation of a wellbeing economy pivots on the resources available to/provided for implementation.

“When you look at Māori models of wellbeing now, they’re quite traditional...Whare Tapa Wha, got the kind of four areas physical, mental, social, spiritual, it applies to everybody, but how they meet those needs, is going to be contingent on the resources that have got available, and some of the resources aren’t great.” (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

Such resourcing needs to extend beyond piecemeal resourcing, and be accompanied by a more pragmatic shift:

“[We should] intensely resource Māori communities to be well. Getting more housing or jobs, more food, whatever, intensely resource them to be well, and then mainstream would have a relationship with those communities... Instead of let’s just pick a cherry pick a few nice things like Kaitiakitanga mana, let’s take a few of those things, and let’s just put them in, put them in mainstream have it with our cup of coffee for a couple minutes a day, and then we’ll go back to being mainstream. That’s kind of that is the direction that this nation is taking at the moment as cherry picking nice pieces of Māori wellbeing... it should be flipped.” (Academic (Māori), 2 Feb 2023)

One respondent directed advice on this topic of resourcing Indigenous peoples to support their decision making and priorities as the key to implementing wellbeing in Indigenous contexts:

“My advice maybe in your country, the environment is different to the center, is when an Indigenous peoples, whatever they are, whoever they are, in the spirit of getting them to live the lives they value and improving their lives. They have their wisdom going 1000s of years, hundreds of years, wherever the case may be, why don’t you entrust them to do it, and ask the question, How can I support you?”



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And then if they say part of it is give me \$1 million. Say I'll give you \$1 million. Please tell me what outcome will you generate for your own community? I'm not interfering with what you want to do. If you say that doing painting my houses in a different color is the most important thing. God bless you. Do it...Okay, use that to good end. Use that to hold people accountable, don't interfere what they want to do. It's their business, it's their community, but use that this is a measure of saying, okay, tell me what you're going to achieve. And if you do achieve it, I'll give you more."
(Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022)

D. Evaluation

Tangible Value to Māori

The extent to which the wellbeing frameworks in Aotearoa New Zealand have merit or not is contingent upon the extent to which it delivers tangible value for Māori. The extent to which it delivers tangible value is connected to how it is built-in to Crown decision making:

"This is the current stage where Treasury is at, in terms of identifying how you assess the, the components of He Ara Waiora. And ...the advice that a couple of us provided was that it might be a bridge too far for non-Indigenous officials to wrap their heads

around when they're trying to make decisions around allocation of resources for education, or health for Indigenous people. You've got to make the tool for assessment and evaluation really simple. So that people who are under pressures, whether they're time constraints and so on, can easily make those evaluative assessments. So, whatever the evaluation tool is, it needs to be simple and easy to use, and often times what you have to do, particularly if you're at the policy interface, with a non-Indigenous institution, that has to carry out the priorities for the indigenous people under a Treaty of Waitangi commitment, and so you have to spell it out for them." (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)

"Applying a tikanga derived approach ought to lead to tangible changes in policy outcomes, and that the true measure of the efficacy of a tikanga derived approach is the extent to which it facilitates greater fairness and outcomes with meaning for the community." McMeeking

Similarly, the extent to which wellbeing frameworks deliver tangible value is also connected to changing the paradigm that is GDP:

"I'm not really convinced that a paradigm shift has occurred, because if I think about a wellbeing economy and what we mean by that, then we do mean a paradigm shift where the focus is no longer simply on profit, not necessarily a degrowth perspective, but simply turning the perspective so that the profit, ceases to be the number one priority, and [instead] putting people and planet with an economy that supports them, rather than we feeding that beast of GDP growth." (Aotearoa New Zealand Policy Maker, 9 Dec 2022)

"He Ara Waiora will underpin any investments that we're going to have with to do with Māori investment, Māori economic investment, and it will underpin cabinet papers around that level of investment, but also potentially influence decision making in that social development space." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

Public Benefit and Fit

"In our view, He Ara Waiora has strong support amongst Māori, a wide public benefit for NZ Inc. and is consistent with existing Crown policy to broaden the role of values public decision that warrants its further development."¹¹³

While perhaps nowhere in the world can government or its constituents agree unanimously on whether a policy is or isn't in the public benefit, there are some considerations revealed by this research in the New Zealand context that may be relevant to wellbeing approaches to economic decision making:

- **Indigenous values benefit the wider public as well:** Ensuring a wellbeing framework that incorporates values into policy that contribute to more durable and equitable outcomes for Māori and all New Zealanders.¹¹⁴
- **Ensuring the business community is on board:** "There are two, two big issues. One is to convince the wider public, especially the business community, that this wider framework is not against business."¹¹⁵
- **Indigenous framework informing policy problems:** A Māori framework for wellbeing (i.e., He Ara Waiora) has become the focal point of the Treasury's Living Standards Framework and is "likely to provide practical guidance for implementing, recent public policy literature and discourse about complex adaptive systems and systems-thinking to address 'wicked' policy problems."¹¹⁶

"The other point you should note, which is important if you're trying to emulate or learn from New Zealand, is that we haven't convinced the wider public that this approach to public policy is better than the standard

¹¹³ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022.

¹¹⁶ Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.



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approach that talks about economic growth. The business community is still very hostile to it. And we haven't convinced the wider public either. So, we don't have a shared narrative about thinking of public policy in this holistic wider way." (Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022)

Performance Gap

One of the cautions from the 2018-2019 hui on the He Ara Waiora identified in McMeeking et al., was that the framework...

"...identifies aspirational values, but does not provide guidance for how to apply those values, which is likely to result in a 'performance gap', whereby the aspirational values are displaced by more tangible policy criteria or objectives and ultimately result in the positive outcomes of incorporating values being un/under-realised."

During the primary research for this paper with expert interviews, this performance gap was flagged:

"The big thing I see in terms of He Ara Waiora. I haven't seen anything which tests, I haven't seen Treasury do anything which actually applies the two frameworks." (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

"The work that we do from an iwi perspective really focuses on creating better wellbeing for our people. If the living standards framework was creating a shift in that we would shift our approach, if we could see the behavior translated on the ground and translated into policy translated into practice. But we're not seeing that." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

What I don't necessarily see as yet is how [the wellbeing budget and framework] embeds and impacts on agency activity. ...from a ministerial level, there is an opportunity to leverage off the learnings of that and start to influence the policy settings and those types of things. But I've yet to see [that]." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)

E. Community and International Relevance of Wellbeing

Community-Driven Wellbeing Initiative

Both the LSF and He Ara Waiora are meant to “embed distinctly New Zealand values into the policy development process.”¹¹⁷ The fact that the LSF was built primarily from adapting OECD (global) wellbeing measures places greater emphasis on He Ara Waiora to be a community driven process — an indicator of policy success that emerged from the primary research for this paper:

“If it’s wellbeing it’s multi dimensional, and all that it has to be driven by the communities.”
(Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022)

“I think with hapu, a lot of us disagree with some of our relations that might be a bay over are in the next village. But we’re pretty, we know that if we want to exert pressure, it’s better if we can all agree on something.”
(Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

“There would have been so many other voices, we could have incorporated... adding another Māori framework into a policy space... with Indigenous knowledges everybody’s got their own way of doing things every, you know, from valley to valley, from river to river, and coastline to coastline.” (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)

International Scope

“A tikanga framework alone should not be expected to solve embedded structural inequality, rather, it will be necessary to implement a multi-variate range of solutions, potentially drawing on international precedents.”¹¹⁸

While the LSF and He Ara Waiora wellbeing frameworks both have local relevance, considering the international relevance, uptake and congruence is also relevant to their design. Experts involved in both frameworks have given a great deal of thought to the local and international aspects of both:

“I don’t think there’s a big tension between this international standardization and doing things locally. If you do it properly, the same themes will come through. What you end up with will have much more mana. It will have much more legitimacy than just importing something externally.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

“The good news is, the more other countries such as Wales, the Netherlands and various others, start grappling with [wellbeing economies]. And the more the cultural and other elements come into the picture, which is the He Ara Waiora framework in New Zealand, the more it becomes operational. So, the good news is we are taking it seriously. But we are still not there at all.” (Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022)

“New Zealand is pretty much unique in the OECD at the moment. And if you look at our wellbeing frameworks, all our wellbeing frameworks, whether social report treasurers, they all have culture and identity as a standalone fundamental element of wellbeing in them. It doesn’t come up so much elsewhere.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

117 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al. 2019.

118 Ibid.

F. Māori Wellbeing and the OECD-Based Indicators Compared

Māori authors/academics of the He Ara Waiora Background Paper make the important point that New Zealand's Living Standards Framework (as it stood at the time of that publication in 2019), was likely built in the image of OECD indicators "pertaining to air and water quality and the like. They may also include monetised measures of natural capital drawing on international economic-environmental accounting models." The authors lay out preliminarily what Māori/tikanga (protocol-based) indicators could look like, using the New Zealand Living Standards Framework category Natural Environment¹¹⁹ as an example.

Table 10 illustrates two world views and reflects some of the Natural Environment wellbeing indicators currently used by New Zealand with more Māori-centric examples of wellbeing indicators given by the authors.

Table 10 contrasts the Māori wellbeing indicators with those in the LSF, and draw attention to the differences in how indicators are embedded within Māori cultural and social contexts rather than abstracted for universal relevance. The advantage of such specificity is that it is easier to identify when the indicators fall short of fulfilling Māori aspirations and intergenerational life patterns, and aligns with longstanding methods of Māori science, or Mātauranga Māori that have guided Māori life for many generations.

Viewing these two sets of ways of measuring wellbeing side by side (Table 8) illuminates two distinct worldviews in terms of how wellbeing can be measured. Both the existing indicators of the New Zealand Living Standards Framework and those suggested by Māori scholars/experts/respondents are factors of wellbeing that can be measured. Notably, the authors of the report that provide these example indicators state:¹²⁰

119 "Natural Capital" has been renamed "Natural Environment" in the Living Standards Framework Dashboard since this Maori 2019 analysis was done. The majority of the content of New Zealand's indicators remain the same.

120 Supra note 64, McMeeking et al.

"We note that this preliminary identification of indicators requires further refinement, and we believe with the benefit of deeper analysis, it would be possible to develop classes of indicators similar to the financial/physical capital indicators that distinguish between indicators that: Are relevant to current and future wellbeing; The 'stock' of the capital; 'Flow' indicators; Risk indicators. We are also confident that with deeper analysis the indicators would likely be simplified."

How New Zealand is able to incorporate the Māori indicators, or similar ones, will be worth tracking in the years to come.

"I struggle to see how He Ara Waiora is going to be implemented. Unless it's made clear that there's limitations around the evaluation criteria. And that you're actually missing the component around the inputs, as well as the spiritual dimensions, because you can't put it into quantitative measures. You actually need dialogue or more qualitative processes to actually assess that stuff." (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)



Table 10. Māori-Centric Wellbeing verses OECD-Centric Wellbeing Indicators¹²¹

Examples of Māori-Centric Indicators ¹²²	Examples of NZ Living Standards Framework Indicators
 Ability to collect food and other resources (mahinga kai) from the natural environment	 Annual national average temperature
 Perpetuate and celebrate cultural practices that interact with the environment, including contemporary expressions of ancestral practice	 Percentage of assessed indigenous species classified as threatened with or at risk of extinction
 Knowledge of ancestral relationships with the natural environment, kawa, purakau etc, and that knowledge enhances sense of personal and community identity, resilience and connectivity	 Annual mean coastal sea-level rise relative to a 1986-2005 baseline period
 Trust and confidence in decision making regarding the natural environment	 Total allowable commercial catch
 Availability of people to practice kaitiakitanga	 Volume of groundwater stocks
 Abundance of natural materials (biodiversity and broader)	 Net greenhouse gas emissions in kilotonnes of CO ² equivalent
 Individual, community and collaborative leadership in positive contributions to natural environment	 Renewable energy as a percent of total primary energy supply
 Respect and use of mātauranga Māori, as well as other knowledge systems, to inform and influence environmental management	 Percentage of state of the environment monitored river sites in each of the Macroinvertebrate Community Index attribute bands
 Natural environment supports current and future generations economic development aspirations	 Percentage of tested sites within targets for at least six of the seven types of soil test
 Commercial use of natural environment embraces reciprocity (with whenua) and benefit sharing with local community (based on strong, trusting relationships)	 Volume of total timber resources, including both timber available and unavailable for supply

121 Note that the examples in each row are not meant as parallel or counterpart indicators, but rather what indicators from different worldviews/ways of life might/look like.

122 Select indicators listed here are from McMeeking et al. 2019, supra note 64, p.56.

Measuring Wellbeing Economy Performance

“Wellbeing focus is all about being clear on the outcomes.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

The wellbeing indicators implemented by a government need to be measured and be measurable. While further research into best practices on measuring performance through indicators, insights into tackling this aspect of wellbeing economies emerged from the research for this paper:

“Life satisfaction measures analysis is quite cheap to do. You can often find out what you want to know from existing data. If you have a data set, which has life satisfaction measures in it, then often, you can actually back things out of there. So New Zealand is quite well positioned in this case at the moment. We’ve got a General Social Survey every two years, which has life satisfaction measure in it, and household economic survey every year also has a life satisfaction survey.” (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)

“We need measurement people who can come up with the indicators. But you could have a way to measure that. And I think that’s our biggest that’s our biggest challenge with all our Māori frameworks. He Ara Waiora is awesome [and has] elements and aspects you can measure. But then there’s a whole lot of stuff that they just can’t measure” (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023).

“A framework is a kind of tool to help people understand stuff conceptually... a lot goes into then trying to measure and monitor and that’s when people get frustrated and start to abandon the living standards framework. I see that challenge across any [economic] framework that people use... so I am always encouraging people to view it as a framework and not just view it as only something that will end up being measured. It’s a framework for understanding how things are interconnected, and what supports the things you’re trying to achieve as an outcome.” (Consultant (Māori), 14 Feb 2023)

Te Kupenga

Statistics New Zealand’s survey included questions to directly measure Maori wellbeing using maori-based cultural values. Appended to the national census in 2013 and 2018, the “Te Kupenga gives a picture of the social, cultural, and economic wellbeing of Māori in New Zealand, including information from a Māori cultural perspective.” The data from the 2018 survey is available at stats.govt.nz/information-releases/te-kupenga-2018-final-english.

“The Te Kupenga, which was the Māori wellbeing survey is a really important tool that measures Māori cultural concepts, and it tries to capture them and enable a monitoring of things over a period of time. And the importance of monitoring and kind of having firm and consistent measures is that you can see if those are the right measures, are things heading in the right direction” (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023).

Recommendations: What BC can Learn from New Zealand's GDP Alternative

BRITISH COLUMBIA

"The challenge in New Zealand will be because this current government has embraced it, the challenge is going to be if a new government comes in, will they throw it out the door?" (Statistician (Māori), 14 Jan 2023)

In addition to reflecting on Aotearoa New Zealand's existing and ongoing development of a wellbeing economy in an Indigenous context, experts also reflected on British Columbia starting out on a

similar journey. When asked for specific advice for BC to follow a similar Aotearoa New Zealand path, interviewees with expertise in this area provided direct insights on the matter (Table 11).

Table 11. Recommendations for BC's Wellbeing Index from Interviewees in Aotearoa New Zealand

Topic	Specific Recommendation
1. Focus on the big picture	"There's a huge amount of literature on meaning, concepts, indicators, measures. When I then say, what will you do with all this? I mean, you keep accumulating more, it's good to measure things. What will you do with it? There is no answer. So that's the other piece. That is my advice. Don't get bogged down with the indicators, measures, they are important, but you need to agree on the total picture and what are you trying to achieve." (Economist/Academic, Aotearoa New Zealand, 30 Nov 2022)
2. Use an Indigenous-led approach	"When I'm thinking about wellbeing frameworks in other jurisdictions, I'm always conscious that there is often an opportunity to take a more community-led approach. Here, we would call it an iwi-lead, you know, whatever is appropriate fit for you, approach where people actually can say what wellbeing means to them." (Aotearoa New Zealand Policy Maker, 9 Dec 2022)

Topic	Specific Recommendation
3. Don't Wait	<p>"Don't be afraid to jump and do what you know to be what you want to do and what is right. Some people stay in the port because they think they can't swim or they don't want to get wet until the ship comes right up to them and there's a gangway that helps them get on the boat. Our people can't afford to wait. There's also legislative change that needs to occur but there's also ways that we can support our whanau wellbeing creating our whanau wellbeing while that happens so I'm not prepared to wait because our whanau have waited long enough so advocate where can, push and do when the when there's an opportunity to do that." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)</p>
4. Base wellbeing on Indigenous values	<p>"How do we actually implement a wellbeing economy that is founded upon our Indigenous values? And it might be that you look to the past to actually find the way forward, you look to how it was back in the day, how was their elders just do things, and then draw upon the lessons from that type of way of living, merge it together with some of the modern priorities, to come up with a hybrid way of understanding or of how you want to achieve wellbeing." (Academic (Māori), 14 Dec 2022)</p>
5. Remember that frameworks are just frameworks	<p>"Develop your own wellbeing framework. Don't kill yourself. A framework is just a framework, there's only so many resources we're throwing at it. The perfect is the enemy of the good. But it is worthwhile going out sitting down and going through a process of saying what we think wellbeing means and defining it. When you do it, make sure you've got someone who has a really strong eye that you are measuring outcomes." (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)</p>
6. Develop frameworks at a local level	<p>"What I can suggest is you know develop your own wellbeing framework and metrics are founded on your cultural values, develop your own leadership structures that reflect your own value systems and use that as politically powerfully as you can in the most expedient fashion to monitor and advise and support the government on the delivery." (Academic (Māori), 6 Dec 2022)</p>
7. Allow for realistic timelines	<p>"The machinery of government takes a significant amount of time to change. What I'm not saying that the government of the day isn't driving this change, but to see it on the ground will take a significant amount of time." (Economist (Māori), 29 Nov 2022)</p>
8. Measurement Matters	<p>"Measurement really, really matters... if you can't measure outcomes you're hugely constrained. Part of what you're doing is building an evidence base to say okay, so, these are our weaknesses, these are our strengths, and this is how these are different from the rest of society. This is how we demonstrate if what we're doing is working." (Aotearoa New Zealand Economist, 28 Nov 2022)</p>
9. Build a wellbeing economy that has staying power	<p>"I'm a great admirer of [then New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern]. She was able to articulate a vision captured the imagination of a lot of people in New Zealand and a very progressive, positive, inclusive approach that the economics profession doesn't have the tools really to support her." (Aotearoa New Zealand Academic, 22 Nov 2022)</p>

Further Research

Three major areas that would support British Columbia's next steps on a wellbeing index are:

1. **Implementation of wellbeing indexes:** Honing-in on the best practices of those countries who have implemented a wellbeing index. This would include connecting with experts and high-level officials in countries such as New Zealand, Iceland, Scotland, Wales, Finland, and others.
2. **Measuring wellbeing indicators:** Doing research with those same countries to understand and gain best practices from how they have implemented a system of measuring wellbeing.
3. **Convening First Nations Leaders to developing a First Nations-led wellbeing framework:** The correction approach on how to do this would likely involve interviewing First Nations leadership in British Columbia to gain expert advice on process and what an Indigenous-centred wellbeing index might look like here.

"My grandmother watched. She could see the new ways were taking over and the whites were laying down the law about what we could do and could not do. She told me over and over that we had to find ways to keep some of our ways. We must bend with the wind, but we must not give in to everything. We must remember who we have been, who we are, and keep our dignity. This we must do because one day in the future we will have to recall our past and remember who we really are." (Xwelíqwila (Stó:lō), 2013)¹²⁴

¹²⁴ Bolton, R. P., & Daly, R. (2013). Xwelíqwiya: The life of a Stó:lō matriarch. AU Press, Athabasca University, p. 23.



“An iwi (tribe) economy has a multigenerational time horizon and thus a fundamentally different requirement from its capital. It must produce wealth over the long term and not just for the generation in which it finds itself. When the tribe takes the decision that it actually wants to exist in two or three generations’ time as a culturally-identifiable, kinship or whakapapa-linked community in a context of its traditional territory, it has to take decisions now as to how it is going to fund, protect, and develop that culture over time.” (Tipene O’Regan (Māori))¹²⁵

¹²⁵ O’Regan, T. (2019). The shareholder who never dies: The economics of Indigenous survival and the development of culturally relevant governance. In W. Nikolakis, S. E. Cornell, & H. W. Nelson (Eds.), *Reclaiming Indigenous governance: Reflections and insights from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States* (pp. 38–54). The University of Arizona Press.



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